

KRISTIN VAIK

SOME OBSERVATIONS  
ABOUT ESTONIAN LITERARY HISTORIES  
PUBLISHED IN EXILE

Estonian literary scholar Jaan Undusk has stated that the most important sociological experience that Estonian literature has faced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is the inclusion of Estonian exile literature<sup>1</sup>. Jaan Undusk is referring here to the literature created by Estonians and their descendants who had left Estonia during the migration waves between 1939-1944. During these years altogether 70 000-80 000 Estonians left their homeland. The whole population of Estonia in that time was approximately 1 050 000, so one can say about 7% of the whole population Estonia. The main exodus took place in the year 1944, when about 55 000-60 000 Estonians fled from the Soviet occupation forces. Among the refugees were about 20 well-known Estonian writers and tens more, who made their literary debuts in exile. Writing and publishing started almost immediately in the temporary stopovers in Finland, Sweden and Germany.

Since 1944 Estonian literature was divided into two: literature published by Estonians in exile and literature written and published by Estonians in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (ESSR). From the semiotic point of view this division and split into two parts can be seen as an explosion or rupture in the continuous historical development of Estonian literature. Since late 1980s,

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KRISTIN VAIK – Department of Semiotics w University of Tartu; field of research: Cultures Research, Grammar, semantics, semiotics, syntax; e-mail: vaik.kristin@gmail.com

<sup>1</sup>J. U n d u s k, *Eesti kirjanduse ajast, ruumist ja ülesandest XX sajandil. Teese kommentaaridega*, „Looming” 1999, No 2, p. 251.

when there has been free access to the Estonian exile literature<sup>2</sup> and publications, have Estonian literary scholars been trying to integrate the two sub-literatures by adding the exile literature to the Estonian literary history and to the Estonian literary canon. However, the integration process has been difficult and slow. An exhaustive historical overview of Estonian exile literature was published only in the year 2008<sup>3</sup> and we are still lacking a good detailed comparative approach to the two Estonian literatures, both developed from the Estonian literature written before the year 1940. One of the reasons why the integration of the Estonian exile literature and literary developments in the ESSR is so difficult and hard to grasp into one comprehensive overview is the complexity of the cultural processes that went on in the ESSR and in exile communities in the free western world from 1940s until the end of 1980s. In my article I am going to shed light on some aspects of the cultural processes in the exile communities and sketching some of the cultural situations of the exile Estonians by analysing the literary histories written and published abroad by the exile Estonians.

In this article literary histories are viewed as metatexts that have very different functions starting with the mnemonic function of remembering the writers and literary works and ending with the ability to guide and arrange the contemporary literary practice. Arranging and organizing of the literary practice can also be seen as a self-constructing and a self-describing process where the dynamic literary processes are fixed into continuous static narratives. Yuri Lotman has noted that during every self-organizing process some parts of the material will be pushed outside the system and these outside parts then seem to lose their existence. Thus with every organizing event the system is being narrowed, and in extreme cases this can lead to the situation where the meta-system is so rigid that it loses all contacts with the real system<sup>4</sup>.

From the readers' point of view every literary history conveys an ultimate pre-judgment or expectation of truth, or *Vorurteil* as Gadamer has named it meaning that the person reading a history book expects the text s/he is reading to be the truth<sup>5</sup>. And yet there is a generally accepted point of view stemming from the historical studies that every historian is a part of her/his study,

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<sup>2</sup> During the Soviet period the majority of Estonians living in ESSR had no official access to the exile literature, the exile literature was disowned and tabooed.

<sup>3</sup> *Eesti Kirjandus paguluses XX sajandil*, ed. P. Kruuspere, Tallinn 2008.

<sup>4</sup> J. Lotman, *Semiootilise süsteemi dünaamiline mudel*, in: *Kultuurisemiootika*, Tallinn 2006, p. 219.

