

**Corrigenda et postscriptum for “On the
Correspondence of Helmer Smith and Gunnar Jarring”,
Journal of the Pali Text Society, Vol. XXIX (2007),
pp. 407–20**

~~Page 412, lines 19–20: Read father for father’s wife~~

Page 414, line 5: Read 8 August for 2 June

~~Page 414, line 21: Read 1951 for 1937~~

~~Page 415, line 15: Read 1951 for 1935~~

Page 415, note 23, line 1: Read två for tv

Page 416, note 29, line 4: Read ansåg for ansjg

Page 418, note 32, lines 4–5: Read *rkh* assimilerat, *ū* förkortat [framför]
gruppen for > *rkh* assimilerat, *ū* förkortat [framför] gruppen

Page 418, note 32, line 13: Read *mūrkhā* for *murkha*

Page 418, note 32, line 20: Read *tjockskalle* for *tjurskalle*

Page 418, note 32, line 22: Read *Turuṣka*, som lär for *Turaska*, som

Page 419, note 35, line 4: Read förvaras for férvaras

Page 419, note 36, lines 1–13: Read “Kommentaren vet i allmänhet bra besked ... men jag blir mer och mer övertygad om att det finns två sorters pali: en sort som talades av Buddha och skrevs av Buddha-ghosa, tikakāraerna, Aggavaṃsa, Moggalāna och andra therac och förstods och lästes av Fausböll och Trenckner mfl. detta är första sortens pali; den andra sortens pali är smidigare och mer ägnat att uttrycka kristendomens grundläror och Epikuros filosofi — det är den komparativa religionsforskningens pali, det talas bl.a. i Lund; det är ett lyckligt språk, för dess ordförråd är ringa och det besväras icke av någon grammatik.”

~~Page 419, note 36, lines 2–5 (“Käre Per, ... Din tillgivne Gunnar.”) are to be deleted.~~

~~Postscriptum: Page 420, immediately after line 1: Having re-read Smith’s letter to Nils Simonsson again and again and discussed it with several colleagues, I have become sure that Helmer Smith, one of the~~

~~most outstanding scholars of Pāli, cannot have been serious in this letter addressed to N. Simonsson. It had probably nothing to do with local patriotism. Smith simply tried to make fun of Jarring, Simonsson, and certain historians of religion in Lund by making these extremely odd statements.~~

Sigfried Lienhard

On the Correspondence of Helmer Smith and Gunnar Jarring

During the years 1988 and 2000, when I was acting as the delegate of the Royal Swedish Academy of Literature, History, and Antiquities at the Union Académique Internationale, it was one of my regular duties to give an annual report on the latest meeting of the Academic Union. Whenever I did so, I frequently had the occasion of mentioning *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, which, being one of the oldest projects, had been placed under the auspices of the International Academic Union at an early stage. After one of my autumnal reports at the Plenary Session of our Academy in Stockholm, Gunnar Jarring¹ remarked to me that my presentation had interested him, particularly my comments on the progress of *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, since he had kept up a long-lasting correspondence with Helmer Smith.²

Gunnar Jarring (1907–2002) was born in southern Sweden (Skåne). He received his Ph.D. from Lund. In the very beginning he went in for German and Scandinavian languages, but soon took up Sanskrit and comparative Indo-European philology, with Helmer Smith as one of his teachers, and made profound studies in Slavic languages, above all Russian, which finally led him to his chief subject, Turkology. A very industrious and competent lecturer, Gustaf Raquette (1871–1945),³ taught Turkish at that time at the University of Lund. Before his academic career docent Raquette had spent twenty-five years (1896–

¹Staffan Rosén, “Gunnar Jarring”, in *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok 2003* (Stockholm 2003); pp. 34–40; VEM ÄR DET '99 (Stockholm 1998), p. 540.

²Björn Collinder, “Helmer Smith”, in *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok 1956* (Stockholm, Lund, 1956), pp. 55–59. Hans Hendriksen, “Helmer Smith 26th April 1882–9th January 1956”, in *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. II (Copenhagen 1960), pp. v–viii.

³Cf. S. Rosén, 2003, p.35. Raquette is often mentioned in Helmer Smith's letters to Gunnar Jarring.

