

THE EVOLUTION OF 18<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY SWEDISH:  
AN EXAMINATION OF C.H. BRAAD'S *HISTORICAL REMARKS*  
ON *BENGAL* AND HIS OTHER 'INDIAN' MANUSCRIPTS

by  
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1. *Introduction*

In this article I consider the Swedish of the Braad *corpus* (Franks 2006b) as exhibited by four of the principal manuscripts: *Surat Journal* (147,000 words, written in 1752-53), drafts for letters 1754-57 (41,000 words, of which half were written in Bengal or Gujarat in or after 1755), *Historical Account of Bengal* (36,000 words, written in 1759) and the 39,000 words of *Curriculum vitæ*, his autobiography written in 1781, the last year of his life. In sum, over 260,000 words of Swedish, written over the thirty years of his adult life.

Braad was in the Swedish-speaking world (as defined below) when he wrote *Surat*, the earlier drafts and *Curriculum vitæ*); wrote the later drafts during his four-and-a-half year absence from it, when he spoke principally French and English; and wrote *Bengal* on his return to the Swedish-speaking world.

This absence – or, more correctly the languages he spoke during his absence in India and Indian waters, at sea when returning to Europe, in Ireland and in England – affected the Swedish of all these manuscripts (and arguably all of what he wrote later). The crux was not his antecedent knowledge but his active use of these languages. In 1762-81, his putative reading and discussion of the many books other than in Swedish that he bought for his library<sup>1</sup> could have similarly affected his Swedish, but as explained below, the data are lacking that would clarify and might support this proposition; nor has anything been done to derive such data from his and his correspondents' letters or from the five volumes of his unpublished work in manuscript, *Ostrogothia Literata* 'The Learned Persons of Östergötland from Ancient Days arranged and carried up to the Present'.<sup>2</sup>

To interpret these data, I have viewed Swedish as if it were a species evolving not at the centre of its own Swedish-speaking world but, as the observed changes in Braad's Swedish testify, on its margins, i.e. where the language was only written not spoken, as Braad on his travels wrote Swedish but spoke French or English. As a concept, I have called some words 'unSwedish'<sup>3</sup> but discuss here only such of them as are of European origin. The others are much more numerous; Braad took them from Indian Ocean languages (from the Comoro Islands to Malaya and the islands) for, without them, he could not have described his subject: peoples' ways of life, clothes, faiths, customs, cultivation, weights, measures, coinages, trade, and a range of flora and fauna. I have gathered them into a seven-hundred word glossary that functions as a (not-yet finalized) subject index to the manuscripts that complements the indexes to persons, places, named vessels and so on.<sup>4</sup>

The present study relies on a secondary use of the word-processing files of the Swedish texts of these previously unexplored manuscripts that had been made primarily to produce translations. The work of translation was an effective way of correcting the inevitable errors of transcription. I used the Windows Search command to locate every usage of the unSwedish words given in the appendix. My findings (Table 4) throw what may be a novel light on the details of the development of Swedish in the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, so what I have claimed elsewhere (Franks 2005b:38) can perhaps *mutatis mutandis* bear repetition here: 'one may err who writes on mid 18<sup>th</sup>-century Swedish ... in ignorance of the contents of the Braad papers'.

## *2. Travelling within and beyond the bounds of the Swedish-speaking world*

The frontiers of the greater – static – part of this world were roughly those that now define the present-day Kingdom of Sweden and Republic of Finland, but the Swedish flag flew also over the parts that were mobile: the Swedish East India Company's ships. They may be thought of as Swedish islands, whether sheltered in a Swedish creek,

isolated at sea or at anchor off Surat or in the Pearl River at Whampoa, and their officer and crew as Swedish-speaking inhabitants. Circumstances influenced them, and the contrast is striking between the circumstances that affected two men on two successive voyages in 1748-52. Braad was the ship's clerk, Olof Torén the ship's pastor and from what each wrote of the second voyage (1750-52), one can in the light of their individual circumstances interpret their texts.

Torén's seven letters, written in 1752-53 to Linnaeus and published by him in 1757, make clear his unease on even pastoral Madeira. Once in the Indian Ocean, he hardly ventured ashore, staying on board for all but twenty-two days of the 5½ months the ship was anchored at Surat. The Indian and other shores were made fearful for him by *gannims* or marauding Indians, man-eating tigers, lurking crocodiles, venomous snakes and the worst, ever-present danger that could not be evaded: himself. As Braad wrote in *Curriculum vitae*, Torén had been a pleasant companion but, long before the end of the voyage, he was unfit for polite company on account of drink, of which, having completed the last of his letters, he died three months later, in August 1753.

