

## THE STORY OF AN UNUSUAL BOOK

**Sebastian Cwiklinski**  
*Free University of Berlin*

The article analyses the history of a Festschrift dedicated in 1987 to Ymär Daher (1910–1999), a well-known activist in the Tatar community of Finland. Two aspects of the volume are discussed in detail: why there was an astonishingly high number of Tatar authors from the Soviet Union and why one of the Tatar-language articles in the volume was published not in Cyrillic, the official script for the language in the Soviet Union, but in Arabic script. The article tries to find answers to these questions by following the life and the networking activities of the jubilee of the Festschrift and the life of Enže Säğidova (1921–1997), the author of the Arabic-script article in the volume.

### INTRODUCTION

In 1987, *Tatarica*, a book on Tatars, appeared in Finland. At first sight it looked like a usual Festschrift, and it was indeed dedicated to the 60th birthday of Ymär Daher (1910–1999), one of the most well-known figures of the Tatar community of Finland (*Tatarica* 1987).<sup>1</sup> The volume contained contributions in various languages (Finnish, English, German, Russian and Tatar) by prominent scholars in the field of Turkic studies, like Sir Gerard Clauson (UK, 1891–1973), Karl H. Menges (Austria/USA, 1908–1999), György Hazai (Hungary/East Germany, 1932–2016), Talât Tekin (Turkey/USA, 1927–2015), János Eckmann (Hungary/USA, 1905–1971) and Nikolai Baskakov (Soviet Union, 1905–1996), but also friends and relatives of the jubilee like his school friend, the literary scientist Eino Kauppinen (1910–2001), and Kadrie Daher, his sister. The subjects covered by the contributors range from studies on Middle Turkic literary documents (Eckmann 1987) to Turkic linguistics (Baskakov 1987; Menges 1987; Tekin 1987).

There are two aspects of this volume which immediately attract the reader's attention. The first one is the astonishingly high quantity of Tatar scholars from the Soviet Union among the authors. In total, sixteen Tatar scholars contributed to the volume, thirteen of whom were based in Kazan, the capital of Tatarstan, at that time an autonomous republic within the Russian Federative Socialist Republic in the Soviet Union. While the majority of the Tatar contributors wrote on Tatar subjects, covering linguistics (Makhmutova 1987) and literature (Ġänieva 1987), others dwelled,

---

<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to thank Muazzez Baibulat, Sabira Ståhlberg, Okan Daher and Fazile Nasretidin for their valuable contributions to this article, and Iskander Gilyazov and Marat Gibatdinov for providing copies of materials. The author further wishes to thank Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, president of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC), for information on its 1998 meeting. The opinions expressed in the article are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the persons who contributed information or materials.

for instance, on Middle Turkic literary documents and their relation to the Tatar language (Abdullin 1987; Khisamov 1987).

The second aspect that attracts the reader's attention immediately is the publication of a Tatar-language article in Arabic script by Enže Säğidova, a Tatar from Leningrad (now Saint Petersburg) (Säğidova 1987a). The two other Tatar-language contributions are published in Cyrillic, the official script for the language in the Soviet Union.

Some of the questions concerning the volume can easily be answered: the delay of 17 years in the publication of the Festschrift might, for instance, be explained by organizational problems and the temporarily poor health of the recipient, who closely collaborated with the official editor Lauri Kotiniemi; this had a huge impact on the compilation of the volume. Other questions require more background information, however, and the present article aims at highlighting the two most surprising aspects of the Festschrift: how was it possible to include so many contributions from Tatars from the Soviet Union at a time when Soviet authors had difficulties publishing their texts abroad, and why did the editors make the decision to publish one article in Arabic script? Clues might be found in the background of the Festschrift recipient himself and his networking activities in the Soviet Union. Perhaps the two questions, which at first sight could seem insignificant, will help us get a better understanding of the relations between the Tatar community in Finland and Tatars in the Soviet Union.

#### **YMÄR DAHER, HIS ACTIVITIES IN THE TATAR COMMUNITY OF FINLAND AND HIS NETWORKS**

Ymär Daher (earlier Tahiroff) was born in 1910 in the village of Quysui (Russian: Ovechy Ovrage) in Sergach district, Nizhny Novgorod province (Anon. 2008). The Tatars who emigrated to Finland came mainly from this district.<sup>2</sup> After the death of his mother and during a period of famine and increasing tension in Russia, Daher joined his father in Helsinki in 1921,<sup>3</sup> where he later studied law and followed a career in the city administration of Helsinki. At the same time he was an active member of the Tatar community in Finland. Already in 1926 his family was listed among the members of the Islamic Congregation of Helsinki (founded in 1925) and in 1935 he was among the founders of the *Finlandiya Türk Birliği* (Turkish Association of Finland, now FTB), the first cultural association of the Tatar community in the country (Belyaev 2017: 85, 140). In 1948, Ymär Daher became the founding director of the Tatar elementary school in Helsinki and remained in this position for ten years (Daher & Nadirov 1986: 116).

Parallel to his juridical profession and his activities in the Tatar community, Ymär Daher studied linguistics at the University of Helsinki, where since the 1960s he taught both Turkish and Tatar (Kauppinen 1987: 18). In 1963, he attended the annual meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC) in Matinkylä near Helsinki, where he had the opportunity to meet many scholars from Orientalist disciplines.<sup>4</sup> One result of his academic studies

---

2 Since the October Revolution of 1917, Daher's native village belongs to the Krasnooktyabrskiy district.

3 In 1986, Daher himself gave 1921 as the year of his arrival in Finland (Daher & Nadirov 1986: 116), whereas Kauppinen (1987: 16) and other sources give 1922.

4 Ymär Daher also attended later annual PIAC meetings: 1974 in Bad Honnef (Germany), 1976 in Helsinki and 1998 in Majvik (both Finland). At the PIAC meeting in 1998, he was received as a honorary guest (Kellner-Heinkele 2019).

was a doctoral dissertation from 1970 on agricultural tools in Anatolia, containing the cultural history of the tools and their Turkish designations (Daher 1970 & 1974).

