

## From the Early Days of Finnish Indology IV —Julio Natanael Reuter

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**Introduction.** In my earlier articles published under the same general title<sup>1</sup> I have dealt with Ivar Ulrik Wallenius, the first to teach Sanskrit at the University of Helsinki (starting in 1835), with Herman Kellgren, the first Docent of Sanskrit (from 1849), and with Otto Donner, the first Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics (from 1875). The present paper is devoted to Donner's pupil and successor, Julio Natanael Reuter. As Wallenius was, and Kellgren turned into, a Semitic scholar and the main interest of Donner's studies lies in comparative Finno-Ugrian, Reuter was in fact the first professional Indologist in Finland. An examination of his career also seems an appropriate tribute to Harry Halén, who himself studied Sanskrit and whose important work on the history of Oriental studies in Finland could be used with much benefit in the present article.

**Life.** Julio Natanael Reuter was born on January 7th, 1863, in Turku. He was a son of the school director Edvin Titus Feodor Reuter (1824-1899) and his wife Aline Procopé (1828-1916). His brothers were the two biologists (entomologists) and Professors Odo Morannal Reuter (1850-1913) and Enzo Rafael Reuter (1867-1951),<sup>2</sup> his nephew was Professor Ole Roger Reuter (born 1906, son of E. R. R.), a noted scholar of English linguistics.

After matriculation in 1880 from Åbo Svenska Klassiska Lyceum<sup>3</sup> (where his father was director) Reuter studied classical languages, English, Swedish, Sanskrit and comparative Indo-European linguistics at the University of Helsinki. He passed his M.A. examination in 1885 and the degree was formally conferred in 1886. In Sanskrit and Indo-European he was a pupil of Otto Donner.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Karttunen 1984, 1994, and 1997.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to his entomological studies (including important work on mites) the latter was a pioneer in chromosome studies in Finland. He was Professor at the University of Helsinki in 1910-35.

<sup>3</sup> Åbo (Turku) Swedish Classical Lyceum, originally Åbo Gymnasium founded in 1828, renamed and reformed in 1872, was a renowned school giving the full curriculum in Latin and Greek and using Swedish as the medium of teaching.

<sup>4</sup> On Donner see Aalto 1971: 72ff., and Karttunen 1984 & 1998.

After graduating Reuter pursued further studies in 1886-87 under Berthold Delbrück at the University of Jena and then visited Paris, London and Oxford. In 1888-89 he studied under Albrecht Weber at Berlin, preparing his dissertation for Helsinki. In 1893 and again in 1897-98 and 1899-1900 he was in London studying Sanskrit manuscripts. The intermediate degree of Licentiate of Philosophy was conferred in 1891 and Ph.D. in 1897, both at the University of Helsinki, where he also taught as a Docent of Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics in 1891-1906.

When Donner became senator in 1905, Reuter first became Acting Professor and then from 1906 Donner's successor as the Extraordinary Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics.<sup>5</sup> In 1905 he applied for a three-year scholarship in order to conduct research in India about «the forms of religion and their relation to its contents», but the scholarship was given to a Finno-Ugrian scholar and Reuter never saw India.<sup>6</sup> Instead, he was again in London in 1910 and 1915. Before this he had been conferred the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1901 at the university of Glasgow. He retired in 1931, but remained as examiner until his death. Reuter died in Helsinki on January 9th, 1934. He was unmarried.

**Teaching.** Thanks to the minute researches of Harry Halén in the University Archives we can easily acquire an exact picture of the contents of Reuter's teaching.<sup>7</sup> Occasionally, even the number of attending students is known. As so many other duties took the time of Donner, Reuter's teaching was important already in the 1890s. It included elementary Sanskrit in 1892-97, 1901-05, 1908-14, 1916-18, and 1920-31. Comparative Indo-European was part of the curriculum in 1892-93, 1895-96, 1898-1900, 1901-03 (?), 1903-04 (five students), spring 1906, spring 1907 (three students), 1907-08, 1908-09 (four students), 1910-11, 1911-12, 1912-13, 1913-14, fall 1914, 1915-16, 1916-17, fall 1918, fall 1919, 1920-21, 1922-24, and 1929-30.

