

What is Estonian Philosophy?

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The purpose of this article is to inquire what should belong in an encyclopedia article entitled “Estonian philosophy,” should one ever endeavour to write it. The question “What is Estonian philosophy?” has two parts. First we have to know what we mean by the concept *philosophy* and after that how we would specify *Estonian* philosophy? Relying on a Wittgensteinian approach, I will argue that philosophy is an open concept. Although all philosophical works have some resemblances to other philosophical works, it is impossible to find criteria characteristic of all the varieties of schools and traditions in which philosophizing is carried out. Philosophy should be understood as a certain social practice. There can, however, be a large number of different practices. I will show that if by Estonian philosophy we have in mind a philosophy that is originally and purely Estonian, then at this point such does not exist. If by Estonian philosophy we mean philosophy created in Estonia, regardless of the practitioners’ ethnicity and the language in which they wrote, the history of our philosophy is very rich and diverse. People of many different ethnicities have created philosophy in Estonia, articulating their philosophical ideas in Estonian, English, German, Latin, Russian, and Swedish. And if we broaden our concept of Estonian philosophy to also include the work of philosophers of Estonian extraction living abroad, then one could write quite a respectable article on the topic.

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1. Introduction

In the eight-volume *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* one can find an article entitled “Scandinavian Philosophy,” containing a separate section devoted to Danish philosophy. The article begins by citing Soren Aabye Kierkegaard, who is reported once to have said with a sigh: “Danish philosophy, if only

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it would one day be possible to speak of such a thing...” According to the author of the encyclopedia article, what Kierkegaard meant by this was that up until his time there had been no such thing as Danish philosophy, and that it was doubtful whether anything like it would ever come into existence (Harnack 1967, 298). But even just by dint of its inclusion in the encyclopedia article, reference continues to be made today to Danish philosophy, and Kierkegaard himself is considered its most important representative. In actuality, Danish philosophy did not begin with Kierkegaard’s existentialism, but rather with empirical philosophy. However, Kierkegaard did not regard Danish empiricism as philosophy, since for him philosophy meant metaphysics. Neither did he consider his own discussions about human existence to be philosophy. Metaphysics was deemed foreign to the Danish, who were more inclined to mathematical and empirical sciences.

The above example shows that the answer to the question, “Does Danish philosophy exist?” depends on how one answers the question “What is philosophy?” It is apparent that even when speaking of Estonian philosophy (or the lack thereof), the determining factor is what the speaker believes to be philosophy. Thus if one is to endeavour to discuss Estonian philosophy or the lack thereof, one must first clarify what we mean by ‘philosophy’.

2. Is it possible to define philosophy?

If we were to content ourselves with a very general definition, such as that philosophy is the love of wisdom or that philosophy is thinking about thinking, the task would be easy. However, as soon as we have to declare a position on what distinguishes philosophy from science, religion, or literature, we find ourselves in difficulty. Granted, some philosophers know exactly what philosophy is not (usually implying the negation of some other influential philosophical tradition), but they fall into trouble when giving philosophy a positive definition. To this day no one has succeeded in proposing criteria, *differentia specifica*, which would definitively differentiate philosophy from all other areas of intellectual endeavour.

We encounter the same obstacles when seeking to define art. The history of aesthetics knows of no definition of art that some theoreticians have not proclaimed to be false. Whenever someone claims to have found criteria that they think apply to all works of art, some art work, movement or genre of art is cited that lacks these criteria. Alternatively, the criteria that are named might be so general as to apply not only to all works of art, but also to some other objects, and thus the criteria turn out to be of little use in determining the nature of art.

On the basis of this realization, neo-Wittgensteinian aestheticists (Weitz 1956; Kennick 1958) claim that art cannot be defined at all, because art is

an open concept. Inspiration was drawn from Ludwig Wittgenstein's work *Philosophical Investigations* (1958), where using the example of the word 'game,' he demonstrated that it is wrong to assume that all instantiations of an entity for which we use the same name must necessarily have common characteristics. For example, according to Wittgenstein, it is not possible to find attributes that would characterize all games—ball games, board games, games of combat, card games. Instead of assuming that these games must have something in common, Wittgenstein recommends that we observe and see whether they actually do. He claims that when we watch these different games, we see nothing that they all share, but we can observe that they are connected with one another in several different ways. What we in fact see is a complex network of overlapping and intertwining similarities. Wittgenstein (1958, 32) explains:

I find no better way of describing these similarities than using the word 'family resemblances,' because the resemblances among family members—in height, facial features, eye colour, gait, temperament, etc also intersect and cross in this way.—Thus I would say that 'games' constitute a family.

In his article "The Role of Theory in Aesthetics" (1956) Morris Weitz argues that just as we cannot define 'game,' neither can we define 'art'; in both cases what we are dealing with is an open concept. For Weitz, closed concepts are only possible in logic and mathematics, where concepts are constructed and defined with finality. Situations in which we use the word 'art' are not precisely bounded, and are thus liable to continuous correction, since the field for the use of the concept is continually expanding. How does this happen? Weitz argues that when professional critics are faced with the question of whether or not Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* is a novel, then what they are really inquiring about is not whether it fits the definition of novel, but whether the narrative under consideration is in some way similar to other texts that have already been designated as 'novels.' If a text resembles these in some aspects, while differing from them in others, then the purview of the use of term 'novel' is extended accordingly. In like manner, in the field of visual art critics ask questions such as, "Is this collage a painting or not?", and if they can demonstrate family resemblances with other works that are already deemed to be paintings, then they expand the definition of 'painting' sufficiently to make room for the work under examination. There can be no final determination of the field of use of the term 'art,' because there are ever newer forms and movements of art that challenge professional art critics with the question of expanding the term. Therefore works of art are identified using the method of 'family resemblances': art work A is a member of the category 'works of art' because it has attributes similar to art work

B; art work B, however, resembles art work C. Nevertheless, art work A and C need not have anything in common. Although all works of art have some resemblances to some other work of art, it is impossible to find criteria that would be characteristic of works of art only, while also being necessary to all of them. Both of these conditions (necessity and sufficiency) would need to be met by any general definition of art.

2.1 Philosophy as an open concept

It is apparent that one could come to similar conclusions when comparing the great number of definitions of philosophy. If for some philosophy is a search for truth through argumentation, for others a quest for meaning, and for yet a third group, the critique of thinking, then it may indeed be more appropriate to think of philosophy in terms of a family, whose members have some similar characteristics, none of which is necessary or obligatory. If it is impossible to find criteria characteristic of all the varieties of schools and traditions in which philosophizing is carried out, then philosophy is an open concept.

To use John Searle's (1995) terminology, one might go on to say that philosophy is a certain social practice based on the mutual agreement of certain people. Practices are built up with the help of rules and conventions known to and followed by all the participants in practice. There can, however, be a large number of practices. Every original thinker attempts to create a new practice. Just as a truly gifted artist enlarges the boundaries of art, it is in the power of a talented philosopher to change the practice of philosophizing. In his article "Wittgenstein and Austin" David Pears writes that every philosopher who makes use of a new method probably leaves the impression that he or she is not doing philosophy at all, but rather something else, which has come to replace it (Pears 1966, 17).

The emergence and application of a new practice always involves great conflict. Philosophers taking part in different practices of philosophy can be very intolerant of one another. It is the "great" countries of philosophy that stand out most in terms of their ignorance of the philosophical practices of others. It is interesting to read Finnish philosopher Arto Haapala (1997, 433–434) when he describes how surprised he was when he experienced radically different attitudes toward Heidegger in Freiburg and in London. Let us also call to mind the great argument from some decades ago, when Cambridge University awarded an honorary doctorate to French philosopher Jacques Derrida, whom a number of analytic philosophers were unprepared to consider a philosopher. Rather, analytic philosophers regard 'deconstruction' more as an aspect of cultural theory; postmodernist philosophers, however, regard analytic philosophy, which propounds formal logic, as belong-

ing more to mathematics than philosophy. Thus in the contemporary world of philosophy, it seems difficult, if not impossible to get philosophers from the analytic and Continental traditions to talk to each other. For example, in his article "A French Perspective on Internationalism in Philosophy," French philosopher Christian Delacampagne (1997, 397) poses the rhetorical question, why should Rorty and Quine or Derrida and Habermas engage in conversation among themselves. Later on he admits that in the last ten years many fundamental questions have been raised, such as the nature of knowledge, the 'scientificity' of ethics, the 'objective' advantages of democracy, which are being pursued by philosophers from very different traditions.

Attempts have often been made to connect the names of philosophical schools or movements with a certain nation or country. Thus we speak of Anglo-American analytic philosophy, in contrast to Continental philosophy or French deconstruction, the roots of which are in the German phenomenological-hermeneutic movement. In reality all such determinations are tentative, nor can they be applied in any absolute sense. Those who talk about Anglo-American analytic philosophy are very well aware that one of that tradition's most renowned philosophers, Ludwig Wittgenstein, was Austrian. In his book *Origins of Analytical Philosophy* (1993, 1–2) Michael Dummett points out that when contrasted with 'Continental' philosophy, analytical philosophy is often called 'Anglo-American'. Dummett argues that this is a misnomer: 'Anglo-Austrian' would be a more accurate label. However, Dummett concedes that even that title would be erroneous, because not only would it deny the historical context of analytic philosophy (such as the influence of German philosophers Frege and Meinong), but also the contemporary achievements in analytic philosophy in the Scandinavian countries, Finland, Germany, Italy, Spain, Latin-America, etc.

Movements and schools are never as unified as historians of philosophy or contemporary systematizers of philosophy seek to demonstrate. For the most part, schools or movements are named according to the country in which they began, or where the core philosophers originated. However, this does not mean that they have been confined to philosophers from one or several countries, let alone a single language. I myself do not think it is worthwhile to talk about topics or questions specific to the philosophy of a particular country. It is even risky to make generalizations about the writing style of philosophers from different countries, since often the internal differences among the philosophical writing styles within a country can be as great as between varieties of ways of philosophizing in different countries. One should also keep in mind that historically philosophy involved different disciplines, such as physics, mathematics or psychology which have separated from philosophy and become independent research subjects.

Although today academic philosophizing takes place mainly through articles or books, if one looks at the history of philosophy there is no way around the fact that philosophy has been carried out in a broad range of literary forms. As German philosopher Gottfried Gabriel has convincingly shown, philosophy is a discipline or activity located between science and fiction, or logic and literature (Gabriel 1991; Gabriel 1997; Gabriel 2014). According to Gabriel, philosophy can make use of different forms of perception; that is, it can make an opening into the world in various ways. Philosophy not only has the power to describe the world—as science also does—but also to open that world, the way literature does. Gabriel emphasizes that philosophers have used various modes of representation: Plato and many others have written in the form of dialogue; Epicurus and Seneca used the letter as a form; Augustine's and Descartes' main works were autobiographies; Anselm of Canterbury wrote in the form of prayer; Christian Wolff's philosophy took the form of a textbook; the French moralists, as well as Novalis, Nietzsche, Wittgenstein and Adorno all wrote aphorisms; Fritz Mauthner's philosophy is best known by way of his dictionary (Gabriel 2003, 219).

A similar diversity prevails in terms of language. In my view, though some have made the attempt, to date no one has been able to prove¹ that there are languages in which it is impossible to philosophize. I think philosophy knows of no language or national barriers; it is just as international as science.

3. What do we mean when we talk about Greek, British, German, or Finnish philosophy?

Let us think for a moment what we mean when we talk about Greek, British, or German philosophy, the existence of which no one would question. In most cases, such concepts refer to a certain philosophical tradition or a renowned epoch in the history of philosophy in a particular country. By Greek philosophy we mean ancient philosophy; German philosophy most often connotes German idealism; British philosophy above all signifies the British empiricism of the 18th century.

It is the same with Finnish philosophy. The most internationally renowned philosophical tradition in Finland is the logico-analytic philosophical tradition, which established its hegemonic position by the middle of the 20th century (Pihlström 2003; Salmela 2004). If we look at what is written in encyclopedia articles under "Finnish philosophy," we find that

¹ The first to come to mind in this context is Heidegger, who believed that the only languages appropriate for doing philosophy were Greek and German.

these offer an overview of what philosophers in Finland have been concerned with; not philosophy that is necessarily written in Finnish, but rather the tradition created by Finnish philosophers, no matter what country they chose to live in, nor what language they chose to write their works. Of course, the rest of the world must somehow find out what they have been thinking, and thus their philosophy cannot remain limited to the Finnish language. Clearly the best-known among them are those Finnish philosophers who (also) write in English or German. The most prominent figures of the history of Finnish analytical philosophy are Georg Henrik von Wright (1916–2003) and Jaakko Hintikka (1929–2015). But one should not forget von Wright's teacher Eino Kaila (1890–1958), who made a contribution to the development of logical positivism and Erik Stenius (1911–1990), whose best-known work is a commentary on Wittgenstein's *Tractatus* (Stenius 1960). However, Finnish philosophers are not only known for their philosophizing in the spirit of Wittgenstein or Russell, but they have had much to say in the fields of aesthetics and ethics as well. For example, in moral philosophy an important question has been the extent to which moral norms are universal. With respect to this question frequent reference is made to the Finnish philosopher Edward Westermarck (1862–1939), with his monumental treatises *The History of Human Marriage* (1891), *Sources and Development of Moral Ideas* (Westermarck 1906–1908) and *Ethical Relativity* (Westermarck 1932), which have been published in both English and German.

4. Postcolonial countries in search of their own philosophy

If in the case of science no one would venture the notion that Estonian science should be something completely different from English or German science, this view has been expressed with regard to philosophy. For example, Jaan Kaplinski has expressed the opinion that Estonian philosophy of the future should be beyond language and sense: “freedom, the language of which is not language, but dance, song without words, smells, and colours” (Kaplinski 1995, 1876). I must admit that I have no way of imagining a philosophy that would be beyond language and mind. Indeed, I believe Kaplinski was simply daydreaming rather than advancing a serious belief that the Estonians could have a philosophy of their own, one which could do without the concepts and techniques of western philosophy.