A decisive step in the further development of Daher's cultural and scientific activities took place in 1966, when he attended the celebrations for the 80th anniversary of the Tatar poet Ğabdulla Tuqay (1886–1913) in Kazan, the capital of Tatarstan (Miñneġulov 2010). This first visit gave Daher the opportunity to establish close links with leading figures. In 1967, he founded the Cultural Association Ğabdulla Tuqay (Finnish: *Abdulla Tukain Kulttuuriseura*, henceforth Tuqay Association) (Daher & Nadirov 1986: 115).<sup>5</sup>

Already in August he invited the Tatar literature scientists Rezeda Ğänieva, Xatip Ğosmanov and Möxämmäd Ğaynullin to Finland at his own expense (Miñneġulov 2010). They attended several meetings, and during the first they informed members of the Tatar community in Helsinki about the latest developments of Tatar culture in Tatarstan. They also gave an overview of the activities of scientific institutions in Tatarstan to professors at the University of Helsinki (Daher & Nadirov 1986: 118). In May 1968, the association organized, once again at Daher's personal expense, a concert of prominent Tatar composers and musicians (Belyaev 2017: 145–146; Miñneġulov 2010; Daher & Nadirov 1986: 118) (Figure 1).<sup>6</sup>



Figure 1 Tatar artists invited by the Tuqay Association visiting Finnish President Urho Kekkonen in 1968. Photo: Nasakuva Oy, Rashid Nasretidin. Courtesy of Fazile Nasretidin, private archive.<sup>7</sup>

5 The Tuqay Association was registered officially only in April 1968 (Belyaev 2017: 145).

6 During their stay in Helsinki, the musicians were also officially received by the President of Finland Urho Kekkonen, with Ymär Daher accompanying them.

7 For further photographs from the meeting, see Wikipedia Ymär Daher Photograph and Däülät Photograph 2019 (links in the References).

The Tuqay Association remained an institutional framework for official contacts between Tatars in Finland and the Soviet Union until the 1980s. For instance, in May 1969 the Tatar researchers Iskändär Abdullin and Ilbaris Nadirov came to Finland as guests of the association and visited both Tampere (Baibulat 2004: 159) and Helsinki; at the Department for Altaic Studies at the University of Helsinki, a paper of Abdullin was presented, translated by Ymär Daher into Finnish (Abdullin 1987: 19). One year later, in June 1970, Daher headed a delegation from Finland to Kazan where they were received officially at the prestigious Institute for History, Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences (Minnullin, Khisamov & Ibragimov 2019: 10). In 1986, Daher summarized the activities of the Tuqay Association in an interview with the Tatar literature scientist and folklorist Ilbaris Nadirov (1925–2009) who himself had been three times in Finland at Daher’s invitation. According to Daher, since its foundation the association had organized sixteen meetings with nine scientists and fourteen artists from Tatarstan in Helsinki, Tampere and Järvenpää, some of whom came several times to Finland (Figure 2 and Figure 3). With the help of the Tuqay Association, the University of Helsinki organized eight public lectures by scientists from Kazan (Daher & Nadirov 1986: 122; Nadirov 1992: 185–186).



Tatarstan sängat ostaları tarafınnan başkarılğan

Abdulla Tukai Cämijäteneñ

**10 JILLIK BÄİRÄM KONSERTI**

Finlandia-jortu

02.10.1977 sägat 15.00

*Figure 2* Invitation to a concert on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Tuqay Association in 1977. Courtesy of Fazile Nasretidin, private archive.

PROGRAM			IKENCE BÜLEK		
BERENÇE BÜLEK			IKENCE BÜLEK		
ABDULLA TUKAI JADKÄRE					
Abdulla Tukai turında süz					
Z. Jarullin	Tukai marşı	başkara <b>Morat Siraceldinov</b>	F. Jarullin R. Jahin H. Väiullin	"Şüräle" baletninan andante hām vals Süzsez cırı Biju	başkara Tatarstannıñ atkazangan sängät eşlekese <b>Morat Ähmätov</b>
R. Jahin M. Mozaffarov Tatar halik cırı Tatar halik cırı Avıl köje	Aprel tañı Tukainı sagınu "Täñtiläu" "Ällüki"	M. Nogman süzläre G. Zäinaşeva süzläre A. Tukai süzläre A. Tukai süzläre	M. Muļjukov F. Hatipov M. Makarov Tatar halik cırı Tatar halik cırı	Cırmda juatırın Haman jaratam Kömes tojak tulpar atım "Al Zäinäbem" "Kübalägem"	F. Safin süzläre Zöñfat süzläre Halik süzläre
R. Jahin R. Jahin N. Cihanov	Preludija Vals Vals	başkara RSFSRnıñ atkazangan, Tatarstannıñ halik artisti, A. Tukai büläge laureatı <b>İlham Şakirov</b>	S. Häkim N. Arslanov M. Kärım M. Cäñil N. Näcmi	Respublikam minem Atlantıda Cigü oğä kızlar Kürşelär Min kaitıp kiläm tuidan	başkara <b>Rimma İbrahimova</b>
C. Fäzi Z. Häbbullin Tatar halik cırı	Bäiräm bügen Karlıgaç "Salkin cışmä"	A. Tukai süzläre A. Tukai süzläre	Tatar halik kölärennän tezmä		başkara <b>Airat Arslanov</b> Bajanda başkara <b>Rokija İbrahimova</b>
Ä. Malikov A. Tukai A. Tukai A. Tukai A. Tukai	Tukai isän Pär at Kızık gısık Kiçke teläk Şagır	başkara A. Tukai isemendäge Tatar дәülat filharmonija cırısı <b>Rimma İbrahimova</b>	I. Sakirov S. Gabası I. Jakupov Halik cırı Kün avılı köje G. İljasov Tatar halik köje Jana avıl köje	İdel buji kajınarı "Eşçe" operasının Nigmat cırı Jaslegemä kire kaitır idem "Eskadron"	A. Jerikäi süzläre N. Arslanov süzläre
Tatar halik cırı	Tugan tel	A. Tukai süzläre			başkara <b>İlham Şakirov</b>

ABDULLA TUKAIN SEURA R.Y.