An important part of Reuter's teaching consisted of interpretation of Old Indian texts. These included: Vedic hymns in 1904-05, fall 1913, fall 1918; Vedic texts in 1894, 1897, fall 1911, spring 1916; dramas in fall

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<sup>5</sup> Properly speaking there has never been an ordinary chair at Helsinki, but the subject has been continuously kept in life by the university with the help of personal chairs: 1875-1905 Otto Donner (Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Linguistics), 1906-31 J. N. Reuter (Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics), from 1932 Y. M. Biese (Docent of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics), 1958-80 Pentti Aalto (Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics; from 1949 Docent), from 1981 Asko Parpola (Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics, from 1987 of South Asian Studies).

<sup>6</sup> Aalto 1971: 77.

<sup>7</sup> Halén 1990: 41ff., briefly also Aalto 1971: 79.

1893 (probably the *Ratnāvalī*) and the *Śakuntalā* in 1905-06 and 1910-11; *Bhagavadgītā* in fall 1896, 1904, 1907; *Manu* in 1903; unspecified or selected texts in 1901-03, 1908-09, fall 1909, 1912-13, fall 1914, 1916-17, 1920-31. Elementary Pāli texts were given in 1915-16 and 1926-27; *Avesta* and Old Persian in 1895-96 and in fall 1914. Further subjects included History of Indian literature in spring 1924 and in 1925-26; Indian religion and philosophy (with varying titles) in spring 1895, 1896-97, 1904-05 (five students), 1911-12 (five students), 1920-21; and Buddhism in fall 1912.

Reuter had several pupils<sup>8</sup> who planned a scholarly career in Indology, but in the end no one was capable of realising these plans. The most important among them were *Wälikangas*, *Valvanne*, and *Biese*. The first two turned diplomats, the third into languages then more in demand in Finnish schools and universities than Sanskrit.

*Eino Wälikangas* (1889-1960; till 1906 *Buddén*) came from Savonlinna in Eastern Finland. He had passed his M.A. degree in 1914 in Germanic philology, but switched then to Indology. He planned a doctoral dissertation and taught Sanskrit (acting for Reuter) in 1915 and 1919. In 1918 he joined the newly founded Foreign Ministry of now independent Finland and served in Berlin, London, Buenos Aires, and Rio de Janeiro. Among his papers kept in Helsinki University Library there are unpublished Finnish translations of the *Nala* episode of the *Mahābhārata* and of the *Śakuntalā* of *Kālidāsa* as well as a long paper about the *Arthaśāstra*. He had achieved a small collection of Indian manuscripts, which was to a great extent destroyed by Russian bombs in Helsinki during the Second World War. His books, including a number of Portuguese translations of Indian classics, are kept in Helsinki University Library. He did not write much and seems to have published nothing concerning India.<sup>9</sup>

*Hugo Valvanne* (1894-1961; till 1906 *Wegelius*) joined the Foreign Ministry in 1919 and served mainly in London, Paris, Bern and Tokyo (where he was G. J. Ramstedt's successor). In 1949-56 he was the first Finnish ambassador in Delhi after the independence of India, and later in Bern and Peking. After his M.A. (1917) he had planned a dissertation on Pāli, and in 1953 he published a Finnish translation of the *Dhammapada*. In Delhi he is told to have given an address in Sanskrit.<sup>10</sup>

*Yrjö Moses Jalmary Biese* (1903-1983) studied classical, modern, and comparative philology at the University of Helsinki and passed his M.A. in 1927, Lic.phil. in 1928, and Ph.D. in 1950. He was a Docent of Comparative Indo-European studies from 1932 (and schoolteacher in

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Aalto 1971: 79.

<sup>9</sup> On *Wälikangas* see *UMM* 2: 314f. and Aalto 1971: 79.

<sup>10</sup> On *Valvanne* see *UMM* 2: 280f. and Aalto 1971: 79. He was a Theosophist and published several Finnish translations of Theosophical books in 1908-14.