Kaplinski's argument is reminiscent of the discussions of African ‘ethnophilosophers’, who make a similar claim that African philosophy is altogether different from western philosophy both in terms of method and content. Ethnophilosophy is ostensibly the people's collective world view, which stands in opposition to the thoughts and rational arguments of individuals. I think one of the critics of African ‘ethnophilosophers’ has articulated this

with precision: “If African philosophy bears no resemblance to Western philosophy either in problem or method, then the question is bound to arise, why we refer to this activity as philosophy at all?” (Appiah 1992, 92–93). It has been retorted that since ‘philosophy’ is not a neutral, but rather a value-laden concept, such a claim is tantamount to saying that African thought does not correspond to western concepts of philosophy, and is therefore of lesser value. African thinkers and their western advocates are in effect stating that “Is there an African philosophy?” can in no way be a politically neutral, academic question (Blocker 1987, 3). It is interesting that the same justification is offered by those who attempt to prove the existence of African art, despite the recognition that objects that today’s art scholars put on display at Parisian art exhibitions were—for the Africans themselves—cult objects or daily implements.

The same kind of discussion is going on about the existence of Chinese philosophy and other Asian philosophies. In his provocative article “Is There Such a Thing as Chinese Philosophy” Carine Defoort points out that the question whether the traditional Chinese body of thought should be labelled as “Chinese philosophy” is rather sensitive, as “any explicit rejection of the existence of Chinese philosophy implies not only a painful break with the *raison d’être* of more than a thousand Chinese academics but also a blow to China’s national pride” (Defoort 2001, 393). Defoort explains that there are today, of course, scholars in China who study the philosophy of Kant, Husserl, and Derrida and they are considered to be philosophers. The disagreement about the existence of Chinese philosophy focuses on the legitimacy of the expression ‘Chinese philosophy’ for ancient masters. One group of authors argue that since philosophy is a well-defined discipline that came into existence in Greece, and has later on expanded throughout the West, one shouldn’t attempt to appropriate this term retrospectively to a Chinese thought tradition that may not meet the demands of this Western discipline—systematicness, reflection, and rationality. The second position states that the Chinese philosophical tradition is twenty-five centuries old. Defoort points out that the seventeenth century missionaries identified Confucius’ *Analects of the Book of Changes* as philosophy because they maintained a far wider concept of philosophy than what is used today (Defoort 2001, 396).

In his reply to Defoort, Rein Raud (2006) from Tallinn University School of Humanities points out that the problem is not limited to the subject of Chinese philosophy alone but also affects Indian, Islamic, and Japanese heritages. Raud is convinced that there are ways of defining philosophy so that all the heterogeneous traditions of the Western tradition, as well as the non-Western traditions, old and new, would fit in. His abstract external definition

of philosophy refers to six criteria: individuality of thoughts; explanatory power in clarifying the nature of things on the most abstract level; dialogical nature; philosophical tradition as cumulative; philosophers' independence from worldly powers; social tolerance to other philosophers (Raud 2006, 621–622). In his reply to Raud, Carine Defoort agrees that there are many good reasons for attributing the label 'philosophy' to a large corpus of Chinese texts, but he does not believe that the more abstract external definition of philosophy would solve the problem. In his view the problem is that although philosophy may be presented as a universal discipline, in reality it functions more like a peculiar tribal preoccupation, accompanied by implicit ethnocentrism and explicit cultural pride (Defoort 2006, 641).

For some of these reasons, among the first critics of the thesis of the universality of philosophy are the philosophers of postcolonial countries, where the existence of "one's own" philosophy is important to national self-consciousness. However, no agreement is reached as to what is meant by that 'own' philosophy—whether what is meant is an ethnically or culturally distinctive philosophy, or merely the fact that representatives of this people are also included as participants in the practice of universal philosophy.

African philosophers who hold discussions about the question of whether or not an African philosophy exists can be divided into two camps merely on the basis of what they refer to as African philosophy. For one group, philosophy is the world view of traditional societies; for the other, philosophy is a systematic and rational approach to universal problems. For the first school, represented by John Mbiti (1969), African philosophy is the particular world-view of Africans, which is transmitted by proverbs, folktales, and myths. The contemporary task of African philosophy is to collect, systematize, and interpret this wisdom passed on through oral tradition. According to the other school, whose views are expressed by Paulin Hountondji, African philosophy is "literature which has been created by Africans, and which is concerned with philosophical problems" (Hountondji 1983, 63). There is nothing about the problems of such a philosophy that makes them specific to Africa. Likewise, African philosophers can concern themselves with questions that their traditional culture never consciously acknowledged. If this were not the case, African philosophers would be excluded from participating in logic, epistemology, or the philosophy of science.

According to Hountondji, philosophical literature must be explicit, methodical, and rational; spontaneous, implicit, and collective oral tradition cannot meet these requirements. Hountondji (1983, 11) argues:

...just as the anthropological inquiries on African societies carried out by western researchers belong to western scholarly literature, the studies carried out by African researchers on the western tradition

form a part of African philosophical literature, as do African philosophical examinations of concepts that do not necessarily have to have any special or privileged connection with the experience of Africans.

Hountondji's views have been criticized by Kwasi Wiredu (1992), who points out that Hountondji's definition of philosophy is too one-sided, focused as it is only on the written tradition. Wiredu shows that if one were to transfer such an approach to Europe, even Socrates would have no place in the history of philosophy. Wiredu's own proposal is that a clear distinction be made between two traditions: traditional (oral) philosophy and non-traditional (written) philosophy (Wiredu 1992, 51–52). He admits that such a distinction is necessary because if one makes philosophy synonymous with written philosophy, one has to concede that in the majority of areas of Africa, philosophy is only now emerging. However, Wiredu is convinced that African philosophers who have received their education in western universities should include African traditional philosophy in their study, and that they should not limit themselves to the unselective adoption of conceptual frameworks from the base of other languages and cultures.

Wiredu elaborates on three reasons why contemporary African philosophers should also concern themselves with studying traditional African philosophy: 1) it is useful to test all philosophical claims against different languages and cultures; 2) technical advancement leaves moral perspectives in the background virtually in every context; in this way the perspectives of less developed countries may prove very useful; 3) since traditional societies tend to be communitarian, knowledge of their world-views helps us to understand what kinds of problems will accompany the individualism of developed countries.

In his article "On defining African philosophy" Wiredu uses a wealth of examples to demonstrate how contemporary African philosophers have turned back to their roots, for example, by investigating the relationship between knowledge and belief, the concept of the person, the mind-body problem, or punishment as seen in traditional African philosophy. Many of today's African philosophers have set one of their goals to be inquiry as to whether philosophical theses are dependent on language.

Some Estonian thinkers, like Urmas Sutrop (1996) and Bruno Mölder (1999), are moving in similar directions, expressing some anxiety about the fact that all claims in analytic philosophy today continue to be derived from an English-language base. For linguists seeking to articulate claims that apply to all of the world's languages, Estonia is something of a stumbling block, since it is here that their theories cease to apply. For example, in Estonian language there are no determinate and indeterminate articles, which are essential tools (logical operators) for philosophers writing in English. Thus

one can convincingly argue that Estonian linguistic philosophy differs from the philosophy of language based on English. Despite this, I myself do not believe that Estonian philosophy should be limited to the philosophy of language. Although there has been an influential movement in the 20th century, which claims that the method of philosophy should be the study of language, other methods have flourished alongside this one. I think it would be an obvious impoverishment if all of Estonian philosophy were reduced to working with only one method, or on one problem alone.

Estonian polymath Madis Kõiv (1929–2014), expressed the view that Estonian philosophy should be sought in literature (Kõiv 2003, 1853). He considered the Estonian writer, Anton Hansen Tammsaare to be our greatest philosopher. Indeed, in Tammsaare's works one can find what Gottfried Gabriel referred to as non-propositional knowledge. Let us be reminded that according to Gabriel philosophy situates itself between literature and science, leaving room for both propositional and non-propositional knowledge. Tammsaare accomplishes something similar to what many great philosophers do when they give us the opportunity to grasp something, pointing toward something more general or basic through the vivid representation of particular examples. If one takes Madis Kõiv's remark seriously and seeks Estonian philosophy in literature or essays, many great writers would have their place in philosophy: Kristian Jaak Peterson, Friedrich Reinhold Kreuzwald, Karl Ristikivi, Lennart Meri, Jaan Kross, Jaan Kaplinski, and many others. No doubt, the texts of these authors contain original and deep inquiries into fundamental matters of human life and world. But why should we label something philosophy which was not created as philosophy? Is it because philosophy is an object of national strength and ethnic pride, something that any vigorous culture should have?

5. What do we mean when we say 'Estonian philosophy'?

This is the way the question has been articulated by Ülo Matjus (2003), who has also indicated that the answer depends on what we consider philosophy to be. But we should also clarify what we mean by 'Estonian'? Is it to be understood in a geographical, ethnic, national, or cultural fashion? First and foremost we should clarify whether by Estonian philosophy we mean all the philosophy written in Estonia, philosophy written in the Estonian language, the philosophy created by ethnic Estonians, or a new, original philosophy initiated by Estonians.

It may be useful to compare how Estonians define ethnonational research discipline (*rahvusteadus*). According to Urmas Sutrop (2012, 1316), ethnonational research discipline is

...any area of research that is connected with the culture and *genius*

loci of a country and has been influenced by the peculiarities of the system of categories of the language of the indigenous people of this country and makes its contribution to the treasury of world culture ... ethnonational research is not limited by researcher's ethnic origin or mother tongue.

The same line of thought is taken by Marek Tamm and Kalevi Kull (2016, 77) who argue, more narrowly, that one can speak about Estonian theory as a local episteme:

The principle of territorialization also allows us to delimit the subject matter of our research: we include in the archive of Estonian theory all the scholarly texts whose authors have been closely linked to Estonia, either through origin, studies, or teaching. Thus, by choosing the territorial principle as our point of departure in outlining Estonian theory, we are not constrained by ethnic or linguistic criteria.

Although I agree with the previous authors that *genius loci* plays an important part in forming the identity, I would prefer to define Estonian philosophy even more broadly, applying also here the method of 'family resemblances'. Just remember how the proponents of the resemblance theory of art explained it: art work A is a member of the category 'works of art' because it has attributes similar to art work B; art work B, however, resembles art work C. Nevertheless, art work A and C need not have anything in common (Weitz 1956). I would like to apply the same approach to the definition of Estonian philosophy: although the researcher's ethnicity, origin, mother tongue or domicile may be relevant, these criteria need not all be fulfilled and none of them should be considered as the only criterion to define Estonian philosophy.

If, by Estonian philosophy, we mean philosophy created in Estonia, by all those who have worked and studied here, regardless of the practitioners' ethnicity and the language in which they wrote, the history of our philosophy would be very diverse indeed. People of many different ethnicities have created philosophy in Estonia, articulating their philosophical ideas in Estonian, English, German, Latin, Russian, and Swedish.

5.1 Estonian philosophy comprises all philosophy created in Estonia

The beginning of philosophy in Estonia has been dated in the 13th century (Raukas 2002, 52). Philosophy arrived in Estonia in the form of scholastic philosophy as a component of Christian theology, as a result of the violent Christianization. In 1268, the monk Mauricius (approximately dated 1243–1323), probably of Estonian origin, travelled from the Dominican monastery in Tallinn to Cologne where he studied theology for two years and in 1270

left for Paris to complete his theology studies there in 1272. It is likely that Mauricius might have been studying in Paris under Thomas Aquinas who at that time was a lecturer at the Dominican Chair of Theology at the University of Paris (Rebane 2003, 7–8). After his return to Tallinn (at that time Reval), Mauricius started to lecture theology and scholastic philosophy and build up the library of the Tallinn monastery school. He made a significant contribution in setting high standards in both teaching and research of scholastic philosophy.

A second signpost in the development of Estonian philosophy was the founding of University of Tartu in 1632. This educational institution, which had operated on the basis of the royal privileges of Uppsala University, included faculties of philosophy, law, theology, and medicine. According to medieval practice, the function of the faculty of philosophy was to prepare students for their studies in theology, law, or medicine. Philosophy was divided into two disciplines: theoretical philosophy, which covered logic, mathematics, metaphysics, and physics; practical philosophy contained ethics and politics.

In the early days of University of Tartu, the medieval view of philosophy prevailed, meaning that philosophy was tightly bound up with theology.² The function of the faculty of philosophy was to prepare students for the studies in theology, jurisprudence, and medicine. The teaching of philosophy was based largely on an Aristotelian system, which was adapted to the Lutheran doctrines (Inno 1972, 113). As the actual founder and organizer of University of Tartu Johann Skytte was an enthusiastic follower of Ramism and favoured “a utility-orientated and outrageously anti-Aristotelian reform agenda” (Ingemarsdotter 2011, 60), University of Tartu adopted Petrus Ramus’s doctrine and his pedagogical programme of teaching philosophy.³ Ramus criticized the medieval tradition of university teaching, the practice of syllogistic disputation, and emphasized clarity, precision and testing in the logic. According to the first Constitution of *Academia Gustaviana* the teaching of philosophy was to be based on the principles of Petrus Ramus. The Constitution set forth that “philosophy professors should present their discipline to young people clearly and comprehensibly without any dim scholastic sophistry and metaphysical speculations, without tomfoolery or snobbery; instead, they should treat their subject according to Socratic, that is

² See also the article of Meelis Friedenthal and Pärtel Piirimäe “Philosophical disputations at the University of Tartu 1632–1710: Boundaries of a discipline” in the same issue of *Studia Philosophica Estonica*.

³ Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) was an influential French humanist, logician, and educational reformer who criticized the role of scholasticism in university education and wrote many textbooks where he used the new method which was supposed to help to present complex subject matters. See: plato.stanford.edu/entries/ramus/ (last visited 14 April, 2016).

Ramus' order and method, and without thoughtless divergence from the matter at hand."⁴ Also the fact that philosophical studies were related to the teaching of rhetoric, showed how influential Ramus's pedagogical principles were (Ruutsoo and Luik 1982, 182). The teaching of rhetoric at University of Tartu was combined from the beginning with the teaching of poetics.