1921) as a missionary in Kashgar in East Turkestan (today's Xingjiang). He was fluent in Turkish, especially East Turkish, and, naturally, had a decisive influence on the young Jarring.⁴ In the same year in which Jarring obtained his doctor's degree (1933), he was employed as "docent" and examiner in Turkish linguistics at Lund University. In 1940 Jarring's lectureship expired, but thanks to his excellent knowledge of Russian and Turkish, he was now placed in the Swedish Security Service, first in Ankara and in 1941 in Teheran. From this year onward he followed a diplomatic career.

He held many outstanding posts. To mention only his most important assignments, he was chargé d'affaires in Addis Abbaba (1946), ambassador in New Delhi (1948–1952), ambassador in the Swedish Foreign Office (1952–1956), ambassador to the United Nations (1956–1958), ambassador in Washington (1958–1963) and, finally, ambassador in Moscow (1964–1973). In his spare time Jarring continued to pursue his beloved oriental studies.⁵

⁴After his return from Kashgar, Raquette taught two years at the Mission School of the Swedish Missionsförbund (1922–1924) in Lidingö, a suburb of Stockholm. He worked in Lund from 1924–1937. Here he was given the degree of a doctor honoris causa in 1937, an honour probably suggested by Jarring. "You awarded Raquette a doctorate; this was well done" ("Ni promoverade Raquette, det var bra gjort") remarks Smith in a letter dated 2 June 1937. Raquette published a series of fundamental works on East Turkish, as, for example, *Eastern Turki Grammar*, 3 vols., 1912–1914; *English–Turki Dictionary*, 1927; *The Accent Problem in Turkish*, 1927; and edited East Turkish literature.

⁵For his comprehensive scientific work see the publications listed in *Gunnar Jarring — en bibliografi redigerad av Christopher Toll & Ulla Ehrensvärd* (Stockholm 1977); *The Published Writings of Gunnar Jarring 1977–1988: A Bibliography Compiled by Ulla Ehrensvärd. Turcica et Orientalia; Studies in Honour of Gunnar Jarring on His Eightieth Birthday 12 October 1987* (Stockholm 1988), pp. 192–204; and *Gunnar Jarring: En bibliografi redigerad av Ulla Ehrensvärd* (Stockholm 1997). See also Roger Nilsson and Johan Fresk, eds., *A Bibliography of Literature on Journeys and Explorers in Asia in the Gunnar Jarring Library at Stockholm University* (Stockholm 2007).

Helmer Smith (1882–1956), born in Stockholm, studied at the University of Uppsala, where he took the degree of Fil.lic. (M.A.) in the year 1908. In 1925 he received the honorary doctorate from the University of Lund. After having spent many years abroad, mainly in Berlin, Paris and Copenhagen, he obtained a lectureship (“docentur”) at Lund (1921–1935). Thus both Jarring and Smith lived many years in this old university town at times which partially coincided.

In a recently published article⁶ Olle Kvarnström narrates how Gunnar Jarring met Helmer Smith the very first time. Kvarnström writes, “The diplomat and orientalist Gunnar Jarring mentioned that during his years as a student in Lund a man was living in the house opposite (his own flat) in Nygatan. The gentleman in question seemed to devote the greater part of the day to something that looked like playing at patience. A fact that particularly struck Jarring was, however, that at regular intervals a lady entered the room and collected the cards which were then kept in an adjacent room. By and by, Jarring was introduced to the gentleman on the other side of the road and got to know that what had looked like patience cards were, as a matter of fact, excerpt cards for the *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* founded by Helmer Smith and Dines Andersen.”⁷

In 1936, at the age of fifty-five, Helmer Smith was called to occupy the professorship of Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at the University of Uppsala, a chair he had applied for

⁶“Från Hampton Roads to Lundagård. Forskning om indiska religioner vid Lunds universitet 1880–2005”, in *Årsbok* 2006, pp. 42–56.