<sup>5</sup> H. G. Gadamer, *Vom Zirkel des Verstehens*, in: *Gesammelte Werke*, Bd. II, *Hermeneutik II. Wahrheit und Methode*, Tübingen 1993, p. 62.

meaning that the historian is the one who makes the research, makes the selection, interprets the selected facts, ascribes value and tone to the findings, and is at the same time a part of a specific cultural situation and its ideology<sup>6</sup>. Thus, the starting assumption of this article is that literary histories reflect the cultural situations where they have been composed, written, and published. The literary histories are not just models of literary processes and its development but reflect as well the epoch and cultural situations. With selections, categorisations, evaluations, in- and exclusions every literary history gives its own version of the literary history specific to the cultural situation it is written and published in.

#### LITERARY HISTORIES PUBLISHED IN EXILE IN 1950S

During the period 1944-1991 there were fifteen different Estonian literary histories written and published by exile Estonians. From these fifteen, nine were published in Estonian and six in foreign languages: three in English, two in German and one in Finnish<sup>7</sup>.

The first of these literary histories was published in the year 1950 in Helsinki (Jänes 1950). This first history book was an exile version of high school textbooks, which were published in Estonia before the exodus (*Eesti kirjanduslugu I-III* first two parts published in 1938 and the third one in 1939). The exile version gives an overview of Estonian literary history from the first books containing Estonian language in 13<sup>th</sup> century until the second half of 1940s in exile. After this first literary history in exile, four other literary histories were published in 1950s, all of them in Estonian. Two overviews about distant history of the Estonian written language and literature were published in the year 1953 in Sweden (Salu 1953 and Suits 1953), one in Lund and the other in Vadstena. The first of them gave an overview from the period: 13<sup>th</sup>-mid 18<sup>th</sup> century and the second focused on the period: 16<sup>th</sup>-end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the year 1954 again in Sweden (Vadstena), another literary history was published (Ristikivi 1954), this one was focusing on the works of Estonian authors that were published during the period: beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century until the 1940. The overview was written by Estonian famous writer Karl Risti-

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<sup>6</sup> See e.g. A. Warren, R. Wellek, *Theory of Literature*, Harmondsworth 1986; D. Perkins, *Is literary history possible?*, Baltimore 1992.

<sup>7</sup> At the end of the article there are two charts about literary histories published in Estonian and in foreign languages that describe the periods these historical overviews cover.

kivi. The last literary history published in 1950s was the second and amended edition of the first literary history published in exile in 1950s (Jänes 1957). The second edition was republished in 1957 in Lund and this history begins with a short overview of Estonian folklore and ends with few pages dedicated to the literature published in exile.

As already pointed out all Estonian literary histories published in exile in 1950s were in Estonian and as one can notice they were all dealing with different aspects and periods of Estonian literary history, mainly focusing the period before 1940s<sup>8</sup>. This kind of boom of Estonian literary histories can be explained by the cultural situation where the exile Estonians lived in.

Exile Estonians lived their first years so to say suitcases half packed in refugee camps and transitory stopovers, hoping that the life abroad is temporary and soon they can return to their homes in Estonia. They felt that they have to tell the world about the injustice that is going on in Estonia, as they saw it. In the beginning of the 1950s, the exile had lasted already over five years and the exile Estonians had settled down<sup>9</sup>. The communities were separated from ESSR by the Iron Curtain and the hope to get back home soon was fading rapidly. The social and cultural life in the exile communities was very active. Estonian newspapers, singing choirs, amateur theatres and schools were founded, many gatherings and cultural events were organised etc. Writing and publishing started almost immediately already in the temporary stopovers in Finland, and in the refugee camps in Sweden and Germany and continued when the refugees were settled down. Here I must stress that the writing and publishing of Estonian books was enormously important and popular for the exile Estonians. The publishing and distribution of the published books was handled in a book club manner and the books were published and posted according to the pre-orders made by the Estonians all over the world. The main reason why the exiles felt that the literature is so important was that the Estonians in exile started to think that the fate of the real Estonian culture and language was in their hands, as the people at homeland were repressed. It seemed to be their duty and mission to keep the genuine Estonian culture alive or it would vanish, they were the ones who had to fight for freedom of their homeland in every way they can. This mentality can be well observed in the foreword of the first issue of the cultural magazine „Tulimuld“ which was founded

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<sup>8</sup> Just the histories published by Henno Jänes in 1950 and 1957 were dedicating some pages to the literature published after 1940s in exile.