As ship's clerk, Braad returned from a run ashore at the ship's first stop in the Indian Ocean with, characteristically, the Comoro islanders' names for pen, ink and paper, respectively *kam*, *ioncko* and *kurtass*.<sup>5</sup> Visiting old friends at Surat, Captain Shierman took him along, as his secretary, and was no doubt impressed by his command of French and English, and his good manners,<sup>6</sup> at the Dutch factory. This probably won Braad permission to rent at the ship's expense rooms in Surat. He stepped thence, but not for the last time on the voyage, outside the Swedish-speaking world, writing in *Surat* (133) of 'intimate conversations about their religion with Banians who understood some European language'. He went ashore, too, elsewhere on the Indian coast; in Malaya, he and the crocodiles sunning themselves on the mud banks of a river did not worry one another. On board, he and the Armenian merchant who was a passenger<sup>7</sup> got on well (in what language?); when they met by chance two years or so later in Bengal,

however, he was too short of funds to accept an invitation to visit Patna.

The 9,000 words of Torén's seven letters lack linguistic interest. Before he had penned the first, in November 1752, Braad had his notes in order, and had two or three to write by 5 March 1753, when he had completed the forty-odd illustrations and maps, and the 147,000 words, of the fair copy of *Surat* and presented it to his directors. Whether or not it persuaded them that he could flourish outside the Swedish-speaking world, they decided late in 1753 to ask him by letter to travel there on their behalf in 'southern Asia'.

### *3. Leaving the Swedish-speaking world*

On his third voyage, Braad was in Canton in November 1754 when the directors' letter reached him, to propose that if, disguising his purposes as need be, he acceded to their request to travel on their behalf to investigate trade, they would pay him up to date but advance nothing of an increased rate of pay nor funds to meet his travelling expenses; he would get his remuneration for travelling and his expenses reimbursed on his return to Sweden. Seeing that 'all the risks are mine and the Company's are none,'<sup>8</sup> he accepted what he could not refuse and entrusted himself to fortune. All of a sudden possessed of (apparently) independent means, he left the Swedish-speaking world as a well-educated Swedish gentleman and for four-and-a-half years lived an international life by sea and land.

### *4. Braad's knowledge of languages*

His notes of his reading on his first (1748-49) voyage and his citations of classical authors<sup>9</sup> mainly in *Surat*, testify to his pre-university knowledge of Latin (and maybe Greek), contemporary European languages (principally English, French and German), his maternal

Swedish and (probably) his paternal Danish. He read at sea two or three *gallant* (i.e. pornographic) works in French and German, which suggest his command of these languages was advanced, while his notes indicate it was more scholarly than practical.

### 5. *A life outside the Swedish-speaking world*

On acceding to his directors' wishes, he drafted 20,000 words in letters and reports to them, then wrote the fair copies, in November and December 1754. Even if for other reasons, he was in as great a hurry as when, later in India, he drafted other letters to them (Franks 2006b:21ff). This was the last Swedish he wrote before the English and French he spoke almost exclusively for the next 4½ years began to affect this, his mother tongue.

Sailing for Calcutta in the English-owned *Success Galley*, he began by talking her Scots and English officers into believing he had left the Swedish company to pursue his love of natural history into India and, maybe, on an 'overland' journey to Europe via Bassora (i.e. Basra). The French pilot who took the vessel up the Hugli addressed himself to Braad as the only man on board to understand French, but did not believe him. At Calcutta in January 1755, his introduction to the English governor and his council was a superficial success, for 'more polite Englishmen I have never met', he wrote (in Swedish) soon afterwards. 'I have decided to be on my guard and when any ambiguous proposition is aired I begin to speak of herbs and animals and the inhabitants of the planets. I thought at first that a Philosophick Character would be very ridiculous but ...' the laugh was on the English when, having dubbed him 'the Swedish Philosopher', they fooled themselves into thinking he was (Franks 2006a). With their blessing, he visited the near-by French and Danish colonies before sailing, once again in *Success Galley*, to Surat. He won the friendship of the English director and his council, as well as the confidence of the French-speaking Capuchin fathers; sailed in one of the English