In the second half of the 17th century new ideas arose; among them, Descartes' philosophy was particularly important, bringing about the secularization of natural sciences and helping to free philosophy from its dependence on orthodox theology. Besides Descartes' writings, the works of Francis Bacon, Robert Boyle, Giordano Bruno, Thomas Hobbes, Baruch Spinoza, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, John Locke, and Christian Wolff were also very influential. According to Karl Inno (1972, 113–115), what was behind these changes was what was happening at the time in Swedish universities. Already in the 1660s, under the influence of Hugo Grotius and Samuel von Pufendorf, the question of secularized natural law was being discussed at Uppsala and Lund Universities. The ideas of natural law quickly found their way to Tartu, where the majority of professors came from Swedish universities. University of Tartu's very first professor of ethics, Gustav Carlholm (professor 1690–1692) was prepared to introduce interested students to the ideas of natural law and Pufendorf's "golden book" (*De officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem*) on a private basis (Rauch 1943). The work of the prematurely departed Carlholm was continued by Gabriel Sjöberg, who at first was professor of theoretical philosophy (1690–1692) and then took over the Chair of Practical Philosophy (1692–1700).

Gabriel Sjöberg was the compiler of the *Metaphysica contracta* (1692), which served as an introduction to philosophy. As the professor of theoretical philosophy, Gabriel Sjöberg lectured on logic, metaphysics and physics. The question, whether physics is a part of philosophy, was intensively discussed in 1691, when Rector Lars Micrander, professor of medicine, raised the question why physics was being taught by the professor of philosophy and not by the professor of medicine whose task it was, according to the university statute, to teach botany and physics as well as his major discipline. As a result of the intervention of Gabriel Skragge, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Sjöberg was allowed to continue to read physics lectures (Rauch 1943, 298–299). In 1693 Sjöberg took over the Chair of Practical Philosophy, which allowed him more influence on students' political views. The Chair of theoretical philosophy was held by Micheal Dau (1693–1695), Daniel Sacrovius (1695–1704), who passed his position on to Carolus Shultén (1705–1707), who became famous with his writings in oriental studies. From 1707–1710 theoretical philosophy was taught by Elof Holstenius.

⁴ See first Constitution of *Academia Gustaviana* (Lepajõe et al. 2015).

Gabriel Sjöberg was one of the most productive professors of his time in Tartu, being the author of 37 writings. Together with Andreas Palmroot (professor 1701–1710), a third major proponent of the ideas of natural law, Sjöberg supervised numerous dissertations. Apparently it was the treatment of the natural rights of peoples and states' rights in the spirit of Grotius and Pufendorf that exerted a strong influence on the political formation of students. Many of the pastors who had received their degrees in the Swedish era university continued their activities into the era of the Russian empire, sowing the seeds of the ideas of natural law and the social contract into a later period. Clearly this prepared the ground for the Enlightenment, which arrived in Livonia at the end of the 18th century.

When speaking of the philosophy created in Estonia, one cannot ignore the works of German philosophers who worked in the reopened University of Tartu (*Kaiserliche Universität zu Dorpat*).⁵ One of Immanuel Kant's students, Gottlob Benjamin Jäsche (1762–1842) worked for a long period, 1802–1839 at University of Tartu. Jäsche is known primarily for the publication of Kant's lectures of logic (*Immanuel Kants Logik*, 1800).⁶ Under the influence of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's philosophy of religion, Jäsche's Kantianism modulated into a critique of pantheism, as expressed in his work *Der Pantheismus nach seinen verschiedenen Hauptformen* (3 volumes, 1826–1832). Because of Jäsche's opposition to the philosophy of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, Hegelians did not gain a toehold at University of Tartu, even after Jäsche's retirement.⁷ Jäsche had no intellectual successors.

After Jäsche retired, it took some years before a new professor of philosophy was appointed. In 1844 it was given to a young private docent, Ludwig Heinrich Strümpell (1812–1899). He had graduated from the University of Königsberg as a student of Johann Friedrich Herbart, but had become critical of his teacher's views. In 1840 he published a critical treatise on Herbart's metaphysics, which set him apart from other Herbartians. Strümpell's appointment was as extraordinary professor, following the special caesarean order and against the will of the senate, since in the elections the vote was a tie, 13:13 (Freyman 1921–1922). This caused a great deal of tension, and was

⁵ On 21–22 April 1802 University of Tartu (*Kaiserliche Universität zu Dorpat* (also *Imperatorskij Derptschij Universitet*) was reopened, as a Baltic (provincial) university dependent on the knighthoods. The working language of the university was German.

⁶ Kant's lectures on logic were based on Georg Friedrich Meier's *Auszug aus der Vernunftlehre* (1752). The copy of Meier's work with Immanuel Kant's handwritten comments on the margins of the pages is kept in University of Tartu library.

⁷ In the year 1833, when Jäsche, then 71 years old, could have retired, the well-known Hegelian scholar Johann Eduard Erdman competed for his position. However, the vote was 8 against 15, and therefore Jäsche was asked to continue to supervise the Chair (Semel 1918, 103–104).

the reason why Strümpell was unable to stay in Tartu for a second period of academic appointment. He worked at University of Tartu as a professor of philosophy for 25 years (1845–1870) and left Tartu in 1870 to take up a similar position in Leipzig (Freymann 1921–1922).

Strümpell lectured on psychology, logics, history of philosophy, and ethics. His lectures were systematic and very well received by the students. While in Tartu, Strümpell was actively involved in the restructuring of the school system, and he helped to open and re-organize *gymnasia* and public schools. He wrote on the history of Greek philosophy (Strümpell 1861) and became deeply interested in pedagogy (Strümpell 1869a; Strümpell 1869b), emphasizing the individuality of children (Strümpell 1844). However, his most important works were written during his Leipzig period, when he developed a theory of the psychic causality of children's behaviour (Strümpell 1884; Strümpell 1890). Strümpell also worked on the problem of amnesia of dreams; his *Die Natur und Entstehung der Träume* (1874) was the source of inspiration for Sigmund Freud's theory of dreams.

The most renowned and truly original philosopher at University of Tartu (at that time *Kaiserliche Universität zu Dorpat*) was Gustav Teichmüller (1832–1888) who held the Chair of Philosophy in Tartu from 1871 until his premature death in 1888. Before coming to Tartu he had been an extraordinary professor at the University of Basel. When he came to Tartu, he had already been recognized, both for his research on Aristotle and the history of concepts. His *Studien zur Geschichte der Begriffe* (published in 1874 as a summary of three earlier studies) was followed by *Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Begriffe* (3 volumes, 1876–1879), which has paved the way to contemporary research in the history of ideas.⁸ Teichmüller's other important works are *Die wirkliche und die scheinbare Welt* (1882) and *Religionsphilosophie* (1886) which made him famous as a developer of Christian personalism.⁹ He had just begun developing his own original theory of personalism (both anti-idealist and anti-materialist, instead favouring direct realism), when his life plans were suddenly interrupted by the sad news that he was suffering from cancer, which killed him in three months. He was not himself able to finish the last book *Neue Grundlegung der Psychologie und Logik*, which was prepared for publication by his student and successor Jakob Ohse and appeared posthumously in Breslau in 1889.

⁸ Gottfried Gabriel explains Teichmüller's role in the project of studying the history of concepts in his article "Gustav Teichmüller and the systematic significance of studying the history of concepts" published in this issue of *Studia Philosophica Estonica*.

⁹ For the most comprehensive overview of Gustav Teichmüller's life and philosophy read (Schwenke 2006) and Schwenke's article "A star of the first magnitude within the philosophical world": Introduction to life and work of Gustav Teichmüller" published in the same issue of *Studia Philosophica Estonica*.

During his Tartu period, Teichmüller published 18 books. Although there were very few students who specialized in philosophy at the time in Tartu, his lectures on the history of philosophy, logic, metaphysics, pedagogics, philosophy of religion, philosophy of Christianity, ethics, aesthetics, psychology, and philosophy of law were very popular. He also gave several public speeches and organized discussion groups with his students and other professors at his private residence on Jakobi Street (Freymann 1921–1922). He had several dedicated students and followers, including one Estonian, Rudolf Kallas (1851–1913), a theologian who, in his extensive treatise *System der Gedächtnislehre* (1897), tried to bring together Teichmüller's personalism and folklore. Teichmüller's literary remains (*Nachlass*) are kept in Basel and, according to Heiner Schwenke, they comprise the manuscripts of 31 lectures, many unpublished writings, drafts, and correspondence with many philosophers all over the world (Schwenke 2006). A three-volume collection of Teichmüller's works (Teichmüller 2014a; Teichmüller 2014b; Teichmüller 2014c) has been published recently, edited by Heiner Schwenke.

After the death of Gustav Teichmüller, the Chair of Philosophy was taken over by his former student Jakob Ohse (in original Jēkabs Osis) (1860–1920), who was the first Latvian professional philosopher, and who worked in Tartu as a professor for philosophy from 1880–1918. Ohse had graduated from the Faculty of Theology at University of Tartu and received his doctoral degree from the University of Moscow in 1897 with a thesis entitled "Personalism and projectivism in Lotze's system." In his lectures and publications he outlined the theories of his teacher Gustav Teichmüller without adding much that was new. He lectured on the history of philosophy, logic, psychology and gnoseology. In 1918 he was evacuated to Voronezh (Russia), where he died in 1920.

Although Teichmüller had good contacts with other disciplines, some psychologists considered his views to be too conservative. During his lifetime, the line between philosophy and psychology was very thin; psychology was perceived as a special kind of philosophy. Teichmüller was critical of his young colleague Emil Kraepelin (1856–1926), who became professor of psychiatry at Dorpat University in 1886 at the age of 30. Kraepelin is considered to be the founder of modern psychiatry and by far the most important experimental psychologist who has worked in Estonia (Allik 2007, 618). Kraepelin used his psychiatry chair to propagate experimental psychology in the style of his mentor Wilhelm Wundt.

The new Professor of Psychiatry was full of energy and hope. Finally his plan to combine psychiatry and psychophysics was about to be realized, which was what he had always wanted. But there were still many opponents. At Dorpat the main one was Teichmüller, the Professor of Philosophy, a follower of pre-scientific psychology, and one

of Wundt's most antagonists. (Steinberg and Angermeyer 2001, 303)

In his private letter to Kraepelin, Wundt commented: "Just let Teichmüller listen to you, which will no doubt be useful for him! Incidentally, I do not rely much on the erudition (*'Gelehrigkeit'*) of our philosophical colleagues" (Steinberg and Angermeyer 2001, 303). Kraepelin believed that psychiatry was a branch of medical science and should be investigated by observation and experimentation like the other natural sciences. He created the classification of psychiatric diseases used till today. Although his main interest was scientific psychiatry and psychology, Kraepelin was also interested in topics, which could be classified as philosophy. For example, one year before arrival to Tartu he had published two papers about the comical, which had relevance for the field of aesthetics (Kraepelin 1885). From 1886 to 1890 Kraepelin worked in Tartu as the Professor of Psychiatry and as the Head of the Psychiatric Clinic of University of Tartu (Dorpat at that time). As the intensive Russification campaign was launched in 1889, Russian became the official language of teaching and all German professors who were not able or willing to teach in Russian, left. Kraepelin left for Heidelberg to become a head of the department there. His professorship was taken over by one of Wundt's Russian students, Wladimir Tchisch (1855–1922).

It is also worthy of mention that in this period some very famous philosophers of Baltic German origin studied at University of Tartu (at that time *Kaiserliche Universität zu Dorpat*). For example, Jakob Johann von Uexküll (1864–1944), who was born in Keblaste manor in Estonia and studied zoology at University of Tartu from 1884–1889, became a famous biologist, philosopher and biosemiotician; later he accepted a professorship at the University of Hamburg where he founded the *Institut für Umweltforschung*. Jakob von Uexküll's most important philosophical book is his *Theoretische Biologie* (1920). According to Estonian biosemiotician Kalevi Kull (2001), Uexküll's most notable contribution is the notion of *Umwelt*, which he defines as the perceptual world in which an organism exists and acts as a subject (Uexküll 1909). Rather than the general meaning, Uexküll's concept draws on the literal meaning of the word, describing *Umwelt* as the subjectively perceived surroundings about which information is available to organism through its senses.¹⁰ Uexküll's works established biosemiotics as a field of research, which stands today as one of the research fields of the Institute of philosophy and semiotics at University of Tartu.

¹⁰ Urmas Sutrop has studied the development and different meanings of the concept *Umwelt*. According to him Jakob von Uexküll gave the term a new restricted philosophical meaning as the "subjective sense world" of animal or human. This term became one of the main pillars of Uexküll's philosophy" (Sutrop 2001, 459).

Hermann Alexander von Keyserling (1880–1946) was a Baltic-German philosopher who was born in an old aristocratic family at Kõnnu Manor, in the province of Livonia, now in Estonia.¹¹ His grandfather, Alexander Keyserling was a well-known geologist in Imperial Russia. He studied geology first in Geneva, then in Tartu (Dorpat) from 1898–1900, and continued his studies in Heidelberg and Vienna. He earned his doctoral degree in Vienna in 1902, where he turned to philosophy, under the influence of the writer Houston Stewart Chamberlain. After some years in Paris (1903–1906) and Berlin (1906–1908), he returned to his manor house in Raikküla (Rayküll) and started to write philosophy of culture using the method that he himself described as critical phenomenology. In 1906 he published *Das Gefüge der Welt. Ein Versuch kritischer Philosophie*, in 1907 *Unsterblichkeit*, in 1910 *Prolegomena zur Naturphilosophie*. From 1911–1912 he travelled around the world, which led to the writing of the book that made him famous: *Das Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen* (1919). His other important books are *Prolegomena zur Naturphilosophie* (1910) and *Schöpferische Erkenntnis* (1922). Since the Russian Revolution deprived him of his estate in Livonia, he left the country in 1919. In the same year he married Maria Goedela von Bismarck-Schönhausen, granddaughter of Otto von Bismarck, and founded the philosophical School of Wisdom (*Schule der Weisheit*) in Darmstadt. The mission of this school was to bring about the intellectual reorientation of Germany. As a philosophical writer and head of the school, he became one of the leading public figures in the Weimar Republic.¹² Speakers invited to the conferences held at the school included Carl Gustav Jung, Max Scheler, Rabindranath Tagore, and Hans Driesch. He was a true European mind who tried to develop a new anthropology based on the ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche and Wilhelm Dilthey, looking for the universal in different cultures and building the bridge between the European and non-European cultures. Keyserling's works were translated into English, French, and Spanish. Beginning in 1931 he criticized National Socialism (*Nationalsozialismus*), and when Hitler came to power, he was not allowed to speak in public. At the end of World War II, he wanted to create a similar School of Wisdom in Innsbruck, but this plan was not fulfilled due to his early death in 1946. His son Arnold Keyserling (1922–2005) followed his father's footsteps and became a renowned philosopher.

