

# MINORITY-LANGUAGE PUBLISHING IN THE REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA DURING THE PRE-WAR YEARS (1918–1940) AND NOWADAYS

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*The article includes an overview about the publishing and book production in minority languages in Estonia during the periods of the independent Republic of Estonia – in 1918–1940 since 1991 with Estonian reestablished as the official language. The treatment is based on the statistical data calculated on the basis of the Estonian National Bibliography database and on the thematic analysis of numerous research works.*

*Russians and Germans were the largest minority groups in Estonia in 1918–1940. They were able to establish and operate publishing houses specializing correspondingly in Russian or German-language production. The German-language book title output was higher than in Russian, which was partly due to the role of German in science at that time. The smaller ethnic groups of Jews and Swedes mainly published periodicals.*

*Only one historical minority – the Russian – survived through World War II and post-war period, making the Russian-language publishing the only enduring minority-language publishing venture in the present-day Estonia.*

KEYWORDS: *minority, publishing, book production, publishing houses, Estonia.*

## INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, migrations have influenced the population in the Estonian territories and, consequently, have left their mark on the composition of book production published in Estonia. Actually, Estonian-language publications achieved the dominant position only during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, for centuries the majority of books were actually published in the minority languages, predominantly in German.

The aim of this article is to explore book production in the minority languages during the periods of independence – the years 1918–1940 and the present-time Republic of Estonia as of 1991. These are also the periods, when Estonian was/has been the official language of the country.

The article characterises the situation in the minority-language book production during the abovementioned periods concentrating on the following aspects: statistical data on the book title output in the leading minority languages, the main features of its thematic and typological composition as well as the leading publishers. These issues have been studied in the legal, economic and social context of the period.

The statistical analysis as well as the study of the thematic and typological composition of book production in minority languages is based on the data derived from the Estonian National Bibliography database (<http://erb.nlib.ee/>). The search function of the database enables to limit the results by languages as well as years and places of publication. The search has been carried out for the years 1918–1939, omitting the year 1940 when Estonia in June was occupied by the Soviet Union. Not all the bibliographic records on the book production in foreign languages have been entered into the database yet. This concerns especially the publications in the German language. However, it is possible to identify the proportions of publications in different languages, establish the typology and themes of the books issued in different languages and thus draw the conclusions on the role of various languages in the book production of these years. The statistical data on the number of titles includes the publications that are entirely in a certain language as well as books and brochures with parallel texts and publications where part of the text is in the language that is the object of the study.

The bibliographic data on the publications issued in Estonia after the restoration of the independent Republic of Estonia in 1991 is fully included in the Estonian National Bibliography database and makes it possible to establish the statistics of book production in different languages as well as to study its composition.

The research uses various monographs and articles as sources for establishing the features of the social and cultural life of the minorities during the years 1918–1940 and since 1991. The data on various trends and actors of publishing in minority languages is obtained from articles issued in paper and online newspapers as well as homepages of institutions and societies. The analysis of textual sources uses thematic analysis<sup>1</sup> that enables to establish the themes or/and subthemes relevant to the aim of the study. The matrix of themes included different minority languages (German, Russian, Swedish, etc.) as the main categories that were further divided into specific subthemes, for example, education system, publishers, societies or other minority organizations, etc. The textual analysis was combined

1 BRYMAN, Alan. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford; New York, 2008, p. 554–555.

with the statistical data on book title output. Thus it was possible to characterise the main features of publishing and book production in the minority languages both quantitatively and qualitatively.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The most studied topic of the minority publishing in Estonia is the Russian-language book and periodical production in the Republic of Estonia in 1918–1940. This phenomenon has been treated in the works by the book historian Mare Lott and the literary scholar Sergei Issakov. Mare Lott studied the main features of Russian-language book production and its leading publishers in her Russian-language article published in 1999<sup>2</sup>. Sergei Issakov is the author of numerous works on the Russian-language culture of Estonia<sup>3</sup> which include data on the Russian writers and other cultural figures whose works were published in Estonia or who initiated various publishing ventures. He has also written an overview of the Russian-language publishing in Estonia in 1918–1940 for the collection of articles, dedicated to the Year of the Estonian Book<sup>4</sup>. Aurika Meimre and Irina Belobrov'tseva have written numerous works on literary culture of Russian emigrants in Estonia, including a joint article giving an overview of the cultural life of Russian emigrants in many European countries, including Estonia<sup>5</sup>.

The publishing activities of the German community in Estonia in 1918–1940 have been studied by Birgit Fernengel<sup>6</sup> whose article mainly concentrates on the German-language press, but also mentions the basic facts of book publishing, above all, the role of the firm *Kluge & Ströhm*. Similar to the treatment of the Russian-language culture, more research has been done by literature scholars on the literary processes during the years 1918–1940. For example, Liina Lukas<sup>7</sup> has studied the works of several Baltic-German authors who had stayed to live in Estonia after 1918, briefly discussing the publishing of these texts. Her other article analyses the position of the German language in the society and culture of these years<sup>8</sup>. The monograph by Kaido Laurits<sup>9</sup> includes a detailed study on the activities of the German cultural self-government in 1925–1940, that is useful as background information for the research of German-language publishing.

The third largest minority in Estonia in 1918–1940 were the Swedes whose cultural history has been presented in an article written by Stig Örjan Ohlsson<sup>10</sup> as well as in the research works dedicated to the history of Swedish-language education in Estonia, for example, the article by Ruth Laidmets<sup>11</sup>. The publications in the Swedish language that have been published in Estonia have been listed in the bibliography compiled by Kaisa Saarts as part of her Bachelor's work<sup>12</sup>.

Research on the publishing activities in minority languages in the Republic of Estonia since 1991 is only beginning. The existing research work concentrates on the activities of the Russian minority. One of the first studies on the Russian-language book production is the Bachelor's work by Relika Meriloo, treating the years 1991–1996<sup>13</sup>. The article by Aile Möldre<sup>14</sup> analyzes the composition and publishers of Russian-language books issued in Estonia in 1991–2005. The distribution of Russian-language books was studied in the Master's thesis by Triin Raavel<sup>15</sup>, dealing both with the network of bookshops and libraries mediating books in the Russian language. The research on the publishing activities in other minority languages is practically missing.

2 ЛОТТ, Марэ. О русской книгоиздательской деятельности в Эстонии в 1918–1940. *Acta Universitatis Scientiarum Socialium et Artis Educandi Tallinnensis. A, Humaniora*, 1999, no. 16, p. 106–114.

3 ИСАКОВ, Сергей. *Культура русской эмиграции в Эстонии 1918–1940: статьи. Очерки. Архивные публикации*. Tallinn, 2011, 367, [1] p.; ИСАКОВ, Сергей. *Очерки истории русской культуры в Эстонии*. Таллинн, 2005; ИСАКОВ, Сергей. *Русские в Эстонии: 1918–1940: историко-культурные очерки*. Тарту: Компу, 1996.

4 ISSAKOV, Sergei. Venekeelne raamat Eestis 1918–1940. In *Raamatu osa Eesti arengus*. Tartu, 2001, p. 325–331.

5 BELOBROVTSEVA, Irina; MEIMRE, Aurika. Sõdadevaheline vene emigratsioon suures ilmas ja väikeses Eestis. *Methis*, 2015, no. 15, p. 28–46.

6 FERNENGEL, Birgit. Das Deutsche Presse- und Verlagswesen. In *Die Deutsche Volksgruppe in Estland während der Zwischenkriegszeit und aktuelle Fragen des deutsch-estnischen Verhältnisses*. Hamburg; [Tallinn], 1997, S. 141–181.

