

PŪRVĀPARAPRAJÑĀBHINANDANAM
EAST AND WEST, PAST AND PRESENT

**Indological and Other Essays
in Honour of Klaus Karttunen**

EDITED BY

BERTIL TIKKANEN & ALBION M. BUTTERS

STUDIA ORIENTALIA 110

PŪRVĀPARAPRAJÑĀBHINANDANAM EAST AND WEST, PAST AND PRESENT

Indological and Other Essays
in Honour of Klaus Karttunen

EDITED BY

BERTIL TIKKANEN & ALBION M. BUTTERS



Helsinki 2011

Pūrvāparaprajñābhīnandanam – East and West, Past and Present
Indological and Other Essays in Honour of Klaus Karttunen
Edited by Bertil Tikkanen and Albion M. Butters
Studia Orientalia, vol. 110, 2011

Copyright © 2011 by the Finnish Oriental Society
Societas Orientalis Fennica
c/o Department of World Cultures
P.O. Box 59 (Unioninkatu 38 B)
FI-00014 University of Helsinki
FINLAND

Editor

Lotta Aunio

Advisory Editorial Board

Axel Fleisch (*African Studies*)
Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (*Arabic and Islamic Studies*)
Tapani Harviainen (*Semitic Studies*)
Arvi Hurskainen (*African Studies*)
Juha Janhunen (*Altaic and East Asian Studies*)
Hannu Juusola (*Semitic Studies*)
Klaus Karttunen (*South Asian Studies*)
Kaj Öhrnberg (*Librarian of the Society*)
Heikki Palva (*Arabic Linguistics*)
Asko Parpola (*South Asian Studies*)
Simo Parpola (*Assyriology*)
Rein Raud (*Japanese Studies*)
Riikka Tuori (*Secretary of the Society*)

Typesetting

Lotta Aunio

ISSN 0039-3282
ISBN 978-951-9380-76-6

WS Bookwell Oy
Jyväskylä 2011

CONTENTS

BERTIL TIKKANEN

Preface xi

Select Bibliography of Klaus Karttunen 1980–2010..... xv

Tabula Gratulatoriaxxiii

I INDOLOGY

GREG BAILEY

“Him I Call a Brahmin”: Further instances of intertextuality
between the Mahābhārata and some Pāli texts..... 3

HANS BAKKER

Origin and Spread of the Pāsupata Movement:
About Heracles, Lakulīśa and symbols of masculinity..... 21

JOHANNES BRONKHORST

Archetypes and Bottlenecks:
Reflections on the text history of the Mahābhārata 39

MANS BROO

Drama in the Service of Kṛṣṇa: Rūpa Gosvāmin’s Nāṭaka-Candrikā55

RAHUL PETER DAS

The Classical Āyurvedic Representation of Human Anatomy..... 67

MADHAV M. DESHPANDE

Ārṣa versus Anārṣa in Pāṇini and Allied Literature 85

HARRY FALK

Die Kurus und Ihre Jungen Frauen..... 93

MASATO FUJII

The Recovery of the Body after Death:

A prehistory of the *devayāna* and *pitryāna* 103

JAN MEULENBELD

Lakṣmaṇa's Yogacandrikā 121

PATRICK OLIVELLE

War and Peace: Semantics of *Samdhi* and *Vigraha* in the *Arthaśāstra*..... 131

ASKO PARPOLA

The Three Ways of Chanting in a Sacrificial Laud: Chapter two of Jaimini-
Paryadhyāya (Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra III) with Bhavatrāta's commentary:

Sanskrit text with an annotated English translation..... 141

RICHARD SALOMON

The Macedonian Month Xandikos in Gandhāran Inscriptions 165

HENRI SCHILDT

Rare Mediaeval Kerala Murals at Kumbla, near Kasargode 171

BERTIL TIKKANEN

Domaki Noun Inflection and Case Syntax 205

II CLASSICAL AND INDO-EUROPEAN STUDIES

OUTI MERISALO

In Horis Sanguinis:

Physiology and Generation in the Pseudo-Galenic *De Spermate* 231

PETRI POHJANLEHTO	
Nasal Reduction in Late Luwian.....	243

JOUNA PYYSALO	
Fourteen Indo-European Etymologies in Honour of Klaus Karttunen.....	249