The first Estonian philosopher of sports was Georg Hackenschmidt, who

¹¹ Hermann von Keyserling https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermann_Graf_Keyserling (last visited Apr. 9, 2016). Read more about Hermann von Keyserling's life and work in (Gahlings 1996) and in (Schwidtal and Undusk 2007).

¹² British philosopher Russell has pointed out that Count Keyserling had, indeed, remained first and foremost a Baltic-German Baron (see Sutrop 2006, 63).

was also Estonia's first professional wrestler and athlete. Hackenschmidt was born in Tallinn (Reval) in 1877 and became a writer and philosopher after a splendid career in sports. His father, Georg Friedrich Heinrich Hackenschmidt was a Baltic-German, and his mother, Ida Louise Johansson of half Estonian and a half Estonian-Swedish descent. Hackenschmidt himself considered himself Estonian.¹³ Hackenschmidt left Estonia for St. Petersburg in 1898 to meet the renowned physician and physical trainer Dr. Krajevski, whose special training methods helped him to set a world record in weight-lifting within a year. In 1902, he moved to England where he was dubbed "The Russian Lion."¹⁴ He lived most of his life in England and died in London in 1968. Hackenschmidt was known not only for his impressive strength, fitness and flexibility, but also for his admirable personality—he was regarded as a soft-spoken, cultured and intellectual young man who spoke seven languages fluently. He spoke and published widely on a wide range of subjects, but most notably on health and fitness. His most popular book was his first one, *The Way to Life* (1909): it propagated the view that vigorous exercise will lead to a good life. His first fundamental assumption was simple: that exercise-induced fitness would help ward off disease. The second assumption was—try it, then teach it (Todd 1992, 10).

It should also be mentioned that the Baltic-German philosopher Nicolai Hartmann (1882–1950) studied medicine in Tartu (then Jurjew) from 1901–1902. Subsequently, he pursued a philosophical education in St. Petersburg 1903–1905 and in Marburg, where he earned his doctoral degree. All of his significant works, which made him a key representative of critical realism and one of the twentieth century's most important metaphysicians were written in Germany.

At the beginning of the 20th century, in the course of Russification, the German period of the university at Dorpat came to the end. In the aftermath of World War I and the Russian revolutions, Estonia became independent in February 1918, and the opportunity arose to use Estonian as the language of instruction in all levels of education.

5.2 Estonian philosophy cannot be restricted to philosophy written in Estonian language

If Estonian philosophy is limited to the writings of professional Estonian philosophers, composed in Estonia, then the origin of philosophy in Esto-

¹³ Georg Hackenschmidt, https://et.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Hackenschmidt (last visited Apr. 9, 2016).

¹⁴ George Hackenschmidt, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Hackenschmidt (last visited Apr. 9, 2016).

nian merges with the beginning of the Estonian-language university.¹⁵

Aleksander Kaelas (1880–1920) was the first Estonian to be elected Professor of Philosophy at University of Tartu. However, he died in 1920 before he had a chance to assume his responsibilities. Before election, Kaelas was a Professor of Psychology at Irkutsk University (1919–1920). Before Irkutsk, he had worked in the University of Moscow as an assistant and as a private docent. He had also studied with Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig. He had published several papers in Russian about the psychology of emotions.

As there were no qualified Estonian philosophers who could rise to the position of a professor, philosophy was first taught by a komi writer and language teacher Kallistrates Žakov (1866–1926) who was not qualified at all for that task (Piiromäe 2007, 336). In 1921 the Chair of Philosophy was offered to an Austrian philosopher, Walther Schmied-Kowarzik (1885–1958). He received the invitation to Tartu through his contacts in Finland.¹⁶ Walther Schmied-Kowarzik pursued his education at the University of Vienna where he was taken by the phenomenological philosophy of Franz Brentano, the anthropological philosophy of culture and ethics of Friedrich Jodl, and Wilhelm Dilthey's hermeneutical philosophy. His second dissertation (*Habilitationsschrift*) "Umriss einer neuen analytischen Psychologie" (1912) was considered to be one of the most complete treatises of hermeneutical psychology as it was understood by Brentano and his followers. His main work written in Tartu, *Die Objektivierung des Geistigen. Der objective Geist und seine Formen* (1927), belonged to the philosophy of culture. In University of Tartu his task was to teach philosophy, psychology and pedagogics. By the time he left Tartu in 1927 to continue his philosophical work in Frankfurt am Main in Germany, some young Estonian scholars were already able to take over his responsibilities.

The first professional native Estonian philosopher, Alfred Koort (1901–1956) started working at University of Tartu in 1927, first as a lecturer and from 1939 on as an extraordinary professor of philosophy in University of Tartu. Koort had studied philosophy in Tartu (1920–1924) as well as abroad, mainly at the universities of Sorbonne and Göttingen in 1926–1928. His doctoral dissertation was supposed to be on the relationship between hermeneutics and anthropology but this plan was never realised. He defended his doctoral dissertation, entitled *Beiträge zur Logik des Typusbegriffs* in 1934. He

¹⁵ Rein Ruutsoo (1978; 2001) has conducted in-depth research on the field of philosophy in the era of the Estonian Republic 1919–1940.

¹⁶ A more detailed overview of Walther Schmied-Kowarzik's philosophy and time in Tartu is provided by Wolfdietrich Schmied-Kowarzik in the article "Zur bewusstseinsanalytischen Philosophie von Walther Schmied-Kowarzik" in the same issue of *Studia Philosophica Estonica*.

was appointed docent in philosophy in 1935 and extraordinary professor in 1939. He wrote two books which served as introduction to philosophy: *Sissejuhatatus filosoofiase* [Introduction to Philosophy] (1938b) and *Kaasaegsest filosoofiast* [On Contemporary Philosophy] (1938a). His lecture on language and logic appeared in 1932. He was an active member of the academic societies of philosophy, theology and psychology and translated a number of philosophical and psychological works into Estonian. During the Soviet era he changed his profile to Marxist philosophy, and in 1948 retracted his previous works and criticized them. From 1944 till 1951 Koort was the Rector of Tartu State University. In the 1950s he was forced to step down from the rector's position, and was subjected to political repressions.

Between the two world wars there were only a few other people doing philosophy in University of Tartu. From 1918–1929 philosophy was taught also by private docent Walther Freymann (1883–1960), who was of Baltic German origin and had studied classical philology in University of Tartu. In 1923 he studied also in Freiburg University where he met Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger. He earned his doctoral degree from University of Tartu in 1928 with a dissertation on Plato's philosophy that was published as *Platons Suchen nach einer Grundlegung aller Philosophie* (1930). He also published several books in Estonian: *Tunnetusteooria põhiprobleemid* [Main problems of the theory of knowledge] (1924), *Loogika* [Logic] (1936) and *Filosoofia peaküsimusi* [Main issues of philosophy] (1939). In 1939 he left Estonia, worked in Poznań University from 1939–1945 (where he became professor in 1942), after that in Greifswald University and from 1953–1957 in the University of Jena. His best known Estonian student was Rudolf Kulpa (1906–1997) who defended a master's degree in philosophy in 1936 with a dissertation "Oleva probleem Teichmülleril" [The problem of Being by Teichmüller]. Kulpa translated Descartes' *Discours de la méthode* into Estonian, which appeared as *Arutlus meetodist* in 1936. He was active as translator of philosophical and literary texts until 1970s. One could also mention another Estonian philosopher Leo Anvelt (1908–1983) who received his master's degree in philosophy from University of Tartu in 1936 and after that was also active as a translator and writer.

The first Estonian scholar of religion, Eduard Tennmann (1878–1936), was elected to a docent's position in 1919, and became extraordinary professor in 1926 and ordinarius in 1936. He was influenced by Teichmüller, and drawing upon Teichmüller's literary remains (*Nachlass*), published *G. Teichmüllers Philosophie des Christentums*, in 1931. He taught mainly psychology of religion and published two monographs on this topic, *Ekstaas ja müstika* [Ecstasy and Mysticism] (1936a) and *Üldine usundipsühholoogia* [General Psychology of Religions] (1936b).

After Tennmann's death in 1936, the psychology of religion was taught by another Estonian philosopher and theologian Uku Masing (1909–1985), who developed Estonian religious philosophy and influenced the way in which Estonians think about their language and their identity. Uku Masing began his studies at the Faculty of Theology of University of Tartu in 1926. In addition to classical languages, he also learned Semitic languages, psychology, literature of Antiquity, and Assyriology. From 1932–1933, he held a scholarship for study abroad in Germany, first in Tübingen, later in Berlin. Since 1933 Masing began teaching Semitic languages and the Old Testament at University of Tartu. He was an appointed professor of Comparative Studies of Religion 1937–1940. As the Faculty of Theology was closed under the Soviet occupation in 1940, his career at University of Tartu remained rather short.

During the Soviet period, he was a faculty member of the Institute of Theology of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, where he gave lectures on the Old Testament and the history of religion. In Uku Masing's case, it is impossible to talk about an ordinary academic career, as he tended to be an outsider, who could only partially pursue his research within the confines of the academy. A large portion of his work remained in manuscript form during the Soviet occupation, though it was disseminated through unofficial publications.

Uku Masing was very versatile; he could be considered a theologian, orientalist, philosopher, poet, folklorist, as well as an ethnologist. He was well known as a polyglot, and took an interest in painting, calligraphy, botany, astronomy, and many other areas.¹⁷ His primary research foci were the study of the Old Testament, orientalism (from Assyriology to the study of Buddhism), and the comparative study of the fairy tales, folklore, and religion of many peoples of the world. From the standpoint of the philosophy of language, it is important that Masing believed the Finno-Ugric peoples to have a world-view different from speakers of Indo-Germanic languages, and that there was a deep connection between language and thinking (Masing 2004). He was a relativist, and he believed that since different languages have different concepts and ways of categorizing things (in the case of a forest, there are different categories for a pine forest, fir, deciduous, mixed, and coniferous forests), the world's peoples perceive the world in distinctive ways. According to Masing, Benjamin Lee Whorf made a mistake by situating Estonians among the Standard Average European peoples; rather, Finno-Ugric peoples have a distinctive "language reality" (Sutrop 2004, 6–7). Masing's views on language and mentality have influenced many writers, including Jaan Kaplinski and Valdur Mikita.

¹⁷ Uku Masing, https://et.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uku_Masing (last visited Apr. 9, 2016).

Another important figure in Estonian philosophy is Konstantin Ramul (1879–1975), the first professional Estonian psychologist, who was first appointed docent of philosophy in 1919. In 1928 he became an extraordinary professor and in 1939 ordinary professor of psychology. Ramul was not a very prolific writer. However, one of his first papers on non-empirical psychology, titled “Über nicht-empirische Psychologie” appeared in *Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie* (Ramul 1929). The paper was devoted to the analysis of the claims made by Brentano and his disciples (Allik 2004). In 1939, Ramul defended his doctoral thesis “Mathematik und Psychologie. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theorie der mathematischen und der phänomenologischen Psychologie,” which was mainly devoted to the historical analysis of such philosophers as Herbart and others and argued for empirical psychology. Ramul had outstanding knowledge of the history of psychology and managed to write on the early psychological measurements and ratings in the journal *American Psychologist* (Ramul 1960; Ramul 1963). He created the laboratory of experimental psychology and pedagogics on which basis the institute of psychology was founded in 1938 (Allik 2004). According to Rein Ruutsoo, Ramul could be considered as the founder of Estonian professional philosophy (Ruutsoo 2004, 44).

Estonian writers and literary scholars Johannes Semper (1892–1970) and August Annist (1936–1972) were teaching aesthetics in University of Tartu between the two world wars. Johannes Semper wrote about the French mentality (1934) and published a psychoanalytic treatise of the Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg* in 1929. He translated several works of Dante Alighieri, Victor Hugo, Émile Zola, Giovanni Boccaccio into Estonian. August Annist was one of the main editors and commentators of the Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg*; he also wrote about the Finnish epic *Kalevala* as a work of art (1944). He translated the Finnish epic *Kalevala*, and Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into Estonian.

At that time, original theories were also developed by Estonian thinkers outside the university. Thus Jacob Linzbach (1874–1953) constructed a universal writing system, which he called Transcendental Algebra (1921). In his book *Principy filozofskogo jazyka. Opyt točnogo jazykoznanija* [The Principles of Philosophical Language: An Attempt at Exact Linguistics] (1916) that appeared the same year that Saussure’s lectures were published, Linzbach arrived independently at similar solutions to the problems of general linguistics. Linzbach lived in Estonia, he was born in Kloostri Parish and died in Tallinn.

Unfortunately, the Estonian professional philosophy between the two world wars did not reach the international scene. How original Estonian philosophy might have developed we can only imagine, had Estonia not been

occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940. For the next fifty years, philosophy was under extreme ideological pressure.

The next important landmark in the narrative of the development of Estonian philosophy is the Soviet era.¹⁸ At Tartu State University during the Soviet era, philosophy did not exist as an academic specialization, although the possibility did exist to pursue graduate studies in philosophy. Since there was a lack of ideologically proper staff, it took many years to open the Department of Philosophy at Tartu State University. From 1946–1948 philosophical subjects were taught by Arkadi Uibo.

In 1950 the Department of Philosophy was opened. Due to the fact that the Department of Philosophy provided courses in dialectical and historical materialism for students of all academic specializations, many job opportunities were created for professional philosophers. In 1958 the publication of the series of philosophical articles “Trudy po filosofii” was started in Russian.¹⁹ As Rein Vihalemm (2015) has pointed out, because Marxist philosophy was mandatory for all academic specializations, there were more than 60 full time positions available to philosophers throughout Estonia. Therefore, it was in the circumstances of the Soviet era that philosophers reached a critical mass, enabling the publication of philosophical proceedings; one could even begin speaking of schools of philosophy.