7 LUKAS, Liina. Ühest hääbuvast maailmast: baltisaksa kirjanduslikke identiteedikontsepte Eesti Vabariigi ajal. *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 2002, no. 3, p. 153–164.

8 LUKAS, Liina. Balti kirjakuultuuri mitmekeelsest loomust. In *Rahvuskultuur ja tema teised*. Tallinn, 2008, p. 23–33.

9 LAURITS, Kaido. *Saksa Kultuuroromavalitsus Eesti Vabariigis 1925–1940: monograafia ja allikad*. Tallinn: Rahvusarhiiv, 2008.

10 OHLSSON, Stig Örjan. Schweden und Schwedisch in Estland. In *Sprachen in Finnland und Estland*. Wiesbaden, 1999, p. 137–154.

11 LAIDMETS, Ruth. Eestirootsi harimise lugu: eestirootslaste haridusselts Svenska Odlingens Vänner (Rootsi Hariduse Sõbrad) enne Teist maailmasõda Eestis. In *De skandinaviska länderna och Estland = Skandinaaviamaad ja Eesti = The Scandinavian countries and Estonia: proceedings of the International Conference dedicated to Prof. Stig Örjan Ohlsson on his 60th birthday in December 1999 at the University of Tartu, Estonia*. Tallinn, [2002], p. 116–133.

12 SAARTS, Kaisa. *Eestirootslaste kirjakuultuur : bibliograafia*: [unpublished Bachelor's work]. Tallinn: Tallinna Pedagoogikaukool, 2002.

13 MERILOO, Relika. Venekeelne raamatutoodang Eestis 1991–1996 : [unpublished Bachelor's work]. Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool, 2005.

14 MÖLDRE, Aile. Books for a Minority: Russian-Language Publishing in Estonia. *The International Journal of the Book*, 2008, vol. 5, no. 2, p. 93–100.

15 RAAVEL, Triin. Venekeelse raamatu levik Eesti raamatukaubanduslikes ettevõtetes ning raamatukogudes : [unpublished Master's thesis]. Tallinn, 2012.

MINORITY LANGUAGES IN THE BOOK  
PRODUCTION IN 1918–1940

Estonia became an independent state in 1918. During the pre-World War II years, Estonians formed 88.1% of the entire population. The rest was made up mainly of five minority nations, each having over 3000 people. The biggest minority groups were the Russians (8.2% or 92 656 people according to the 1934 census), Germans (1.5%, 16 346 people) and Swedes (0.68%, 7641 people), whereas Latvians and Jews made up less than 0.5%<sup>16</sup>.

A significant landmark in the Estonian ethnic policy of that time was the Cultural Autonomy of Ethnic Minorities Act, passed in 1925. On this basis, the German and Jewish minorities established their cultural self-governments, the duties of which included management and supervision of public and private educational institutions of the national minority, issues of culture, sports and guidance for young people. The phenomenon was exceptional in Europe and earned a great deal of international acclaim. The Russians and Swedes were satisfied with protection based on traditions, the Constitution and local governments. The majority of these ethnic groups were peasants and artisans, who were not especially active in politics and social life, so they did not establish their cultural self-governments. For the Russian community, the same role was, to a certain extent, played by the Union of Russian Educational and Charitable Societies founded in 1923<sup>17</sup>. The favourable attitude towards the minorities started to change in the second half of the 1930s, which was reflected, for example, in the pressure for wider use of the Estonian language in the minority schools, the compulsion to register a child from a mixed marriage as an Estonian if the father was Estonian, etc<sup>18</sup>.

Book publishing had a successful launch during the first years of independence favoured by the needs of an independent state for a wide range of printed matter. The number of publishing houses increased rapidly, reaching 53 publishers in 1924. The world economic crisis of 1929 had a notable negative impact on the whole book industry, leading to the bankruptcies of numerous publishing firms. However, by the middle of the 1930s, the situation had improved and there were already 75 publishing houses in Estonia in 1939. The annual book title production also demonstrates considerable growth, increasing from 658 titles in Estonian in 1920 to 1660 titles in Estonian in 1939. It is noteworthy that the crisis primarily led to the decline of the print run of books, whereas there was only a minor decrease in the output of titles as the publishers attempted to attract the public with new and diverse content. Estonian-language belles-lettres was printed in thousands of copies in the beginning of the 1920s, ten years later the print run of

original prose decreased to 500–750 and for poetry this number was even smaller. The print run of textbooks was reduced to 1500–2000 copies, whereas the usual edition size had been 4000–5000 copies. Total title output of books in the Estonian language in 1918–1939 was 23 534 titles<sup>19</sup>.

According to the data of the Estonian National Bibliography database, 1034 titles of books and brochures (partly or entirely) in the Russian language were published in Estonia in 1918–1939, whereas the number of titles in the German language is 1655. The production of books in other minority languages remained under one hundred titles. The presence of the Latvian language in the publications published in Estonia is limited to parallel texts in concert programmes, advertising publications and other applied materials.

The Baltic Germans, the former ruling class, had lost its privileges and land. They had turned into a minority, although the most influential minority in the Republic of Estonia. Their role in economy, finance, social life, science and culture was far greater than their proportion in the population. According to the 1934 census, the Germans formed more than one fifth of all the intellectuals of Estonia<sup>20</sup>.

The position of this minority is also reflected in the large number of various publications of applied literature (timetables, programmes, catalogues, instructions, advertising materials, etc.) issued with parallel texts in Estonian, German and often also in the Russian language (the so-called three local languages).

The highly organized Germans established numerous societies and other organisations. One hundred twenty eight societies belonged to the Union of German Societies (*Verband Deutscher Vereine in Estland*) in 1939<sup>21</sup>. Most of these bodies compiled different publications that reflected their activities – statutes, annual reports, albums, programmes of concerts, exhibitions and sports events.

16 KUDDO, Arvo; LAAS, Kalju. Rahvuskoosseis. In *Eesti Entsüklopeedia, 11, Eesti - üld*. Tallinn, 2002, p. 253; Eestirootslased. In *Eesti Entsüklopeedia veebis* [interactive] [accessed 10 September 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.entsyklopeedia.ee/artikkel/eestirootslased2>>.

17 LAURITS, Kaido. Ethnic minorities in the Republic of Estonia before the World War II. In *Estonica: Encyclopedia about Estonia* [interactive]. Tallinn : Eesti Instituut, 2012 [accessed 28 October 2015]. Access through Internet: <[http://www.estonica.org/en/Ethnic\\_minorities\\_in\\_the\\_Republic\\_of\\_Estonia\\_before\\_World\\_War\\_II/](http://www.estonica.org/en/Ethnic_minorities_in_the_Republic_of_Estonia_before_World_War_II/)>.

18 MÜÜRPEAL, Evelin; NELJAS, Aap. Kul-

tuurautonoomia (1925–1940 ja alates 1993). In *Eesti rahvaste raamat: rahvusvahemused, -rühmad ja -killud*. Tallinn, 1999, p. 271.

19 MÖLDRE, Aile. Publishing and book production in the Republic of Estonia during 1918–1940. In *Eestikeelne raamat 1918–1940. I, 1-he – Kandla*, [kirjed] 1-8660. Tallinn: Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu, 2012, p. 65–66.