III HISTORY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

HARRY HALÉN	
Henrik Grenman and Olga Sederholm – Two unlucky Finnish Orientalists from the town of Vasa.....	273

TAPANI HARVIAINEN	
Syriac Poems Written by Finnish Scholars in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	285

NADJA JOHANSSON	
Abraham Ibn Ezra on “The Scholars of India” – A twelfth century Jewish view of Indian astrology.....	297

KAJ ÖHRNBERG	
Georg August Wallin: An Orientalist between national and imperial orientalism	309

YAROSLAV VASSILKOV	
From the History of Indian Studies in Russia: Gerasim Lebedev and the Freemasons	317

HENRIK GRENMAN AND OLGA SEDERHOLM – TWO UNLUCKY FINNISH ORIENTALISTS FROM THE TOWN OF VASA

Harry Halén

ABSTRACT

Henrik Grenman and Olga Sederholm are virtually unknown in the history of Oriental studies in Finland. Both came from the same town, and both had an unusual and somewhat tragic fate. Both had to abandon their call for outward reasons.

There can always be found forgotten people on curious sidetracks, unknown even to specialists in the same field. Their scholarly achievement may not be very remarkable, but we Orientalists certainly feel a brotherly sympathy towards and interest in every sincere student of our favourite subject. With this modest contribution I wish to add some new names to the repertoire of Professor Klaus Karttunen, a renowned specialist also in the history of Oriental learning.

*

Henrik Mikael Grenman (*19.11.1846–†1.1.1917) was born in Vasa. His father, master dyer Henrik August Grenman (1821–1852), owned an inherited dye-house that was the biggest of its kind in that town. His mother was Anna Carolina Ramstén (Carolina “Lina” Grenman). His sister, Julia Johanna, married the engineer Robert Julius Anderson in Vasa on 14 September 1876.

Henrik Grenman attended *Wasa trivialskola* (later *Vasa gymnasium*) in 1856 and matriculated in 1865, starting his studies as Ostrobotniensis at the University of Helsinki in 1869. He was an active member in the students’ club of the Ostrobotnians.

The surviving letters from Grenman’s pen are quite uninformative in respect to his studies, as they dwell mostly upon his financial problems, complicated monetary transactions, and dealings in the stock market. Grenman typically asks friends to follow his agenda in a variety of matters. The earliest letter, dated 22 December 1869 to Alfred Kihlman, a lecturer in German at the *Vasa gymnasium*,

treats the repayment of a debt. On Christmas Eve in 1870, Grenman bothered Paavo Cajander¹ for assistance in finding his lost suitcase, as Cajander was the only student he knew living in Tavastehus (Hämeenlinna).

Being necessitated to stay in Vasa,² Grenman wrote in October 1872 to his classmate Eliel Aspelin³ to ask him to send his unpublished “Historical Notes” (*Historiska Anteckningar*), as Grenman had to prepare for an exam in history.

A constant matter of discussion is also the subject of awakening Finnish nationalism. In November 1872, after receiving in his student days a rather unexpected letter from his old friend J.R. Aspelin,⁴ Grenman replied in Finnish in a patriotic spirit. Calling Aspelin his “good brother and companion in arms”, he referred to the ardent language dispute between the so-called Svecomans and Fennomans – and their shared allegiance to the latter. In February 1871, Grenman had written a joking heroic poem on the subject, dedicated to Eliel Aspelin and entitled *Fennomaniaden*. In 1879, Grenman acted in Vasa as a local agent trying to promote distribution to private homes of a bust of J.V. Snellman, an important national leader, which had been sculpted by Johannes Takanen. He also organized a lottery for the benefit of the Finnish theatre.

J.R. Aspelin described his stay in Russia in quite gloomy and severe words and reported about his efforts to learn Russian. Concerning the future of Finland, something that bothered J.R. Aspelin a great deal, Grenman says that “the Genius of History has not told anybody what he has planned for the Finnish people” confessing himself to be a polytheist – the impartial Genius of History being much higher than the God of the Lutherans or Catholics. He considered his foremost task to create a Finnish culture and work hard for it. His letter was posted from Vasa, where he would remain during the entire following semester. Obviously his studies were prolonged because of such lengthy periods of being at home. Grenman finally took his Master’s degree in 1877 with the general mark of *admodum dignus*.⁵

1 Paavo Emil Cajander (1846–1913), poet, lecturer in Finnish, PhD h.c. 1907 (Univ. of Helsinki).

2 In the letter, Grenman calls his hometown “Niko-Wasa-laistad” creating a combination of Wasa and its new Russian-inspired name, Nikolaistad.