Figure 3 Programme of a concert of the Tuqay Association in 1976.  
Courtesy of Fazile Nasretudin, private archive.

Parallel to these official and semi-official contacts, Ymär Daher and his wife Halide established personal relations with Tatars, not only in Tatarstan but also in other cities. One contact they made was the Leningrad-based librarian, bibliographer and scholar Enže Säğidova (1921–1997) (Baibulat 2019).

### ENŽE SÄĞIDOVA, HER WORK ON ĞABDULLA TUQAY AND THE FESTSCHRIFT

Born in Kazan as the daughter of the publisher, publicist and teacher Kärım Säğid (1888–1939),<sup>8</sup> Enže Säğidova moved with her family to Leningrad in 1934. When her father was persecuted and convicted in 1937, the rest of the Säğid family, including Enže, was exiled to Ufa, the capital of the Autonomous Republic of Bashkiria (now Bashkortostan). In 1940, Enže Säğidova managed to return to Leningrad, where she enrolled in Iranian Studies at the State University of Leningrad. In 1948, she became member of the staff of the State Public Library (the main national library in the country, now the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg), working in the Department of National (that is, non-Russian) Languages. Since the 1950s, she published numerous catalogues, bibliographies and articles in various languages

8 There is contradictory information concerning Kärım Säğid's year of birth: Säğidova (1968: 115) once mentioned it as 1883 and the same year was given by İbrahim Nurullin and Rim Yäküpov (1986: 250). In her article from 1990, entirely dedicated to the memory of her father, Säğidova (1990: 185) changed it to 1888 and this was confirmed in 2016 by İlham Gömärov (2016: 220). In 2017, however, A.R. Aetbaev (2017: 11) gave the year 1890. As the author does not currently have the possibility to check the contradictions further, the year that Enže Säğidova gave in her later article on her father is used here.



of the Soviet Union, including several Turkic (Bashkir, Chuvash, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tatar and Uzbek) and other languages (Tajik, Russian) on books and manuscripts found in the library and on aspects of Turkic literature. She remained at the State Public Library throughout her entire professional life (Asvanturov & Tisenko 2013).

Enže Säğidova became acquainted with Tatar literary circles in 1966, when she guided a delegation of writers from Tatarstan through Leningrad, an occasion which was later gratefully mentioned in the report on the excursion (Söläymanova 1966). In the late 1960s, she gained relative fame in Tatar literary studies by publishing her father's memories on the relation of the famous Tatar poet Ğabdulla Tuqay with Saint Petersburg (Säğidova 1968) and two further documents related to the poet: a formerly unknown letter by him to the publisher Ğilmutdin Šäräf (1885–1942) and the draft of a letter by her father to him with thoughts on Tuqay's last collection of poems (Säğidova 1970).<sup>9</sup> Säğidova's article from 1970 offered the texts of both documents in facsimile form and as a transcription from the original Arabic into Cyrillic. She published a Russian translation of Tuqay's letter to Ğilmutdin Šäräf as well (Säğidova 1967). All the published materials had been kept in her father's personal archive (Säğidova 1968: 115; 1970: 150).<sup>10</sup>

As Tatars both in Tatarstan and in diaspora regard Ğabdulla Tuqay as the most important author of modern Tatar literature (with "modern" meaning the literature since the early twentieth century), any publication that sheds new light on him is received with interest by a vast community of literature scientists in Tatarstan. This was also the case with Säğidova's articles on the poet. Her father's memories from Tuqay's visit in Saint Petersburg were included in the edition of the seminal collection of memories about him (Nurullin & Yäküpov 1986: 168–174) and Tuqay's letter was immediately included in the collection of his works (for the last two editions, see Tuqay 1986: 78; 2016: 195). In 1974, Äbrar Kärimullin used the letter as a supportive argument in order to refute the widespread image of Tuqay being cruelly exploited by his publisher; according to Kärimullin (1974: 173), the amount of money demanded by the young poet in the letter (and later paid by the publisher) was comparably high for a young and aspiring author.

As Säğidova's articles were published at the time when Ymär Daher was establishing closer contacts with Tatars in the Soviet Union, her publications would not have passed unnoticed by him. Although the exact time of Enže Säğidova's and Daher's first meeting is yet to be established, it may be assumed that it took place during one of his journeys to the Soviet Union. Ymär and his wife Halide Daher visited Enže Säğidova at her home in Leningrad and the bibliographer later came to Helsinki to visit the Daher family, both alone and accompanied by her daughter and granddaughter (Baibulat 2019).

Obviously Säğidova's research was prominent enough to attract Ymär Daher's attention, because he took the decision to include her article on Tuqay's letter (Säğidova 1970) in the *Festschrift*. Similarly to other articles in the volume, there was not just the article itself in the original language but also summaries in Russian and Finnish. Contrary to the summaries of the other articles, which do not exceed the length of two pages, the Russian version of Säğidova's text is no less than eight pages long (Säğidova 1987b). Like its Finnish-language counterpart (Säğidova 1987c), it offers a complete Russian translation of Tuqay's letter, the text of which was taken from Säğidova's publi-

9 Both Kärim Säğid and Ğilmutdin Šäräf fell victim to Stalinist persecution and died in labour camps. On Säğid, see Aetbaev 2017; on Šäräf, see Valeev 2014.

10 The archive is now in the possession of Säğid's granddaughter. From this archive, Säğid's diary from 1926 has been edited by Ğömärov and Bustanov; see Ğömärov 2016; Ğömärov & Bustanov 2016.

cation in 1967 (Sägidova 1987b: 270). Why did Ymär Daher decide to have the text of Sägidova’s article from 1970 transcribed (or perhaps transcribe it himself) from Cyrillic into Arabic script?