20 JANSEN, Ea. Baltisakslased. In *Eesti rahvaste raamat: rahvusvahemused, -rühmad ja -killud*. Tallinn, 1999, p. 54.

21 LEVIN, Mai. Baltisakslased Eesti Vabariigis 1920.–1930. aastail. *Tuna*, 2011, no. 1, p. 147.

Many German learned societies that had been established already during the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries continued their activities in the Republic of Estonia. Among them was, for example, the Livonian Public Welfare and Economic Society (*Livländische Gemeinnützige und Ökonomische Sozietät*), an agricultural society established in 1792. In 1929, botanist Edmund Spohr founded the Institute of Scholarly Research of Homeland (*Institut für Heimatforschung*) that operated by the abovementioned society in Tartu<sup>22</sup>. The institute occupied the central place in the scientific activities of the Baltic German scholars between the two world wars and compiled its serial publication “Abhandlungen des Instituts für wissenschaftliche Heimatforschung an der Livländischen Gemeinnützigen und Ökonomischen Sozietät” (1936–1939). Several societies concentrated on historical research. Among them was the Estonian Literature Society (*Ehstländische Literarische Gesellschaft*) established in Tallinn in 1842 and known for publishing the serial “Beiträge zur Kunde Ehst-, Liv- und Kurlands” (1868–1939). The Pärnu Society of Historical Research (*Pernauer Alterthumforschende Gesellschaft*) in its turn published the serial “Sitzungsberichte der Pernauer Altertumforschenden Gesellschaft” (1899–1939).

The Baltic-German Naturalists’ Society, which had been associated with the University of Tartu since 1878 (*Naturforscher-Gesellschaft bei der Universität Dorpat*), became the leading centre of research in natural sciences in Estonia, joining both the German and Estonian scholars. Estonian scientists took over the management of the society in 1923, but its publications continued to be published in the German language<sup>23</sup>. The situation was similar in the Learned Estonian Society (*Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft*) which was managed by the Estonian scholars since the beginning of the 1930s. The proceedings of the society under the title “Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft” (1840–1943) were published in the German language<sup>24</sup>. Thus it was not only the Baltic German scientists who wrote their works in German, but also Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian and other scholars, who worked at the University of Tartu or other academic institutions. For example, 32% of the doctoral theses that were maintained by the lecturers of the university had been written in German<sup>25</sup>. German was the prerequisite language for scientists, especially in Central and Eastern Europe at that time and it was a natural choice for the scholars who were willing to distribute their ideas to a wider audience. Consequently this part of the German-language book production is not, in entirety, connected only with the existence of a German-language minority, but is due to the fact that the German language had become the *lingua franca* of the science community.

Scholarly publications form a large proportion of the books published in the German language – 312 titles of books and brochures, that is, 19% of the total book

title production in German in 1918–1939. It is also worth mentioning that numerous articles and reports previously published in the scholarly periodicals were issued as offprints. Their large number – 626 titles in 1918–1939 – further demonstrates the vigor of the academic life of Estonia and the role of the German language in it.

The main concern of the German cultural self-government was to preserve and develop the German-language education and this aim was successfully achieved. There were 32 German public and private schools in Estonia in 1939<sup>26</sup>. The Foreign Office of Germany started to support these schools already from 1920 by sending books and other learning resources. However, these textbooks did not correspond to the local study programmes. The use of local textbooks was also favoured by the Estonian Ministry of Education<sup>27</sup>. Thus the Education Board (*Schulamts*) of the German self-government initiated and subsidized the publishing of German-language textbooks in Estonia. The success of these endeavors, however, was rather limited – according to the national bibliography database, only ten textbooks were issued in 1918–1939.

Publishing of German-language belles-lettres was also rather modest, amounting to 146 book titles (9% of all the titles in German) in 1918–1939. A notable proportion of these books – 48 titles – were special editions for the Estonian-language schools published in the series of literature in foreign languages by the publishing house *Loodus* (Nature) in 1924–1939. *Loodus* was the largest publishing house in pre-war Estonia, situated in Tartu. There were also other similar series, for example, “Uuemad Saksa kirjanikud koolidele” (New German Writers for Schools) published in 1921–1936 by three different publishers, mainly by *Tallinna Eesti Kirjastus-Ühisus* (Estonian Publishing Society in Tallinn) (17 titles).

As a result of the departure of many well-known German authors to Germany after 1918, the range of the Baltic German writers decreased in Estonia. At the same time, the unitary Baltic German literary field continued to exist, regardless of the emergence of the republics of Estonia and Latvia. It was widespread that the Baltic German writers who lived in Estonia published their works in Riga or

22 SPOHR, Edmund Karl. *Baltisches Biographisches Lexikon digital* [interactive] [accessed 20 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.bbl-digital.de/eintrag/Spohr-Edmund-Karl-1887-1964/>>.

23 Ajalugu. In *Eesti Loodusuurijate Selts* (Estonian Naturalists' Society) [interactive] [accessed 10 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.elus.ee/>>.

24 LEPPIK, Lea. Teadusasutused Eestis 1918–

1940. *Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 2008, no. 4, p. 349.

25 LÖBU, Terje. Eesti ülikooliks võõrkeelte abil. In *Ülikool ja keelevahetus*. Tartu, 2014, p. 59.

26 LAURITS, Kaido. Saksa Kulturomavalitsuse kooliameti tegevus baltisaksa koolieli korraldamisel Eesti Vabariigis 1918/1925–1940. *Tuna*, 2006, no. 3, p. 54.

27 LAURITS, Kaido. *Saksa Kulturomavalitsus Eesti Vabariigis 1925–1940: monograafia ja allikad*. Tallinn, 2008, p. 113.

the authors who lived in Latvia preferred a publishing house in Tallinn<sup>28</sup>. The authors who had moved to Germany were also acknowledged as bearers of the Baltic identity<sup>29</sup>. On the other hand, it was the ambition of the Baltic German authors to publish their works in Germany and thus their best creations were often sent there. For example, the collection of poems “Im Wandel der Zeiten” by one of the most well-known Baltic German poet who lived in Estonia, Christoph Mickwitz, was published in Dresden in 1922<sup>30</sup>. Poetry dominated among the belles-lettres published in the German language in Estonia, but the literary level of these publications was rather modest.

Among the wide range of different institutions which published some titles of German-language books there were a couple of publishing houses specializing in the German-language production in Estonia. *Kluge und Ströhm* and its affiliate company *Wassermann* were the leading publishers in Tallinn. The firm *Kluge & Ströhm* had operated under this name since 1848<sup>31</sup>, combining bookselling and publishing. Works on history and culture of the Baltic provinces, textbooks as well as theological books had been the core production of the publishing house for decades. These types also dominated the production in 1918–1939. The majority of books were published under the imprint *Wassermann* (49 titles), 24 titles were published by *Kluge & Ströhm*. The new social context widened the publishing activities and led to the publications like, for example, the German literary history for the Estonian secondary schools in three volumes “Kurzgefasste deutsche Literaturgeschichte für estnische Mittelschulen”, published by *Wassermann* in the German language in 1922 (re-prints in 1924–1925).

The most productive publisher in Tartu was *Krüger’s* bookshop and publishing house. The firm had been established in 1892 by Johann Krüger. It operated as a private limited company in the pre-war Republic of Estonia as of 1926<sup>32</sup>. The firm issued scholarly works and belles-lettres, including a short-lived series “Estnische Reihe” (Estonian Series) of the translations of Estonian authors, which consists of only three titles, all translated by Friedrich Schwarz and published in 1935–1936.

The Russian population of Estonia increased after 1918 as the Revolution and civil war in Russia brought about a new wave of immigration, including people from the Judenitch Army and refugees. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Russian community in Estonia tried to maintain their culture and identity. This was made easier by the social composition of the refugees that contained a large number of intellectuals. The majority of Russians, however, lived in the countryside and were relatively poor<sup>33</sup>.