3 Eliel Aspelin (fr. 1906 *Aspelin-Haapkylä*) (1847–1917), art historian, vice-chairman of the Antiquarian Society and younger brother of J.R. Aspelin.

4 Johannes Reinhold Aspelin (1842–1915), extraordinary professor of archaeology (1878–1885), chairman of the Antiquarian Society (1885–1915), and state archaeologist. He matriculated from the same school in 1862, three years before Grenman.

5 Scale: 1. *dignissimus* (at least 14 votes out of which four are with *laudatur*, i.e. the highest mark), 2. *maxime dignus* (13 votes, three with *laudatur*, 3. *admodum dignus* (11 votes, two with *laudatur*) and 4. *clarissimus* (9 votes, one with *laudatur*).

Grenman's main subject was Oriental Literature with a focus on Arabic, which at that time was taught by Ernst Strandman⁶ and Wilhelm Lagus.⁷ He continued to read Arabic diligently at home in Vasa in 1878–1879. In October 1878, he asked Eliel Aspelin to look in libraries for J.G.L. Kosegarten's *Chrestomathia arabica* (Lipsiae 1828) and Ernest Renan's *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (Paris 1863). He had already succeeded in providing himself with Lagus's Arabic dictionary (*Lärokurs i arabiska språket*, part 4: Arabisk ordbok. Helsingfors 1878). He also seems to have prepared himself for the career as lyceum teacher, seeing that he did the relevant practice for it in May 1880 and took a pedagogical exam in December of the same year. In March he had delivered a speech at a feast that the Vasa municipality arranged in order to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the reign of Emperor Alexander II.

Shortly thereafter, however, Grenman received a scholarship from the Chancellor for continued studies abroad in Arabic. On 10 April 1881 he left for Leipzig via St Petersburg before he was able to receive his scholarship. In his first letter from Leipzig to "Brother Aspelin", dated on 17 May 1881, Grenman confesses shock at the unexpected chilly and unresponsive tone in J.R. Aspelin's message a week earlier. Grenman explains in detail the way in which he was granted his scholarship and their mutual agreement of commission in relation to the care-taking of certain finances, including a bill of FIM 400. While waiting for his scholarship, Grenman had been necessitated to take a loan from some friends (FIM 200 from Kivekäs,⁸ 100 from Aejmelaeus,⁹ and 50 from Jaakko Forsman¹⁰). In September, he asked J.R. Aspelin to carry out financial transaction and other practical tasks for him.

In Leipzig Grenman's address was Liebigstraße 5^{III}. In October 1881, he complained to J.R. Aspelin that he had fallen on the mercy of Arabic creditors in Beirut, owing them for an edition of the *Alf layla wa-layla* as they were anxious to receive prompt payment for the book. In his view, the town was rather boring. Instead of having opinions or political views, everyone appeared to just be working for personal benefit. Miserable poverty characterized the lower classes while the rich displayed a heartless hardness. An epidemic of suicides

6 Ernst August Strandman (1832–1900), acting professor of Oriental Literature 1866–1875, ordinary 1875–1898.

7 Jakob Johan Wilhelm Lagus (1821–1909), professor of Oriental Literature 1857–1866, thereafter of Greek.

8 Lauri Kivekäs (name prior to 1876 Gustaf Laurentius Stenbäck, 1852–1893), radical Fennoman student politician, lawyer, from 1862 attended the same school in Vasa as Grenman.

9 Sanfrid August Aejmelaeus (1845–1918), student from the Vasa gymnasium, Ostrobothniensis in 1868, lawyer.

10 Possibly Jaakko (Jacob Oskar) Forsman (1839–1899), professor of the history of law.

was ravaging the area, consuming even children of twelve or fourteen years of age. Finding the field of education there to be managed like an ordinary business or handicraft trade, Grenman concluded that money was the key to everything. With money, one might get books, colleagues, the interest of the professors – just about everything, with everything having a price.