**ARABIC SCRIPT IN FINLAND AND THE FESTSCHRIFT**

Arabic script played an important role in the Tatar community until the 1950s, when a gradual shift to the Latin script began. The periodical *Mahalle Haberleri* (“Congregational News”, 1949–1970) was first published exclusively in the Arabic script, but since 1952 single texts in the Latin script were added while in the last issues only single articles were still written in the Arabic script (Daher 1999: 44; Halén 1981: 22).<sup>11</sup> The choice between the two scripts was not a matter that involved the entire community but rather an individual decision of the authors and connected to their generation. An exhaustive annotated bibliography of the community’s literary activities from 1979 shows that authors born after 1940 already used the Latin script while the older generation preferred Arabic even in the late 1970s (Figures 4a & 4b) (Halén 1981). The older generation of the Tatar community continued to use the Arabic script in private letters, both in their communication within the community and with their relatives and friends in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world, far into the 1990s (Ståhlberg 2019) even if the Latin script already dominated the public communication of the community (Daher 1999).

ABDULLA TUKAIN SEURA r.y.  
Lönnotinkatu 17 B 5  
00120 Helsinki 12

Helsinki, 17.4.1976

Hörmätile millättäglär,

Milli şağırız Abdulla Tukainiñ tu'una bu april ajınıñ 26-nda 90 jil tula. Bu uñai belän Abdulla Tukai Cämijäte tarafınan Tatarstan ilennän Kazan şähärennän ölim häm artistlar çäkiriñdi. Bu april ajınıñ 25-ndä bazar kön saat 15 tä Helsinkiä Finlandia-yor-tında, adres: Karamzininkatu 4, halikibizniñ iñ tanılğan ölim, şağır, çirçi häm muzikant-larınan korılğan häjüt konsert birşäk häm dä başqa çığılarda da bulınaçak.

Konserttan soñ Hotel Maraki'niñ häziräm zalında 2. katta, adres: Mannerheimintie 10, kaderle kunaklarız belän programlı oğraşu kişise tärtip itelşäk.

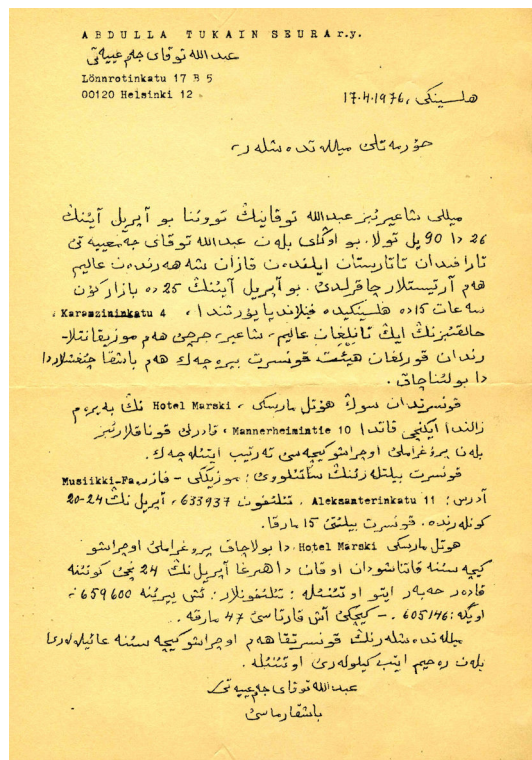
Konsert biletläreniñ satılı: Musiikki-Fazer, adres: Aleksanterinkatu 11, telefon 633 937, aprilniñ 20–24 könnärenä. Konsert bilete ä 15 mk.

Hotel Maraki'da programlı oğraşu kişisenä katnaşudan Okan Daher'ğa, tele- fon: eş jirenä 659 600, ögä 605 146, 24.4. köngä kadär habär itü ütenäl. Kişke eş kartası ä 47 mk.

Millättägläreniñ konsertka häm oğraşu kişisenä aälläre belän rähim itep kililäre ütenäl.

Abdulla Tukai Cämijäte  
Başkarması

*keräk 13.*



Figures 4a & 4b Invitations to a concert of the Tuqay Association in 1976 in Latin and Arabic scripts. Courtesy of Fazile Nasretdin, private archive.

11 The fact that the alphabet change was completed in the 2010s might be illustrated by the example of the periodical, which was revived in 2012 under the title *Mähallä Habärläre* entirely in the Latin script (*Mähallä Habärläre* 2012–2016 is available online; current issues are only on paper).

The use of the Arabic script in the 1970s by representatives of the older generation like Ymär Daher can be explained by both the personal history of the representatives of this generation and perhaps the wish to remain faithful to a cultural tradition. According to Ymär Daher's son Okan Daher, it was his father himself who wanted Säğidova's article from 1970 to be included in the *Tatarica* volume. Ymär Daher is said to have insisted on the transcription of the article into Arabic, because the original of the letter was written in this script (Baibulat 2019). Did Ymär Daher make this decision in order to remain faithful to the original of a source of an acclaimed national poet, or were there other reasons? A comparative look at both the original texts and the edition in Säğidova's contribution to the *Festschrift* might provide an answer.

A closer comparison of the original of Tuqay's letter and the draft of Säğid's letter to Tuqay (for the facsimiles, see Säğidova 1970: 151, 154; 1987a: 265–267) with the transcription of both documents in Säğidova's article (1987a: 256, 259–261)<sup>12</sup> reveals remarkable differences between the texts. Peculiarities of the Volga-Ural Turkî (ancient Tatar) use of the Arabic script – typical for Tuqay's letter from 1907, Säğid's draft and Tatar texts at the turn of the twentieth century in general – have been replaced by features common to the newer versions of the Arabic alphabet, proposed by reformers since the 1910s in order to bring the alphabet closer to the phonetics of the spoken Tatar language. One of these proposals had in 1920 become the official alphabet of the Tatar language in Tatarstan and kept this status until 1929.<sup>13</sup> A look at the differences in terms of categories will help make this dimension more understandable:<sup>14</sup>

1) Säğidova's rendition of the text moves away from the Volga-Ural Turkî original and comes closer to standard Tatar. For instance, the assimilation of consonants which the Volga-Ural Turkî alphabet did not render is given in Säğidova's version. Accordingly, *كونلرده* *könlärdä* 'in the days' in SÄĞID becomes *كوننه رده* *könnärdä* in SÄĞID TR, which corresponds to the spelling in Tatar. In this respect the Säğidova version of the alphabet differs from the revised Arabic alphabet that the Tatar community of Finland was using, because in this alphabet the consonant assimilation is not rendered.<sup>15</sup>

2) The previous example also shows that the Arabic alphabet in Säğidova 1987a (and, accordingly, the Arabic alphabet of the Tatar community in Finland) has the tendency to render some of the vowels that are not represented in the Volga-Ural Turkî alphabet from the turn of the century. The same phenomenon can be shown by another example: *مجموعه* *mäcmügä* in *اشعارمجموعه* *äşğari mäcmügä* 'collected poems' in TUQAY 1907 becomes *مه جموعه* in TUQAY TR.