The Russian-language publishing, especially publication of periodicals, was flourishing. Nearly 200 titles of various periodicals were published during these

22 years<sup>34</sup>. The Russian-language book production included 1034 titles published by 218 publishers. A notable proportion (44%) of title production belongs to applied publications by numerous societies, organizations, public institutions and private firms<sup>35</sup>. The number of actual publishing houses which published Russian-language books and brochures was 63, whereas many of them only operated for a short period and published one or two titles. The Russian-language publishing also stands out with a relatively high proportion of self-publishers (56 persons or 26% of all the publishers), who mostly published their own works.

Compared to the German-language publishing, belles-lettres occupied a slightly larger proportion of the titles (138 titles, 13%), although the preference of poetry is characteristic of them both. But unlike belles-lettres in the German language, there were only a few special publications of the Russian literature for Estonian schools in the Russian language.

There were several special Russian-language publishers, for example, *Библиофил* (Bibliophile, 1921–1923; 15 titles) and later *Русская Книга* (Russian Book, 1934–1939; 20 titles) in Tallinn. Both of them published notable Russian authors. *Библиофил* was established by Albert Org, who had graduated from the St. Petersburg Polytechnic Institute. He acted as the chairman of the Petrograd Repatriation Control Board until his own repatriation in the summer of 1921<sup>36</sup>. This body helped Estonians to repatriate from the Soviet Union after the conclusion of the Tartu Peace Treaty in 1920. Org managed to buy manuscripts from many Petrograd writers very cheaply. He published the works by Aleksey Remizov, Fyodor Sologub, Nikolay Gumilyov and others, which aroused attention among the Russian émigré circles outside Estonia<sup>37</sup>. The production of *Русская Книга* was also

28 LUKAS, Liina. Ühest hääbuvast maailmast: baltisaksa kirjanduslikke identiteedikontsepte Eesti Vabariigi ajal. *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 2002, no. 3, p. 157.

29 Ibid., p. 155.

30 Ibid., p. 157.

31 AULE, Endel. Kluge ja Ströhmi raamatukaupluse ajaloost. *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 1970, no. 3, p. 164–165.

32 Tartu teated. *Postimees*, 1932, 13 August, p. 5; Tartu ärielu ja tööstus. *Postimees*, 1927, 1 December, p. 4.

33 BELOBROVTSEVA, Irina. The Russian Community in Estonia. *Estonica: Encyclopedia about Estonia* [interactive]. Tallinn, 2012 [accessed 28 October 2015]. Access through Internet: <[http://www.estonica.org/en/Russian\\_culture\\_in\\_Estonia/The\\_Russian\\_community\\_in\\_Estonia/](http://www.estonica.org/en/Russian_culture_in_Estonia/The_Russian_community_in_Estonia/)>.

34 BELOBROVTSEVA, Irina; MEIMRE, Aurika. Sõdadevaheline vene emigratsioon suures ilmas ja väikeses Eestis. *Metbis*, 2015, no. 15, p. 37.

35 ЛОТТ, Марэ. О русской книгоиздательской деятельности в Эстонии в 1918–1940. *Acta Universitatis Scientiarum Socialium et Artis Educandae Tallinnensis. A, Humaniora*, 1999, no. 16, p. 110.

36 ORG, Albert. *Eesti raamatukogunduse biograafiline andmebaas* [interactive] [accessed 1 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://ery.tlulib.ee/index.php?id=2855>>.

37 ISSAKOV, Sergei. Venekeelne raamat Eestis 1918–1940. In *Raamatu osa Eesti arengus*. Tartu: Eesti Raamatu Aasta Peakomitee, 2001, p. 326.

largely oriented towards the foreign market. The publishing house was established by Sergei Zarkevich by the eponymous bookshop. The latter was run by his step-father Aleksei Bayov until 1935 (when Bayov died). Bayov was a leader of the White Guards in Estonia and coordinated the activities of many Russian organisations<sup>38</sup>. Zarkevich published both local Russian authors as well as the works by Russian emigrant writers who lived in other European countries (e.g. Mikhail Ossorgin, Antonin Ladinski). This was due to a lower cost of publishing in Estonia<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand, the distribution of the local Russian-language publications outside Estonia provided a broader market that was vital to the economic survival of the publishers. The majority of the publishers who published books in the Russian language, however, were more focused on the local readers and often unable to develop a long-term business.

Compared to the German-language book production published in Estonia, a rather large number of textbooks were published in Russian (67 titles, 6.5%). Russian was used as the language of instruction in nearly one hundred primary schools, in public and private gymnasiums as well as in various courses<sup>40</sup>. The textbooks published in Soviet Russia were ideologically unsuitable for the schools of a new democratic state. Thus, local textbooks were published on a wide range of subjects, some of them translated from the Estonian language. These books were published by both Russian and Estonian-language publishing houses. A significant role belonged to the Central Union of Russian Teachers in Estonia (*Русский Центральный Учительский Союз в Эстонии*) who regularly published textbooks as well as books on pedagogics (12 titles in all).

The Orthodox Church played an important role in uniting the Russian community in Estonia. Its most prominent centres were Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery and Pühtitsa Convent. This was reflected in a large proportion of religious publications in the Russian-language book production (117 titles, 11%).

Book production in the Swedish language in 1918–1940 was rather small, limited to 97 titles according to the national bibliography database<sup>41</sup>. A half (50.5%) of these publications were addressed to tourists and offered information on the sights worth visiting in Estonia. These books and brochures were published by institutions like the Central Bureau of Tourism or municipalities.

The Swedish community who lived quite densely on the coastal areas and on the islands was united into a political organisation *Det Svenska Folkförbundet* (Swedish Popular Union). The political and cultural life concentrated around its magazine “Kustbon” (Coast Dweller, 1918–1940). A very important role belonged to the educational society *Svenska Odlingens Vänner* (Friends of Swedish Education). There were 20 Swedish-language primary schools in Estonia in the 1930s, a private gym-

nasium in Haapsalu, Agricultural and Public University in Pürksi<sup>42</sup>. Textbooks for these schools were mainly imported from Sweden and Finland<sup>43</sup>. Thus the situation was similar to the usage of German-language textbooks imported from Germany. However, some of the textbooks published in Stockholm were written specially for Swedish-language schools in Estonia. The contribution of Estonian publishers was largely limited to publishing of textbooks for the study of the Estonian language. The first textbook of Estonian for Swedish schools was compiled by Anatol Spuhl and published by M. Tamverk already in 1920.

In addition to book titles, the national bibliography database registers offprints of scholarly texts in the Swedish language (38 titles). The scientific activities of the Swedish community became livelier in the 1930s. Professorship of the Swedish language was created in the University of Tartu in 1930. This position, occupied by Per Wieselgren, was financed by the Swedish state<sup>44</sup>. The Estonian-Swedish Academic Society by the University of Tartu (*Svensk-estniska samfundet vid Tartu Universitet*) was established in 1932<sup>45</sup>. The majority of the articles that were published as offprints were first issued in the yearbook of this society “Svio-Estonica”. Among the authors of the research works were Swedish (Per Wieselgren, Sten Karling) as well as Estonian (Voldemar Miller, Hendrik Sepp, Erna Ariste, etc) scholars.