director's vessels on a three-month visit to Mocha; returned to Surat; and in spring 1758 sailed in the English East Indiaman *York*<sup>10</sup> for Europe. After her shipwreck on Ireland, he visited Dublin and the family of his English friend in Surat. He was received in London by his Göteborg-born friend from an earlier voyage, William Chambers. This rising architectural star<sup>11</sup> with many friends in the worlds of the arts and sciences, and an advisor to boot of the Prince of Wales, was delighted to meet his former shipmate. He attended the court of the 'old' king, George II, visited the House of Commons, spent an evening with Dr. John Campbell, a gabby Scots historian, visited bookshops and libraries in London and Oxford and felt much at home. He called as a Swedish-speaking Swede on the Swedish envoy in Copenhagen and, on 27 May 1759, was reunited in Göteborg with friends and enemies<sup>12</sup> in the company. Writing *Bengal* within a month or two, he had inadvertently documented the effects of these busy international years on his Swedish.

### 6. *Later writings*

After directing a highly successful trading voyage in 1760-62 to Surat and Canton, Braad resigned from the company, having had time on the voyage to make only his extracts from the Surat Capuchins' diary. Unlike his earlier manuscripts that exhibit easily legible styles of handwriting, his extracts are all too nearly illegible. For this reason, and because the French of the diary would have excessively influenced his Swedish, I have excluded this manuscript from the present study, for all that it would well repay study on its own.

Of his other later (i.e. 1762-81) manuscripts, only *Curriculum vitae* is considered here. A putative influence on it (and them) was less his acquisition during these years of books in French and English, but probably he read and discussed them in these languages with friends in Norrköping, where he lived, or in letters to others, or both. There is no way to know when he acquired a given book, and scarce resources have

prevented work on his and his correspondents' letters; thus it is impossible to say whether he discussed a given book or in what language(s) or with which of his friends. Many were distinguished scholarly figures; the names in Helsinki University library's catalogue of its holding of roughly 1,000 of their letters to him are impressive. As a catalogue of his letters to them was lost in a fire in the early 1990s, it is not now known even how many he wrote, to whom or when. A very rough estimate of 1,500 to 2,000 letters (perhaps 200,000 to 300,000 words of Swedish) are as unexplored as his more extensive Indian and eastern manuscripts were before I started work on them.

### 7. *Questions and methods*

A feature of *Bengal* suggested the form of, and a method used in, the present enquiry.

The first nine (of 166) pages of the manuscript contain 37 mainly marginal notes in a 'German' style of handwriting. Most are to individual words; five fussily indicate that the word *som* 'that' should be replaced by *hwilcke hwilcka* 'which'. This effort to 'improve' the text was abandoned with over 150 pages to go, but probably induced Braad to look again at the many novel words he had used. Later in the manuscript (see Table 1) he made what I have called 'word pairs' by coupling an impeccably Swedish word to each of those that could be considered novel or 'unSwedish'.

There are fewer than forty in the manuscript because, I would suggest, Braad had understood that careful editing of it was no longer worthwhile, for its value as a guide to trade in Bengal had been ruined by later events: 'the Black Hole of Calcutta', the battle of Plassey and the rest of it – what he calls 'this revolution that has been so much remarked in Europe'.<sup>13</sup> It is still valuable for his testimony to the incompetence of the English governor and his councilors who, rightly suspecting he might be a commercial spy, could not catch him out.

Table 1: *Distribution of word pairs in Bengal*

0 on pp.1-52, 77-88, 122-166 =	109 pages
17 on pp. 53-56	4
5 on pp. 57-72	16
9 on pp. 73-76	4
5 on pp. 89-121	33, in sum,
36 pairs on 57 pages of a total of	166

See Table 3 for the word pairs.

Table 2: *Numbers of unSwedish words in the manuscripts*

These totals were later reduced by merging e.g. parts of verbs, variant spellings and the like; see Table 4 that has a total of 668.

in <i>Bengal</i> (in addition to those in Table 1)	135
in <i>Surat</i>	369
in <i>Curriculum vitae</i>	236
Total	740

Linguistically, the manuscript reveals what is rarely if ever visible (especially 250 years later): a bit of the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable Swedish. Having found the markers of this boundary, I wondered whether more might be uncovered by searching in *Bengal* and the other manuscripts for more unSwedish words. Table 2 summarizes the words I found; they are listed in detail in Appendix I. Table 4 summarizes the numbers of times each occurs in each manuscript; it concludes with their *per mille* frequency in each.



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Table 3: *UnSwedish words and equivalents in Bengal*

**Boldface** indicates a word absent from SAOB or occurring there as dated; other dates are those of the first or early occurrences of other words. Figures in ( ) refer to pages of the manuscript.