<sup>9</sup> The bigger Estonian communities were established in Sweden, in United Kingdom, in Canada, in Australia and in USA.

in Lund in the year 1950: „Soldiers – as we all outside of the borders of Estonian Republic are – must stand on the battle front even when the chances to win or lose are not even“<sup>10</sup>. „Tulimuld“ became quite quickly the most influential cultural magazine in exile and as one can feel already from this quote, the tone of this magazine was ideologically heavily burdened.

From the viewpoint of the cultural semiotics one can observe how the centre of Estonian culture shifted in the minds of exile Estonians. Estonians who fled from Estonia felt they were the Estonian cultural centre, as Estonian culture in homeland was believed to be destroyed, repressed and replaced by Soviet culture. The culture in ESSR was just a periphery or even a different culture – the Soviet culture – which had little or nothing to do with the Estonian culture before Soviet occupation.

The first five Estonian literary histories published in 1950s can be seen as creating a base for the Estonian exile literature and an act of its legitimisation. These histories construct a link between the Estonian exile literature and the Estonian literature before 1940s. It is compelling to observe how the rupture in cultural context, caused by the geographical displacement, was filled by historical literary context. Thus, one could say that the context of the exile literature, created by exile Estonians, was historical Estonian literature as they knew and remembered it, while at the same time the contemporary literature written in their homeland was sharply cut off from this context; it was regarded as another culture<sup>11</sup>.

#### THE ESTONIAN LITERARY HISTORIES PUBLISHED IN EXILE IN 1960S

The next decade – 1960s – was a high season for Estonian literary histories published in foreign languages, while only one out of six published history was in Estonian. The first literary history written and published abroad in foreign language was a short historical overview of Estonian literature in English published in 1961 in Stockholm (Salu 1961). The overview was about thirty pages long and covered the period starting from folklore and the beginning of

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<sup>10</sup> Original: “Sõdureil – nagu meie kõik väljapool Eesti Vabariigi piire viibides oleme – tuleb seista rindel ka siis, kui võidu ja kaotuse väljavaated pole võrdsed”. B. Kangro, *Saateks*, Tulimuld 1950, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Nobody wrote or as much as mentioned anything about literature in Soviet Estonia in these literary histories.

written Estonian language in 13<sup>th</sup> century and ending with the Estonian literature written after 1944 on both sides of the iron curtain. This short overview was thus in the exile the first historical overview about Estonian literature where the literature in ESSR was mentioned. In the 1965 three literary histories were published. The first one was the translation of the history published in 1957 (Jänes 1957) into German (Jänes 1965). The German translation was published in Uppsala and looked at Estonian literature from the folklore until the 1940s in exile, as did the original second amended version in Estonian. The second literary history published in 1965 was in Finnish and published in Helsinki (Mägi 1965a). This literary history was meant to be used in Finnish universities as a textbook and it covered the period beginning with the oral heritage and ending with the contemporary socialist realism in ESSR and exile literature. The third literary history published in 1965 in Lund was an Estonian adapted version from the Finnish literary history that was published the same year in Helsinki (Mägi 1965b). The Estonian version of the literary history gave an overview from the oral heritage until the literature in Estonia that was written before the Second World War. In 1967, again in Lund, the first literary history that looks only at the Estonian exile literature was published in English (Kangro, Oras 1967). The first part of the book was an essay-like description about the Estonian literature in exile (beginning from 1944) and the second part was a bio-bibliographical list of the writers and the published books. In 1968 in Stockholm, an English version of the literary history in Finnish was published (Mägi 1968). This history looked at the Estonian literature from the oral heritage until 1960s in exile and in ESSR, so one could say it was an amended version from the Finnish literary history published in 1965 (Mägi 1965a). It is interesting to note that while in the Finnish version the last chapter was dedicated to the literature in exile and in the ESSR after the year 1944 was named “Socialist realism and exile literature” (“*Sotsialistinen realismi ja pakolaiskirjallisuus*”) then in the English version the same chapter has been divided into two sub-chapters, that were named: “Literature in Soviet Estonia” and “Literature in Exile”. Estonian literary scholar Maie Kalda has stated this name shift from the Socialist realism to Literature in Soviet Estonia to be conceptual<sup>12</sup> as though the exile community had realised in the year 1968 everything being written and published in the ESSR is not necessarily socialist realism. It can be considered as a big step up for the exile community.

