THE REAL AS FORGED and THE ILLUSORY AS TRUE: Two Contesting Tendencies in the Image of Landscape in Estonian Haiku

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No work of literature can do without at least an embryonic reference to a place. The reference can be more or less dominant, the landscape can be the main axis of the piece of literature, a rather detailed scenery, and the qualities of the landscape may reinforce the symbolic nuances of the text. The landscape can also be a by-product, which one cannot do without in describing human life, but which is almost imperceptible and does not carry major weight in the structure of the imaginary world. It can also be a rather concise map of the prototype landscape.

None of this is big news to the good literary scholar. For example, a large part of classical Japanese literary criticism dissects literary works in what may be called 'hyper-realistic reading' (cf. Eco 1986), checking the meaning of every single word from the old dictionaries of the era and comparing the description of events with old maps and the author's biography, quite the same way as BBC or Discovery Channel would reconstruct Biblical scenes of Christ's birth or crucifixion. If the description deviates from the facts, then the author is obviously mistaken (?!) and obviously has not remembered correctly. The critic knows what *really* happened and what had to be written.

This reminds us of Borges' description of a fruitless attempt to create a 1:1 map of the world that misses the very idea of a map. Such criticism carries no mention whatsoever of the functions or aims that a literary text could have had, apart from giving a perfect mimetic description of the real landscape or events, and that might have caused the deviation. If even the real landscape (for example Zen gardens) is not a pure lump of physicality out there, but instead a configuration of features that aims to create a certain vision,[1] what is there to say then

[1] It is a very common sight in Japanese gardens or green areas to see a bunch of men climbing the trees with ladders and plucking away the pins or leaves one by one to give the tree an acceptable aesthetic shape. In fact, the whole aesthetic impact of such gardens surges from pluming, clipping, shearing, pinching, bending or weighing the trees so that they conform to the prototypical pat-

about the symbolic representation of landscape, which by its very nature presupposes selecting certain features of landscape to be included in the representation and the translation of perceptual data into a work of art according to the specific requirements of the genre. Physical landscape as it lies around us is by no means neutral, since at the moment we know of something, we already apply to it certain networks of relations (cf. Deely 1990[2]), and because our minds are not scanners which promiscuously register any physical shape, but are rather fine tools of perception, customised during the process of 'landscape socialisation'[3] to notice or ignore certain traits of the physical environment according to the values and beliefs of society. In addition to this, the representation of something implies a signification process, which *a priori* contains a public and mental element, since triadic sign relations include interpretants. Representation of landscape builds on its perception and is therefore doubly coded. To appreciate nature one does not need to write poetry, it is enough to take a walk in the woods. Once you write it, there is something behind it, you do it for some purpose – and that should not be ignored even if one's aim is to restore the real landscape behind the image.

At the other extreme is an equally undesirable tendency to lapse into criticism, which denies poetry any mundane or realistic associations, to see the poetic world as pure art, every detail of which is symptomatic of the greater poetic truth behind it or of the subconscious of the author.

It is not that hyper-realistic or idealistic readings are wrong; they are just not enough, since every work of art is built on a constant interplay between mimetic and idealistic aims, and thus every element of landscape description is chosen at the intersection of two opposite tendencies, sometimes governed mainly by one, sometimes by the other. The elusiveness of this borderline, and the fact that every element is doubly coded, is what fascinates us about literature – we are generally

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tern that this or another plant is supposed to have ideally (cf. e.g. Carlson 2000: 164–174; Hendry 1997). Agrarian landscape as such is not as deliberate in the construction of vision, but since it has been shaped through centuries of aesthetic, as well as practical, choices by people who live in the landscapes (for example choices on where to build houses, hedges, roads etc.), it cannot be neutral and the image it creates is thus influenced by the values and aims of the people living in it.

[2] The author of the present article had the chance to use (and translate) the manuscript for the fourth, considerably expanded, version of the text, which will be published by Tartu University Press in 2005.

[3] A term coined by Sverker Sörlin in the article 'The articulation of territory: Landscape and the constitution of regional and national identity' (Sörlin 1999) on the analogy of Eviatar Zerubavel's term *mnemonic socialisation* (Zerubavel 1999).

less passionate when we look at maps or models and do not get as carried away if we cannot get the illusion of reality, for example, if we read a manifesto presenting the same ideas as the literary text in front of us without a tangible visual image.