*UnSwedish words*

1. adresserar man sig till honom
2. adopterat
3. togo de avantagen af
4. bizarre (1679)
5. copierat (1556)
6. corset (1735)
7. creperar (1700)
8. cruellare (1716)
- 9. desintereseament (-)**
10. difficultet (1619)
11. discourera (1619)
- 12. embarassera (-)**
13. encouragerad (1632)
14. exercerade (1610)
- 15. æstimable (1784)**
16. genier (1690)
- 17. guarderad (1771)**
18. incommode (1662)
- 19. inconsiderable (-)**
20. interrumperade (1617)
21. intressante (1748)
22. intresserade (1642)
23. merit (1746)
24. miraculeuse (c. 1700)
25. occuperade (1622)
26. opförande (?)
- 27. ordinaire (-)**
28. placera (c. 1700)
29. præfererade (1622)
30. prætendera (1620)
31. protection (1650)
32. provision (1613)
- 33. quæstion (-)**
34. reglerar (1655)
35. reproache (1716)
36. reuserat (1690)
37. soutinera (1712)
38. specieuse (1658)

*alleged equivalents*

- anliter han om at näpsa dem (56)
- antagit (76)
- nyttjade de tilfallet (68)
- kättersk (109)
- utskrifwit (76)
- snörlif (110)
- sätter till lifwet (56)
- plågsammare (56)
- ringa egennyttia (53)
- swårigheter (75)
- öfwerwäga (121)
- hindra och oppehålla (75)
- opmuntra och tillstyrkt af (71)
- öfwade i sin konst (56)
- wärderade (73)
- snillen (73)
- bewakad (75)
- opstudsig (56)
- ringa i denna orten (55)
- afbrutne (73)
- rörande (73)
- dehlägare (56)
- förtjänster (54)
- owanlig (54)
- sysselsatte (89)
- conduite (60)
- wanlige (55)
- nedlägga (76)
- föredrog (53)
- förbehålla sig at (117)
- förswar (72)
- andre lifsmedel (56)
- frågan (54)
- fastställer (56)
- förebrådelse (54)
- lyckats (62)
- underhålla (59)
- låtande (56)

Table 3 lists Braad's word pairs. The concept of 'unSwedish' reflects the 18<sup>th</sup>-century opinion referred to above, which the fussy friend to whom he had shown his manuscript might have agreed with: 'foreign words ... are used unnecessarily' by Swedes. I first found the frequencies of the 135 in *Bengal* varied significantly: in Book II of *Surat* 0.7 *per mille*; in draft *letters* from Canton 1.4 and from India and Mocha 2.6; *Bengal* 4.5; and in *Curriculum vitae* 1.2.

Before making this analysis, I had divided the draft letters between those drafted in the Swedish-speaking world (up to the end of 1754) and outside it (in 1755 and later). The division revealed significant-looking frequencies: i.e. once Braad was outside the Swedish-speaking world they jumped from 1.4 to 2.6 *per mille*: while all the earlier drafts were composed with great urgency (as noted above), only some of the latter were. The increase came when Braad was making an active use of his spoken command of other languages.

This finding and the unexpectedly low frequency in Braad's CV suggested I should search for unSwedish words in the CV and deepen my examination by using the 147,000 words of *Surat* rather than the 97,000 words of only Book II. As explained above, I omitted the *Capuchin diary extracts*; the Swedish of *Canton* seems similar to that of *Surat*.

To return to my starting point: Braad's 38 unSwedish words and their element of absolute or relative novelty. This novelty can be defined by the words either being absent from the Swedish Academy's Dictionary (SAOB, *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*) or dated there after 1759 (seven of them) or being first documented earlier in the century (a further nine). That a total of 16 out of 38 can be so defined suggests he had an attitude towards language, and maybe not only language, that looked forward rather than back. This point of view is interestingly paralleled in the substance of one of his observations on the animal kingdom.

The accepted emblematic or biblical view of a snake was, of course, that of the serpent in the Garden of Eden: something not merely venomous but evil.<sup>14</sup> The snake Braad introduced to the readers of

*Bengal* (p. 145) was decidedly novel: '*Lauduga* or the green snake is altogether green, but so well marked with lighter tones that should one wish to call a snake beautiful, [it] would deserve the name'. I do not know whether this might have got Braad into trouble with the church that had since the mid 1730s been empowered to act to defend pure Lutheran doctrine. Any Swede whose thought it deemed impure might be interrogated, anyone deemed to be a believer in some impure variety of the faith might be exiled, and deprived of any right of inheritance (Franks 2005a). However, this is not the place, nor is the present writer qualified, further to explore this line of enquiry into more than the linguistic consequences of Braad's manner of thinking.