The degree of PhD seemed seldom to be achieved. In the event that such a thing happened, the person in question was presented in the newspapers – especially if he was from Leipzig – as a fabulous being. His Doctor's thesis of fifty or sixty pages would be raised to the skies, his teachers were highly praised, and all of his family members were picked out and glorified. "During this semester three such learned beasts were created PhDs, which out of 3,400 university students seems not to be very much." Grenman affirms in any case that one really learns to work hard and earnestly there, "Be sure that it is very different from our own whereabouts." Other Finns in the town were Maximus Videkind af Schultén, the geologist Gylling ("a Fennus of the right kind"), two medical students named Hagelstam and Olkkonen, as well as Baron Wrede with his wife.

In the beginning of February 1882, Grenman was already informing J.R. Aspelin that he aimed to soon quit "old Lipsia" and spend some time in Copenhagen. His Majesty was on visit in Leipzig and dedicated himself to frantic hunting. According to the newspapers, he shot 141 hares on one day. "Poor innocent hares!" Grenman writes. After his outing, H.M. attended Prof. Drobisch's lecture on logic and metaphysics. He was also expected at the Arabic college, but the "Oriental question seems not at all to interest royal personalities". Instead, the next morning the king would listen to a lecture on astronomy, "which certainly lies closer to His Eminence than Arabic ... He seems to be here just to be out of the way while his fairy palace in Dresden is being cleaned up before the exuberant feast that will celebrate his decoration with the English Order of the Garter."

On 21 April 1882, Grenman left Leipzig via Lübeck for Copenhagen in order to continue his studies. There he acted as a local agent for Eliel Aspelin, purchasing scholarly works on demand (i.a. *Danmarks folkeviser*). His *curriculum vitae* mentions Prof. August van Mehren¹¹ as his teacher in Arabic philology. In February 1883, Grenman visited Professor Vilhelm Thomsen in order to see to what extent he still was interested in Finnish literature. Thomsen asked him to procure Eliel Aspelin's *Kalevala* studies, with which he was not yet familiar.

¹¹ *August Ferdinand Michael van Mehren* (1822–1907), Arabist, specialized in Arabic philology and philosophy (Avicenna, Averroës, al-Ghazali), even general Semitist, professor of the Copenhagen University (1854). He had a particular interest in Oriental numismatics.

Grenman also asked Aspelin to send Paul's¹² *Kanteletar* translation to Professor Ludolf Krehl¹³ in Leipzig, who, though being an Orientalist, had a keen interest in Finnish literature. Grenman says that he had weekly discussions with E. Brandes¹⁴ in 1882. He also seems to have attended some of Thomsen's lectures during the spring term of 1883.

Grenman appeared in public again in September 1884 when appointed by the teaching staff to speak at the 200th anniversary of his school, *Wasa trivialskola*.

In March 1885, Grenman was back in St Petersburg. In a March 31st letter to A.V. "Waldus" Forsman¹⁵ he asked that fellow to handle his application addressed to the Board of Educational Affairs (*Kouluylihallitus*), provide it with a necessary revenue stamp, etc. He was anxious to know who else has applied for the same position – perhaps Sundholm or Aspelin? He also asked that his subscription of the magazine *Finland* be changed to his St Petersburg address. In May 1885, he stayed in the house of the Finnish church on *Bol'shaya konyushennaya* (Apt. 47). As usual, he bothered J.R. Aspelin with his constantly manifesting monetary problems. His letters do not relate anything about his studies, but according to his *curriculum vitae* he attended the Arabic lectures of Baron Viktor Rosen.¹⁶ After a visit to Helsinki, Grenman returned to St Petersburg on 9 January 1886. During the spring term he lived on *Nevisky prospekt 3* (Apt. 6) and again asked Forsman to take care of financial affairs.

Grenman was already back in Vasa in September 1886, still clearing up his complicated economic arrangements. Occasionally he practised pedagogical, journalistic and other literary activities.