The Jewish community, although small in number, was actively involved in the economy, culture and politics of the country. The Jews were rather active socially and established various clubs, societies and associations. There were 32 Jewish

38 KAASIK, Peeter; HIIO, Toomas. Political repression from June to August 1940. Appendix: Fate of 14 individuals arrested in Estonia in June and July 1940. In *ESTONIA 1940–1945: Reports of the Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity*. Tallinn: Estonian Foundation for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity, 2006, p. 312.

39 ISSAKOV, Sergei. Venekeelne raamat Eestis 1918–1940. In *Raamatu osa Eesti arengus*. Tartu, 2001, p. 327.

40 BELOBROVTSEVA, Irina; MEIMRE, Aurika. Sõdadevaheline vene emigratsioon suures ilmas ja väikeses Eestis. *Methis*, 2015, no. 15, p. 33.

41 The cultural and publishing activities of coastal Swedes in Estonia is treated in detail in the article by Tiiu Reimo, published in this volume of “Knygotyra”. Therefore here the treatment of this topic is only limited.

42 SARV, Ain. Eestirootslased. In *Eesti rahvaste raamat: rahvusvahemused, -rühmad ja -killud*. Tallinn, 1999, p. 151.

43 MIKIVER, Kristi. Eestirootslaste hariduslikud olud ja koolid 1919–1939. *Forseliuse Sõnumid*, 2000, vol. 7, p. 22.

44 LAIDMETS, Ruth. Eestirootsi harimise lugu : eestirootslaste haridusselts Svenska Odlingens Vänner (Rootsi Hariduse Sõbrad) enne Teist maailmasõda Eestis. In *De skandinaviska länderna och Estland = Skandinaaviamaad ja Eesti = The Scandinavian countries and Estonia : proceedings of the International Conference dedicated to Prof. Stig Örjan Ohlsson on his 60th birthday in December 1999 at the University of Tartu, Estonia*. Tallinn, [2002], p. 130.

45 Ibid., p. 131.

organizations in Estonia in 1939<sup>46</sup>. The Jewish Cultural Council was elected and Jewish cultural autonomy declared in 1926<sup>47</sup>.

A language struggle divided the community during the 1920s–1930s when the Jewish Cultural Council and larger Jewish organisations, dominated mostly by Hebraists, wanted to introduce biblical Hebrew as the language of instruction in the Jewish schools, even though the majority of Estonian Jewish population used Yiddish<sup>48</sup>. Thus, the three Jewish schools that were situated in Valga, Tartu and Tallinn offered tuition mainly in Hebrew<sup>49</sup>.

The publications registered in the national bibliography database are predominantly in Yiddish. The publishing activities of the Jewish community concentrated on periodicals. The database includes 26 periodical publications, many of which were issued only for a very short time. The author of the Jewish bibliography Nosson Genss admits that interest in these publications was low<sup>50</sup>. The books and brochures written entirely or partly in Yiddish (11 titles) or in Hebrew (6) were mostly published by various societies, reflecting the life of the community.

The Academic Society of Jewish History and Literature (*Akademischer Verein für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*) published the history of Jews in Estonia by Kopl Jokton with parallel texts in Estonian and Yiddish in 1927. The academic research of Jewish topics acquired new perspectives with the opening of the Judaica chair in the University of Tartu in 1933<sup>51</sup>. Professor of this chair Lazar Gulkowitsch wrote his works in the German language. Many of his articles were published in the proceedings of this research unit *Acta Seminarii Litterarum Judaeorum Universitatis Tartuensis*. The Jewish authors published their works in the Russian and Estonian languages as well.

The publications of belles-lettres were limited to a one-act comedy by L. Disentshik published in Hebrew in Tartu in 1924. At the same time the abovementioned bibliography by Nosson Genss includes numerous unpublished texts – manuscript chronicles and diaries, school almanacs as well as periodicals multiplied by hectograph. Thus, the written heritage of the community exceeded the rather limited number of published material. A wider publishing activity was hindered by the small number of the Jewish community in Estonia, unable to financially sustain regular publication of various periodicals or books. On the other hand, as it was mentioned above, the Jewish authors expressed themselves in other languages than Hebrew or Yiddish.

Similarly to the surge of publishing, after Estonia became an independent state in 1918, there was a rapid increase in the number of publishing bodies after the restoration of independence in 1991. There were 435 publishers in Estonia in 1992<sup>52</sup>, and during the last decade the number has exceeded 800<sup>53</sup>. The majority of these publishers are various institutions, societies, schools, etc, issuing only a small number of titles annually. There are about 50 publishing houses issuing the larger part of all the titles. The total annual title production in the 2010s increased from 3716 titles in 2010 to 4460 titles in 2014. The proportion of the Estonian-language production amounts to 79% of all the titles<sup>54</sup>. The average print-run has been around 1200 copies during the 2010s<sup>55</sup>.

As a result of political changes and World War II, Estonia lost four out of its five historical national minorities<sup>56</sup>. The Russian minority survived and increased, forming 25% (332 816 people) of the total population in 2014<sup>57</sup>. Russians were

46 Jews in Estonia in the Interwar Period. In *The History of Jewish Community and Holocaust in Estonia: virtual exhibition* [interactive]. Tallinn: Estonian History Museum, 2014 [accessed 28 November 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.ajaloomuuseum.ee/juudikogukond/jews-in-estonia-in-the-interwar-period/>>.

47 The Law of Cultural Autonomy. *The History of Jewish Community and Holocaust in Estonia: virtual exhibition* [interactive]. Tallinn: Estonian History Museum, 2014 [accessed 28 November 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.ajaloomuuseum.ee/juudikogukond/the-law-of-cultural-autonomy/>>.

48 Jews in Estonia in the Interwar Period. *The History of Jewish Community and Holocaust in Estonia: virtual exhibition* [interactive]. Tallinn: Estonian History Museum, 2014 [accessed 28 November 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.ajaloomuuseum.ee/juudikogukond/jews-in-estonia-in-the-interwar-period/>>.

49 GENSS, Nosson (ed). *Bibliograafia judaica Eestis*. Tallinn, 1937, p. IV.

50 Ibid.

51 Juutidest. In *Vähemusrühvuste kultuurielu Eesti Vabariigis 1918–1940: dokumente ja materjale*. Tallinn, 1993, p. 108.

52 MÖLDRE, Aile. *Kirjastustegevus ja raamatulevi Eestis 1940–2000*. Tallinn, 2005, p. 228.

53 *Eesti kirjastajate arv aastatel 1994–2013* [interactive]. Tallinn: Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu [accessed 4 April 2016]. Access through Internet: <[http://www.nlib.ee/public/documents/Made/2013/3.\\_Eesti\\_kirjastajate\\_arv\\_aastatel\\_1994-2013.pdf](http://www.nlib.ee/public/documents/Made/2013/3._Eesti_kirjastajate_arv_aastatel_1994-2013.pdf)>.

54 *Eestis ilmunud eestikeelsed raamatud aastatel 1991–2014* [interactive]. Tallinn: Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu [accessed 4 April 2016]. Access through Internet: <[http://www.nlib.ee/public/documents/Made/2013/2.\\_Eestikeelsed\\_raamatud\\_aastatel\\_1991-2014.\\_Nimetuste\\_arv.pdf](http://www.nlib.ee/public/documents/Made/2013/2._Eestikeelsed_raamatud_aastatel_1991-2014._Nimetuste_arv.pdf)>.

55 Calculated on the basis of KU12: Raamatud ja brošüürid [interactive]. *Statistika andmebaas*. Tallinn: Statistikaamet [accessed 4 April 2016]. Access through Internet: <<http://pub.stat.ee/px-web.2001/Dialog/Saveshow.asp>>.