⁷“Diplomaten och orientalisten Gunnar Jarring har berättat från sin studietid i Lund om en man som var bosatt i huset mitt emot honom på Nygatan. Mannen ifråga tycktes ägna större delen av dygnets timmar åt vad som såg ut att vara patiens. Vad som förbryllade Jarring var emellertid den kvinna som regelbundet trädde in i rummet för att samla ihop kortlapparna vilka sedan förvarades i ett angränsande rum. Jarring blev så småningom presenterad för mannen på andra sidan gatan och fick då veta att vad som såg ut som patienskort i själva verket var excerptlappar avsedda för den av Helmer Smith och Dines Andersen grundlagda *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*.”

somewhat hesitatingly. He held it until 1947. Though mainly devoted to Pāli and Sinhalese studies, he shared many interests with Gunnar Jarring. His predecessor in Uppsala was Jarl Charpentier (1884–1935).

Both Smith and Jarring were ordinary members⁸ of the Royal Swedish Academy of Literature, History, and Antiquities in Stockholm. Smith was elected in 1940, Jarring in 1969. In his inaugural lecture Smith discussed “En detalj i den indiska metriken” (“a detail in Indian metrics”), while Jarring devoted his lecture to “Poltava och karolinskt kulturarbete i Turkiet och Sibirien”.⁹ Jarring’s lecture was published in the Academy’s yearbook, but Helmer Smith’s — due to the ongoing World War II — unfortunately not. Only a handout of seven pages with verses in Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, and Latin as well as metrical patterns is supposed to be left of this inaugural lecture.¹⁰ Interestingly, a minor incident occurred while Smith delivered his paper on Indian metrics, a subject which certainly was of no great interest to most of his colleagues in the learned audience. At that time His Royal Highness Gustav Adolf, later King Gustav VI. Adolf (1950–1973), was the Patron of the Academy and liked to act as chairman at the Academy meetings. As he was only moderately attracted by the subject dealt with by Smith, the Crown Prince nodded off for a while. Helmer Smith, who, as it seems, was easily offended, felt so distressed by this lack of interest on the part of His Royal Highness that he never attended another meeting of the Academy.

The two gentlemen were rather different with regard to birth, temperament, work, and lifestyle. Smith was the proud specialist of Pāli grammar and prosody which he had mastered brilliantly, while Jarring stood out as the indefatigable explorer of Turkish and Central Asian languages. Whereas Smith was one of those scholars who had neither visited the Indian subcontinent nor any of the various countries where Pāli is still spoken and studied, Jarring made many journeys, sometimes

⁸In Swedish called “arbetande ledamöter”, that is to say, “working members”.

⁹“Poltava and Carolingian cultural work in Turkey and Siberia”.

¹⁰B. Collinder, p. 58.

even painstaking land travels on horseback. On his paternal side Smith was of British descent.¹¹ His great-grandfather had been a sea captain from Belfast. Jarring, however, came from the countryside. He was the son of a couple of farmers from Brunnby in Malmöhus län named Gottfrid Jönsson and Betty Svensson, but changed his family name in early adulthood to Jarring. Already before he obtained his doctor's degree with a thesis on "Studien zu einer osttürkischen Lautlehre", he undertook research trips to Central Asia and East Turkestan, particularly Kashgar, where his teacher Gustaf Raquette had spent so many years.

Some time after his death Gunnar Jarring's personal library and other documents of his legacy — among them also the letters written to him by Helmer Smith — were transferred to the Institute of Oriental Languages in Stockholm on the initiative of Staffan Rosén, professor of Korean language and literature at Stockholm University. His books are still kept in Stockholm; his letters and papers, however, have been deposited in Lund. I was, of course, curious about the letters and postcards which Helmer Smith, twenty-five years older than Jarring, had sent to his young colleague and, therefore, some time ago requested the authorities in charge of Jarring's legacy to kindly grant me access to Smith's letters, which are now preserved at the Manuscript Department ("Handskriftsavdelning") of the Library of the University of Lund.¹²

The "Collection Gunnar Jarring" contains altogether 181 letters, letter-cards and postcards from Helmer Smith, most of which were sent to Jarring during the first five years of the two scholars' acquaintance—

1934: 26 letters, 1 letter-card, and 1 postcard,
1935: 50 letters and 7 letter-cards,
1936: 43 letters, 6 letter-cards, and 1 postcard,
1937: 22 letters and 2 postcards, and

¹¹B. Collinder, p. 56.