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<sup>12</sup> M. Kalda, *Kirjanduslood, monograafiad. Eesti pagulaskirjandus. Kirjandusteadus. Kriitika. Lastekirjandus. 1944-1992. Collegium Litterarum 7*, ed. P. Kruuspere and P. Viires, Tallinn 1995, p. 31.

Comparing the Estonian literary histories published in these two decades (1950s and 1960s), one can see two things. The histories published in 1950s were all in Estonian and dealing with different aspects of the Estonian literary history although to cover all there is worth mentioning. In 1960s the exile Estonians try to give the wider world the knowledge about the Estonian culture and its literary history. It is interesting to see in comparison how the histories that are meant to represent the Estonian culture to non-Estonians are very consistent among themselves. From the five histories published in foreign language four<sup>13</sup> were starting their overview with the oral heritage (Salu 1961, Jänes 1965, Mägi 1965a and Mägi 1968) and three<sup>14</sup> ended their histories with the overview both from the Estonian literature in exile and in the ESSR (Salu 1961, Mägi 1965a and Mägi 1968). At the same time the only literary history published in Estonian by Arvo Mägi (Mägi 1965b) was ending its historical overview of Estonian literature with the beginning of the occupations of Estonia in 1939. So one can see a quite sharp difference in the contents of the literary histories published in Estonian and in foreign languages. Literary histories written in Estonian make no mention of the literature in the ESSR, as though for them it did not exist.

There are different explanations for why the histories in Estonian did not mention the literature in ESSR. One of them is that as the most of the literary histories in Estonian were published before the 1960s the exile Estonians did not simply have information about the literary processes that went on in the ESSR. Only after Stalin's death in 1953 and with the Khrushchev thaw, which began in mid 1950s, the Iron Curtain rose a bit and fair connections between Estonians of both sides were established and with that also the information about what was going on in the Soviet Estonian literature scene became available to the exile Estonian communities. This explanation does not cover why the literary history published in Estonian in 1965 was not describing the literature in ESSR though, as we know the literary history published at the same year by the same author in Finnish was speaking about it.

The second explanation, as pointed out by Sirje Olesk<sup>15</sup>, has been that the exile Estonians were afraid of what would happen to the ESSR authors men-

<sup>13</sup> The one history that did not start its overview from the oral heritage was concentrating only on the history of the Estonian exile literature (Kangro, Oras 1967).

<sup>14</sup> The two histories that did not give an overview both from the Estonian literature in exile and in Estonian SSR were the Henno Jänes book, which was a German translation from the history meant to Estonians (Jänes 1957) and the second was the book, which looked only the history of the Estonian exile literature (Kangro, Oras 1967).

<sup>15</sup> S. Olesk, *Kahe Eesti kahekõne*, "Looming" 1999, n. 5, p. 751-752.

tioned with any positive note in the literary histories published in exile. There was an active threat that the authors would be then accused of collaboration with the exile Estonians and persecuted. But as the ESSR writers were still mentioned in the literary histories published in exile in foreign languages and also in the cultural magazines where reviews about literature in ESSR were published, the second explanation can be considered only partially convincing.

If we look at this difference in content from the viewpoint of Tartu-Moscow school of Cultural Semiotics we could say that the difference between these literary histories is created by the difference of the auditoriums and communication types as Juri Lotman has described them<sup>16</sup>. According to Lotman there exist two types of communication:

'I-I' communication or auto communication as Lotman calls it and 'I-s/he' communication (*ibid*: 20-21). 'I-s/he' communication is conveying new information from the sender to the receiver over space. In the case of auto communication familiar information is forwarded from the sender to the receiver (who are the same) and during the communication process, the meaning of the information transforms as the message is reformulated and acquires with that a new meaning. So if in the case of 'I-s/he' communication process the message stays the same and the addresser and addressee can change, then in the case of auto communication the addressee and the addresser stay the same, but the communicated information changes and this transformation can lead to the restructuring the 'I' itself (*ibid*: 22). Auto communication can also work as a mnemonic device while it can transfer the information over time, in that case the addressee fills the role of the third party (*ibid*: 21). For Lotman the transformation aspect that happens during the 'I-I' communication is more significant than the mnemonic one.