The following will be an attempt to map this dynamic between mimetic and idealistic description in the landscape image of Estonian haiku – a form of poetry which was first written in Estonia in the 1960s and takes from its Japanese namesake the 5–7–5 syllable count[4] and preoccupation with natural phenomena. Of the 1455 texts I have gathered from collections of poems and Estonian printed media,[5] about eighty percent create a clear visual landscape image.[6] My claim is that Estonian haiku puts considerable effort into creating a realistic landscape image (which, on closer inspection, turns out to be nonexistent in geographical terms) and that, at the same time, the texts exploit several strategies to overcome the realistic image, in order to express the truth, as is the aim of any work of art. These pursuits, by nature incompatible, are made to collaborate in order to meet the demands that haiku's various poetic and social functions make.

Hyper-realistic reading

Many of the textual strategies Estonian haiku uses (metonymy and attributes in the use of tropes and thematic construction, personification of abstract concepts for greater tangibility in the action, and communicative metonymy[7]) function to create a concrete and tangible image of landscape. The same applies to the thematic level: haiku tends to use miniature objects and fine details as its subject matter. By 'zooming into' the picture and describing a hand instead of a person, one flower instead of a field of flowers, a branch instead of a tree, one fly instead of many, and by limiting each of the scenes to the shortest possible duration in time, haiku behaves as a documentary snapshot. If one is too generic or too broad, a lot can be hidden, if the duration is too long, much of the process might

[4] Five, seven and five mora in the case of Japanese haiku.

[5] Altogether, this is, approximately, more than ninety percent of the haiku written in Estonian.

[6] Meaning both natural and man-made parts of landscape. Most of the authors consider an element of nature to be one of the main requirements for a text to be classified as haiku.

[7] By communicative metonymy I am referring to a textual strategy where the action described in the text is committed or experienced not by the agent or patient but by a part of him/her/it. For details see Lindström 2002.

be overlooked in the light of the eventual outcome – details in a split second is haiku's claim to credibility.[8]

In fact, analysing the thematic and compositional constitution of Estonian haiku, one finds astounding similarities to Estonian amateur photography,[9] both in the landscape elements and composition and in the effects that both of them try to achieve. This is partly an inevitability of the form. It is difficult for a haiku writer to paint a panoramic landscape on as wide a canvas as considerably longer Romanticist poetry could accomplish; neither can haiku evoke landscapes in process or temporal change as novels can. Seventeen syllables are exactly enough to mention three or four things and to draw a connection between them (if you are good at it). These things cannot develop over time, but have to remain the way they were first presented. Thus haiku is more like photography, which needs to cut an authentic piece of scenery in a way that reveals the essence of the object best.[10]

[8] 'Moment' is itself a repeated word in haiku texts. Many authors obviously consider momentariness the main trait of haiku, characteristic of its particular way of understanding the world. Zen-conscious authors compare this moment with satori or enlightenment. E.g. 'Haiku has been for me and maybe for others, too, mostly an expression for such sensual impressions which are by their nature sudden flashes and have the capacity to relate to feelings and thoughts. Zen-Buddhism says: there's more truth in a start or a pang than in strict, fully developed systems. Enlightenment or satori comes as a sudden pounce or it doesn't come at all' (Andres Ehin, in answer to my questionnaire, February 15, 2002) or, 'In haiku I expressed something which could be called meditative experience. A certain quiet moment, when you are alone with your experience, your surroundings and all of this somehow echoes together: the poet, his feelings, his memories, his surroundings' (Jaan Kaplinski, in answer to my questionnaire, March 3, 2002).

[9] As a basis for comparison, I have used a database of amateur photos on the Internet at *www.pilt.ee*. This database is a rather random collection of pictures taken by the members of the site and saved in public or private albums. Of the publicly accessible photos, roughly one thousand could be defined as landscape photos. The fact that the authors of the photos are mostly in their 20s or 30s and most of the photos have been taken rather recently, whereas the haiku have been written by authors at different ages over the span of more than 40 years, can render the comparison slightly dubious, but since the differences in the landscape image between the two databases are rather small, it should not be a serious problem. My opinion is that these differences are more indicative of changes in society than a result of comparing incomparable databases. Another question is whether it is fair to compare photos taken for private purposes with literary texts written for publication. As an answer to this, I have to also admit that Estonian haiku is a marginal phenomenon in 'high' literature, since a considerable number of authors are amateurs and even the haiku of 'professional' poets often fail to meet the demands of 'high' literature. While many of the texts can actually be aesthetically disappointing, it is only after a phenomenon has rooted in mass literature that we can consider it symptomatic of the cultural tendencies of the era without hesitation (cf. Lotman 1993).