Grenman's only achievement in the scholarly field seems to be his participation in the discussion concerning the rock inscriptions of Pisannaya Gora near the village of Sulek in NE Khakasia, not far from the river Kara-Üüs (Черный Июс). These were found by J.R. Aspelin's expedition in 1887 and published in *Inscriptions de l'Énisei* (Helsinki 1889).¹⁷ In the same year, August Tötterman¹⁸

12 *Kanteletar*, die Volkslyrik der Finnen. [German translation by] Hermann Paul. Helsingfors 1882, xv, 352 pp.

13 Ludolf Krehl (1825–1901), extraordinary professor of Oriental philology (1861), University of Leipzig, ordinary professor and chief librarian (1874). Specialist on Islamic studies, edited Islamic texts, published *Recueil des traditions mahométanes*, 1–3 (1862–1868, part 4 posthumously).

14 Edvard Brandes (1847–1931), writer, journalist, critic, specialist on literature and drama.

15 Aukusti Valdemar Forsman (from 1906 Koskimies) (1856–1929), pedagogue, scholar, poet.

16 Baron Viktor Romanovich Rosen (1849–1908), reader (docent) of Arabic at the St Petersburg University, extraordinary professor 1883, ordinary 1885.

17 Cf. Aalto 1971: 95–96.

18 Klas August Reinhold Tötterman (1835–1907), lecturer in Semitic languages (1870–1879), taught Hebrew and Syriac, professor of exegetics (1879).

presented his tentative decipherment entitled “Entzifferungsversuch einiger Inschriften auf einer Felsenwand im Kreise Minusinsk (Ostsibirien).”¹⁹ His manuscript must have been accessible to others before printing, as the severe criticisms by Professor Otto Donner (“Die felsenschrift bei Suljek”) and Grenman were published in the same volume (pp. 9–13 & 14–17).

In his contribution entitled “Zur Frage der ostsibirischen Inschriften. Bemerkungen zum Tötterman’schen Entzifferungsversuch”, Grenman first blamed Tötterman for not taking into account the whole corpus of similar inscriptions, but only choosing a few seemingly simple ones. Even so, for interpreting those few characters he needed two languages, Arabic and Hebrew, and two different scripts. As the Ancient Syrian or Palmyrean script only shows a few similar character forms, Tötterman has chosen the Hebrew quadratic script, Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew, which Grenman argued not to be older than the 8th century. While Tötterman posited that the text was written in an Old Semitic script by a hitherto unknown, Arabic-speaking Jewish colony in Siberia – Tötterman would later regard the alphabet as Aramaic – Grenman argued that the inscriptions could not be Islamic, but several centuries older than Muhammad. He pointed out that Arabic did not fit, as it spread only with Islam.

Although Tötterman was mistaken in his identification of the language used in the inscription, he very well might have been on the right track concerning the Palmyrean script with his mention of Aramaic. Some years later Otto Donner published his extensive study on the origin of the script entitled “Sur l’origine de l’alphabet turc du nord de l’Asie.”²⁰ Donner compared several Ancient Semitic scripts with the Ancient Turkic runes deciphered by Vilhelm Thomsen in 1893. Already in this polemic article, he stated that the Siberian runic characters had very little in common with the ancient Semitic and Palmyrean scripts and that Hebrew and Arabic do not fit at all. Donner expressed a wish that the runes would be deciphered soon.

Although Grenman rejected Tötterman’s decipherment from the point of view of both language and script, he did not hesitate to start correcting the *a priori* erroneous reading of *ġumûratu cugûmin* in the light of Freytag’s obsolete Arabic dictionary and with the help of al-Bustānī’s *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* (Beirut 1870). Asking for the missing article, he replaces Tötterman’s translation “die Gehässigkeit des Beissens”, with something that was in his opinion more correct: “Grossmuth im Ausforschen, Humanität in der Prüfung”. The text explains an adjacent inscribed

19 *Öfversikt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens förhandlingar XXXI*, Helsingfors 1889, pp. 1–8, Tab. I–II.

20 *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne XIV*, 1. 1896, pp. 1–71.