Of course most of this philosophy was deeply imbued with ideology. It was possible to elaborate aspects of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, or to deal with the critique of “bourgeois philosophy”; at the beginning of an article or in the foreword of a book, one would dutifully quote from the congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, decisions of the Central Committee, and the speeches of leaders of the Communist Party.²⁰ The intellectual atmosphere of the philosophy department was mainly shaped by department heads, who at that time were appointed to office by higher levels of government, and only with the approval of the Communist Party. In the

¹⁸ A good overview of the development of the discipline of philosophy in Soviet times can be found in Ülo Matjus’s article “Die Geschichte der estnischen Philosophie 1940–1941 und 1944–1991: Philosophiegeschichte, Ästhetik und die Übersetzung philosophischer Werke” and in Rein Vihalemm’s article “Theoretical philosophy and philosophy of science in Soviet times: Some remarks on the example of Estonia, 1960–1990” in the same issue of *Studia Philosophica Estonica*.

¹⁹ “Trudy po filosofii” was a philosophical series of *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis*. Altogether 37 volumes were issued of “Trudy po filosofii.” In 1993 the publication of philosophical articles continued under the name *Studia Philosophica*. In 2008 it was replaced by an academic peer-reviewed journal *Studia Philosophica Estonica* which publishes scholarly articles in English, Estonian, and German.

²⁰ Eero Loone (1993, 136) has called this way of doing philosophy “Foreword Philosophy” which meant that the foreword of the article fulfilled all the necessary ideological requirements and then one continued to philosophize in a normal way.

1950s, the philosophy department was directed mostly by scholars recruited from Russia, whose main task was to sovietize and ideologize Estonia. The department was led by Dimitrij Shardin (1950–1951), Grigorij Sapozhnikof (1951–1953 and 1956–1957), Oskar Jüris (1954–1955), Mihhail Makarov (1954–1956 and 1960–1971), Otto Shtein (1958–1960) (Ruus et al. 1982, 240–241). The first head of the department in the Soviet times, who also was an original thinker, was Mihhail Makarov born in Narva and thus fluent in both Russian and Estonian. His best-known work is *Materialistliku dialektika kategooriad* [Categories of Materialist Dialectics] (1963).²¹ His book and teaching formed the understanding of metaphysics of the whole generation of scientists at University of Tartu. Makarov was interested in Continental philosophy and introduced also Heidegger's thought to Estonian philosophical community. Since the 1970s, the philosophy department was led by Estonian philosophers: Jaan Rebane (head of the department 1971–1986) and Eero Loone (head of the department 1986–1992).

During this time, many scholars of Jewish extraction, who could not find jobs in Russia, came to work at University of Tartu where the attitude towards Jewish scholars was much more liberal. This transfer was mutually beneficial, since these philosophers have exerted a remarkable influence on the growth and development of philosophy created by Estonians in the Estonian language through their works, lectures, and mentorship. In 1951 social philosopher Rem Blum (1925–1989) came to the philosophy department, and was to have a great influence on many prospective Estonian politicians and social scientists. For more than twenty years he led the philosophical club where active students and teachers met to discuss philosophical and socio-political topics. His main research interests were alienation and the theory of revolution in the second half of the 19th century (Blum 1969). Blum was an active anti-Stalinist thinker who was often severely criticized by the Soviet nomenclature.

In 1953, Leonid Stolovich (1929–2013) began, after a hopeless search for an academic job in Leningrad, working at the University of Tartu philosophy department, and became a renowned philosopher of art. He authored more than forty books and five hundred academic articles which were translated into more than twenty languages. Stolovich developed the so called “social” approach to the essence of art and the concept of the beautiful which stimulated a stormy discussion in Soviet aesthetics (Stolovich 1959; Stolovich

²¹ A fine review of the ideological pressure experienced by philosophers at the Tartu State University during the Soviet era is the chapter in Leonid Stolovich's memoirs entitled “The Chair of Philosophy” (2006). Estonian philosophy in the Soviet era and the conflicts between different groups are also colourfully recorded by Rein Ruutsoo (1991), Eero Loone (1993; 2002) and Mart Raukas (2002).

1961; Stolovich 1969; Stolovich 1972; Stolovich 1978). Stolovich also analyzed the place of the aesthetic values in the axiological hierarchy as well as the principles, structure and basic types of creative activity. In 1994 Stolovich published a systematic work on the history of aesthetic axiology from its beginning in ancient times to the mid-twentieth century. His *Pljuralizm v filosofii i filosofija pljuralizma* [Pluralism in the Philosophy and the Philosophy of Pluralism] (2005b) aims at 'systematic pluralism,' a term coined by Stolovich, which means the unity of dialectical opposites of pluralism and monism. Out of his hundreds of publications only about ten have been translated into Estonian. At the same time his influence to the Soviet Russian aesthetics was immense. Stolovich made also a significant contribution to the study of the history of Russian and Jewish philosophy and published an extensive overview of Russian philosophy in Moscow (Stolovich 2005a). In the 1980s Stolovich researched the history of the Kant archive of University of Tartu. In 1895 the archive had been loaned to Germany for the preparation of an edition of Kant's works. Stolovich discovered the archive in Berlin, and this led to the return of the archive to Tartu in 1995. He also discovered one of the original Kant's death masks among university's pathoanatomical collection and helped to transform it into one of the most exciting sights in Tartu.²²

Beginning in the 1960s, despite ideological restrictions, it was possible to do substantial academic work in philosophy, particularly in the philosophy of science, but also in aesthetics and the philosophy of history. Here one can draw a parallel with the developments in the Department of Russian language and literature of University of Tartu, where a prominent literary scholar and semiotician Yuri Lotman (1922–1993) set up his own Tartu-Moscow school of semiotics. Lotman had come to Tartu in 1950 because, similarly to Leonid Stolovich, he had failed to find a job in Leningrad due to anti-Semitism. In 1960s Lotman started to work on structural poetics. In 1963 Lotman wrote his early essay entitled "On the delimitation of linguistic and philological concepts of structure."²³ In Tartu he and his wife Zara Minz, also a famous literary scholar, found a fruitful atmosphere for their work. Although Yuri Lotman himself denied that he was doing philosophy, professor Mihhail Lotman finds that "the most fundamental constructs of the Tartu school reveal a clearly Kantian foundation" (Lotman 2000). According to Mihhail Lotman, his father Yuri Lotman was a Kantian and this was the reason why several influential Soviet scholars (F. Losev, M. Bakhtin) who were Hegelians, started to criticize Tartu structuralism.

²² It is assumed that four death masks were made, but only two have survived. One is in Berlin and the other one in Tartu (Stolovich 2011; Stolovich 2013).

²³ See Yuri Lotman's bibliography of his works in English (Kull 2011).

When in 1964 *Lectures on Structural Poetics*, which laid a foundation to the Tartu School, were published, followed by issues of *Proceedings on Sign Systems*, it became clear very soon that they were met by hostility not only by the bureaucrats associated with official circles but also by many serious authors. [...] The Russian mentality in general, and humanitarian culture in particular, adopted profoundly and organically the ideas of the philosophy of German Romanticism: of Schelling, Fichte and, first and foremost, of Hegel. [...] Political and other differences play practically no role here: Hegelianism is an organic part of the world view of Slavophiles and Westerners, religious thinkers and atheists, revolutionaries and reactionaries. It can even be asserted that nowhere else (including Germany) the fascination with Hegel had such a total character than in Russia. This fact, noteworthy in itself, becomes especially significant against the background of the similarly total non-acceptance of the other great German philosopher—Kant. (Lotman 2000)

Although later on Yuri Lotman got inspiration from many other philosophical theories, as well as from cybernetics, information theory and structural linguistics, the initial principles of Tartu structuralist semiotics were based on the Kantian grounding.

In 1960-s methodological seminars of different subjects often became places for interesting theoretical discussions and oases for free thinking. Summer schools of semiotics at Kääriku were distinguished not only for the novelty of scholarly ideas but also for their liberating atmosphere in general and became famous all over the Soviet Union. Also philosophical seminars of the Institute of Astrophysics and Atmosphere Physics of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR in Tõravere were famous for high-level presentations and critical discussions. These philosophical seminars were led by Gustav Naan, (1919–1994) a physicist and philosopher whose contribution to Estonian culture is considered to be highly controversial. Naan was born in Russian SFSR to a family of Estonian settlers and had come to Estonia after the Soviet occupation of the country. Although Gustav Naan was a loyal communist who published a number of Stalinist-oriented polemic pieces, treating Estonian history and politics from the pro-Soviet perspective, he was also admired for polemic papers which rejected the taboos of both the ‘traditional’ world-view and orthodox communist opinions on such matters.²⁴ His essay “Võim ja vaim” [Power and Spirit] (1969) which was first presented at Tõravere philosophical seminar, was one of the most discussed and quoted essays in Soviet Estonia. Gustav Naan also published several theoretical articles in the leading Russian philosophical journal *Voprosy filosofii* on the philosophical implications of the theory of relativity, and cosmology

²⁴ Gustav Naan, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gustav_Naan (last visited Apr. 9, 2016).

that caused intense debate in the same journal. Naan was editor-in-chief of the Estonian Soviet Encyclopedia.

Although the intellectual atmosphere of the 1960s became more liberal, genuine research in the central branches of philosophy—epistemology, metaphysics, and ethics was not pursued; ethics as such did not exist anywhere in the Soviet Union. As science was valued highly, many people became interested in the methodology and philosophy of science. In the 1970s the main topic of research at the Department of Philosophy at Tartu State University was theory of cognition on which several books and articles were published by Jaan Rebane, Rem Blum, Rein Vihalemm, Leonid Stolovich, Eero Loone, Paul Kenkmann, and Andrus Park. In 1980 this group of philosophers received the state prize for their work on the social determination of cognition (Ruus et al. 1982, 241–242).

The very first Estonian philosopher who began to publish regularly in international journals in the 1980s, was Andrus Park (till 1991 Andrus Pork) (1949–1994), who graduated from Tartu State University in 1974, and only two years later received his Ph.D. (Candidate of Science) in Philosophy from Vilnius University and in 1984 received his second degree, a Doctor of Science, focusing on the topic of historical explanations. He pointed to the problem that Hempel's nomological theory of explanation was rarely, if ever used, in the real writing of history. Park tried to create a typology of possible explanations used for describing the logic of historical events. His ideas about relative causal importance in history (Pork 1985) and the role of schemes (Pork 1982), examples (Pork 1989), lying and moral responsibility (Pork 1990) were well received by the international research community and opened doors of the leading universities in the world to him (Allik 2009). In the 1990s his interest shifted to contemporary political events and he became a Sovietologist who published in leading political science journals. His early death in 1994 contributed to the long delayed publication of his monograph *The End of Empire?* (2009).

When Estonia regained its independence in 1991 after the collapse of the USSR, philosophy became free from ideological pressure and regained its status as an independent discipline. The Department of Philosophy was established, with three Chairs: the history of philosophy (led by Ülo Matjus), practical philosophy (led by Eero Loone), and philosophy of science (led by Rein Vihalemm).

The first academic training of Eero Loone (b. 1935), professor of practical philosophy, and the head of the department at the time when Estonia regained its independence, was in history, which provided him with a good foundation for working with the philosophy of history. He elaborated an original formalized version of Marx's theory of socioeconomic formations,

investigated Marxism from the point of view of analytical philosophy of history and broached the subject of philosophical premises of the justification of rational choices. In 1988 he became professor of practical philosophy at University of Tartu. In 1989–1990 he had the opportunity to work at Clare Hall, Cambridge University in England. His steady and focused efforts directed toward finding international contacts and building a philosophical library of contemporary works in English helped the philosophy department to accomplish the necessary turn from ideologically based Soviet philosophy to a western-oriented philosophical culture. Loone's book *Soviet Marxism and Analytical Philosophies of History* (1992) aroused attention both in Great Britain and in Russia. He has been invited to contribute to several compendiums, e.g. on the social philosophy of Ernst Gellner (Loone 1996), nationalism (Loone 2000), and modern social thought (Loone 2003).

Here one should also mention Valdar Parve (b. 1948) who first did research on the philosophical concepts of consciousness and then specialized in medical ethics (Parve 1999; Parve 2001). Parve earned his first degree (M.D.) in 1974 in medicine at Tartu State University, he received his doctoral degree (Candidate of Science) in 1986 in philosophy at Latvian University and in 2005 he continued his medical studies, and started to practice as a psychiatrist in 2009.

Ülo Matjus (b. 1942), professor of the history of philosophy, received his first academic training in Estonian philology, which explains his ongoing interest in language, aesthetics and questions of the nature of art and the work of art. His candidate's dissertation was on the problem of intentionality in Roman Ingarden's aesthetics. This topic brought him to Edmund Husserl's phenomenology already in the 1970s. Later on he became interested in Heidegger's philosophy. As a Humboldt Scholar, he had the possibility to do research in Germany in the beginning of 1980s and become acquainted with other Heidegger scholars. He was fascinated by Heidegger's approach to art works and his thoughts on the ontology of Being (Matjus 1992). Matjus has translated several works by Martin Heidegger into Estonian and through his translations, essays and public lectures, he has influenced the way in which Estonians think about their language, culture, and way of living. His book *Kõrb kasvab* [The Desert Grows] (2004) is a collection of philosophical articles written at different times. He was the head of the department of philosophy from 1994–1996 and 2000–2004 and a founding professor at the Chair of Estonian intellectual history from 2012–2016. Under his initiative the first annual Estonian philosophy conference was organized in 2005 Tartu and this has become a tradition—this year already eleventh conference took place.

Another philosopher who had a major influence on the younger generation of Estonian philosophers of history is Tõnu Luik (b. 1941) who has

thorough knowledge of the philosophy of Antiquity, Hegel, and Heidegger. Luik's lectures on the history of philosophy were famous all over the university, some of them have been published in the volume *Filosoofiast kõnelda* [Talking about Philosophy] (2002).