¹²I would like to record my gratitude to Birgitta Lindholm, Chief Librarian at the Manuscript Department of the University Library in Lund, for all the generous help I received from her during a short stay in Lund in March 2007. In this article Helmer Smith's letters and other Swedish documents have been translated into English. The Swedish originals are quoted in the footnotes.

1938: 14 letters and 2 letter-cards —

while during the following seven years Jarring received relatively little mail from his correspondent, namely —

1939: 4 letters,
 1940: 1 letter,
 1947: 1 letter,
 1949: 4 letters,
 1950: 8 letters,
 1951: 7 letters, and
 1952, four years before Helmer Smith's death, again only 1 letter.

All the letters are handwritten, in an even and easily readable *ductus litterarum*. Smith addresses Jarring always as “Broder”, that is to say, “brother”, a formal address still used, particularly in academic circles. Every single letter is fully signed with “Helmer Smith”, never with simply “Helmer”, although the pronoun used is the familiar “du” and the verb form that of the second person singular. The letters were generally sent from Lund or Uppsala, some also from Stockholm. Most of them were, however, posted in Kummelnäs, his favourite abode, which he, being an only child, inherited from his well-to-do father's ~~wife~~ and was beautifully situated in the inner Archipelago of Stockholm, at about fifteen kilometres distance from the centre and opposite Vaxholm.

As can be seen from the table given above, between 1949 and 1951 Helmer Smith sent again a few more letters to his former disciple. It was during these years that Jarring was Swedish ambassador in New Delhi, a position that evidently made quite an impression on Helmer Smith.¹³ Moreover, Smith was interested in certain books published in India.¹⁴

Before I started going through his correspondence, I had hoped

¹³Though Jarring was not yet ambassador when he stayed in Teheran, Smith addressed his letter of the 27 November 1951 to “His Exc. Dr Gunnar Jarring, Royal Swedish Legation, Teheran”.

¹⁴A name that occurs several times is Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

above all to find in his letters many passages in which he discussed problems connected with Pāli and Sinhalese. To my great disappointment, however, this is rarely the case. Most letters deal with events in his daily academic life, his contacts with colleagues, their ability and behaviour, their applications for university posts, their successes and, more frequently, shortcomings and failures. Almost all Scandinavian scholars of Sanskrit, Iranian and related studies of the time pass review, in his correspondence, but need not be mentioned by name in this paper. In particular, Smith often refers to Hannes Sköld (1886–1930), then one of the most outstanding linguists of the University of Lund, in whose edition of the “Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen” (1936) Helmer Smith was deeply involved.¹⁵ “I have now been acting under the strict supervision of my Danish employer,¹⁶ and thus ‘Sköld’ has rested...”,¹⁷ writes Smith on 8 August 1935. He also assisted Wilhelm Geiger in Munich in his *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*, which appeared in Colombo in 1941.¹⁸

Smith’s correspondence shows naturally a clear predilection for lexicography and etymology. Almost every letter abounds in words or phrases from the numerous languages he knew (in addition to Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prakrit especially Sinhalese, Khotanese, Hindi, Tamil, Burmese, Tibetan, Persian, Urdu, Turkish, and other idioms). While reading his letters, we must bear in mind that Smith’s correspondent

¹⁵An internationally especially renowned work of this untimely deceased scholar — “docent” at the University of Lund — is, of course, his “The Nirukta, Its Place in Old Indian Literature, Its Etymologies” (1926); cf. O. Kvarnström, p. 47.

¹⁶This was, of course, Dines Andersen, with whom Helmer Smith together with Hans Hendriksen had edited Vol. I of *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (1924–1948). Hans Hendriksen (1913–1989) was Smith’s successor in Uppsala (1947–1951). Dines Andersen (1861–1940) held the chair of Indian Philology at the University of Copenhagen from 1903 to 1927.

¹⁷“Jag har nu i sex veckor stått under omedelbar uppsikt av min danske arbetsgivare, så ‘Sköld’ har vilat”.