[10] Several attempts have been made to analyse the structure of haiku through Eisenstein's notion of montage (cf. Shirane 1998: 97ff).

With painting one can fudge a bit, change proportions and 'forget' details, even if one aims to paint as authentic an image as possible. But photography can only cut and choose what to cut. Haiku is like sushi: if you choose and cut well, it is good, but if you do it badly, you cannot spice it up later to compensate for your clumsiness.

The articulated (represented) landscape always tends to be a landscape of distinction.[11] What is considered a landscape of outstanding merit in landscape assessments is usually the traditional agrarian landscape, and most of the programs of landscape protection in the Western world are focused on preserving this kind of scenery. Such an 'average landscape' is usually opposed to both uncontrollable and untouched-by-humans wilderness (the source of danger) on one hand, and to the city (the centre of vices) on the other (Tuan 1974: 109). In contrast to towns and cities, the countryside is supposed to embody all the virtues of the nation living there and the representations of landscape (paintings, postcards, tourist leaflets etc.) include mostly images of the countryside in a festive atmosphere, in sunlight and without people doing hard work.[12]

Both amateur photographs and haiku confirm this rule. Both of them depict mainly rural landscape in still-life beauty. Both photographs and haiku tend to avoid pictures with focus on the middle plane[13] and prefer to focus on some small details in front or give a panoramic view of the landscape, usually with some special light effects (dawn, sunset, peculiar formations of clouds or shadows). Two-thirds of haiku evokes a close-up image, which upon visualising does not involve the movement of the eye either vertically or horizontally; roughly half of the photos are made up of close-ups of flowers or other plants. As mentioned before, panoramic landscape images are not something that haiku can easily create, due to its brevity. Nevertheless, if haiku is to focus somewhere else, it consistently prefers to focus on the horizon rather than on the middle plane, just as photos do, also boldly contrasting colours or evoking a scene of a sunset. Middle plane photos tend to use twisted angles or unorthodox cuts of the subject matter; haiku generally strive towards shocking and unorthodox juxtapositions.

[11] Another eloquent term coined by Sverker Sörlin (Sörlin 1999).

[12] Representations of Estonia are no different in this, as was discovered in the photography section of the 3rd Autumn School of Semiotics (Kääriku, Estonia, 2001; some of the ideas introduced there have been summarised in Linnap 2003). Cf. also Hanssen 1999 for such analysis of Norwegian painting.

[13] For the sake of clarity we could define the front plane to be 1–5 metres, middle plane 6–200 metres, and I call a view panoramic if the focus is further than approximately 200 metres.

As already mentioned, exceptional light conditions, especially sunsets, are a favourite topic of photographers (and also of haiku writers, to a certain degree). Even more, both photos and haiku prefer to picture good weather conditions. In haiku the disproportion may be less prominent, since many of the autumn haiku describe gloomy clouds and rain, but in the case of winter haiku/photos the disproportion is considerable in both. Haiku (and photos) prefer to evoke an image of crisp, cold and frosty landscape with thick snow and sunlight. Anybody who has been to Estonia in winter knows that by spring most citizens have forgotten what the sun looks like and that the Tartu ski marathon is cancelled every other year because there is not enough snow, but if one were to judge from haiku, Estonia would be a winter paradise. Downpours occur in haiku and photos only if they are strong enough to seem almost supernatural. A couple of examples of panoramic and front plane haiku:

Mihklikuupäike
hapu nagu jõhvikas
irvitab soo peal.
(Rummo 1968: 61.)

September sun
sour as a cranberry
grins above the bog.

Pihlakamarjad
lumel katan silmad et
varjata valu
(Kärner 1979: 27.)

Rowanberries on the
snow I cover my eyes to
hide the pain

So far the comparison of haiku and amateur landscape photography does not tell us much, apart from the fact that most probably Estonian haiku adheres more or less to the conventions of Estonian landscape assessments and the way an average Estonian thinks the Estonian landscape should be represented (or distorted). But this comparison starts to speak when we add here a third member, that of the real landscape, and try to see, where all three of them differ.