In 1950s and 1960s, Estonians in exile felt that the Estonian cultural centre is located in exile communities. The attitude was that they were writing and living the Estonian literature in the exile, playing the Estonian dramas etc. The culture in ESSR was felt to be inherently Soviet culture not Estonian one, the active Estonian artists and writers were often called collaborators, who were not worth mentioning. At the same time the exile community was still traumatised of the escape and the attitude towards the ESSR was highly negative. So the literature in ESSR

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<sup>16</sup> J. Lotman, *Autocommunication: 'I' and 'Other' as addressees*, in: *Universe of the Mind*, London–New York 1990, p. 20-35.



was disowned almost the same way that Soviet power disowned majority of the literature written in exile<sup>17</sup>.

The literary histories published in exile in Estonian can be seen as 'I-I' communication process. The histories worked as mnemonic devices and at the same time they conveyed cultural self-consciousness, they were self-describing and self-constructing texts. Their most important function was to support and construct the identity of exile Estonians, binding them to the Estonian culture before 1940s. The literary histories published in 1960s in foreign languages can be seen more as 'I-s/he' communication phenomena, with the aim to convey new information, to introduce Estonian culture and literature. To achieve this aim it was essential to also mention what happens in the ESSR as it was important to draw attention to the ESSR and to stay plausible in the eyes of the wider world by giving all the information available. In this sense the functions of the Estonian and foreign literary histories were different, as their addressees were different, and based on that, the content of the histories were different.

#### LITERARY HISTORIES PUBLISHED IN 1970S AND 1980S

During the 1970s and 1980s only four literary histories were published, three of them in Estonian and one in German. In the year 1973 the first proper historical overview about Estonian exile literature was published (Kangro, Mägi, Ristikivi 1973). The book covered the period: 1944-1972 and it remained for a very long time the most exhaustive overview of Estonian exile literature written. The aim of this history seemed to be not to arrange the contemporary practise, but just to map the sphere of the exile literature by mentioning everyone who had written something in exile and value them both as exile writers and as Estonian writers<sup>18</sup>. In 1974 the second amended version of the Herbert Salu book concerning old Estonian literary history (covering the period from 13<sup>th</sup> to mid-18<sup>th</sup> century) was published (Salu 1974). In the six

<sup>17</sup> Sirje Olesk has in her article about the dialogue between Estonians in both sides of Iron Curtain (Olesk 1999), vividly pointed out by quoting a letter (sent in year 1955) by the writer August Gailit who lived exile to the exile Estonian publishing house (Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv), that the Estonians in exile were not interested what happened in ESSR, for them it was too depressing (*ibid*: 740).

<sup>18</sup> The history is 180 pages long and altogether approximately 140 exile authors are mentioned.

years from 1977 until 1982 Ilmar Mikiver published twenty short articles about the contemporary literature in exile and ESSR in the journal "Aja Kiri". In the footnote of the first article Mikiver notes that the published text is part of a bigger manuscript about Estonian contemporary literary history (Mikiver 1977a). Although the manuscript has never been published as a whole book, the twenty short articles can still be viewed as a literary history, published in an unusual form. Mikiver's contemporary literary history is the first literary history published in Estonian, which looks at the literature in exile and the literature in ESSR as parts of one literature that rises from the Estonian literature written before 1940s. In his articles Mikiver concentrates more on the literature written in ESSR<sup>19</sup>. It seems that the author tries to bring the homeland literature closer to the Estonians in exile, to introduce it and make them accept it as Estonian culture and literature. The last literary history published in exile was published in 1987 in Göttingen and was written in German (Kolk, Mägi 1987). This book is a short overview about the Estonian exile literature written from the end of 1960s until the 1980s.