Helsinki), and served then as the Professor of English at the Finnish University of Turku in 1946-67 (at the same time teaching Sanskrit and Indo-European at Helsinki until 1965).<sup>11</sup>

In addition to these I would like to mention *Maija Liisa Auterinen*, who completed her M.A. in 1934. She worked many years as an editor in the Otava Publishers in Helsinki and became a legend among Finnish literary translators. When I met her in the 1980s she was a retired old lady who claimed to have forgotten everything of Sanskrit, but she showed lively interest in my studies and told some nice memories.

The highest mark in Sanskrit in M.A. was also obtained, according to Halén (1990: 78f.), by Heikki Ojansuu (1899),<sup>12</sup> Kaarlo Östberg (1899)<sup>13</sup>—these two still in Donner's time—Pekka Katara (1906),<sup>14</sup> Jalo Kalima (1907),<sup>15</sup> Bruno Bussenius (1925), and Beatrice Friedman (1929).<sup>16</sup> Gustaf John Ramstedt, the famous Altaic linguist, had passed his M.A. as early as 1895, under Donner, but counted himself among Reuter's pupils (Ramstedt 1939: 3 & 7).

**Political activity** took a great share of Reuter's time. He was an enthusiastic Finnish patriot who participated in the «Kagalen» (the underground resistance movement against the Russification in 1899-1905), and later wrote a detailed history of this movement.<sup>17</sup> As his scholarly work often led him into travels, he was also very actively working to make the cause of Finland known abroad, especially in England. Later on he carried through a diplomatic mission to Copenhagen, Christiania (Oslo) and Washington in 1918, and to London in

<sup>11</sup> Biese is best known for his English textbooks, which were many years used in Finnish schools. His Ph.D. dissertation dealt with Latin grammar (*Der spätlateinische Akkusativus absolutus und Verwandtes*. AASF B: 22/2, 1928). He wrote several studies on classical and English philology. Sanskrit and comparative IE studies he discussed in three articles only, viz. «Der Gebrauch von *as* und *bhū* im Aitareyabrahmana», *Arctos* 2: 44-65 (1931); «Some notes on the Formation and use of Nominal Compounds in the Rigveda», *StO* 11/7 (1945), 14 p.; and «The Origin of the Indo-European Nominative Singular», *AASF* B 63/6 (1950), 15 p.

<sup>12</sup> Heikki August Ojansuu (1873-1923) was then Professor of Finnish at the University of Turku.

<sup>13</sup> Kaarlo Kustaa Östberg (1875-1954) was later a teacher of German and French in Oulu and Helsinki.

<sup>14</sup> Väinö Pekka Katara (1882-1971) was then a teacher and Professor of Germanic philology at Helsinki.

<sup>15</sup> Jalo Lahja Kalima (1884-1952) was a Finno-Ugrian and Slavic scholar and Professor of the latter subject at Helsinki.

<sup>16</sup> On Bussenius I have found no information. Beatrice Friedman (born 1900) came from Germany. From 1932 until retirement she taught Latin and Greek at Reuter's old school in Turku. She published an article about Greek loanwords in Latin in *Arctos* 2: 19-43 (1931) and a dissertation on the same subject in 1937.

<sup>17</sup> «Kagalen». *Ett bidrag till Finlands historia 1899-1905*. 1-2. SLSF-S 199 & 211. Helsingfors 1928-30. It contains more than 800 pages.

1919, in order to find support for the new independence of Finland. In several articles he discussed the Irish agrarian question, perhaps thinking of its parallels to the situation in Finland. In the time when the majority of Finnish scholars were uniformly looking towards Germany, an Anglophile like Reuter was a rare case.<sup>18</sup>

**Scholarly work.** Reuter's first major publication was his dissertation: *Die altindischen Nominalkomposita ihrer betonung nach untersucht. Erste Abtheilung: Die Betonung der copulativen und der determinativen Composita mit einem Verbalnomen als Schlussglied*. 203 pp, Helsingfors 1891. It was also published in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* (so-called *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*), vol. 31 (1892): 157-232 & 485-612. Its subject was the question of the accent in OIA nominal compounds and the published part dealt with the copulative and determinative compounds (*dvandvas* and *tatpuruṣas*) found in accentuated Vedic texts. I have seen no reviews of this work, but it was appreciatingly mentioned by Wackernagel.<sup>19</sup>