¹⁸See Wilhelm Geiger, *Kleine Schriften zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heinz Bechert, ed. (Wiesbaden 1973), p. *131.

was a specialist in Turkish and that, therefore, Central Asian languages are in the foreground. Once, when Jarring was abroad on his first journey to East Turkestan and, while undertaking various trips, he had not given a more detailed indication of his whereabouts than just “next address Kashgar”, Smith sent a letter to Mrs Jarring, dated 2 June 1935, requesting her, “as a deputy guide for Turkish studies”,¹⁹ to inform him about useful manuals of Osman Turkish presenting the new writing system. “I shall never learn it,” he confesses, “but I need putting my nose into one thing and the other”. He took a great interest also in Khotanese, the ancient south-east Iranian language of the Sakas. This got him in touch with Sir Harold Bailey (1899–1996) in Cambridge, though Smith’s letters to Jarring do not reveal which of the two contacted the other first.

Helmer Smith liked to associate with his friends. In a letter sent on 2 June 1937, he gladly informs his addressee of the good news that his wife “Ellen has succeeded in getting a little housemaid for the summer which means that it will be easier for us to receive our friends this summer”.²⁰ Colleagues with whom he entertained especially close relations were his French “friends from the twenties”, such as Jules Bloch, Louis Renou, Armand Minard, Pierre Meile, and Jean Filliozat, who are all mentioned in his letter of 22 August 1937.⁵¹ There he also reports to Gunnar Jarring that “Ellen and I could spend almost the whole month of July in Paris (more correctly in Sèvres as parasites at Jules Bloch’s), amidst a bustle of orientalism and orientals”.²¹ But already in a much earlier letter, dated 14 September 1936, he records that “two Parisians (Jules Bloch and Mrs Foucher²²) came from

¹⁹“I Er egenskap av vikarierande turkologisk vägledare.”

²⁰“Ellen har lyckats få en liten jungfru för sommaren, vilket betyder att vi nog får det lättare att ta emot våra vänner den här sommaren.”

²¹“Ellen och jag fick leva nästan hela juni månad i Paris (rättare i Sèvres som snyltgäster hos Jules Bloch), mitt i ett myller av orientalism och orientaler.”

²²The wife of Alfred Foucher.

Copenhagen and stayed with us”.²³

Smith speaks little of his university teaching. On 21 November (probably 1937) he tells Jarring that “during the Spring seminar we will deal with ‘style and metre in the Upaniṣads’ and accept with gratitude all parallels and contributions to the world’s art of verse from the Turk²⁴ in Lund himself”. In a letter dated 18 April 1937 Smith comments with enthusiasm on Jarring’s suggestion of holding a series of joint seminars on the Sakas, “Your proposal of joint seminars on the Sakas is genial, ... it should, however, be called ‘Every third (fourth) week H.S. Nyberg and Helmer Smith will hold sem(inar) ex(ercises) on Central Asiatic texts together with doc(ent) G. Jarring.’”

As can be seen from many remarks already quoted, Smith was not only a loyal friend but also had a good sense of humour as well as a wise and subtle irony which could concern also himself. He begins his letter of the 29 August 1935 with the words: “Thus my metrical follies have found you in the heart of Asia! — in Pakistan ...”.²⁵ Although he was very hard working, he did not despise festive occasions, even when they tended to be somewhat excessive as, for example, the celebration of “Dines Andersen’s last day in Sweden” (letter dated 19 August 1935)⁵¹ which caused “fatigue and a nosebleed”. On 25 July 1937 Smith recounts, “We work joyfully: two cigars and five fillings of the pipe are the time-measure of a working day for Dines — then I have seventeen hours for airing our study. We shall see if it will end on the 10th of August.”²⁶ On 25 May 1938 he communicated humorously to Jarring: “You have thus seen [in the newspapers] that I have been considered

²³“Det kom tv parisare (Jules Bloch och fru Foucher) från K(ö)b(en)h(a)vn och stannade en vecka hos oss —.”

²⁴“I vår behandlar vi ‘stil och metrum i upaniṣaderna ‘ och alla paralleler och bidrag till världsverskonstens teori mottas med tacksamhet ... från självaste lundturken” (that is to say, Gunnar Jarring).

²⁵“Så har mina metriska tokerier funnit dig i hjärtat av Asien! — i Pakistan...”