Looking at the histories published in exile in 1970s and 1980s one can say that another shift in the literary history writing had taken place. The histories published in these two decades are concentrating on the contemporary literature and trying to write exile literature into the Estonian literary history. This shift of focus is based on the changed cultural situation of the exile Estonians. When the connections with the Western world tightened during the Khrushchev thaw the modern art and literature currents melted through the Iron Curtain into the ESSR and had a great influence to the new generation of young artists and writers. After that the literature written in ESSR could be considered more than just Soviet literature. New modern Estonian literature was being born. From the end of the 1960s the first exile generation was starting to fade away and the youngest generation, who had never lived in Estonia, was not as familiar with the language or the Estonian culture, the Estonians in exile were assimilating with the locals and the culture they lived in. The exile writers who were still writing were holding on to the literary traditions that were brought from the Independent Estonia in the beginning of 1940s. So paradoxically in this phase the exile Estonian literature existing in a free western world was more conservative than the literature written by the young authors in the ESSR. Although slowly, Estonians in exile understood,

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<sup>19</sup> In Mikiver's history altogether about 145 writers were mentioned and about ninety of them were living in Estonian SSR.

that they are not the centre of the Estonian culture any longer. The discussions over their role and identity rose more often and in one moment the worry about Estonian exile culture overgrew the concern about the Estonian culture. The literary histories published in Estonian in 1970s and 1980s can be also considered as autocommunication. The authors who were publishing in the exile were known to the exile community, but arranging their works in the context of exile literature and mentioning them as writers in exile literary histories made them exile Estonian writers. It supported their identity and valued them in the context of Estonian exile culture.

#### TOWARDS A CONCLUSION

The Estonian literary histories published in exile by Estonians form a multifaceted text corpus. The multiplicity of stories and points of views rise from the variety of authors, difference of possibilities and interests, and from the lack of rigid institutionalisation. At the same time the histories reflect the cultural situations where they have been written and published, and their various aims that rise from different auditoriums, so certain tendencies and similarities in the corpus can still be sketched out.

The first literary histories published in exile were in Estonian and their aim was to establish a historical background and continuity to the works written by exile writers. The exile literature was firmly bound to the Independent Estonian literature before 1940s and its long development, narrative beginning from oral heritage or first written Estonian words or first great literary works written in Estonian. These literary histories supported the Estonian identity of the refugees and helped to bind the Estonian communities together, these can be viewed as auto communicative texts. The Estonian literary histories published in foreign languages were aimed to introducing Estonians as nation with a high culture and a long history. All these histories began with introducing the rich oral heritage and ended with the overview of the contemporary literature in exile and in ESSR. The histories in foreign languages are examples of 'I-s/he' communication as Yuri Lotman has described it, where the information unknown to the addressee beforehand has been transferred over space. When the exile had lasted over twenty years and the exile communities were starting to disperse, there rose the need to value the exile literature and the literary histories concentrating on contemporary literature were published. These literary histories are not meant to arrange the practice, but mention as

many authors as possible and with that write them into the Estonian literary history as Estonian writers.

As can be seen, the analyse of the Estonian literary histories published in exile reveal already on very superficial level some universal aspects in dynamic cultural processes going on in the exile communities. Yet thorough analyse and comparison with literary histories published in the ESSR and in the Estonian Republic after the year 1991 is needed for any final conclusions and claims.