Rein Vihalemm (1938–2015), professor of the philosophy of science was trained in the discipline of chemistry; his main research areas were philosophy of science, epistemology, chemistry and the history of chemistry, as well as the history of philosophy and science in Estonia. His book, *Ühe teaduse kujunemislugu. Keemia arenguteest* [The Shaping of a Science. On the Development of Chemistry] (1981) and his articles on Thomas Kuhn's approach to science (Vihalemm 2008) have been roadmaps and guides for many scholars and philosophers. In 2001, a collection compiled by Vihalemm entitled *Estonian Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* was published by Kluwer Press, thus placing the texts of Estonian philosophy of science in an international forum. Vihalemm held the view that in order to understand human cognition and science; one must understand the history of the development of science and its contexts at different moments in the past. To illustrate this, he used chemistry as his primary example. However, he also worked with more general question of what science does, and what it is. Vihalemm's model of ϕ -science facilitated the understanding of why physics has become the exemplary science, and how its example is not applicable to all sciences. In the beginning of the new millenium he created a concept of practical realism, which found several followers both in Estonia and in abroad.²⁵

5.3 Contemporary Estonian philosophy as a part of international philosophical discourse

5.3.1 A generational transition in University of Tartu

An important landmark of the transition period of the philosophy in Tartu was the foundation of the Analytic Philosophy Seminar, which began meeting in Tartu in 1991, at the initiative of physicist and writer Madis Kõiv. The Analytic Philosophy Seminar brought together young philosophers and those from other disciplines with an interest in philosophy.²⁶ Meeting once a week, the seminar familiarized itself with little-known core texts of analytic philosophy and learned critical thinking and argumentation skills. An

²⁵ See (Pihlström 2014).

²⁶ The seminar remains active to this day. Among the participants of the seminar there have been several physicists who started to write philosophy. For example, astrophysicist Undo Uus published an extensive monograph *Blindness of Modern Science* (1994), which won international acclaim. He provided a radical criticism of contemporary materialist approaches to mind and consciousness.

entire generation of young philosophers grew out of the seminar. The seminar also gave a strong impetus to translation of texts of analytic philosophy into Estonian.²⁷ Madis Kõiv's own understanding of Estonian philosophy should be sought in his meta-philosophical reflection entitled "Was ist des Esten Philosophie" (1999–2000). This work also contains the puzzles of Madis Kõiv's philosophical preferences. Although Madis Kõiv is renowned as the importer of analytic philosophy to Estonia, it seems that grappling with metaphysical concepts is closer to his heart. I think that just as it is an open question whether to consider Kõiv a literary writer, artist or philosopher, we do not know what kind of philosopher he is: a follower of Frege, Wittgenstein, Fichte, Kant, or Hegel or a highly original thinker who received inspiration from all of them.²⁸

As the borders of Estonia were opened, several young Estonian philosophers received scholarships to study abroad, bringing diverse insights about how philosophy is made and pursued back to Estonia. Margit Sutrop (b. 1963) received various scholarships to study at the universities of Oxford (1991), Oslo (1992) and Konstanz (1992–1996). She defended her Ph.D. degree at the University of Konstanz in 1997 with a dissertation entitled "Fiction and Imagination. The Anthropological Function of Literature,"²⁹ afterwards continuing her work at the same university as a researcher (1997–2001). Endla Lõhkivi (b. 1962) went to Sweden to study as a doctoral student at the Institute of Theory of Science at the University of Göteborg (1993–1996). She received her Licentiate degree in Philosophy from Göteborg University in 1999.³⁰ Eduard Parhomenko (b. 1966) studied at the graduate school in "Phenomenology and Hermeneutics" of the universities of Bochum and Wuppertal from 1994–1999. Roomet Jakapi (b. 1973) received a scholarship to study at Oxford University from 2000–2001.

In the beginning of the new millennium, a generational transition began in the Department of Philosophy at University of Tartu, with a vacancy in the

²⁷ Translations of the following texts were the outcome of discussions in the seminar: Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1996); and an anthology of basic texts in philosophy of language *Täendus, tõde, meetod. Tekste analüütilisest filosoofiast* [Meaning, truth, and method. Texts of analytic philosophy] (Kangilaski and Laasberg 1999). Participants in the seminar have produced numerous shorter translations, most of which have been published in the journal *Akadeemia*.

²⁸ A good overview of the different sides and activities of Madis Kõiv is provided in a volume edited by Jaan Kangilaski, Bruno Mölder, and Veiko Palge (2004).

²⁹ Margit Sutrop's Ph.D. dissertation was first supervised by Ülo Matjus and during her doctoral studies in Konstanz University by Gottfried Gabriel and Karlheinz Stierle. The revised thesis was published as a book by Mentis Verlag (Sutrop 2000).

³⁰ Endla Lõhkivi's Licentiate thesis "Reconciling Realism and Relativism: A Study of Epistemological Assumptions in Relativistic Sociology of Scientific Knowledge" was supervised by Aant Elzinga.

Chair of Practical Philosophy. After the retirement of Professor Eero Loone, the position was taken over by Margit Sutrop who came back from Germany to work as a professor of practical philosophy. In 2001 she founded an interdisciplinary Centre for Ethics at University of Tartu, the purpose of which is to pursue teaching and research related to ethics, as well as to interact with the public on relevant ethical topics.³¹ The centre unites different faculties and has an international board, led by professor Jürgen Mittelstrass from Konstanz University. The generous support of the *VolkswagenStiftung* enabled us to build a library collection in ethics, to publish textbooks, to organize conferences, to provide stipends to doctoral students, as well as to invite visiting professors. During its 15 years of existence, the Centre for Ethics has been involved in numerous international and local research projects. The Centre also currently holds a grant from the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research to promote public debate on values and organize teacher training on values education in schools.³² Margit Sutrop led the philosophy department from 2004–2012; from 2013–2015 she was the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and since 2016 she is the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities.

In 2004 Endla Lõhkivi took over the Chair for Philosophy of Science from Rein Vihalemm who continued to work as part-time Professor for Philosophy of Science. In 2009 Roomet Jakapi took over the Chair for History of Philosophy from Professor Ülo Matjus who continued to work part-time as Professor of History of Estonian Philosophy.

In the last twenty five years, Estonian philosophy has become much more professional and truly international. 13 Ph.D. degrees in philosophy have been defended at the University of Tartu: Jüri Eintalu, “The Problem of Induction: The Presuppositions Revisited,” supervised by Rein Vihalemm (2001); Roomet Jakapi, “Berkeley, Mysteries, and Meaning: A Critique of the Non-cognitivist Interpretation,” supervised by Ülo Matjus and Madis Kõiv (2002); Endla Lõhkivi, “The Sociology of Scientific Knowledge: A Philosophical Perspective,” supervised by Eero Loone (2002); Kadri Simm, “Benefit-sharing: An Inquiry Into Justification,” supervised by Margit Sutrop and Tuija Takala from Manchester and Helsinki University (2005); Marek Volt, “The Epistemic and Logical Role of Definition in the Evaluation of Art,” supervised by Margit Sutrop and Eero Loone (2007); Aive Pevkur, “Professional Ethics: Philosophy and Practice,” supervised by Margit Sutrop (2011); Toomas Lott, “Plato on Belief (*Doxa*). *Theaetetus* 184B–187A,” supervised by Roomet Jakapi and Ülo Matjus (2012); Jaanus Sooväli, “Decision as Heresy,”

³¹ See about the activities of the Centre for Ethics (Sutrop and Käpp 2011) and at <http://www.eetikakeskus.ut.ee/en/centre>.

³² See more about the values development programme at <http://www.eetika.ee/en>.

supervised by Ülo Matjus (2013); Ave Mets, “Normativity of Scientific Laws,” supervised by Rein Vihalemm and Piret Kuusk (2013); Vivian Bohl, “How Do We Understand Others? Beyond Theories of Mind-reading and Interactionism,” supervised by Bruno Mölder (2014); Uku Tooming, “The Communicative Significance of Beliefs and Desires,” supervised by Bruno Mölder (2014); Andrus Tool, “Objektiivsuse teema Wilhelm Dilthey vaimuteaduse-filosoofias” [The problem of objectivity in Wilhelm Dilthey’s philosophy of human sciences], supervised by Ülo Matjus (2014). In 2015 Janar Mihkelsaar received the Ph.D. in Philosophy from the University of Tartu and the Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Jyväskylä for the same thesis on “Giorgio Agamben and Post-Foundational Political Ontology.”³³

Five Ph.D. dissertations have been defended also in Tallinn: Ove Sander (2005) and Aleksander Veingold (2005) were supervised by Mart Raukas and received their Ph.D. degrees from Tallinn University. James Thurlow was supervised by Tõnu Viik and was awarded the Ph.D. degree for the thesis “Heidegger’s Concepts of Authenticity in *Sein und Zeit* and the Fourfold of Time in “Zeit und Sein” and their Relation to the Philosophical Tradition with Special Consideration of the Question of Political Responsibility” by the Estonian Institute of Humanities. Leo Luks was supervised by Arne Merilai and Tõnu Viik and received his Ph.D. degree for the thesis “*Ei kogemine nihilismi mõtlemises filosoofia ja kirjanduse ühtesulamisel*” [The Experience of the *Not* in Nihilist Thought in the Fusion of Philosophy and Literature] in 2010 from the Estonian Institute of Humanities of Tallinn University. Leo Luks’s dissertation was published as a book by Tallinn University Press (Luks 2015). Margus Ott was supervised by Daniele Monticelli and Peeter Mürsepp and received his Ph.D. degree for the thesis “Vägi. Individuatsioon, keerustumine ja praktika” [Potency. Individuation, Complexification and Practice] in 2014 from the Estonian Institute of Humanities of Tallinn University. Ott has published two volumes of essays entitled *Väekirjad* in Estonian (2015).

In addition to these 18 Ph.D. degrees awarded by Estonian universities, 10 University of Tartu graduates (with Master degrees) and 2 graduates of the Estonian Institute of Humanities have earned Ph.D. degrees from a range of outstanding universities throughout the world. 30 defended degrees is an impressive number, especially if we compare it to the first time of Estonian independence between the two world wars when only 3 doctoral dissertations in philosophy were defended.

From University of Tartu graduates, first Margit Sutrop (b. 1963) received her Ph.D. in 1997 from Konstanz University. Bruno Mölder (b. 1975) studied

³³ Janar Mihkelsaar’s Ph.D. dissertation was supervised by Ülo Matjus and Jüri Lipping from the University of Tartu and Mika Ojakangas from the University of Jyväskylä.

at Oxford University (1997–1998) and earned his M.Phil. from Cambridge University (1999–2000), and continued his Ph.D. studies in Konstanz University (2000–2007), spending one year (2004–2005) in between at Aarhus University in Denmark. In 2007 he defended his Ph.D. thesis entitled “Mind Ascribed. An Elaboration and Defence of Interpretivism”³⁴ in Konstanz. In 1999 Veiko Palge (b. 1971) was also awarded a scholarship to study at Konstanz University where he defended his Ph.D. thesis in philosophy in 2006, under the supervision of Jürgen Mittelstraß, on the topic “Time in Quantum Mechanics.” He was a visiting scholar at the University of Leeds from 2007 to 2009 and worked as a research assistant at the University of Tartu from 2008 to 2009. In 2013 he earned another Ph.D. degree in physics on “Relativistic Entanglement of Single and Two Particle Systems.” From 2013–2015 Veiko Palge held a postdoctoral research fellowship at Nagoya University in Japan. Currently, he is awaiting assignment as a Research Fellow at the University of Tartu to pursue a future career in physics. Eva Piirimäe (b. 1974) earned her M.Phil. in the history of political thought and intellectual history at the University of Cambridge (UK) from 1999–2000. From 2000–2006 she worked on her Ph.D. in the history of ideas at the same university, defending her thesis in Cambridge in 2006 on “Thomas Abbt (1738–1766) and the Philosophical Genesis of German Nationalism.”³⁵ Riin Sirkel (b. 1979) earned a Ph.D. degree in philosophy in 2010 from the University of Western Ontario with the dissertation on “The Problem of Katholou (Universals) in Aristotle.”³⁶ Indrek Männiste (b. 1975) spent his doctoral studies at the University of Auckland where he defended his Ph.D. degree in 2011 with the thesis on “Henry Miller and the Philosophy of the Inhuman Artist.”³⁷ Kristjan Laasik (b. 1977) received his Ph.D. degree in Philosophy from University of Miami in 2011 for the thesis “Fulfillment in Perception: A Critique of Alva Noë’s Enactive View.”³⁸ Edit Talpsepp (b. 1981) was awarded the Ph.D. degree in Philosophy in 2013 by the University of Bristol for the dissertation on “Species, Essentialism and Evolutionary Theory.”³⁹ Indrek Reiland (b. 1984)

³⁴ Bruno Mölder’s Ph.D. dissertation was supervised by Wolfgang Spohn. It was published as a book by John Benjamins (Mölder 2010).

³⁵ Eva Piirimäe’s Ph.D. dissertation was supervised by Istvan Hont. She is currently Associate Professor for Political Theory at Johan Skytte Institute for Political Studies at University of Tartu.

³⁶ Riin Sirkel’s Ph.D. dissertation was supervised by Henrik Lagerlund; Devin Henry. She is currently working as Junior Professor at the University of Vermont.

³⁷ Indrek Männiste’s Ph.D. dissertation was supervised by Matheson Russell. His thesis was published as a book by Bloomsbury (Männiste 2013). He has just finished his Postdoc Fellowship at the Institute of Cultural Studies and Arts of University of Tartu.

³⁸ Kristjan Laasik’s Ph.D. dissertation was supervised by Mark Rowlands. Kristjan Laasik is currently working as Assistant Professor at Shandong University.