²⁶“Så vi arbetar gladeligen: två cigarrer och fem pipstopplingar är tidsmättet på Dines’ arbetsdag — sen har jag 17 timmar att vädra arbetsrummet på. Vi får se, om det slutar 10de augusti.”

decrepit enough to enter the Academy of *Antiquities*...²⁷ He also makes fun of Charpentier and his name, when in one of his earliest letters written on 17 March 1936, he requests Jarring to carefully proofread some newly edited, unspecified text:²⁸ “Well, this is what it looks like. Would you kindly take the trouble of seeing to it that the corrections are not misunderstood, then it can be printed. But we must have a third proof of sheet 16, likewise of the remaining sheets. Otherwise the whole thing will become Charpentier (the blessed man considered that proofreading belonged to the lower classes — including some German case- and number-endings). — And I am still far from being appointed a Charpentier.”²⁹

Some letters refer to his outdoor work in Kummelnäs which he did willingly, although it often prevented him from studying. “Again Kummelnäs,” he writes on 6 May 1937, “and this means Sakish, as well as it may go, but the day after tomorrow we shall plant potatoes the whole day.”³⁰ And after a few days, on 9 May 1937: “Now the potatoes are in the ground and I have started presenting the meaning of one of our Sakish pages (§§ 18–29 of a tractate which speaks of bodhisattvas such as Kṣitigarbha and Mañjuśrī), unfortunately, the correct understanding must be established from a Chinese source. But we can look at it, can’t we?” And twelve years later, on 23 August 1949, Smith writes, “Shortly my farm servant will come, and we shall fell three firs with dry tops to get firewood for the winter. Farming takes at least six

²⁷“Du har således sett att jag befunnits skröplig nog att komma i *Antikvitets* akademien...”

²⁸Probably Sköld’s *Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen*.

²⁹The whole letter runs like this: “Ja, så här ser det ut. Vill Du ha besväret att övervaka att rättelserna inte missförstås, så kan det sedan tryckas. Men av ark 16 måste vi ha ett 3dje korr(ektur) och så av de övriga arken. Annars blir det Charpentier av det hela. (Salig människan ansåg att korrekturläsning hörde hemma i underklassen — inklusive en del tyska kasus- och numerusändelser. — Och jag är ju ännu inte utnämnd till Charpentier på långa tag.”

³⁰“Kummelnäs igen, och det betyder sakiska, så gott det går, men i övermorgon skall vi lägga potatis hela dagen.”

hours every day, and also other pleasant things can get in the way [to keep me] from reading modern Hindi and Pali.”³¹

But what about Pāli and Middle Indian? May we guess that Smith did not consider Jarring to be a correspondent sufficiently versed in this field? The letter dated (Uppsala) 11 April 1938 would perhaps not corroborate this hypothesis, though it deals, on the other hand, more or less exclusively with Middle Indian forms for “Turk(ish)”:

I have had trouble with a sporadic sound-law in Middle Indian — that is to say, a sound-rule which seems to be valid for the adaptation of learned Sanskrit words (respectively loan words) to Pāli–Prakrit habits of pronunciation, the clearest examples of which are:

Sanskrit *mūrkhā* “idiot”, which in the regular way develops into Pkt *mukkha* (*rkh* assimilated, *u* shortened before the [consonant] group) but which (Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* § 139) also appears as *murukkha*, whilst *kh* is geminated (a well-known rule in Sanskrit school pronunciation) and anaptyctical *u* is developed.

Sanskrit *pūrva* “first”, etc., normally *puvva* (like above, but sometimes *puruvva* parallel with above).

If, while this rule functioned, one had borrowed the word *turk*, it would have necessarily become an *-a* stem, hence **turka*, and from it (parallel with *mūrkhā*) *turukka*. The form exists and is noted by Pischel (op. cit. § 302), but as an example of loss of aspiration, as one normally said *Turukkha* which comes from Sanskrit *Turuṣka*.

From this I draw a conclusion which is sure: that *turukkha* never had a *kkh* but came directly from *< turk*. Secondly, I believe in the possibility that the same *turk* *> turukka* could become *turukkha* in conformity with the similar — and excuse me — therewith associated *murukkha* “thick-skull” and *milakkhu* (*°kkh* sporadic in Pāli) “barbarian (as concerns language)”.