The second part of the study, apparently dealing with the compounds ending in a noun, as well as with those beginning with *prati-* and *a-*,<sup>20</sup> was completed during the following years, but the manuscript was destroyed in 1897, when the coastal steamer bringing him back from summer vacations in Parainen got fire. Apparently disillusioned by this disaster he abandoned grammar studies and took Vedic philology instead.<sup>21</sup>

Reuter's main contribution to Vedic studies was the edition: *The Śrauta-Sūtra of Drāhyāyaṇa, with the Commentary of Dhanvin*. Volume 1, London 1904. It contained the first part of a critical edition of this rare Sāmavedic ritual text, with a commentary. During two long periods spent in London and shorter visits to Paris and Oxford he prepared this edition based on a collation of twelve manuscripts (nine in Devanāgarī and three in Grantha). The 216 pages of the published part contain approximately one third of the work (1, 1, 1 to 11, 1, 4) and are based on seven manuscripts (four Devanāgarī and three Grantha).<sup>22</sup> The second part,

<sup>18</sup> Another was Edward Westermarck (1862-1939), the famous sociologist and social anthropologist.

<sup>19</sup> Wackernagel 1905: iii (in Vorwort) and e.g. 41, 149 and 175.

<sup>20</sup> Those beginning with *a-* were perhaps not included, as they were already dealt with by Friedrich Knauer in a study acknowledged as one of his starting points by Reuter in the beginning of his dissertation (F. Knauer, «Ueber die betonung der composita mit a privativum im sanskrit», *KZ* 27: 1-68, 1885, originally his M.A. thesis at the German University of Dorpat).

<sup>21</sup> See Ramstedt 1939: 4 and Aalto 1971: 76f.

<sup>22</sup> See Aalto 1971: 77. Among reviews of the first part especially the long discussion by W. Caland (in *GGA* 1907: 241-250) must be mentioned, in addition there were several shorter reviews e.g. by V. Henry (*Revue critique* 59: 141f., 1905), A.

containing chapters 11, 1, 5 to 16, 4, 5 (pages 217-304) was finished, even put in type in 1907, but never published, and in the 1920s the type and sheets were destroyed by the printers (Stephen Austin and Sons, Hertford). Through Caland the uncorrected proofs were given in 1929 to Raghu Vira who, with the help of some additional manuscripts, edited this part in the *Journal of Vedic Studies* 1/1 (1934): 13-80.<sup>23</sup> According to Parpola (1968: 22), Reuter was probably too much engaged in political activity to have time to finish the proofs and later lost interest in this work. The manuscript of the complete edition is kept in Helsinki University Library (described as no. 193 in Halén 1978: 66). Even before the first part was printed Reuter had contributed lexical material from the text to the second edition of Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1899), edited by Carl Cappeller (see Introduction, p. xxxii). In the 1960s the work was again taken up by Asko Parpola in his dissertation (1968-69), although his promised reedition of the *Drāhyā-yaṇaśrautasūtra* still remains unachieved.

An unseen interest of Reuter was Pāli. He used much time in study of Pāli literature collecting lexical material, and dealt with Pāli texts in his teaching, but never published anything (Ramstedt 1939: 4).

Soon Reuter was again following new paths, now entering the study of the Central Asian fragments, including newly found languages like the Khotanese Saka and Tocharian. C. G. E. Mannerheim (1867-1951), then a Colonel of Russian army, had bought some manuscript fragments during his famous ride «across Asia» in 1906-08. The first fruit of Reuter's work was the tentative edition of the longer Mannerheim fragments: «Some Buddhist Fragments from Chinese Turkestan in Sanskrit and "Khotanese"», *JSFOu* 30/37 (1916), 37 pages and 9 plates. There were nine fragments in Sanskrit and two in Khotanese (Reuter's numbers 10-11).<sup>24</sup> The exact provenance of the fragments is not known (the labels were lost when Reuter saw them), but probably they come from Khotan area where Mannerheim had spent some time in fall, 1906. In this time Khotanese was still very defectively known and the edition was therefore anything but conclusive (these fragments were then reedited by H. W. Bailey in his *Khotanese Texts*).<sup>25</sup> Of the Sanskrit fragments Reuter was capable of identifying the longer ones (except number 9) as belonging to the *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka* (n. 5 corresponding to p. 40f. in Kern & Nanjio),

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Hillebrandt (*IF Anz.* 19: 16f., 1906), K. Klemm (*ZDMG* 59: 831f., 1905), H. Oldenberg (*DLZ* 1905: 1859f.), and M. Winternitz (*WZKM* 19: 241-259, 1905).