56 AINSAAR, Mare. Composition of the population. *Estonica: Encyclopedia about Estonia* [interactive]. Tallinn, 2011 [accessed 28 October 2015]. Access through Internet: <[http://www.estonica.org/en/Society/Population/Composition\\_of\\_the\\_population/](http://www.estonica.org/en/Society/Population/Composition_of_the_population/)>.

57 RVO222: Rahvastik soo, rahvuse ja maakonna järgi, 1. jaanuar [interactive]. *Statistika andmebaas*. Tallinn [accessed 2 December 2015]. Access through

followed by Ukrainians (2%, 22 994 people), Belarusians (1%, 12 575 people) and Finns (0.6%, 7634 people)<sup>58</sup>.

Similarly to the pre-war Republic of Estonia, National Minorities Cultural Autonomy Act was passed in 1993. The Ingrians and Estonian Swedes have organized themselves according to this Act, which gives ethnic cultural minorities a legal status for direct relationships with the state and also the right to apply for support from the state budget<sup>59</sup>.

As Russians are the largest minority, it is only natural that the largest proportion of publications published in minority languages is in Russian. Of course, the majority of the Russian-language books on sale in Estonian book-shops are imported from Russia, but books in Russian are also produced in Estonia. The publications in the Russian language have formed about 8% of the annual title production during the years 2010–2014 (ranging from 250 titles in 2010 to 448 titles in 2012).

The Russian-language book production is diverse in content and includes all types of literature. Scholarly publications and belles-lettres are represented with the largest number of titles. The University of Tartu has long traditions in Slavic philology and issues various scholarly series and doctoral theses as does Tallinn University. Belles-lettres has steadily formed about 11–12% of all the Russian-language publications since the 1990s. A large proportion of poetry and self-published (paper) books was the characteristic feature of the 1990s and 2000s. During the last four-five years, the trend has changed – younger authors are moving to the web where special literary portals like *Oblaka.ee* (Clouds, 2013) have been established. This site also serves as a platform for the publishing house *Kite* (established in 2006). Both the publishing house and portal were initiated by the poet and translator Igor Kotjuh. *Kite* publishes books in Russian and Estonian. According to Kotjuh, there are about 50 Russian-speaking writers in Estonia. Kotjuh argues that local Russian authors are also willing to have their works translated into Estonian as the Estonian-language readers and critics know them even better than the Russian-speaking audience<sup>60</sup>. Besides these translations, the production of *Kite* also includes the translations of Estonian authors to the Russian language.

A special focus on publishing of the translations of Estonian literature has also been placed by the established Russian-language publishing houses *Aleksandra* and *KPD* as well as the cultural centre *Vene Entsüklopeedia* (Russian Encyclopaedia) which have been active since the 1990s. The translations of Estonian literature formed 29% of all the publications of Russian-language belles-lettres issued in 2010–2014. In children's literature their percentage is even larger, reaching 68%. Thus, all these publishers have taken steps to foster cultural dialogue and integration.

The publishers argue that publishing of books in the Russian language is a mission rather than business and refer to financial issues<sup>61</sup>. Indeed, all publishers compete for grants from the Ministry of Culture and Cultural Endowment of Estonia on similar conditions. The grants to the Russian-language publishers often support translations of Estonian literature to Russian. For example, the publishing house *KPD* has annually received grants for translation and publication of 5–7 titles of Estonian literature from the Cultural Endowment of Estonia in 2011–2015<sup>62</sup>. Support for publishing cultural magazines in Russian and for translating Estonian children's and youth literature into Russian has been allocated from special programmes. For example, the support of the programme "Advancement of common sphere of information through cultural activities, translation of literature into foreign languages" (2008–2013) was used for translating and publishing Estonian children's books as e-books that can be freely downloaded<sup>63</sup>.

A notable proportion of publications (20–25% of all the titles in Russian in 2010–2014) are textbooks for Russian-language schools. Publishing of textbooks has been influenced by the transition to the Estonian-language instruction that started in 2007. As elementary schools continue to use the Russian language as the first language of instruction, the upper secondary schools have moved to the model of 60% of instruction in Estonian and 40% in Russian since 2012 and primarily use Estonian-language textbooks and linguistically adapted teaching materials. Thus textbooks in Russian are now mainly published for elementary schools.

Compared to Estonians, the Russian-language population had been more active in reading and book-buying in the beginning of the 2000s<sup>64</sup>. Research carried out in 2011 demonstrated that by this time the reading activity of both groups had decreased and reached the same level (for example, 24–25% read belles-lettres regularly)<sup>65</sup>.

Internet: <<http://pub.stat.ee/px-web.2001/Dialog/Saveshow.asp>>.

58 Ibid.

59 Rahvusvahemused ja rahvuskultuur Eestis. In *Integratsiooni ja migratsiooni sihtasutus Meie inimised* [interactive] [accessed 10 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://old.meis.ee/est/etnilinevahemus/index.php?articleID=352>>.

60 КОТЮХ, Игорь. 50 авторов в Эстонии пишут по-русски. *Деловые Ведомости*, 2013, 2–7 мая.

61 Русская книга в Эстонии – это не бизнес. *Окно в Россию*. 26 февраля 2014 [interactive] [accessed 5 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <[http://windowrussia.ru/vr/news/2014\\_02\\_26/Russkaja-kniga-v-Estonii-jeto-](http://windowrussia.ru/vr/news/2014_02_26/Russkaja-kniga-v-Estonii-jeto-ne-biznes-7832/)

[ne-biznes-7832/](http://windowrussia.ru/vr/news/2014_02_26/Russkaja-kniga-v-Estonii-jeto-ne-biznes-7832/)>.

62 Eraldatud stipendiumid ja toetused. In *Kultuurkapital* [interactive] [accessed 6 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.kulka.ee/avalik-teave/eraldused>>.

63 Venekeelsed e-raamatud tutvustavad eesti lastekirjandust. In *Etnoweb* [interactive] [accessed 20 December 2015]. Access through Internet: <<http://www.etnoweb.ee/raamatud>>.

64 *Meediasüsteem ja meediakasutus Eestis 1965–2004*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2004, p. 85.

65 VIHALEM, Peeter. Kultuurisuhete muutumine: Kultuuris osalemine ja raamatuhuvi iseseisvuse taastanud Eestis. *Akadeemia*, 2014, no. 3, p. 433.

TABLE 1. Estonians and non-Estonians as readers in 2002–2011 (% of the respondents in the age of 15–74)<sup>66</sup>

|  | 2002      |               | 2011      |               |
|--|-----------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
|  | Estonians | Non-Estonians | Estonians | Non-Estonians |
| <b>Reading of belles-lettres</b>                   |           |               |           |               |
| • Often, regularly                                 | 28        | 43            | 24        | 25            |
| • Sometimes, occasionally                          | 33        | 29            | 34        | 34            |
| • Seldom or not at all                             | 39        | 28            | 42        | 42            |
| <b>Reading of work or hobby-related literature</b> |           |               |           |               |
| • Often, regularly                                 | 31        | 30            | 23        | 18            |
| • Sometimes, occasionally                          | 38        | 30            | 36        | 30            |
| • Seldom or not at all                             | 31        | 40            | 41        | 50            |

However, according to the observations of booksellers, the Russian-speaking buyers are still more interested in belles-lettres, especially fantasy and detective stories<sup>67</sup>. At the same time, the percentage of people who do not buy books has increased notably among Russian-speaking population (from 15% in 2002–2003 to 49% in 2014)<sup>68</sup>. This is due to several factors, including high prices of books and a relatively weak purchasing power of the local Russian-speaking population. Research demonstrates that Russian-language readers are more receptive to e-books than Estonians (8% of frequent users compared to 2% of Estonians in 2011)<sup>69</sup>. The Russian web offers a wide range of literature, both for sale and for free. Russian-language e-book production started in Estonia in 2011, with publications of numerous classical works of Russian belles-lettres published by the aggregator of e-books Estonian Digital Book Centre and has continued with the e-publications of modern authors.