Few of the unSwedish words had posed any difficulty in translation that C.M. Ekbohrn's *100,000 Främmande Ord och Namn mm i Svenska Språket* (1936) or the *Concise Oxford French Dictionary* and comparable works could not resolve. Perhaps inevitably, in looking for unSwedish words I found some of an opposite sort, for example, *swarsgod*, meaning 'answerable', as in 'the profit was not answerable to the expense'; *grundwärck*<sup>15</sup> 'a means of raising water', or *grillfängeri* 'crochetiness' (i.e. Braad's view of modern disbelief in classical authors' accounts of the circumnavigation of Africa). Occurring at the 'ancient' end of a linguistic range that stretches to 'novel' at the other, they indicate the range of the Swedish exhibited in the manuscripts.

Table 4 summarizes by letters of the alphabet roughly forty pages of notes made in the course of computer searches for each unSwedish word in each of the four manuscripts. Some notes on these searches follow.

The figures in Table 4 should not be taken as absolutely accurate, for the Windows Search-and-Find Command<sup>16</sup> cannot cope with unforeseeable variations e.g. *balancera*/*ballancera*, *practicable*/*practicabel*; or the vagaries of Braad's inconsistent (*approfondera* here, *aprofondera* there) and/or inaccurate spelling (*suplique* rather than *supplique*; CV, p. 13); nor with his (non-)use of hyphens: I found e.g. *amphiteatre* but not *amphiteatre* (*Surat*, p. 23); compare also e.g. *amule-ra*, *bar-queurer* ('bearers'), *pulverise-rade* (*Surat*, pp. 198, 349 and 368 respectively), *hospitab-last* and

*insoute-nable* (p. 60, *Bengal*), and *digre-sion* (*CV*, p. 3). On the other hand, a search for *tolerable* led to two (overlooked) instances of *intolerable*. In sum, as I may have missed some words, this reservation must apply to the search results even if such inaccuracy would most probably not affect the *per mille* rates enough to alter the conclusions one can draw from them.

Table 4: <i>Frequencies of unSwedish words in the Braad corpus</i>								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Names of mss. →			<i>Surat</i>	<i>letters from</i>	<i>Bengal</i>	<i>CV</i>		In sum
			Canton	India				
unSwedish, but European words (by letter)	↓	of which SAOB does not record	<u>numbers of times words in (2) occur in each ms.</u>					
A	46	20	60	7	10	31	31	139
B	21	8	49	3	3	14	6	75
C	102	16	195	31	46	59	73	404
D	39	11	91	18	18	36	39	202
E	41	9	58	34	21	28	50	191
F	21	2	78	11	10	25	19	143
G	7	1	11	-	1	4	6	22
H	11	1	8	-	-	1	9	18
I	41	8	40	5	15	18	22	100
J	2	-	7	2	2	3	1	15
K	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
L	14	3	14	1	-	4	10	29
M	45	7	56	5	15	27	20	123
N	9	-	16	4	29	8	5	62
O	12	-	15	5	6	6	9	41
P	86	12	274	56	66	93	115	604
Q	2	-	1	1	4	3	-	9
R	49		77	23	57	37	56	250
S	65	4	90	12	20	41	37	200
T to TILL	12	2	30	-	-	4	1	35
sub-total	627	104	1,171	218	323	443	509	2,664
TILL to Ö (not in print in SAOB)	41	-	116	9	31	40	29	225
Totals (words)	668	(occurrences)	1,287	227	354	483	538	2,889
Word-count totals (to nearest 000)			147,000	20,000	21,000	39,000	36,000	263,000
Years of composition of mss			1752-53	1754	1755-57	1759	1781	
<b>Frequencies of unSwedish words <i>per mille</i></b>	<b>8.8</b>		<b>11.4</b>	<b>16.9</b>	<b>12.4</b>	<b>14.9</b>	<b>11.0</b>	

Braad tends to choose the French rather than the English form of a word, e.g. *tendre* rather than *tender*. He wrote (of vegetable crops) *tendre plantor*, (of the mulberry leaves consumed by silkworms) *spädare och tendrare*, (of meat) *ett tendret och fett [får]kött*, (and of a small snake that, he claims, literally breaks in two should it fall from a tree) *dess kropp är så tendre* (pp. 136, 139, 143, 145 respectively of *Bengal*). His preference for French appears in his spelling of *disappointment*.