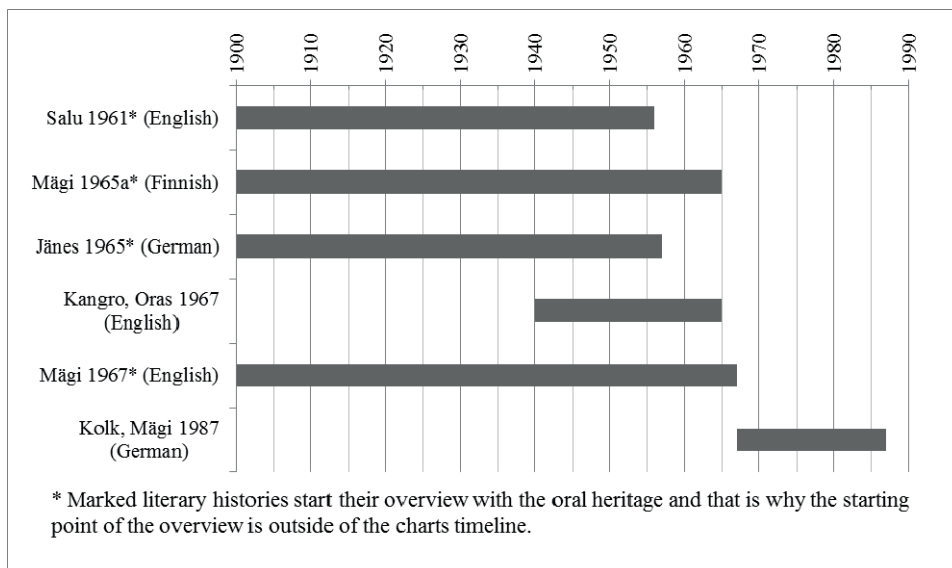


Chart 1. Literary histories published in foreign languages and periods that are covered in their overviews

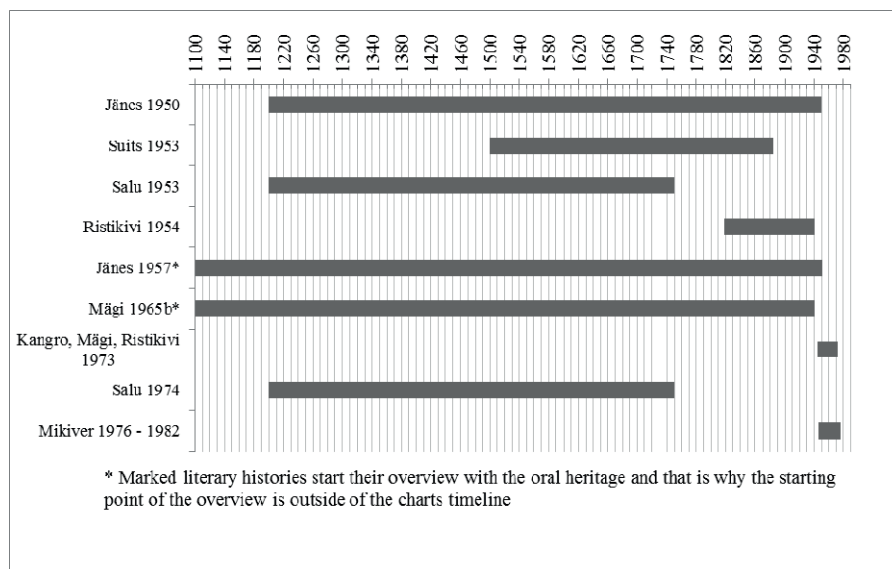


Chart 2. Literary histories published in Estonian and periods covered in their overviews

#### ESTONIAN LITERARY HISTORIES PUBLISHED IN EXILE

- Jänes, Henno 1950. *Ülevaade eesti kirjandusest*. Helsinki: Kauppalehti Oy:n Kirjapaino
1957. *Ülevaade eesti kirjandusest. Teine täiendatud trükk*. Lund: Skånska Centraltryckeriet
1965. *Geschichte der estnischen Literatur*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell
- Kangro, Bernard; Mägi, Arvo; Ristikivi, Karl, Ristikivi 1973. *Eesti kirjandus paguluses 1944-1972*. Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv
- Kangro, Bernard; Oras, Ants 1967. *Estonian Literature in Exile*. Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv
- Kolk, Raimond; Mägi, Arvo 1987. *Estnische Exilliteratur in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten. Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher. Fortsetzung der „Ungarischen Jahrbücher“ 7:48-78*
- Mikiver, Ilmar 1977a. *Eesti luule 1945-1955. Aja Kiri 5: 4-7*
- 1977b. *Eesti luule 1945-1955. Aja Kiri 6: 18-21; 24*
- 1978a. *Eesti proosa 1945-1955. Aja Kiri 1: 40-44*
- 1978b. *Eesti proosa 1945-1955. Aja Kiri 2: 30-33*
- 1978c. *Vahtkonnavaetus. Aja Kiri 3: 12-14*
- 1979a. *Vahtkonnavaetus. Aja Kiri 1: 34-36*
- 1979b. *Vahtkonnavaetus. Aja Kiri 2: 31-33*
- 1979c. *Vahtkonnavaetus. Aja Kiri 3: 32-33*
- 1979d. *Eesti proosa 1956-1968. Aja Kiri 4: 16-17*
- 1979e. *Vahtkonnavaetus 1956-68. Aja Kiri 5: 34-35*