³⁹ Edit Talpsepp’s Ph.D. dissertation was supervised by Samir Okasha. She is currently work-

spent his Ph.D. studies at the University of South-California and defended his Ph.D. degree in 2014 with the thesis on “Meaningfulness, Rules, and Use-Conditional Semantics.”⁴⁰ Mats Volberg (b. 1985) received his Ph.D. in 2015 from the University of York for the thesis “The Foundation and Nature of Contemporary Liberalism.”⁴¹

The BA graduate of the Estonian Institute of Humanities, Margus Vihalem spent his MA and Ph.D. studies at the Université Paris VIII and was awarded the Ph.D. degree by the same University in 2009 for the dissertation “Le concept de sujet et ses transformations dans quelques philosophies contemporaines.”⁴² The MA graduate of the Estonian Institute of Humanities, Regina Nino Mion defended her Ph.D. degree in 2014 on “Edmund Husserl’s Theory of Image Consciousness, Aesthetic Consciousness, and Art” at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. She was supervised by Tõnu Viik and Gianfranco Soldati.

In addition, during the last twenty-five years, philosophers with diverse native languages have come to work in Estonia; the books and articles they have published can also be considered a part of Estonian philosophy. This is particularly true of the German philosopher Daniel Cohnitz (b. 1974), who was invited to Tartu shortly after the defence of his doctoral dissertation on thought experiments (Cohnitz 2006) to build up the Chair of theoretical philosophy. Daniel Cohnitz worked at University of Tartu from 2006–2015, heading the philosophy department from 2013–2015; he left Tartu at the end of 2015 to become a professor at the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands. His research interests include metaphilosophy, epistemology, metaphysics, the philosophy of mind, language, mathematics, and logic, and related areas of philosophy and cognitive science. He has published on thought experiments (Cohnitz 2006, Cohnitz 2013) and intuitions in philosophy (Cohnitz and Haukioja 2015). Together with Peter Pagin and Marcus Rossberg he edited *Monism, Pluralism, and Relativism: New Essays on the Status of Logic* (2014) and with Teresa Marquez the special issue of *Erkenntnis* on “Disagreements” (2014). He started a series of the Gottlob Frege Lectures in Theo-

ing at the Institute of Philosophy and Semiotics as a Research Fellow.

⁴⁰ Indrek Reiland’s Ph.D. dissertation was supervised by Mark Schroeder, Scott Soames and Robin Jeshion. He is currently doing his postdoc research at Jean Nicod Institute in Paris. He has several publications on the philosophy of language and philosophy of mind (Reiland 2014; Reiland 2015b; Reiland 2015a).

⁴¹ Mats Volberg’s Ph.D. dissertation was supervised by Thomas Baldwin and Mónica Brito Vieira. He is currently working at the Institute of Philosophy and Semiotics as a Research Fellow.

⁴² Margus Vihalem’s Ph.D. dissertation was supervised by Alan Badiou. He is currently working as Lecturer at Tallinn University School of Humanities. He is mostly working on aesthetics (Vihalem 2011; Vihalem 2014).

retical Philosophy, which brought very eminent philosophers to speak in Tartu (Wolfgang Künne, Paul Boghossian, Simon Blackburn, Stephen Stich, David Papineau, John Perry, Wolfgang Spohn, François Recanati and Jennifer Saul). At his initiative, an English language MA programme in philosophy was founded at University of Tartu; this programme brings graduate students from various corners of the world to Tartu.

Over the past ten years, numerous guest professors and postdoctoral students have come to work in Tartu from Austria, England, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, and the USA. An Austrian philosopher, professor *emeritus* Hubert Schleichert (b. 1935) from Konstanz University taught moral and political philosophy in Tartu from 2000–2003. The Irish philosopher Paul McLaughlin (b. 1974), worked in Tartu from 2005–2013 and taught courses in political philosophy, supervised several MA dissertations, and published a book on anarchism (McLaughlin 2007). An Italian philosopher, Francesco Orsi (b. 1980) came to Tartu in 2010 and since then has taught metaethics and various courses on ethics and history of philosophy. His book, *Value Theory* (2015b) has been very well received by the international community of metaethicists. A British philosopher, Alexander Stewart Davies (b. 1984) joined the philosophy department of University of Tartu in 2014 after having completed his Ph.D. thesis “A Purpose for Context-sensitivity” in King’s College, London. His current research is about the implications of wide-spread linguistic context-sensitivity for linguistic communication (Davies 2014; Davies forthcoming a; Davies forthcoming b). In 2015 Siobhan Kattago (b. 1966) began working as a senior research fellow at the department of philosophy of University of Tartu. Before that (2007–2015) she taught philosophy in Tallinn University. She is an American who emigrated from New York to Estonia with her husband and children in 2001. Her research interests are political philosophy, existentialism, ethics, ancient philosophy, philosophy of history. Kattago has made her name internationally known as an editor of the *Ashgate Research Companion to Memory Studies* (Kattago 2015a). In 2015 a Canadian philosopher Aaron James Wendland (b. 1979) joined the Philosophy Department, after having completed his Ph.D. in Philosophy at Somerville College, Oxford. Aaron is the co-editor of *Wittgenstein and Heidegger* (Egan et al. 2013) and he has contributed to the volume on other logics (Wendland 2014), and written on Hegel’s critique of Kant (Wendland and Winkler 2015).

As of 1 January 2016, there are four chairs: history of philosophy (led by Roomet Jakapi), practical philosophy (led by Margit Sutrop), philosophy of science (led by Endla Lõhkivi), and theoretical philosophy (led by Bruno Mölder). Preparations are currently underway for a professorship in Estonian intellectual history.

The main research areas of the people working at the Chair of the History of Philosophy (Roomet Jakapi, Toomas Lott, Ülo Matjus, Eduard Parhomenko, Jaanus Sooväli, and Andrus Tool) are Ancient Greek philosophy, Early Modern philosophy, German Idealism, 19th century, phenomenology, hermeneutics, alongside 20th-century French philosophy and Estonian philosophy. The head of the Chair of the History of Philosophy is Roomet Jakapi, who is a Senior Research Fellow in the history of philosophy. He is a well-known Berkeley scholar who has published on various topics in Berkeley's philosophy (e.g. Jakapi 2009; Williford and Jakapi 2009; Jakapi 2010). He has also done research on John Locke and other early modern philosophers. He is editor-in-chief of the journal *Studia Philosophica Estonica*. Toomas Lott works on Plato's epistemology, especially his notions of knowledge and belief (Lott 2011). Currently, Lott is a Marie Skłodowska Curie fellow at NYU. Eduard Parhomenko specializes on the philosophy of Immanuel Kant and early Kantians, especially Gottlob Benjamin Jäsche and on the history of Estonian philosophy (Parhomenko 1993; Parhomenko 2002; Parhomenko 2004; Parhomenko 2015). Andrus Tool is an expert on Wilhelm Dilthey's hermeneutics (Tool 2007; Tool 2014). Jaanus Sooväli's research focuses on the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche and its reception in Estonia (Sooväli 2015b; Sooväli 2015a).

The research *foci* of the Chair of Practical Philosophy (Margit Sutrop, Siobhan Kattago, Külli Keerus, Francesco Orsi, Kadri Simm, Mats Volberg, Marek Volt, and Aaron Wendland) cover a wide range of topics from ethics, aesthetics and political philosophy to philosophy of education and philosophy of history. The head of this Chair is professor Margit Sutrop, whose research interests are value pluralism and the role of emotions in moral disagreements (Sutrop 2016), theories of fiction and imagination (Sutrop 2000; Sutrop 2002; Sutrop 2014), and anthropological foundations of morality, especially Adam Smith's theory of moral sentiments (Sutrop 2007). She has also written on ethical values and changing frameworks in bioethics (Sutrop and Käpp 2011), ethical aspects of genetic databases and new technologies, and on trust in science (Sutrop 2007). Currently she is leading the Philosophy Department's major research grant "Disagreements: A Philosophical Analysis" (2014–2019). Together with Kadri Simm, she has edited a special issue "From Informed Consent to No Consent: Health, Biomedical Research, and Security" of *Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics* (2011).

Kadri Simm (b. 1976) is Associate Professor of practical philosophy, and between 2014–2015 she was also head of the philosophy programme. She defended her Ph.D. degree in 2005. Her research interests are bioethics, political philosophy and gender studies. She has written on the concept of common good (Simm 2011), political discourses (Simm 2014), and the pa-

tient's right to know and not to know (Simm 2014). Senior Research Fellow Francesco Orsi's (b. 1980) main focus is in meta-ethics, precisely in the relation between normative concepts (what we ought to do) and evaluative concepts (what is good or bad, intrinsic and instrumental value). He also works on the questions of realism and objectivity in ethics (Orsi 2013; Orsi 2015a; Orsi 2015b). Senior Research Fellow Siobhan Kattago (b. 1966) is specializing on political philosophy and history of philosophy. She has written on Hannah Arendt (Kattago 2014), Martin Heidegger (Kattago 2015b), and on collective memory and representations (Kattago 2015a; Kattago 2015c). The research interests of Marek Volt (b. 1973) are aesthetics, philosophy of art and the philosophy of prostitution (Volt 2011). Külli Keerus is specializing on the environmental ethics, animal ethics, and professional ethics.

The main research topics of the Chair of the Philosophy of Science (Endla Lõhkivi, Jaana Eigi, Ave Mets, Edit Talpsepp, and Katrin Velbaum) include analysis of various aspects of science as practice, construction of theories, understanding of the laws of nature, methodology and meta-methodology of scientific research. The head of this Chair is Endla Lõhkivi, Associate Professor of philosophy of science. Her specialization is philosophy of science, epistemology, social epistemology, philosophical questions in science and technology studies, science and society, theoretical issues of science policy, gender and science, philosophy of chemistry (Lõhkivi 2011). She has written on epistemic injustice in research evaluation and gender stereotypes in science. She has edited a special issue "Gender, Physics and Workplace Culture" of *Science Studies* (2011) and a special issue "Towards a Practical Realist Account of Science" of *Studia Philosophica Estonica* (2012).

Ave Mets (b. 1980) is a philosopher of science who has mainly studied the conception of laws of nature in sciences, but also various aspects of scientific practice, e.g. measurement in natural sciences, technology and patent law (Mets and Kuusk 2009). Edit Talpsepp (b. 1981) is a philosopher of biology who studies the traditionally assumed conflict between evolutionary theory and the essentialist conception of biological species in the example of different cases from the context of human rights to the so-called folk biology (Talpsepp 2015).

The research of the Chair of theoretical philosophy (Bruno Mölder, Vivian Bohl, Alexander Stewart Davies, and Uku Tooming) focuses on the philosophy of mind, the philosophy of logic and language, and the methodology of analytic philosophy. This Chair of Theoretical Philosophy, as well as the Chairmanship of the Department of Philosophy, is currently led by Associate Professor Bruno Mölder. His research focus is on philosophy of mind, especially the interpretivist approach (Mölder 2010), time consciousness (Mölder 2014), and social cognition (Mölder 2016). He has also been

active in popularizing philosophy and in translating basic texts of analytic philosophy into the Estonian language. Vivian Bohl (b. 1981) focuses on the issues of philosophy of mind, cognitive science, and phenomenology, with a particular focus on social cognition (Bohl and Gangopadhyay 2014; Bohl 2015). In her doctoral dissertation “How Do We Understand Others? Beyond Theories of Mindreading and Interactionism” she outlined a new theoretical framework for social cognition research. Uku Tooming’s (b. 1986) Ph.D. dissertation investigated what we do when we think of one another in terms of beliefs and desires, and what the conditions for attributing those attitudes are. Currently he is focusing on desires and their attribution (Tooming 2014; Tooming 2015).

Philosophical research is done also in some other faculties of the University of Tartu. The philosophy of science research group also includes physicist Piret Kuusk (b. 1947), a close friend of the physicist and writer Madis Kõiv who initiated the Analytic Philosophy Seminar mentioned above, which educated the younger generation of Estonian philosophers in the analytic tradition of philosophy. Piret Kuusk is the senior research fellow and head of the laboratory of theoretical physics at University of Tartu. She has supervised several philosophical dissertations and has published several articles on the topics of philosophy of science (Kuusk 2001; Kõiv and Kuusk 2001; Mets and Kuusk 2009). She is also a member of the Council of the Institute of Philosophy and Semiotics.

Eva Piirimäe is currently Associate Professor for Political Theory at Johan Skytte Institute for Political Studies at University of Tartu. She has been involved in several research projects of the Department of Philosophy as well. She is doing research in political philosophy, philosophy of history, and Estonian intellectual history. Her main theoretical interests lie in history of political thought, particularly in theories of nationalism, patriotism and international order (Piirimäe 2015a; Piirimäe 2015b; Piirimäe 2015c). In the Faculty of Law Marju Luts-Sootak, Professor for Legal History has compiled an introduction to philosophy of law (Luts 1997) and is teaching philosophy of law at University of Tartu. Enn Kasak, Associate Professor for Methodology of Science has recently published an introduction to logic (Kasak 2014). Jaan Kivistik is responsible for the research in philosophy of religion at the Faculty of Theology. He is interested in the metaphysical approaches to freedom and the causality of the mental processes.

5.3.2 Philosophers working in other Estonian universities and research institutes

Philosophers have been employed also in various research and higher learning institutions in Tallinn. The Academy of Sciences of the Estonian S.S.R.

had a special department (section) of philosophy, founded in 1981 by Lembit Valt (1934–2008), a physicist and philosopher of science who first worked at University of Tartu (1957–1970) and then moved to Tallinn. According to Rein Vihalemm (2015) Lembit Valt laid the foundation for studies in the methodology of science in Estonia. He was the first in Estonia to start working on modelling and thought experiments; his monograph in Russian *Poznavatel'noe značenie model'nyx predstavlenij v fizike* [*The Cognitive Importance of Thought Models in Physics*] appeared in 1964. His special interest was globalisation. Together with Edgar Savisaar (who became a politician later on), he wrote a popular book *Gloabalprobleemid ja tulevikustsenaariumid* [Global Problems and Future Scenarios] (1983).