3) Similar to the second category is the phenomenon that each vowel of the Tatar language is now represented by a separate letter, whereas in the Volga-Ural Turkî version some letters represent two or even three vowels. For instance, in Volga-Ural Turkî the reduced vowel *e* (like in *inde* 'now') is represented by the letter *ى*, see *ايندى* *inde* in TUQAY 1907. As the letter has to represent in Volga-Ural Turkî the short and the long vowels *i* and *î* as well, there is no differentiation between these three different vowels in this alphabet. Contrary to this, in Säğidova

12 Due to a printing error, page 260 has the wrong page number 160.

13 For details on the reform discussion and the official alphabet in the 1920s, see Qurbatov 1960: 44–65.

14 The following does not include an exhaustive list of all the differences, but concentrates on categorizing them systematically. "TUQAY 1907" is shorthand for the facsimile of Tuqay's letter, while "TUQAY TR" identifies its transcription in Säğidova 1987a. Accordingly, "SÄĞID" stands for the facsimile of Säğid's draft of a letter and "SÄĞID TR" for its transcription.

15 See, for instance, the text of the invitation to a concert from 1976 in Arabic script (Figure 4b), where the word which is pronounced *tarafinnan* 'by' is written *تارافندان* *tarafindan*, that is without rendering the consonant assimilation.



1987a the reduced *e* is represented by its own letter, ع. Accordingly, the word *inde* is written ئيندى in TUQAY TR.

4) Some letters of the Arabic alphabet represent different sounds in the Arabic language, not all of which exist in Turkic languages. However, in the Arabic alphabet for Volga-Ural Turkî these letters have been retained, even if they did not represent different sounds. For instance, in Volga-Ural Turkî texts the sound [s] was represented either by the letter س or by ص, depending on the vowels accompanying this consonant, but in the revised version of the Arabic alphabet this differentiation is no longer retained. For instance, the Tatar word *sonġi* ‘the last’ is written صوتغى in SÄGID, but سوغى in SÄGID TR.

5) In Sägidova’s rendition of the text, some Tatar words with a dialectal pronunciation (which is reflected in the orthography as well) have been replaced by their standard Tatar counterparts. For instance, the dialectal *yibärermen* ‘I will send’ which was written ييارمن in TUQAY 1907, has become جибирмен *žibärermen* in TUQAY TR.

Not all the differences between the two versions of the documents – the Volga-Ural Turkî version from the facsimiles and their rendition in the revised Arabic alphabet – can be explained only by transformational problems between the versions of the Arabic alphabet. Even if one concedes that the changes of categories 2–4 might be explained by such problems, the differences of categories 1 and 5 might not; one cannot explain why the transcription from one form of the Arabic alphabet to another should bring the language of the text closer to standard Tatar and eliminate traces of a dialectal pronunciation. In particular, the unexpected rendition of the consonant assimilation, which is neither in the Volga-Ural Turkî alphabet nor in the revised version by the Tatar community in Finland, cannot be due to a transformation between the two Arabic alphabets.

The original version of Sägidova’s article from 1970 could provide an answer to the origin of the changes. An analysis of the Cyrillic transcription of the two documents (for Tuqay’s letter, see Sägidova 1970: 151–152; for Sägid’s draft, see Sägidova 1970: 154–155) reveals that all the five categories of changes can already be found in the transcription from the Arabic into the Cyrillic script. Thus, the peculiarities of the texts of the two documents in Sägidova 1987a do not stem from a rendition from one form of the Arabic script to another, but from the re-transcription of a Cyrillic rendition of an Arabic-script document back to another version of the Arabic script. The peculiarities of the Tatar Cyrillic alphabet are responsible for the strange text qualities of the Arabic transcription of the documents we find in Sägidova’s text in the *Ymär Daher Festschrift*.

To summarize the findings, Sägidova 1987a is nothing more than the only slightly adapted Arabic-script version of Sägidova 1970 which had been published in Cyrillic, and this holds true for the transcription of the two documents in question, too. The question remains why Ymär Daher opted for such a re-transcription.

## CONCLUSIONS

The publication of a Tatar-language article in Arabic script in a *Festschrift* volume published in Finland in the 1980s, along with other articles in the same language in Cyrillic script, raised an important question: why was one of the Tatar-language articles published in Arabic script? And how was it possible that there were so many Tatar scholars represented in the volume?

A look at the personal history of Ymär Daher, the recipient of the *Festschrift*, paves the way for a possible explanation. The fact that one can find among the authors of the *Festschrift*

both scholars from the international community of Turkologists and Tatar researchers from the Soviet Union might be explained by his personal contacts. Daher had begun to attend international conferences on Altaistic studies in the early 1960s and many of the scholars he became acquainted with at these conferences contributed to the *Tatarica* volume.

The astonishingly high number of scholars from Tatarstan among the authors of the volume can be explained by the personal contacts that Ymär Daher established between the Tatars of Finland and the scientific and cultural community in Tatarstan through the foundation of the Tuqay Association. In a review of the Festschrift from 1989 written by Iskändär Abdullin and Ilbaris Nadirov (themselves contributors to the volume), we can read details about how the compilation of the volume was organized. According to them, in the summer of 1970 a letter “from Finland” arrived at the Institute for History, Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences in Kazan, in which professors from the University of Helsinki called for contributions to a Festschrift dedicated to Ymär Daher. According to the reviewers, it was entirely the individual decision of researchers whether to send contributions to Finland (Abdullin & Nadirov 1989: 170; see also Nadirov 1978: 173). However, as can be shown by Iskändär Abdullin’s own contribution to the volume, the (at least implicit) claim that everything about the *Tatarica* volume began with a letter from Finland in 1970 cannot hold true for all the articles: a shortened version of his own Russian-language article in the Festschrift had already been translated into Finnish by Ymär Daher in 1969 and presented at the University of Helsinki (Abdullin 1987).