Thirdly, if the Sanskrit form *Turuṣka* is not older than that, it could be a learned transformation of *Turukkha*. (The form *Turaṣka*, which is said to exist, is without phonological value.)

³¹“Nu kommer min gårdskar, och vi skall fälla tre tallar med torrtopp till ved för vintern. ‘Lantbruket’ tar minst 6 timmar var dag; och även andra angenäma saker kommer i vägen för läsningen av nyindiska och pali.”

You would know better what the scholars say about *Turuṣka*....³²

The very last document of the “Collection Gunnar Jarring” is not a letter from Helmer Smith addressed to Gunnar Jarring but the photocopy of an undated letter Smith addressed to Nils Simonsson.³³ In a few added lines dated 30 November 1989 Jarring comments upon it as follows: “Dear Per,³⁴ This photocopy of a letter from Smith to Simonsson shows Lund in a glorified light. May I suggest that you put it at the end of Helmer Smith’s “dossier” in my collection of letters. By the way,

³²“Jag har haft bestyr med en sporadisk ljudlag i medelindiskan — d.v.s. en ljudregel som tycks gälla för anpassningen av lärda sanskritord (resp. lånord) till pali–prakritiska uttalsvanor — vars klaraste exempel är:

sanskrit *mūrkhā*, som i rätlinig utveckling ger präkr. *mukkha* > *rkh* assimilerat, *ū* förkortat [framför] gruppen, men som också (Pischel *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* § 139) uppträder som *murukkha* i det *kh* gemineras (en känd regel för det skolmässige sanskrituttalet) och anaptyktiskt *-u-* utvecklas.

sanskrit *pūrva* “först”, etc., normalt *puvva* (som ovan, men ibland *puruvva* parallellt med föregående.

Om man, då den regeln verkade, hade lånat in ordet *turk*, skulle det med nödvändighet ha blivit en *-a*-stam, således **turka*, och därav (parallellt med *mūrkhā*) *turukka*. Formen finns och antecknas av Pischel (§ 309), men såsom ett exempel på aspirationsförlust, eftersom det normalt heter *Turukkha* och detta kommer av sanskrit *Turuṣka*.

Härav drar jag en slutsats som är säker: att *turukka* aldrig haft något *kkh* utan kommit direkt < *turk*.

För det andra tror jag på möjligheten av att samma *turk* > *turukka*, kunnat bli *turukkha* efter de snarlika — och ursäkta ! — därmed associerade *murukkha* “tjurskalle” och *milakkhu* (*°kkha* sporadiskt i pali) “barbar [till språket]”.

För det tredje är sanskritformen *Turuṣka* icke äldre än att den skulle kunna vara en lärd ombildning av *Turukkha*. (Formen *Turaska*, som förekommer, saknar “fonologiskt” värde).

Vad de lärde säger om *Turuṣka* etc., vet Du nog bättre...”

³³Nils Simonsson (1920–1994) was Professor in Indian Languages and Literature at the University of Oslo from 1963–1975 and Professor in Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at the University of Uppsala from 1975 to 1985.

³⁴Chief librarian at the University Library in Lund, now retired.

Helmer Smith's letters to me need not be kept in a closed envelope any more but should be preserved in the same manner as the other letters. Yours faithfully, Gunnar."³⁵ Smith's letter (or a part of the letter) runs as follows:

The commentary is in general well informed ... but I am becoming more and more convinced that there exist two kinds of Pāli: one which was spoken by Buddha and was written by Buddhaghosa [and] the Tīkākāras, Aggavaṃsa, Moggalāna and other theras and was understood and read by Fausbøll and Trenckner and others. This is the first kind of Pāli; the other kind of Pāli is more flexible and more suited to express the fundamental doctrines of Christianity and the philosophy of Epicurus. This is the Pāli of Comparative History of Religions, it is spoken *inter alia* in Lund; it is a fortunate language, because its vocabulary is small and it is not troubled by any grammar.³⁶

The contents of this document are unfortunately disappointing and would not be accepted by any of today's scholars of Pāli. The statement that Pāli is "spoken in Lund" and thus "shows Lund in a glorified light" is absurd and tinged by strongly local patriotism. It is rather strange that Jarring wished this message to be incorporated into his letter

³⁵“Käre Per, denna fotokopia av ett brev från Smith till Simonsson kastar ett förklarat ljus över Lund. Får jag föreslå att Du lägger den i slutet på Helmer Smiths “dossier” i min brevsamling. Helmer Smiths brev till mig behöver f.ö. inte längre ligga i slutet kuvert utan férvaras på samma sätt som andra brev. Din tillgivne Gunnar.”