The Estonian Government has supported the non-Russian ethnic groups in preserving their ethnic peculiarities, bearing in mind, first of all, Russian-speaking ethnic minorities of Estonia – Ukrainians and Belarusians – who were largely Russified during the Soviet time. There are numerous cultural societies organized by these ethnic groups in Estonia at present. However, for many non-Russian NGOs, Russian remains the widely used working language<sup>70</sup>. It was quite widespread during the Soviet period that many non-Russians did not speak the language of the ethnic group they were affiliated with<sup>71</sup>. According to the census of 2011, only 36% of Ukrainians living in Estonia considered Ukrainian their mother tongue and among Belarusians the corresponding percentage was 13%<sup>72</sup>. These indicators have decreased since the census of 2000. Research on this issue has suggested a policy

failure in preserving ethnic peculiarities of non-Russian minorities and brings out their project-based support mechanism as one of its causes<sup>73</sup>.

In this situation it is to be expected that only a few books in Ukrainian and Belarusian languages have been published in Estonia (respectively 8 and 4 titles in 1991–2014). Over the years, there have been some authors who have chosen to publish their poems or stories as paper books in Estonia. Among them is, for example, the Belarusian author Aliaksei Nareika who has published his fantasy novels in Belarusian, Ukrainian, Russian and other languages.

More books have been recently published in Finnish, approximately 33 titles annually during the last five years. Finns residing in Estonia can be divided into two groups – Ingrian Finns who migrated to Estonia during the Soviet period and the Finns who have moved here during the last two decades. The existence of these two groups is reflected in the print production which includes, on the one hand, collections published by the Ingrian societies and, on the other hand, publications by the Society of the Tartu Finnish Medical Students. These kinds of publications, however, form only a small part of Finnish-language publications. Scholarly publications as well as books for tourists represent the largest proportion of the Finnish-language production. With regard to publishing of Estonian belles-lettres in the Finnish language, the publishing house *NyNorden* stands out. As its name suggests, the programme of the publishing house is to bring Nordic literature to Estonian readers and modern Estonian literature to Nordic readers. The company aims at a high standard of translations and tasteful design.

According to the national bibliography database, the Swedish language was represented in the book production of 2010–2014 with 59 titles, among which

66 Adapted from the table in VIHALEMM, Peeter. Kultuurisuhte muutumine: Kultuuris osalemine ja raamatuhuvi iseseisvuse taastanud Eestis. *Akadeemia*, 2014, no. 3, p. 433.

67 КАРАЕВ Николай. Камо грядеши, русская книга? *День за Днём*, 2012, 2 November, p. 14.

68 *Meediasüsteem ja meediakasutus Eestis 1965–2004*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2004, p. 85; VIHALEMM, Peeter; LAURISTIN, Marju. Kultuuritarbimine kultuuriruumi elujõulisuse näitajana. In *Eesti inimarengu aruanne 2014/2015*. Tallinn, 2015, p. 210.

69 VIHALEMM, Peeter. Kultuurisuhte muutumine: Kultuuris osalemine ja raamatuhuvi iseseisvuse taastanud Eestis. *Akadeemia*, 2014, no. 3, p. 434.

70 AGARIN, Timofey. *A Cat's Lick: Democratisa-*

*tion and Minority Communities in the Post-Soviet Baltic*. Amsterdam; New York, 2010, p. 297.

71 AIDAROV, Aleksandr; DRECHSLER, Wolfgang. Estonian Russification of non-Russian Ethnic Minorities in Estonia? A Policy Analysis. *Trames*, 2013, 17(67/62), no. 2, p. 106.

72 Calculated using the data from the 2011 census presented in the Statistics Estonia database [accessed 3 December]. Access through Internet: <[http://www.stat.ee/sab-uuendus?db\\_update\\_id=13544](http://www.stat.ee/sab-uuendus?db_update_id=13544); [http://www.stat.ee/64309?parent\\_id=32784](http://www.stat.ee/64309?parent_id=32784)>.

73 AIDAROV, Aleksandr; DRECHSLER, Wolfgang. Estonian Russification of non-Russian Ethnic Minorities in Estonia? A Policy Analysis. *Trames*, 2013, 17(67/62), no. 2, p. 106.

23 titles included only Swedish and the rest were publications with parallel texts or partly in Swedish, addressed mainly to tourists or for studying the Swedish language. Among the Swedish-language publications there are scholarly works as well as books by the international multilingual publishing house United Press Global having roots in Finland and headquarters in Tallinn. There are only a few publications that have been prepared and issued by the local Swedish community. Among these are a couple of books on history by the Swedish St Michael's Church.

Nowadays it is only natural that current information on the activities, news and events of cultural societies is published on the web. Apart from the webpages of different societies and organizations, information on and for minorities is aggregated to the portal Etnoweb, established in 2010 with the support from the Ministry of Culture. It is based on the concept of citizen journalism; members of more than 300 organisations post to the portal sharing information.

### Conclusions

The Estonian minority policy has created a favourable legal and political context for the preservation of the culture and identity of different ethnic minorities who have lived and live in Estonia. The National Minorities Cultural Autonomy Act has enabled the minorities to establish the cultural self-government during the first period of independence in 1918–1940 as well as after the restoration of independence in 1991.

The scope and range of the cultural activity of different ethnic minorities depended, firstly, on their size, but also on the social composition and economic conditions of the ethnic groups. The largest minority groups in Estonia in 1918–1940, Russians and Germans, thus had a certain basis for the development of publishing, including the existence of special publishing houses, although the small market led to a tight budget of these firms. The ability and willingness of the titular states to support the education system and cultural life also had an impact on the success of the cultural endeavours of different minorities. The concrete forms of such support influenced the composition of book production in Estonia. For example, The German and Swedish schools in Estonia received textbooks from Germany and Sweden, limiting the publishing of textbooks in these languages in 1918–1940.

The situation was similar in Latvia, where Russians formed 12% of the population (233 366 people) in 1930<sup>74</sup> and the number of Germans in 1925 was 70 964 people<sup>75</sup>, exceeding the corresponding minority groups in Estonia several times. Still, the Russian-language book production of Latvia of that period was 865 titles (or 1200 titles according to other estimates)<sup>76</sup>, that is comparable to the volume of Russian-language book production in Estonia, suggesting the vigour and activ-

ity of the minority organizations and publishers who acted here. The varied book production reflecting and fostering the political, cultural, scholarly and religious activities of the Russian and German communities contributed to the preservation of their national identity. In comparison to Estonia, the Jewish community was much larger in Latvia, where it numbered 95 675 people or 5.2% of the total population in 1925<sup>77</sup>, enabling a much wider production of Yiddish and Hebrew publications, including books. In Estonia, the Jewish publishing was mainly limited to periodicals that also characterized the situation in the publishing activities of the Swedish community. At that time, periodicals were irreplaceable for informing the members of an ethnic minority about the issues relevant to their life and activities, about the news and events of the community.

In today's world people from ethnic minorities can easily access information in their mother tongue via the Internet. A creative person searching for a channel to express one's ideas or to publish one's creation has no obstacles. Authors can publish their works on the web, have their books published either on paper or as e-books in the country of their origin.