- 1979f. Proosa Eestis 1956-1968. *Aja Kiri* 6: 29-31
- 1980a. 60-ndate poisid. *Aja Kiri* 1: 23-26
- 1980b. 60-ndate poisid. *Aja Kiri* 2: 26-27
- 1980c. 60-ndate poisid. *Aja Kiri* 3: 26-27
- 1980d. 60-ndate poisid. *Aja Kiri* 4-5:34-35
- 1980e. Laulik Runnel. *Aja Kiri* 6: 23-25
- 1981a. „Sürrealist“ Ehin. *Aja Kiri* 3: 28-29
- 1981b. Viivi Luik. *Aja Kiri* 5-6: 16-17
- 1982a. Kuuekümnendate järelvägi. *Aja Kiri* 1: 32-33
- 1982b. Veidike teooriat. *Aja Kiri* 2: 20-24
- Mägi, Arvo 1965a. *Viron kirjallisuuden historia*. Translated by Martti Rahula. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.
- 1965b. *Lühike eesti kirjanduslugu I-II. Algusest kuni iseseisvuseaja lõpuni*. Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv
1968. *Estonian Literature. An Outline*. Translated by Elga Eliaser. Stockholm: The Baltic Humanitarian Association.
- Salu, Herbert 1953. *Eesti vanem kirjandus*. Vadstena: Tõrvik
1961. *Estonian literature*. Stockholm: Estonian information centre.
1974. *Eesti vanem kirjandus*. Second amended edition. Rooma: Maarjamaa.
- Ristikivi, Karl 1954. *Eesti kirjanduse lugu*. Vadstena: Tõrvik
- Suits, Gustav 1953. *Eesti kirjanduslugu*. Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv: Lund.

#### KILKA UWAG NA TEMAT ESTOŃSKICH HISTORII LITERACKICH OPUBLIKOWANYCH NA EMIGRACJI

##### Streszczenie

Artykuł dotyczy różnych historii estońskiej literatury, które zostały napisane i opublikowane na emigracji w latach 1944-1991 przez estońskich pisarzy i naukowców. Celem wywodu jest przedstawienie tych publikacji jako wieloaspektowych tekstów kulturowych, które organizują praktykę literacką, wyrażają samoświadomość społeczności emigracyjnej i jednocześnie odzwierciedlają sytuacje kulturowe, w których zostały napisane i opublikowane. Artykuł oparty jest głównie na podstawach teoretycznych wypracowanych przez szkołę tartusko-moskiewską i na jej obserwacjach dynamiki i autokomunikacji kulturowej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** historie literackie, literatura emigracyjna, dynamika kulturowa, autokomunikacja, semiotyka kulturowa szkoły tartusko-moskiewskiej.

SOME OBSERVATIONS  
ABOUT ESTONIAN LITERARY HISTORIES PUBLISHED IN EXILE

Summary

This article is about Estonian literary histories that were written and published in exile between years 1944-1991 by Estonian writers and scholars. The aim of this article is to introduce Estonian literary histories published in exile as multifaceted cultural texts that are arranging the literary practise, convey the cultural self-consciousness and at the same time are mirroring the cultural situations in which they are written and published. I will describe and analyse the Estonian literary histories published in exile by exile Estonians as cultural texts which are mirroring the cultural processes taking place in the exile community between years 1944-1991. The theoretical background of my article rises mainly from Tartu-Moscow school and its observations about cultural dynamics and autocommunication.

**Key words:** Literary histories, exile literature, cultural dynamics, autocommunication, Cultural Semiotics of Tartu-Moscow School.