XXIII. Kara-Jous, Souliek. Scènes de chasse, scènes d'animaux et inscriptions.

Figure 1 Central section of the Sulek rock. The heading reads *beykii qaya*, which can be translated as 'eternal (= inscribed or memorial) rock'. A similar text (*meykii qaya*) is found in the upper left section. The runic texts, animal pictures, crude *tamgas* and the Orthodox Christian cross in the middle of the lowest part are obviously executed in very different times. (*Inscriptions de l'Ienissei*, tab. XXXII)

picture of two facing camels grimacing at each other. After his blanket rejection of the whole, Grenman's wish to show his erudition in Arabic nonetheless induced him to accept Tötterman's fancy interpretation and to amend it.

Somewhat lower on the rock, there are twelve characters deciphered by Tötterman, with the help of the Hebrew quadratic scrip, as: "sie tragen davon". Grenman must have accepted the contents, as he stated that he could not find any correspondence between the text and the animal scenery depicted in the same place.

Most of the rather hazy Sulek rock inscriptions still lack a valid reading, although nearly all other Ancient Turkic runic texts have been satisfactorily interpreted. A transliteration of the Sulek runes without any translation is given by Professor D.D. Vasilyev (Васильев 1983, 29: E 39. Капа-Юс I). For a recent survey, see Kızlasov & Kızlasov 1990.

In 1893, Grenman's life took a dramatic turn when he accepted a position as acting press censor for the Censorial Board (*Painoasiain yllihallitus*, former *Sensuuriyllihallitus*) in Helsinki, beginning on 1 June. Thereafter he was transferred as a censor to Tammerfors on 23 September and again to Helsinki on the first of December. During the summer of 1893 and in later years, he occasionally worked as the acting chief censor in addition to his own job.

In 1900, Grenman signed a circular to be published in all newspapers, its intent being to prevent the publication of governmental news which had not been established as truthful. The reason was that the daily *Päivälehti* had claimed that "His Excellency the Governor-General [the hated General Nikolai Bobrikov] had spoken of the suppression of the parliament". For his merits, he was awarded the Order of St Anna 3rd class on 19 April 1903. Between 1906 and 1917, he held the position of an acting member of the Censorial Board.

Eliel Aspelin wrote in his chronicle of the years 1905–1917: "3.1.1917. Henrik Mikael Grenman has died. The newspaper does not mention that he was a member of the Censorial Board. He was perhaps the most talented of my classmates! A sad course of life. Instead of becoming an eminent scholar, he lived and occupied a position which his relatives are too shy even to mention in public. More than a decade has elapsed since I last time spoke with him, and I haven't even seen him otherwise than walking alone." Aspelin himself died only ten days later.

Because of his membership in the Censorial Board, Grenman had suffered from a civil boycott: nobody greeted him on the street and even otherwise no one paid him any mind. His apartment (Laivanvarustajankatu 7 A 9) was situated at a walking distance from the Censorial Board (Tähtitorninkatu 2). His *curriculum*

vitae for the Board was witnessed by Edv. Stenij,²¹ evidently one of his former teachers at the University.

Grenman's fiancée was, at least during 1881–1885, Victoria Wallén, the daughter of trader G.A. Wallén from Vasa. But in 1900, at the age of 54, in Helsinki he married Wilhelmina (Mimmi) Saarela (*15.8.1870), housekeeper by profession. They had two daughters, Leila Wilhelmina (*25.5.1896 in Tuulos) and Mirjam (*13.7.1908). Perhaps his appointment at the Censorial Board was enough to destroy his first relationship. He was elected member of the Finnish Literary Society in 1871 and he was a founding member of the Antiquarian Society (*Muinaismuistoyhdistys*).

*

Olga Sederholm (Ольга Вернеровна/Борисовна Седергольм, *27.10.1900–† post 1957) was also born in Vasa during the era it was called Nikolaistad (in honour of the Emperor). Her father, Verner Filip Rafael Sederholm (1866–1906), had served as a volunteer N.C.O. at H.M. Sofia's 2nd Infantry Regiment at the Kiev Infantry Junker School and been promoted to ensign in June 1892.²² In 1893, he was transferred to a Finnish unit, the 3rd Vasa Sharpshooter Battalion. He was promoted lieutenant in 1897, then staff-captain in 1904 within the Russian 90th Onega Infantry Regiment (located in Revel/Tallinn), and finally captain of the same unit.²³ In September 1899 in Vyborg he married Julia Mallén, daughter of Major-General Reinhold William (Wilhelm) Mallén (1833–1899), former commander of the 8th Vyborg Sharpshooter Battalion and a veteran of the Crimean War.