Among the Tatar authors present in the volume, we mainly find researchers who had scientific and/or personal links with Ymär Daher. For instance, Nurmöxämmät Xisamov, one of the contributors (Khisamov 1987), had met Daher as early as 1966 when the latter visited Kazan for the first time.<sup>16</sup> Rezeda Ğänieva and Xatip Ğosmanov, both of whom have articles in the Festschrift (Ğänieva 1987; Usmanov 1987), had been in Helsinki in 1967 at Daher’s personal invitation. Ilbaris Nadirov, the second reviewer of *Tatarica*, had been in Finland for the first time in 1969 as the guest of the Tuqay Association (Baibulat 2004: 159) and during his second visit to Finland in 1975 he was asked directly by the editors to contribute to the volume (Nadirov 1978: 173). In 1978, Nadirov visited Finland once again with his colleague, the archaeologist Alfred Xalikov (1925–2000) who also contributed to the Festschrift (Khalikov 1987; Anon. 1978: 190).

The remaining Tatar contributors to the volume from Kazan who had not been to Finland were (with the exception of R.A. Yunaleeva who worked at the State University of Kazan) members of the staff of the Institute for History, Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences in Kazan, the institution Daher had visited as head of a delegation of Tatars from Finland in 1970. These persons include Foat Ğäniev, Läylä Mäxmütova, Xalif Qurbatov and Mirfatix Zäkiev (Minnullin, Khisamov & Ibragimov 2019: 52, 75, 77, 84, 90).

The inclusion of the Leningrad-based scholar Enže Säğidova can be explained mainly by the personal contacts of Daher and his wife. Daher had a huge influence on the composition and editing process of his own Festschrift and his personal contacts were crucial in recruiting the authors for the *Tatarica* volume. The volume is not only the result but also a document reflecting the intensity of the contacts established by Ymär Daher and the Tuqay Association in the Soviet Union. The association, however, was not the only institution trying to establish contacts with Tatars in the Soviet Union; there were contacts also on a personal level and institutions of the Tatar communities

---

16 For a photograph of their meeting in 1966 in Kazan, see Safina 2017: n.p.

of Finland established contacts with Tatars in the Soviet Union. For example, in 1983 the mufti of Ufa, Talgat Tağuddin, visited Tampere (Baibulat 2004: n.p.).

My investigation shows that not only Säğidova's article but also the documents presented were transcribed not from the original, but directly from the Cyrillic transcription in Säğidova 1970. Thus, a (hypothetical) wish to render the original text of an acclaimed Tatar poet as literally as possible cannot serve as a possible explanation for the decision to publish the article in Arabic script. If the information is true that Daher insisted on publishing the article in the Arabic script because Tuqay's letter, one of the sources the article introduces had been written in the same script (Baibulat 2019), we must conclude that for him a rendition of the letter in the Arabic alphabet from the 1920s was suitable for the classic of Tatar literature from the early twentieth century, even if it did not correspond to the original alphabet. Then the same thing cannot be said about the Cyrillic script. It might be that for Ymär Daher, this alphabet was not suitable for the task of representing a valuable source from an outstanding representative of Tatar literature and culture. However, it seems that there was no principal problem with Cyrillic, as the other two Tatar-language articles published in the *Festschrift* had been written in that script and Daher himself had earlier published Cyrillic-script texts (Daher 1978).

Apart from the Tuqay-related aspect of this decision – the Arabic alphabet most likely being regarded by Daher as especially suitable for the publication of the great poet's works – there might be a more general reason for the inclusion of the Arabic script in the *Tatarica* volume. At least until the late 1970s, the vast majority of the Tatar community of Finland had regarded the Arabic script as the key to both Tatar and Islamic culture. The importance of the Arabic script for the identity of the community would have therefore contributed to the decision to publish an article on an acclaimed Tatar poet and his letter in the same script in which he had published his texts. Even if the alphabet of both Enže Säğidova's text and that of the Tatar community of Finland in fact differs from the one Tuqay had used, use of the script would have signified an honorific reference to an outstanding representative of Tatar literature and, more generally speaking, the veneration of traditional Tatar culture itself.

A generational aspect within the Tatar community of Finland might also have played a role. Ymär Daher was a representative of the older generation who always had used the Arabic script as a gate to Tatar culture and as a means of cultural production. The shift from the Arabic to the Latin script within the Tatar community can also be seen as a change of generation. Opting for Arabic script in 1987, at a time when the Latin script was already dominating the life of the community, might be seen as an attempt by the older generation to advance an aspect of an important heritage which should be taken into account and respected by the younger generation. Further research is needed on the parallel use and education of children in both alphabets and the personal choices of Arabic and Latin scripts among the Tatars in Finland and also on the written activities of the community.

## REFERENCES

- ANONYMOUS 1978. Fänni elemtälär niğiy [The scientific relations become more intensive]. *Qazan Utları* 11: 190.
- ANONYMOUS 2008. Daher Ümār [= Ymär] Tahir ulı (1910–1999). In: D.M. MUKHETDINOV & F.M. IBRAGIMOV (eds), *Nizhegorodskie tatory: biograficheskiy slovar'*, I [Tatars of Nizhny Novgorod: A biographical dictionary]: 174. Nizhny Novgorod: Medina.
- ABDULLIN, Iskändär 1987. Otnoshenie armyano-kypchakskikh rukopisey k tatarskomu yazyku [The relationship of the Armenian-Kipchak manuscripts to the Tatar language]. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 19–29.