Another important philosopher of science, Ülo Kaevats (1947–2015) studied physics at University of Tartu and earned his Ph.D. degree from Vilnius State University. His dissertation on the methodology of science, entitled “Thought Models in the Formation and Functioning of Scientific Theory (Gnoseological Analysis)” was supervised by Lembit Valt. He worked first as a research fellow at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences (1973–1981) and later (1981–1989) as Associate Professor at the Department of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences. From 1989 until 2000 he also fulfilled the demanding responsibilities of the State Secretary and editor-in-chief of the *Estonian Encyclopedia*. From 1999 until 2011, when he retired, he worked as professor and Chair of Philosophy at Tallinn University of Technology. Ülo Kaevats' scholarly writings were mostly on topics in the philosophy of science and philosophy of technology. Kaevats was a member of the advisory board of *Studia Philosophica Estonica* and the Council of the Institute of Philosophy and Semiotics of the University of Tartu.

Mart Raukas (b. 1960) studied mathematics in University of Tartu, specialized on logic and philosophy and received his diploma in theoretical mathematics and doctoral degree (Candidate of Science) in 1990 in philosophy from the Latvian Academy of Sciences. From 1989 until 1994 he was a visiting scholar in Freiburg, Leuven and Oxford and became interested in the theory of language of the Medieval philosophers. From 1994–1998 he worked as Professor of Theoretical Philosophy at Tallinn Pedagogical Institute and from 1998–2006 he was Professor of Ethics and the Philosophy of Religion at Tallinn Pedagogical Institute (from 2005 Tallinn University). Subsequently he worked at the Institute of Theology of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church. His fields of research are: epistemology of mathematics, argumentation theory, decision theory and interpretation of the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas.

Another important centre for the pursuit of philosophy has been the Estonian Institute of Humanities, founded in 1988 and until 2005 was the

only private university in the field of humanities. In 2005 it joined Tallinn University, and its current designation is the Tallinn University School of Humanities. Here one can study philosophy in the cultural theory research track, which unites the fields of anthropology, philosophy, cultural studies, urban studies, and comparative literature. The main focus of the School for Humanities is the philosophy and theory of culture, with a preference given to philosophizing in the Continental tradition. The first Rector of the Estonian Institute of Humanities was Rein Raud (b. 1961), who from 2006–2011 was also Tallinn University's first Rector. Rein Raud graduated from the Leningrad State University in 1985 in Japanese Studies and earned a Ph.D. degree at the University of Helsinki in 1994 with a dissertation on "The Role of Poetry in Classical Japanese Literature: A Code and Discursivity Analysis." In 2006 he was appointed to the first Finnish professorship in Japanese. As a scholar, Raud has published on a wide range of subjects from cultural theory to pre-modern Japanese literature and philosophy (Raud 2006; Raud 2010; Raud 2013; Raud 2014; Raud 2015a; Raud 2015b), both in English and Estonian. He is also a well-known writer who has published six novels, four collections of poetry and several collections of short stories and plays.

The leading philosopher at the Tallinn University School of Humanities is Tõnu Viik (b. 1968), whose research foci are philosophy of culture, phenomenology, and the interpretation of the texts of Hegel, Heidegger, and Foucault. Tõnu Viik studied philosophy in Moscow, in Marburg, and the Free University of Berlin and received his doctoral degree in 2003 from Emory University in Atlanta with a dissertation on "Hegel's Philosophy of Culture." He became a professor of philosophy at the Estonian Institute of Humanities in 2003, also serving as the Rector of the Institute from 2004–2007. Currently he is writing on the issues of cultural phenomenology (Viik 2011a; Viik 2011b). Other philosophers working at Tallinn University are Andres Luure (b. 1959), Triin Kallas (b. 1972), and Margus Ott (b. 1975). Margus Vihalem (b. 1975) is lecturer and also the coordinator of the philosophical studies at Tallinn University School of Humanities.

In Tallinn University of Technology, the Chair of Philosophy is part of Ragnar Nurkse's Institute of Innovation and Governance. The Institute has five chairs, among them also the Chair for Philosophy. The responsibility of the Chair of Philosophy is to provide basic knowledge of philosophy and European intellectual history to students in all faculties, to teach logic and the ethics of engineering. Although one cannot pursue philosophy as a major field at the baccalaureate or Master's level at the Tallinn University of Technology, it is possible to defend a Ph.D. in philosophy there. The Chair is very international; its director is the Finnish philosopher Ahti-Veikko Pietarinen (b. 1971), whose main research foci are the philosophy of science, logic,

the philosophy of language (Pietarinen 2007), and Peirce's theory of signs (Pietarinen 2006). Other lecturers are Francesco Bellucci (b. 1983), Jelena Issajeva (b. 1987), Amirouche Moktefi (b. 1978), and Indrek Meos (b. 1969) who has compiled several text books in Estonian for teaching philosophy in secondary schools.

The Chair for Governance is led by Professor Wolfgang Drechsler (b. in Marburg in 1963), who is a Public Administration, Political Philosophy and Innovation Policy Scholar. Between 1993 and 2006, he was Professor of Public Administration and Government at the University of Tartu. From 2001–2006 he was also a member of the Board of the Centre for Ethics at University of Tartu. Wolfgang Drechsler is one of the last students of Hans-Georg Gadamer. He has analysed Gadamer's work and personality in several writings (Drechsler 1998; Drechsler 2003). Wolfgang Drechsler has also worked on Nietzsche and opened his influence on today's economy and society (Backhaus and Drechsler 2006). The Chair for Innovation Policy and Technology Governance is led by Professor Rainer Kattel (b. 1974), who is a student of Wolfgang Drechsler. His Ph.D. thesis on "The Constitution of the Polis" was defended in 2001 at University of Tartu and it showed his good knowledge of political philosophy and the classics. Today he is using his philosophical training in dealing with the social issues of biotechnology and innovation systems (Kattel et al. 2012).

Philosophical inquiry is also pursued at the School of Economic and Business Administration, Department of International Relations, which has been led since 2009 by Peeter Mürsepp (b. 1961). Peeter Mürsepp earned a Ph.D. degree at the University of Vilnius in 2002 with a dissertation entitled "The Concept of Structural Stability as the Core of Rene Thom's Philosophy," supervised by Lembit Valt. In 2002 he began teaching logic, methodology of science and globalisation at the International University of Audentes, which later joined the Tallinn Technical University. He is President of the Baltic Association for the History and Philosophy of Science and editor-in-chief of *Acta Baltica Historiae et Philosophiae Scientiarum* and *Baltic Journal of European Studies*. Mürsepp has published on the nature of science (Mürsepp 2013), on the history of philosophy of science in the Baltic region, and together with Leo Näpinen on the concept of chaos in contemporary science (Näpinen and Mürsepp 2002). In this department Mari Meel (b. 1947) has done research and taught business ethics (Meel and Saat 2002; Meel and Saat 2012).

In addition, philosophy is taught at the Estonian Academy of Arts, Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, and at the Estonian University of Life Sciences, where philosophy courses are part of various curricula, though philosophy is not offered as a major field. Philosophy as a major is currently

taught in two universities (University of Tartu and Tallinn University), but only at University of Tartu is it possible to study philosophy at all three levels (baccalaureate, Master's, and doctoral levels). Estonian Business School has a Centre for Business Ethics which is led by Mari Kooskora (b. 1969). Associate Professor Kooskora has done research on business ethics, ethical leadership and corporate social responsibility, corporate moral development and female leadership (Kooskora 2013; Kooskora 2015).

5.4 Estonian philosophy is also philosophy written by Estonians living abroad

Professional philosophers of Estonian extraction include researchers abroad who have published mostly in English or German. Most renowned among those philosophers who have had a career abroad is legal philosopher Ilmar Tammelo (1917–1982) whose books *Justice and Doubt. An Essay on the Fundamentals of Justice* (1959) and *Theorie der Gerechtigkeit* (1977) made a significant contribution to the theory of justice. His work on juristic logic in *Modern Logic in the Service of Law* (1978) included the fullest development of his 'counter-formula method' for identifying contradictions in the premises of legal arguments. Ilmar Tammelo was born in Narva, Estonia in 1917, where his father Richard-Friedrich Eichelmann was mayor of the city Narva. In 1935 Ilmar and his mother took the Estonian name Tammelo as their surname.⁴³ Ilmar Tammelo studied law at the University of Tartu but received his Ph.D. from Marburg University and did his second degree (*Habilitation*) at the University of Heidelberg with Gustav Radbruch and Karl Engisch. After World War II he moved to Australia where he first worked as research professor at the University of Sydney and then became professor at the University of Salzburg.⁴⁴ An Estonian legal scholar Peeter Järvelaid has done research on Ilmar Tammelo's legal philosophy (Järvelaid 2009), and has helped to make his work known in Estonia.

The only Estonian philosopher on whom there is an article in the *Dictionary of Modern American Philosophers* is Jüri Palviste *alias* Georg Kerner (1927–2001) who was a well-known scholar of ethics (Suter 2004). Jüri Palviste *alias* George Cyril Kerner was born in Tartu, Estonia in 1927. He lost his father and older brother during World War II. He followed the retreating German Army to the west and so came to Germany where he took some courses at the University of Cologne from 1946 to 1951 and at the University of Munich from 1956 to 1957. Later on he moved to the United States, where he earned a BA in 1950 and an MA in Philosophy in 1951 at Michigan

⁴³ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/tammelo-ilmar-15682>.

⁴⁴ Ilmar Tammelo, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ilmar_Tammelo (last visited Apr. 9, 2016).

State University. He then entered Harvard University, where he received his Ph.D. in philosophy in 1960, writing a dissertation on “Some Recent Ethical Theories and a Performatory Approach to Moral Language.” He became first an Assistant Professor of Philosophy and in 1968 Professor of Philosophy at Michigan State University. He wrote two important books: *The Revolution in Ethical Theory* (1966) and *Three Philosophical Moralists: Mill, Kant, and Sartre* (1990) and published several influential papers in first-ranking philosophical journals (Kerner 1962; Kerner 1970; Kerner 1971; Kerner 1982).

Toomas Karmo’s (b. 1953) concern has been in philosophical logic. He received his D.Phil. from Oxford University for the doctoral thesis “Occurrences, Pseudo-Occurrences, Propositions, and Individuals” in 1979 in which he discussed formal-language adverbs, quantified tense logic, and formal ontology. He held various university teaching and research positions at Monash University (Melbourne, Australia), University of New England (Armidale, Australia), National University of Singapore, University of Notre Dame (USA), University of Victoria (Canada), York University (Canada). He has several publications in analytical philosophy in first-ranking academic philosophy journals (Karmo 1983; Karmo 1985; Karmo 1988).

Phenomenology has been the concern of Vootele Vaska (b. 1930). Vootele Vaska was born in Tallinn and emigrated with his family at the age of 14. He completed his secondary education in Göttingen, and entered then the University of Bonn in Germany. In 1951 he continued his studies at Columbia University in New York and Baldwin Wallace College in Ohio. He earned a MA in philosophy at Columbia University for the thesis on Nietzsche’s concept of nihilism. He wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on “The Concept of Being in the Philosophy of Gustav Teichmüller” which he defended at Columbia University in 1964. He taught philosophy for 31 years at Waynesburg private university, a Christian college in Pennsylvania. In 1995 Vootele Vaska returned to Estonia. Here he founded the Gustav Teichmüller Scholarship for University of Tartu students of philosophy.⁴⁵

During recent years several young Estonian philosophers who have earned their first degrees in Philosophy at University of Tartu, have stayed abroad after having received their Ph.D. degree from universities outside Estonia. Riin Sirkel (b. 1979), who has received the above mentioned Gustav Teichmüller Scholarship is now working as an Assistant Professor at Vermont University, after having received her BA and MA from the University of Tartu and Ph.D. from the University of Western Ontario. Her areas of interest are in Ancient Philosophy and metaphysics, especially Aristotelian metaphysics and epistemology (Sirkel 2011; Sirkel and Tahko 2014). She also has a research interest in Medieval Philosophy and the Philosophy of the

⁴⁵ Vootele Vaska, https://et.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vootele_Vaska (last visited Apr. 9, 2016).

Ancient Greek Commentators (200–600 AD), which represents the missing link between Ancient and Medieval Philosophy.

As we can see, to date the participation of Estonians in the international world of philosophy has been self-evident. Estonia has its own professional philosophers and its professional philosophy; philosophy that has been articulated by Estonians in a variety of languages forms a part of international philosophy. But the question remains, to what extent can we talk about philosophy that Estonia can call its own?

6. Conclusions

We have seen that if we consider Estonian philosophy to be only that which has been written by philosophers of Estonian extraction, then we need to give up many of the great men of our past, as well as strong contenders in the present. Their company would be even smaller if we regarded Estonian philosophy to be only the philosophy written in the Estonian language, because many Estonian philosophers have written their works in a larger world language. It is my view that the language in which one philosophizes should not be determinative. In all ages and places, people have chosen to philosophize in a language that is broadly dispersed and widely accessible.

What, then, should be the nature of an article entitled “Estonian philosophy”? If, by Estonian philosophy we have in mind a philosophy that is originally and purely Estonian, that is known by name as Estonian philosophy, then at this point such does not exist. But if by Estonian philosophy we mean philosophy created in Estonia, regardless of the practitioners’ ethnicity and the language in which they wrote, the history of our philosophy is very rich and diverse. We have seen that people of many different ethnicities have created philosophy in Estonia, articulating their philosophical ideas in Latin, German, Swedish, Russian, English, and Estonian. And if we broaden our concept of Estonian philosophy to also include the work of philosophers of Estonian extraction living abroad, then one could write quite a respectable article on the topic.

The purpose of this article was not to provide an overview entitled “Estonian philosophy.” Instead, I hoped to inquire into what such an article should consider, and how, if one should ever endeavour to write it.⁴⁶

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⁴⁶ For other attempts to provide an overview of the development of Estonian philosophy see (Parhomenko 2002; Parhomenko 2004; Cohnitz and Sutrop 2014).

whom I would like to thank wholeheartedly for her help. I would also like to thank Jüri Allik, Riho Altnurme, Meelis Friedenthal, Roomet Jakapi, Siobhan Kattago, Liina Lukas, Endla Lõhkivi, Bruno Mölder, Eduard Parhomenko, Pärtel Piirimäe, Rein Raud, and Urmas Sutrop for their helpful comments and suggestions and Laura Lilles-Heinsar for her help with references. The article was supported by institutional research grant IUT20-5 from the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research and by the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies, TK145).

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