The landscape image that the Estonian haiku texts create is clearly a village landscape. Bogs or wetlands are mentioned only in 11 texts (0.75%), while in fact they comprise 22.3 percent of the whole Estonian territory. And even in those rare cases the image is often presented as a part of an intimate home landscape. The general lack of forests and seascapes is also conspicuous, although they do, of course, sometimes occur in haiku. The word 'forest' is mentioned 28 times, on several occasions it is mentioned by a word referring to a specific type of forest (pine forest, birch forest etc.), and in some cases the image of the forest is cre-

ated without openly stating the word, but still the overall number of texts about forests remains under 50 (little more than 3%). The disproportion between the description of forest and agrarian areas is shocking against the background of the statistical data about the real landscape: forest areas formed 38.7% of Estonian territory around the turn of the 21st century, while agricultural lands make up only 32.5%. This disproportion is even more surprising, considering the fact that, due to the guerrilla movement in the Estonian woods from the 1950s until the end of the1970s, the forest had a somewhat patriotic aura and was often depicted as a protective space in other genres of Estonian literature (Kepp 1999; Tüür 2002). The sea is mentioned in 28 texts, plus a handful of verses describing flora and landscape features that can be typically found on the seashore. This number is again surprising, considering that Estonia has a total of 3794 km of coastline and 1520 islands.[14] Regardless of the fact that most of the authors lived in the cities, there are only 21 haiku texts which are clearly set in the city,[15] and the earlier ones bear clearly negative connotations.

The constitution of photo landscapes is much less disproportionate, especially in terms of the percentage of woods, sea and wetlands, which are here represented equally with mosaic farming landscape. Towns are nevertheless underrepresented, with cityscapes forming barely one-fourth of the pictures. Of course, it is impossible to determine where exactly the photos of flowers were taken, but even if the location of a plant was originally in town, the picture is taken in a way that excludes the allusion to city as space.

What kinds of objects haiku chooses is most indicative of the hidden ideological tendencies of haiku: they belong mostly to the farming landscape, or even

[14] The coastline seems long only if you consider that Estonia is just 350 km wide and 240 km long. However, the total coastline of islands is included in this number. In comparison, Estonia's land border is a mere 633 km. Islands form one tenth of the Estonian territory, but most of the 1520 'islands' are too small to be inhabited. Regardless of the importance that the sea has had for the Estonian nation, the seascapes and islescapes form a relatively unimportant part of Estonia's national symbols, which are mostly agrarian (Peil 1999; Sooväli *et al*. 2001). Here again, haiku seems to follow the general pattern.

[15] Currently two-thirds of the Estonian population lives in cities. The haiku included in the present analysis have been written over a considerable period of time, so, for example, while in the early 1960s farm landscape, although on the verge of disappearing, was still partly preserved, at the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s, when most of the haiku texts were published, it certainly belonged to the long lost past and the percent of the urban population had already, more or less, achieved its present level.

more, to the core of a typical Estonian farmstead, as it was shaped during the years of the first Estonian independence by the state's very active agricultural policy, which established a private farmstead as the basic unit of Estonian agriculture.

The trees and bushes that occur in haiku are those that exist in the garden or front yard of every single farmstead in Estonia: cherry trees, apple trees, lilacs, jasmines, red and black currants, birches and fir trees. Flowers belong to either flowerbeds on farmsteads or to cultivated pasturelands. Also the birds are mostly those that nest in the immediate vicinity of the households: barn swallows, storks, crows etc. A couple of examples:

Õunapuu seisab
aias valendab nagu
pühapäevapõll
(Kärner 1979: 20.)

The apple tree stands
in the garden and radiates whiteness
like an apron on Sunday

Jaaniku roosid
tasa noogutavad sajus
aken me vahel
(Ivask 1990: 256.)