- ABDULLIN, Iskändär & Ilbaris NADIROV 1989. Review of *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*. Vammala: Vammalan kirjapaino 1987. *Qazan Utları* 9: 170–174.
- AETBAEV, A.R. 2017. Iz biografii K.M. Sagidova – perevodchika arabografichnykh dokumentov po istorii Bashkortostana [On the biography of K.M. Sagidov, the translator of documents in Arabic script on the history of Bashkortostan]. In: I.I. BULYAKOV et al. (eds), *Razvitie gumanitarnoy nauki v regionakh Rossii: Materialy Mezhdunarodnoy nauchnoy konferentsii, posvyashchennoy 85-letiyu Federal'nogo gosudarstvennogo byudzhnogo uchrezhdeniya nauki Institut istorii, yazyka i literatury Ufimskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN* [The development of human sciences in the regions of Russia: Materials of the conference, dedicated to the 85th anniversary of the Institute of history, language and literature of the Ufa Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences]: 11–13. Ufa: IYal UNTs RAN.
- ASVANTUROV, A.S & E.V. TISENKO 2013. Sagidova (Vorob'yeva) Endzhe Abdul-Karimovna. In: G.V. MIKHEEVA et al. (eds), *Sotrudniki Rossiyskoy natsional'noy biblioteki – deyateli nauki i kul'tury: biograficheskii slovar'* [The staff of the Russian National Library – activists in the field of science and culture: A biographical dictionary], IV. *Gosudarstvennaya Publichnaya biblioteka imeni M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina 1946–1956*: 497–499. Saint Petersburg: Rossiyskaya natsional'naya biblioteka.
- BAIBULAT, Muazzez 2004. *Tampereen Islamilainen Seurakunta: juuret ja historia. Tampere Islam Mahalleesi: Nigızı ve tarihi. The Tampere Islamic Congregation: the Roots and History*. Tampere: Tampereen Islamilainen Seurakunta.
- BAIBULAT, Muazzez 2019. Written communication, 23 Oct. 2019.
- BASKAKOV, Nikolai A. 1987. O nekotorykh tokharskikh zaimstovaniyakh v leksike tyurkskikh yazykov [On some Tocharian loanwords in the vocabulary of the Turkic language]. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 32–42.
- BELYAEV, Ramil 2017. *Tatarskaya diaspora Finlyandii: voprosy integratsii i sokhraneniya identichnosti* [The Tatar diaspora of Finland: Questions of integration and preservation of the identity]. PhD dissertation, University of Helsinki.
- DAHER, Okan 1999. Orthographical traditions among the Tatar minority in Finland. *Studia Orientalia* 87: 41–48. Helsinki: The Finnish Oriental Society.
- DAHER, Ymär 1970. *Agricultura Anatolica I: Die volkstümlichen landwirtschaftlichen Geräte. Eine wort- und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkvölker*. (Studia Orientalia 42) Helsinki: The Finnish Oriental Society.
- DAHER, Ymär 1974 [1971]. *Agricultura Anatolica I: Wortregister*. *Studia Orientalia* 43(2). Helsinki: The Finnish Oriental Society.
- DAHER, Ymär [Gömär Tahir] 1978: Finlyandiyädä törki tellärne tikšerü tarixinnan [From the history of the research on Turkic languages in Finland]. *Qazan Utları* 1: 174–177.
- DAHER, Ymär [Gömär Tahir] & Ilbaris NADIROV 1986. Bäräkätle xäräkät [A beneficial movement]. *Qazan Utları* 4: 115–122.
- Däülät Photograph 2019. Photograph. <gdb.rferl.org/D46307A2-3EBC-4B08-84D6-3BE8808ADCDC\_cx7\_cy22\_cw90\_w1023\_r1\_s.jpg>, at <azatliq.org/a/29715230.html>, accessed 10 Nov. 2019.
- ECKMANN, János 1987. Fragments of Khöräzmī's Maḥabbatnāma. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 98–119.
- ĠĀNIEVA, Rezeda K. 1987. Ġabdulla Tuqay häm tuġandaš ädäbiyatlar [Ġabdulla Tuqay and the fraternal literatures]. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 134–140.
- ĠÖMĀROV, İlham 2016. Fatix Ämirxannıñ soñġı könnäre turında yaña tabılġan čıġanaq: Kärım Säġid köndäleġe [A newly found source on Fatix Ämirxan's last days: Kärım Säġid's diary]. In: I. ĠÖMĀROV (ed.), Ruxi miras. *Ezlänülär häm tabiřlar. 2nče čıġarılıř* [Research and discoveries. Part Two]: 220–221. Kazan: TÄhSI.
- ĠÖMĀROV, İlham & Älfrid BUSTANOV (eds) 2016. Kärım Säġid köndäleġe [Kärım Säġid's diary]. In: I. ĠÖMĀROV (ed.), Ruxi miras. *Ezlänülär häm tabiřlar. 2nče čıġarılıř* [Research and discoveries. Part Two]: 222–267. Kazan: TÄhSI.
- HALÉN, Harry 1981 [1979]. A Bibliographical Survey of the Publishing Activities of the Turkic Minority in Finland. *Studia Orientalia* 51(11). Helsinki: The Finnish Oriental Society.
- KÄRİMULLIN, Äbrar 1974. Tatar tipografıyäläre tarixinnan. “Matbaġai řäräf”, “Ürnäk”, “V. Ye. Qazakov”, “Mäġäriř” tipografıyäläre [From the history of Tatar printing houses. The printing houses “řäräf”, “Ürnäk”, “V. Ye. Qazakov” and “Mäġäriř”]. *Qazan Utları* 9: 166–174.
- KAUPPINEN, Eino 1987. Shkol'ny tovarishch – ucheny – drug [School friend – scholar – friend]. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 16–18.