Olga's baptism was attended by an unusual number of godparents: Major-General Gustaf Adolf Ramsay,²⁴ Colonel Karl Tujulin, the Captains Verner Hellman and Gust. Holm, Lieutenant Teodor Finnilä,²⁵ Baron Hjalmar

21 *Sten Edvard Stenij* (1857–1925), associate professor (adjunct) of biblical languages 1886–1892. Grenman sent from St Petersburg his greetings to Stenij in March, 1886, via A.V. Forsman.

22 *Люди и судьбы* claims that he was a sailor, though with a noble descendancy (“из дворян”).

23 *Wasastjerna* 1897: 74.

24 Retired commander of 3rd Vasa Sharpshooter Battalion.

25 *Axel Teodor (Teddi) Finnilä* (1868–1920) belonged to the same military unit. Together with two other amateurs in the field of comparative linguistics, the artist Sigurd Wettenhovi-Aspa and the station master Elias Lönnqvist, Finnilä tried to defend the idea of Finnish as the parent language of the world and superior to all other languages against August Strindberg's thesis concerning the alleged primordially of Hebrew. Teodor Finnilä was a wealthy bachelor, shareholder of the tobacco factory of his father Karl Finnilä in Vasa. He financed this hobby, but his own Finnish was quite weak. Lieutenant in 1900.

Stackelberg, senior inspector Mallén, merchant Hans Hagen with his wife Vally, the merchant Evert Ekholm and Miss Alma Sederholm.

It is not clear how Olga Sederholm came to Russia. In the address directory of Vasa the family is mentioned for the last time in 1901 (as residents of Handelsplanaden 40). Olga's father had already died in 1906: he was noted as deceased in the army register on 12 November (old style 30 October 1906) when she was only six. Her widowed mother Julia Sederholm moved back to her native town of Vyborg, where she could be found in the address calendar during the years 1907–1927. Olga's younger sister Helena (*1902) and brother Alexander²⁶ (*1906) were still living with their mother in Vyborg in 1927, but there is no mention of her brother Vladimir (*1904). If Olga went independently to St Petersburg for her studies, the contact person there might have been her uncle, Axel Walter Sederholm (*1870) who worked at the Russian railways. Another relative there was the engineer Reinhold Mallén, chief of the technical department of the Finnish company *Wega* in St Petersburg, where he had married Maria Klaus in 1915.

The All-Russian Special Commission for fighting counter-revolution and sabotage (ВЧК) arrested Olga Sederholm for the first time in 1920 for participating in the anti-Soviet organization of the “white students’ union”. She studied at the University of Leningrad between 1922 and 1926. In 1927, she was sent together with many other opposition-minded inhabitants of Leningrad to Tashkent, where she soon emerged as a historian of Central Asia. In 1928–1930 she worked as a researcher and published a historical survey of the labor union movement in Central Asia (*Очерк истории профдвижения в Средней Азии*. Ташкент 1929). Sederholm was the responsible secretary of the Study Department and member of the presidium of the Central Asian Communist University (Среднеазиатский коммунистический университет, САКУ).²⁷

Having returned to Leningrad, she worked in 1931–1932 as an extraordinary and from 1932 as an ordinary aspirant at the State Academy of Material Cultural History (Государственная Академия истории материальной культуры, ГАИМК).

²⁶ *Alexander Sederholm* (20.4.1906 Vyborg–22.3.1974 Helsinki), member of the Russian Orthodox church, worked first in Vyborg at the Wiborg Timber Co. and Société des Mines de Lens, later as a chief in various companies.

²⁷ Higher Party educational institutions to prepare cadres of Party and Soviet workers, established on the base of Party courses and run in all bigger towns of Soviet Russia in 1919–1935. The courses were three to four years long and divided into sections of (1) Party work and political education, (2) Trade union movement, (3) Economy, and (4) Administrative and juridical questions.