<sup>23</sup> Parpola 1968: 24 and Aalto 1971: 77. Unfortunately this rare journal is not available to me.

<sup>24</sup> They were described as no. 213 in Halén 1978: 71. Reuter's article was republished in Mannerheim's *Across Asia from West to East in 1906-1908*. Société Finno-Ougrienne, Travaux Ethnographiques 8. Helsinki 1940.

<sup>25</sup> Bailey 1963: 394f.

Suvarṇaprabhāsa (n. 6, from ch. 14), and a text closely connected or identical with the Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā (n. 7 & 8).

Tocharian was discussed by Reuter on the basis of the texts published by Sieg and Siegling (*Tocharische Sprachreste*, Berlin 1921) in three articles: «Die Anlautsvokale im Tocharischen», *Festschrift tillägn. K. H. Pipping*. SLSF-S 175 (Helsingfors 1924): 452–461 (cf. *IF* 44: 215, 1927); «Bemerkungen über die neuen Lautzeichen im Tocharischen», *StO* 1 (1925, *Festschrift Tallqvist*): 194–237; and «“Tocharisch” und “Kutschanisch”», *JSFOu* 47/4 (1934), 23 pages.<sup>26</sup> They have been mentioned as important contributions to this new field of Indo-European linguistics and Central Asian philology and palaeography.<sup>27</sup>

Reuter's minor and popular writings on professional themes are rather few in number. They include, at least: «Åttonde internationella orientalistkongressen», *FT* 27 (1889, about the VIIIth International Conference of Orientalists in Stockholm/Christiania); «Intian kiolet ja kirjallisuus» [Indian languages and literature], *Tietosanakirja* [The Finnish Encyclopaedia] 3 (1911): 1019–1033 and separately;<sup>28</sup> «Intia», *Maailmanhistoria* [World History] 1 (1914): 1–33 (history until 1300 A.D.); «Indiens religioner», *FT* 100 (1926): 312–331.<sup>29</sup> A few notes and brief reviews appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Indogermanische Forschungen* and *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*.

Reuter seems also to have had a particular interest in theatre. He participated in various positions in the management of the Svenska theatern (Swedish Theatre) of Helsinki in 1913–30 and wrote articles for the *Finsk Tidskrift* such as «Svenska theatern», *FT* 32 (1892), 34–35 (1893); «Finska theatern», *FT* 32 (1892) & 34 (1893); «Helsingfors theatrar», *FT* 36–38 (1894–96). As a theatre critic he contributed much in the daily *Nya Pressen*. Reuter was also a correspondent of *The Times* in 1901–14, and published articles about Finland, and especially about the political situation of Finland, in various English journals and newspapers. Reuter's letters are kept in the library of Åbo Akademi (the Swedish University of Turku).

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<sup>26</sup> Aalto 1971: 78, and Ramstedt 1939: 5f.

<sup>27</sup> Schwentner 1935: 31f. «beachtenswerte Einzelbeiträge».

<sup>28</sup> Also included in the second Finnish encyclopaedia: *Iso tietosanakirja* 5 (1933): col. 282–292.

<sup>29</sup> This was a review article based of H. von Glasenapp's three books: *Der Hinduismus. Religion und Gesellschaft im heutigen Indien*. München 1922; *Der Jainismus. Eine indische Erlösungsreligion*. Berlin 1925; and *Brahma und Buddha*. Berlin 1926.

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## Abbreviations

FT

*Finsk Tidskrift*.

SLSF-S

Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, Skrifter.

UMM

*Ulkoasiainhallinnon matrikkeli 1918–1993*. 1–2. Mikkeli 1996.