The roses of St. John's Day
silently nod in the rain
a window between us

The fact that we do not see species that can be found only in the deep wilderness of Estonian nature is not surprising in itself: it is natural for people to notice and describe mostly those items which they live with. If we project the landscape images on the time scale proposed by Hannes Palang's division of Estonian landscape into five socio-economic periods (ancient, estate landscapes, farm landscapes of the first Estonian Republic, collective landscapes of the Soviet Union, and post-modern landscapes; Sooväli *et al*. 2001), we see that what makes this image ideologically slanted is the fact that we do not find certain elements of landscape which were very typical of the Soviet collective landscape, but were not widely seen in the farming landscapes of the first Estonian Republic: cornfields, extensive fields of beetroot and turnip, all kinds of vast fields in general, amelioration ditches, silo or hay balls (in haiku only old-fashioned hay stacks occur). Moreover, a closer look at the texts shows that the image of farmland that haiku creates is clearly archaic. Estonian haiku frequently mentions the archaic agrarian tools and parts of buildings (ploughs, heaths), which were clearly not a part of the everyday reality of the second half of the twentieth century, especially given that most of the authors lived in cities. So in fact, even though the landscape

image appears to be very realistic, it is actually totally false: not only is the composition of landscape features fairly distorted, the described elements themselves belong to the museum rather than to everyday life.

The reasons for such a literary 'forgery' might be partly aesthetic. As Allen Carlson says, people tend to underestimate the aesthetic value of new agricultural landscapes, because, firstly, they have not yet developed a new assessment system which would appreciate the new landscapes for what they are themselves and not for what they have replaced and, secondly, because the landscape itself is not yet fully developed and is therefore raw and inconsistent (Carlson 2000: 175–193). The fact that city images have started to appear in contemporary photography and also in the very last decade of haiku writing may support the idea: the new generation for whom the new landscape is a normal living environment has gradually started to depict it also in landscape representations. But that does not quite explain why haiku avoids the sea and forests and why the image is deliberately archaic.

Judging from the discourse surrounding haiku writing, from the fact that Asian studies were generally considered a form of a dissident movement, that nature writing as a genre which does not include political stances was perceived as dissident in the general ideological atmosphere, that most of the authors who introduced the form in the 1960s were part of the group of young Estonian-minded writers, and from the patriotic accounts of some of the authors themselves, I think that the reasons for creating a realistic image of a lost landscape were political. By focussing on the historical farming landscape with its log buildings and romantic mosaic meadows, which had ceased to exist in the socio-economic order long before, and on a society where an ever-growing number of people lived in cities, Estonian haiku opposes itself to recent Estonian history and excludes it as 'the Other'. Aesthetic reasons are no doubt included, but in the case of Estonia the change in landscape organisation happened to be abrupt and was obviously connected to foreign occupation, so the feeling of alienation from the real landscape was even sharper than usual (even though the changes in world agriculture would probably have eventually caused similar changes in land use). In fact, urbanisation and the policy of city construction were often equated with the Russification policy in the public consciousness of Soviet Estonia (Paulus 2002: 275) and since the individual farmstead is almost a symbol of the first Estonian Republic, it follows that haiku writers prefer them to non-farming scenes.

Idealistic reading

We have seen that realistic landscape image is evoked by the following elements: attention to small tangible details such as flowers, plants and insects of the classical Estonian farmstead and momentariness, which is best expressed through the depiction of extreme light conditions (sunset, storm, twilight, the reflection of sun on the snow or ice) or perspectives (unorthodox juxtapositions of objects in the middle plane). But exactly the same elements also function completely in the opposite way; through outwardly realistic landscape image, the texts try to create an idealistic landscape, a transcendental landscape void of any referentiality, the 'real' or primeval landscape behind our everyday experience.

Insects, plants and birds, but also stars, moon, sun and clouds of the panoramic landscape are the favourite subject matter of haiku. But at the same time, none of these things are what they seem to be at first glance and they hide a hint of something else. Autumn embraces the fear of winter or longing for spring, summer harbours thoughts of winter, life contains the seed of death and anything lifeless can start living at the very next moment. The smallness of flowers and insects compared with wind or ice underlines their paradoxical strength. This is also considered to be the original reason why Japanese literature pays so much attention to the seasonal changes of nature. To sum this view up simplistically, according to the Taoist philosophy all things in this universe are intrinsically connected to each other and the whole universe is based on the principle of change and transformation. Particular things surge from a certain combination of events and are a part of the transformation sequence, and the seasonal changes in nature are thus a perfect model of a properly functioning universe and an educational model for human life, allowing us to contemplate the inner principle of all being and change.[16] In Estonian haiku, philosophical allusions are no doubt not that clear, nevertheless any single thing can turn into something else, and function as a switch between this space and the other, this reality and the other. (Note that, in a hyper-realist reading, these landscape images are still static, not developing, scenes: one branch, willows in the wind.) An example by Jaan Kaplinski:

pista pajuoks	*tuck the willow branch*
märga mulda ja vaata	*into the wet soil and see*
mis temast tuleb	*what will become of it*

(Mäger 1980: 120.)