At the same time the Russian community, being the largest and oldest surviving minority, has been able to secure the continuity of its cultural traditions in Estonia, reviving some of the pre-war organizations and establishing the new ones. This also concerns literary creation and publishing, with a small but stable number of Russian publishers publishing fiction and non-fiction and thus contributing to the formation of the Russian-language cultural elite. Applied and other Russian-language literature is also published by Estonian-language publishing houses and institutions. All this is important in providing objective information about various issues of the Estonian reality, countering the disinformation of the Russian media, fostering integration and laying ground for the vibrant and harmonious development of the Estonian state.

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## TAUTINIŲ MAŽUMŲ KNYGŲ LEIDYBA ESTIJOJE 1918–1940 METAIS IR ŠIANDIEN

*Aile Möldre*

### Santrauka

Straipsnyje apžvelgiama tautinių mažumų knygų leidyba Estijoje ikikarinio nepriklausomybės laikotarpiu (1918–1940) ir po 1991 m., kai estų kalba buvo paskelbta oficialia Estijos Respublikos kalba. Tyrimas pagrįstas statistiniais duomenimis, gautais remiantis Estijos nacionalinės bibliografijos duomenų baze, temine daugelio mokslinių tekstų analize ir šiai temai aktualiais straipsniais, paskelbtais periodikoje ir internete.

Estija tapo nepriklausoma valstybe 1918 m. Reikšminga šio laikotarpio etninės politikos gairė buvo 1925 m. priimtas Etninių mažumų kultūrinės autonomijos įstatymas. Prieš Antrąjį pasaulinį karą Estijoje gyveno penkios tautinės mažumos, kurias sudarė daugiau nei 3000 asmenų: rusai (1934 m. gyventojų surašymo duomenimis, jie sudarė 8,2 proc. visų gyventojų, arba 92 656 asmenys), vokiečiai (1,5 proc., 16 346 asmenys), švedai (0,68 proc., 7641 asmuo). Latviai ir žydai sudarė mažiau nei 0,5 proc. Estijos gyventojų. Remdamosi minėtu įstatymu, vokiečių ir žydų mažumos įkūrė savo kultūros savivaldą. Jai priklausė tokios funkcijos kaip mažumos valstybinių ir privačių švietimo institucijų valdymas ir priežiūra, kultūros, sporto ir vadovavimo jaunimui sritys. Labai palankios sąlygos plėtoti mažumų švietimą ir kultūrą tęsėsi iki 1934 metų *coup d'état*.

Pagal Estijos nacionalinės bibliografijos duomenų bazę, 1918–1939 m. Estijoje buvo išleista 1034 pavadinimų knygų ir brošiūrų rusų kalba (iš dalies arba vien tik rusų kalba), vokiečių kalba išleistų knygų skaičius siekė 1655. Knygų leidybos kitomis mažumų kalbomis mastai nebuvo dideli – iki šimto leidinių. Estijoje išleistuose leidiniuose latvių kalba pasitaiko tik lygiagrečiuose koncertų programų tekstuose, reklaminiuose leidiniuose ir kitoje taikomojo pobūdžio medžiagoje.

Baltijos vokiečiai, buvusi valdančioji klasė, prarado savo privilegijas ir pavirto mažuma. Vis dėlto jų vaidmuo ekonominiame, finansiniame, socialiniame gyvenime, moksle ir kultūroje buvo svarbesnis nei jų dalis visuomenėje. Dideliu organizuotumu išsiskiriantys vokiečiai įkūrė nemažai draugijų ir kitų organizacijų. 1939 m. Estijos vokiečių draugijų sąjungai (*Verband Deutscher Vereine in Estland*) priklausė šimtas dvidešimt aštuonios draugijos. Daugelis šių draugijų rengė ir leido skirtingus jų veiklą atitinkančius leidinius. Tarp jų galima paminėti statutų rinkinius, metines ataskaitas, albumus, koncertų, parodų ir sporto renginių programas. Moksliniai leidiniai sudaro didelę dalį vokiečių kalba išleistų knygų – iš viso 312 knygų ir brošiūrų, tai yra 19 proc. visos knygų leidybos vokiečių kalba 1918–1939 m. Daugelis gerai žinomų Baltijos vokiečių mokslinių draugijų tęsė savo veiklą Estijoje. Kai kurių, pavyzdžiui, Baltijos vokiečių gamtininkų draugijos (*Naturforscher-Gesellschaft bei der Universität Dorpat*) ir Estijos mokslinės draugijos (*Gelehrte Estnischen Gesellschaft*), veiklą 3-iame ir 4-ame dešimtmetyje perėmė Estijos mokslininkai, tačiau ir toliau jų monografijos ir kita mokslinė medžiaga buvo leidžiama vokiečių kalba. Būtent vokiečių kalba buvo mokslinio bendravimo *lingua franca*, todėl ją plačiai vartojo Estijoje dirbantys ir mokslinius straipsnius skelbiantys vokiečių, estų, suomių, vengrų ir kitos kilmės mokslininkai. Vadovėliai vokiečių kalba gausioms nacionalinėms mokykloms buvo dažniausiai įvežami iš Vokietijos. Estijoje buvo išleista tik dešimt vadovėlių. Grožinės literatūros leidyba taip pat buvo kukli, nes daug Baltijos vokiečių rašytojų išvyko iš Estijos 1918 metais, kai šalis paskelbė nepriklausomybę. Likusieji gyventi Estijoje dažnai leisdavo savo kūrinius Rygoje arba Vokietijoje. Svarbiausios knygų vokiečių kalba leidyklos buvo *Kluge & Ströhm* ir jos filialai *Wassermann* Taline ir *J. Krüger* Tartu.

Rusų kalba Estijoje 1918–1940 buvo daugiausia leidžiama grožinė literatūra, vadovėliai ir religinė literatūra. Dvi didžiausios rusiškos spaudinių leidyklos – *Библиофил* (1921–1923) ir *Русская Книга*

(1934–1939) – leido žymių rusų autorių kūriniai, kurie buvo paklausūs rusų emigrantų bendruomenėse visoje Europoje. Negausios švedų ir žydų bendruomenės daugiausia leido periodinius žurnalus savo nariams aktualiais klausimais.

Igyvendinus politinius pokyčius ir praūžus Antrajam pasauliniam karui, Estija prarado keturias iš savo penkių istorinių tautinių mažumų. Rusų mažuma išliko ir pagausėjo – 2014 m. ji sudarė 25 proc. (332 816 asmenys) visų gyventojų. Leidyba rusų kalba, įskaitant ir knygų leidybą, pasižymi įvairiapusiškumu ir atspindi visus literatūros žanrus. Didžiausią dalį leidžiamų knygų sudaro grožinė literatūra ir vadovėliai. Pripažinti leidėjai rusų kalba *Aleksandra* ir *KPD* daug dėmesio skiria Estijos literatūros vertimų leidybai. To paties siekia ir nauja leidykla *Kite* (įkurta 2006 m.). Dauguma jaunesnių autorių perėjo į literatūros portalus, pavyzdžiui, *Obla.ee*, kurį, kaip ir leidyklą *Kite*, įkūrė Igoris Kotiuchas. Internetą bendravimui naudoja ir negausių mažumų bendruomenės. Be įvairių draugijų ir organizacijų svetainių, informacija tiek apie mažumas, tiek mažumoms skirta medžiaga kaupiama ir portale *Etnoweb*, kuris buvo sukurtas 2010 m. gavus Kultūros ministerijos paramą.

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