- KELLNER-HEINKELE, Barbara 2019. Written communication, 2 Nov. 2019.
- KHALIKOV, A.Kh. [Alfred Xalikov] 1987. Istoricheskie korni obshchnosti tatar-misharey i kazanskikh tatar [The historical roots of the common traits of the Mishār Tatars and the Kazan Tatars]. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 334–351.
- KHISAMOV, N.Sh. [= Nurmöxämmät Xisamov] 1987. Itogi i zadachi izucheniya “Kyssa-i Yusuf” Kul ‘Ali [Results and tasks in the research on Qul ‘Ali’s “Qissa-i Yusuf”]. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 354–363.
- Mähällä Habärläre 2012–2016. Periodical of the Tatar community of Finland [9 issues], Helsinki 2012 to 2016. Online: <tatar.fi/tt/mh-5/>, accessed 10 Nov. 2019.
- MAKHMUTOVA, L.T. 1987. Ob osobennostyakh v kategorii mestoimeniy v bastanskom govore tatarskogo yazyka [On the peculiarities of the pronouns in the Bastan dialect of the Tatar language]. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 225–232.
- MENGES, Karl H. 1987. Zu einigen slawisch-türkischen Lehnbeziehungen. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 233–242.
- MIDNEGÜLOV, Xatip 2010. Oral communication in the radio report on the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Ymär Daher’s birthday in Kazan. In: Voice of Turkey, Tatar-language emission *Törek wä Tatar dönyasında* [In the Turkic and the Tatar world] from 5 Dec. 2010, minutes 7:27 to 15:30. <medya.trt.net.tr/medya2/ses/2010/12/07/d0c2f7d2-4bd2-41bb-896e-88e3c21e6278.mp3>, accessed 10 Nov. 2019.
- MINNULLIN K.M., O.R. KHISAMOV & M.I. IBRAGIMOV (eds) 2019. *Institut yazyka, literatury i isskustva imeni G. Ibragimova* [The Ğ. Ibrahimov Institute of Language, Literature and the Arts]. Kazan: Institut yazyka, literatury i isskustva imeni G. Ibragimova.
- NADIROV, Ilbaris 1978. Bağlanışlar niğy [The connections become more close]. *Qazan Utları* 1: 173–174.
- NADIROV, Ilbaris Nadir 1992. Finlyandiyä tatarları [The Tatars of Finland]. *Qazan Utları* 2: 176–188 [reprinted in 2012: *Qazan Utları* 5: 146–159].
- NURULLIN Ibrahim & Rif YÄKÜPOV (eds) 1986. *Tuqay turında istäleklär* [Memories about Tuqay]. Kazan: Tatarstan kitap nāšriyatı.
- QURBATOV, Xalif 1960. *Tatar teleneñ alfavit häm orfografiyā tarixi* [History of the alphabets and the orthography of the Tatar language]. Kazan: Tatarstan kitap nāšriyäte.
- SAFINA, E.I. (ed.) 2017. *Fängä bağışlangan gömer: Nurmöxämmät häm Fähimä Xisamovların 80 yaşlegenä* [Lives, dedicated to science: On the occasion of the 80th birthday of Nurmöxämmät and Fähimä Xisamov]. Kazan: TÄhSI.
- SÄGIDOVA [SAGIDOVA], Enže 1967. Tukay i “Magarif” [Tuqay and “Mägäriŋ”]. *Druzhba Narodov* 8: 245–246.
- SÄGIDOVA, Enže 1968. Kärım Sägid arxivnınnan [From Kärım Sägid’s archive]. *Qazan Utları* 4: 115–119.
- SÄGIDOVA, Enže 1970. Tuqaynıñ ike žiyintiği [Two of Tuqay’s collections of poems]. *Qazan Utları* 1: 150–155.
- SÄGIDOVA, Enže 1987a. Ğabdulla Tuqay şigerläreneñ üze isän vaqıtta çıqqan berençe häm soñğı žiyintiqlarına qarata [On the first and the last collections of Abdulla Tuqay’s poems, published in his lifetime]. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 254–267.
- SÄGIDOVA [SAGIDOVA], Enže 1987b. Pervoe i poslednee prizhiznennye izdaniya proizvedeniya Tukaya [The first and the last editions of Tuqay’s works published during his lifetime]. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 268–275.
- SÄGIDOVA [SAGIDOVA], Enže 1987c. Ğabdulla Tukain teosten ensimmäinen ja viimeinen runoilijan elässä julkaistu painos. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 276–277.
- SÄGIDOVA, Enže 1990. Ğälım, pedagog, žurnalist... [Scholar, pedagogue, journalist...]. *Qazan Utları* 11: 185–187.
- SÖLÄYMANOVA, Sažidä 1966. Legendar Leningradta tatar yazuçıları. Tere tarix yöri uramnarda [Tatar writers in the legendary Leningrad. Living history walks the streets]. *Qazan Utları* 2: 117–124.
- STÄHLBERG, Sabira 2019. Written communication, 30 Oct. 2019.
- Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario* 1987. Vammala: Vammalan kirjapaino.
- TEKIN, Talât: On the history of the labial vowel shifts in Tatar and Bashkir. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 293–306.
- TUQAY, Ğabdulla 1986. *Äsärklär. Biş tomda. Vol. 5: İstäleklär, yulyazmalar, xatlar, mäsällär häm balalar öčen xikâyälär (1902–1913)* [Works. In five volumes. Vol 5: Memories, travelogues, letters, fairy tales and stories for children (1902–1913)]. Kazan: Tatarstan kitap nāšriyatı.

- TUQAY, Ğabdulla 2016. *Āsārlār. 6 tomda. Vol. 5: Mäsällär, balalar öčen xikäyälär, avtobiografik povest', yulyazmalar, xatlar (1903–1913)* [Works. In 6 volumes. Vol. 5: Fairytales, stories for children, an autobiographical novel, travelogues, letters (1903–1913)]. Kazan: Tatarstan kitap nāšriyatı.
- USMANOV, Kh. 1987. Istoki ritmicheskogo stroya stikha tyurkoyazychnykh narodov [The sources of the rhythmic the verse of the Turkic-speaking peoples]. In: *Tatarica: Studia in honorem Ymär Daher anno MCMLXX sexagenario*: 365–375.
- VALEEV, Ramzi 2014. “Khamit, yesli sokhranish' zhizn', to obyazatel'no rasskazhi obo mne” (G. Sharaf) [“Khamit, if you manage to stay alive, definitely tell about me” (G. Sharaf)]. *Gasyrlar Avazy – Ekho Vekov* 3/4: 270–273.
- Wikipedia Ymär Daher Photograph. Online: <[https://tt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Файл:Umar\\_Daher\\_1.jpg](https://tt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Файл:Umar_Daher_1.jpg)>, at <[https://tt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Үмәр\\_Даһер](https://tt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Үмәр_Даһер)>, accessed 10 Nov. 2019.