³⁶“Kommentaren vet i allmänhet väl besked ... men jag blir mer och mer övertygad om att det finns tv ~~“Käre Per, denna fotokopia av ett brev från Smith till Simonsson kastar ett förklarat ljus över Lund. Får jag föreslå att Du lägger den i slutet på Helmer Smiths “dossier” i min brevsamling. Helmer Smiths brev till mig behöver f.ö. inte längre ligga i slutet kuvert utan férvaras på samma sätt som andra brev. Din tillgivne Gunnar.”~~ sorters pali: en sort som talades av Buddha och skrevs av Buddhaghosa [och] tīkākāraerna, Aggavaṃsa, Moggalāna och andra theraer och förstods och lästes av Fausbøll och Trenckner mfl. detta är första sortens pali; den andra sortens pali är smidigare och mera ägnat att uttrycka kristendomens grundläror och Epikuros filosofi — det är den komparativa religionsforskningens pali, det talas bl.a. i Lund; det är ett lyckligt språk, för dess ordförråd är ringa och det besväras icke av någon grammatik.”

collection.³⁷ Having re-read Smith's letter to Nils Simonsson again and again and

On the whole, the "Collection Gunnar Jarring" gives us a rather good picture, perhaps not so much of the work on Pāli, but of the personality and the various activities of Helmer Smith. It remains, however, surprising that Smith, in the period between 1934 and 1938, sent somewhat more than 150 letters to Gunnar Jarring, who was not an Indologist, though he had numerous interests in common with Smith. A field of intense interest shared by both of them was above all lexicography. Jarring was undoubtedly an ambitious and extremely talented young man, to whom Helmer Smith could easily take a liking, and Smith was probably sincere, when he in his letter dated 19 August 1935 praised Jarring by jokingly quoting two lines from a students' theatrical parody, a "spex":³⁸

For you know languages which no tongue speaks,
and you can interpret what nobody thought.³⁹

Siegfried Lienhard

discussed it with several colleagues, I have become sure that Helmer Smith, one of the most outstanding scholars of Pāli, cannot have been serious in this letter addressed to N. Simonsson. It had probably nothing to do with local patriotism. Smith simply tried to make fun of Jarring, Simonsson, and certain historians of religion in Lund by making these extremely odd statements.

³⁷A contemporary of Helmer Smith who mastered the Pāli language with unparalleled ease was, however, Wilhelm Geiger (1856–1943) from the University of Munich. In his book *Wilhelm Geiger: His Life and Works* (Colombo: Tübingen 1977 (2nd ed.), p. 135), H. Bechert mentions "a famous Sinhalese scholar who had corresponded with Geiger since 1928.... This was Aggamahāpaṇḍita Polvattē Buddhadatta Mahānāyaka Thera (1887–1962). Buddhadatta Thera gives a detailed account of his acquaintance with Geiger in his autobiography, "Sri Buddhadattacaritaya", in which he also gave the text of several of Geiger's letters. The first letter from Geiger to Buddhadatta was written in Pāli, and was later included as a reading-exercise in Buddhadatta's text-book of Pāli (see *ibid.*, note 52: A.P. Buddhadatta, *Aids to Pali Conversation and Translation* (Ambalangoda 1951), pp. 130f. and the plate between 80 and 81: "First page of a Letter written by Wilhelm Geiger to Ven. Sri Subhuti Thera").

³⁸From Latin *spectaculum*. "Spexes" had become popular since about 1850, especially at the University of Lund.

³⁹"För du kan språk som ingen tunga talar, och du kan tyda det som ingen tänkt."