[16] E.g. Ackermann 1997 provides a good summary of this.

These mutations are not necessarily limited to seasonal, or so-called natural, changes: anything can become anything:

Taevani sirutan pihud.	*I reach my fingers to the sky.*
Libise, tuul, minu sõrmedelt	*Slide from my fingers, oh wind,*
pikaks ja painduvaks pajuks	*into a long and lithe willow*

(Vilu 1990: 11.)

In my opinion, the 'logic of mutation' is the basic poetic principle of Estonian haiku under the cover of realistic landscape image. It is not, however, confined only to allusive references to what one or another thing might be or become; it attempts to remake reality itself. The realism of haiku texts is aggressive and this is achieved through several textual devices. For example, attributes, the aim of which in normal conditions would be to distinguish one extensional class from another (say, blonde girls from red-heads, pink flowers from yellow), function in haiku to limit and remake the classes according to haiku's inner logic and the ideal of momentariness (the result is expressions such as 'evening spider', 'evening summer',[17] 'Tartu-ish evening'). Abstract categories of space and time are personified in order to achieve greater tangibility and they become visible and audible agents inside the landscape. Many miniature lifeless objects are personified, abolishing the natural boundaries between human and non-human; big and global objects (such as the sun and moon) are turned into the small and trivial (remember the 'sun as a cranberry' above) and *vice versa*. What look like skilful visual metaphors of a realistic scene turn out to be textual tools for transcending the class boundaries in our everyday world and forcing the reader to step into the transcendental space, the 'Real Landscape'.

We saw before that both haiku and photos have a predilection for picturing sunsets, dawn and other peculiar light conditions, but that haiku give a much less disproportionate picture here than do photos, including more darkness, more rain and more autumn. Of course, this can also be considered inevitable: how often can you take pictures in heavy rain or in the night? Still, I think that these differences are simultaneously indicative of inner processes in haiku and the images of rain and poor light together with sunsets, reflections, close-up pictures and crisp winter images are included here not only to convey a more realistic or

[17] In Estonian the authors use an adjective here, which is hard to translate ('eveningish'?), but in the English translation the aggressiveness of the attribute is lost due to the lack of such an adjective.

balanced image of landscape, but also for the specific function that they have in haiku's idealistic endeavours through that realism.

Darkness is a mystical space, in which visibility is limited and things are hidden. Paradoxically, that is what makes us see many things we would not see otherwise: darkness and the inability to see bring out hidden facets of daily phenomena. Our other senses sharpen. The logic of mutation would dictate here that even this night is not really a night: it is darkness in becoming (sunset), darkness in change (dawn), darkness hiding real light (the 'white nights'). It is characteristic of haiku to place its image between the two worlds (this and the other), so that the reader is able to contemplate both of them and transcend the boundaries by him/herself.

On the other hand, the limited field of vision creates a closed space in which the viewer (reader-imaginer) is forced to concentrate on one single item or detail, contemplate it and, through pondering on the essence of the chosen object, reach an understanding of the whole world. The small details with which haiku abounds are, in fact, models of the universe (and the great number of close-up images in haiku compared to photos is probably related to this). They not only create the illusion of reality, they take this reality to the maximum through utmost concreteness, and thereby transcend it.

The landscape of Estonian haiku is introspective; it does not include the longing for distances that is, for example, characteristic of Russian literature. The romantic and archaic mosaic farming landscape, which before was seen as a mechanism to enforce patriotic allusions, also functions to create closed spaces and introspective vision. Gardens, fences and hedges, which are some of the main features of the old agricultural landscape, cut, dissect and partition the landscape, separating the inner space from the outer space. Even clearer boundaries between inner and outer space are windows and doors, which, to add to the sense of introspectiveness, are often closed or not transparent (for example covered with frost) or are passive channels for receiving information rather than reaching for it. Roads, which by their design are meant for reaching faraway places, are virtually absent in haiku, and if they do occur, they are either cut or are details in close-up scene that do not imply movement:

Risti üle tee	*Right across the road*
tallab sipelgarodu	*the row of ants is trampling*
hoiatavat joont	*a forewarning line*

(Ilmet 1982: 112.)