On 25 January 1935 Sederholm was branded as “antisocial alien element with close contacts to the arrested Zinovyevian M.M. Tsvibak”. The Leningrad department of the State Security Ministry’s Administration (УМГБ, ЛО) arrested her again on 10 January 1951 as a “socially dangerous element because of her former anti-Soviet activity and contacts with people sentenced for their anti-Soviet Trotskyist activities” (§ 7, 35 УК РСФСР). The State Security Ministry exiled her on 24 March 1951 to the town of Kustanai in Kazakstan for five years, but after the death of Stalin she was granted amnesty. On 3 June 1953 her sentence was repealed. She was rehabilitated in 1957. She settled in Serdobol (Sortavala) on the Karelian Isthmus, near the Finnish border, but her further fate is unknown. Even the name and career of Olga Sederholm as an Orientalist have until now been unknown in Finland.

REFERENCES

Grenman:

Archives

Board of Antiquities: Letters received by J.R. Aspelin, Hr 18.

Archives of the Finnish Literary Society: Letters from H. Grenman to Eliel Aspelin, Paavo Cajander and A.V. Forsman (Koskimies).

National Archives of Finland: Painoasiain yllhallitus III, Asiamiesmatrikkeli 1865–1905 (Ba 1), Ansioluettelot (Ba 2).

National Library of Finland: Coll. Alfred Kihlman 101.4.

Literature

AALTO, Pentti 1971. *Oriental Studies in Finland 1828–1918*. (The History of Learning and Science in Finland 1828–1918, 10b. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

ASPELIN-HAARKYLÄ, Eliel 1980. *Kirovuosien kronikka. Otteita päiväkirjasta vv. 1905–1917*. Toim. Eero Saarenheimo. (SKS:n toimituksia, 357) Helsinki: SKS: 281.

ВАСИЛЬЕВ, Д.Д., Корпус тюркских рунических памятников бассейна Енисея. Ленинград: Наука 1983.

Inscriptions de l’Énissei. Recueillies et publiées par la Société Finlandaise d’Archéologie, réd. par J.R. Aspelin. Helsinki 1889.

KIZLASOV, Leonid R. & Igor L. KIZLASOV 1990. Sayan–Altay türkçelerinin yeni runik yazısı. *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı – Belleten* 1990: 85–126.

LAURÉN, L.L. 1884. *Wasa trivialskola 1684–1884. Anteckningar, med anledning af skolans tvåhundraåriga tillvaro*. Nykarleby: J.W. Nesslers boktryckeri.

MÄKELÄ, Anneli 1987. *Vasa stads historia III. 1809–1852*. Vasa: Vasa stad.

Ylioppilasmatrikkeli – Studentmatrikel 1853–1868. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto 1971: 100 N° 1448.

Sederholm:

Archives

National Archives of Finland: Vaasan suomalainen seurakunta, microfiche 915 (kastetut 1900); Finns in Russian military service, microfiche KAY 10161.

Literature

Finländsk släktkalender I. Utg. av Folke Landgren. Helsingfors: Söderström 1920: 194.

Люди и судьбы. Библиографический словарь востоковедов – жертв политического террора в советский период (1917–1991). Издание подготовили Я.В. Васильков и М.Ю. Сорокина. Санкт-Петербург 2003: ПБ “Петербургское Востоковедение”: 344.

Разведчикъ N° 838 р. 844: Умершие исключаются изъ списковъ (30.10.1906).

SEDERHOLM, Johan 1880. *Genealogiska anteckningar rörande släkten Sederholm och dess utgreningar*. Stockholm [s.n.]: 77–78.

WASASTJERNA, Oskar 1897. *Matrikel öfver generaler, stabs- och öfverofficerare vid Finska militären den 1/13 januari 1897*. Helsingfors [s.n.]: 74.

POST SCRIPTUM

After completing the above account, I by chance came across a genealogical stencil by Kerttu Hilpi and Barbro Scheinin, entitled *Johan Sederholmin jälkeläiset – Johan Sederholms efterkommande* (s.l. 1996). Here we learn from pp. 43–44 that in 1922, Olga Sederholm married Prof. Michael Zwieback, a historian, who died in Leningrad in 1942 during the siege, along with their elder son Vadim (born in 1922). The younger son, Marat (born on 13 June 1924 in Leningrad), became a physician. He married Rimma Krasnova (born on 16 June 1927 in Stavropol). Their children use the surname Krasnov and have close contacts to the border town of Serdobol. It is supposed that Olga died in 1985 or 1986.