Although classically the sea symbolises freedom and longing for unknown places, in Estonian haiku even the sea functions to create a closed space, since the texts focus on the shore rather than on the horizon.[18] The contemplativeness of the sea is further enhanced by the sounds of wind, waves and sea-gulls. The image of rain or downpours of any kind combines all these aspects: firstly, they limit the field of vision, hiding things as darkness does; secondly, they sharpen our other senses, especially hearing, introducing an external rhythm of rain into the visual image.[19] But in addition they also create a vertical axis, which in European culture at least has always been connected with the sacred:

Majad sulgesid	*The houses closed*
uksed – piiskhaaval langeb	*their doors – drop by drop drips*
pimedus näole	*the darkness on my face*

(Kangur 1984: 57.)

It is true that amateur photos also show a clear tendency to use a closed composition instead of an open one and roads are a relatively rare topic there as well, so it might be argued that closed spaces are just a visual expression of the famous introverted nature of Estonians, but in this case I think it is intrinsic to the functioning of haiku as a form of literature (and that is why it is much more employed in haiku than in photography). Partly introspective visions underline the division between our space and their space, traditional Estonian landscape and the foreign landscape, thus enforcing the patriotic message of haiku. On the other hand, they are the main contemplative device forcing the reader to transcend reality and reach the truths that haiku as a form of art wants to convey. Like Japanese gardens, the real landscape in haiku (the realistic depiction) is an intricately woven web of cues and switches, which through careful selection, pruning and cutting is designed to invite the reader into contemplation and discovery of the 'more real

[18] Tiina Peil has shown that even though such a pattern also exists in the rest of Estonian literature, it is by no means a rule, with the traditional symbolic meanings of freedom and inner agonies dominating in the literary scene (Peil 1999).

[19] Yuri Lotman considers the introduction of external rhythm one of the main devices of auto-communication, i.e. the process of remodelling oneself through the introduction of an external code into one's communication with oneself. Poetry is an act of auto-communication *par excellence* – a reader (or writer), addressing himself, uses a poem as a code to restructure his self (Lotman 1990: 22). Landscape as such is also an auto-communicative device: people living in the landscape interpret and reinterpret their selves through the contemplation of the rhythm of landscape, its shapes, colours and patterns. On haiku as an intrinsically auto-communicative form of poetry see Lindström 2002.

landscape', the true landscape behind the mask of ephemeral physicality. While French gardens use a tree to imitate a geometrical shape and classical English gardens try to imitate wild nature, haiku and Japanese gardens use the parts of the trees to imitate the Real Tree, a prototypical ideal of nature.

Conclusion

We have seen that almost every element in the landscape image of Estonian haiku serves two masters at the same time: the pretension of describing the real living environment of the Estonian nation (which turns out not to exist) and the depiction of true landscape transcending reality. Neither of those landscape images would have been achieved without the texts themselves pretending to be realistic. However, on closer inspection, especially through less artistic representations of Estonian landscape, we see that every major feature is carefully chosen at the intersection of both of these tendencies, with some details representing the drive for patriotic landscape image (for example the disproportionate composition of landscape features), others functioning mainly to create an Ideal Landscape (sound and light effects), and yet others working in both directions (closed spaces).

In haiku these two incompatible, and in fact opposite, aspirations (creating a realistic and idealistic model of landscape at the same time) are more or less equally represented. Not every literary form does so, and in many cases either the ideal or the real landscape can be compressed to the minimum. But I believe that exactly this dynamism in each of the presented landscape features, this interplay, is what has kept the haiku form alive and meaningful for more than forty years and is the source of the aesthetic value of these 17-syllable snapshots. Would people have continued to write or read haiku, if one of those tendencies had been given prevalence? I do not think so. In fact, the depictions of the modern world were sometimes even suppressed as non-haiku.[20] That would, in turn, mean that the changes in the socio-economic order, in the political situation and in the use of land in Estonia in recent years would prompt major changes also in the aesthetic principles of Estonian haiku, since the form loses its main social function. Luckily there are always enough things to stand against to keep the dynamism in haiku landscapes alive.

[20] Apparently Mart Mäger, the compiler of the only anthology of Estonian haiku *All in This World* (*Kõik siin maailmas*), rejected several contributions which were devoted to the modern twentieth century world.

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