A plausible reason is that, as these citations show, the spelling of the French word adapts more easily to Swedish grammatical usage. English (or French?) *simple* exhibits some such difficulties, for it appears twice as *simpla*, four times as *simple* and once as *simpel*. Similarly with the *à la suède* version of *publique* (*Bengal* p. 114): *publiqt*; and with *risqun* that occurs in a citation in note 8. Braad's orthography, however, makes any argument based on his spelling less than wholly convincing.

## 8. Conclusion

Table 4 concludes with figures of frequencies, in particular the change between 1754 and 1755-57, that support the assertion that Braad's active spoken use of French and/or English affected the Swedish he wrote in 1759-81.

The maintenance between 1759 and 1781 of a large part of the rise in frequency in the 1750s is particularly interesting. While it can be ascribed (tentatively, as discussed above) to his steady, 20-year enlargement of his library, a separate examination might reveal traces of it in both his correspondence and non-eastern work in 1762-81.

Such an examination should explore a seeming parallel between these observed changes in Braad's Swedish in the latter 1750s and those generally accepted as having occurred at about the same time when Adolf Fredrik, who became king of Sweden in 1751, married Lovisa Ulrika in 1744. As Frederick the Great's sister, she was as Francophile (if not also as dominant) as him; and she spoke only French. Her courtiers would by definition have been at least as fluent in Swedish

and French as Braad seems to have been. Unlike him, however, they never left the Swedish-speaking world nor had they had to make do for years on end without Swedish as a medium of spoken communication, while having at the same time to write letters and reports in it. Although it is usual to attribute the late 18<sup>th</sup>-century influence of French culture in Sweden to Lovisa Ulrika's and Adolf Fredrik's son Gustav, born in 1746, it probably started when his parents married.

Thus it is a nice question to compare the degrees to which the written Swedish, on the one hand, of courtiers was affected by their need in court circles to speak French and, on the other, Braad's was affected by his four-and-a-half year time-out from the Swedish-speaking world. While this would require the finding of a *corpus* of Swedish by one or more bi- or trilingual courtiers on subjects and in formality comparable to those of the texts examined here, what would probably be crucial would be the length and degree of the separation of the writer from the Swedish-speaking world.

Braad's time-out noticeably affected his Swedish vocabulary, and it remains to be seen what effect, if any, this time-out had on his Swedish grammar and/or syntax, and whether these aspects, too, of the language evolved in parallel with his vocabulary.

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## Notes

1. There exists no record of acquisitions but Braad may have kept one; a 52-page list made probably by a bookseller's clerk gives the contents in 1781 of his library as over 3,000 titles, among them 191 in folio, 863 in quarto, 1518 in octavo, 402 in duodecimo, 42 in sedecimo; all these divisions lack an alphabetical or other order. Of the 53 titles about the world east of Suez, 21

- (5 in English, 7 in French, 9 in Swedish) were published after 1762; maybe he bought half or more later.
2. He formally donated the complete work to Linköping *gymnasium's* library on 27 March 1781.
  3. The name of this concept reflects the spirit of, firstly, the name of a two-volume dictionary, C.M. Ekbohrn: *Förklaringar över 100,000 Främmande Ord och Namn m.m. i svenska språket tillika med deras härledning och uttal* ('Explanations of 100,000 foreign words and names in the Swedish language, together with their extraction and pronunciation' (1<sup>st</sup> ed. c. 1906) and, secondly, a note in Vol. 5 of SAOB (published 1925) under the entry for *debauche*, of which the first occurrence is dated 1716. *Fremmande ord ... som hos oss merendels onödigt brukas*; 'foreign words that are more often than not used unnecessarily by us'. Far superior to any other work of the same size, Ekbohrn's dictionary is admirably wide and deep in its coverage.
  4. To put this figure in perspective, *Hobson-Jobson* explains about 6,000 words (see its *Historical Perspective*, xiv) although many of them concern 19<sup>th</sup>-century British matters. Writing 130 years before the first edition was published (in 1886), Braad noted features of Indian life, for example the teasing English name for the French settlement of Mahé (Mayhem!) that had evidently quite vanished by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
  5. A variety or dialect of the Swahili that was spoken on the nearest African coast.
  6. It is a mystery how he recorded the data in *Surat* (222) of the pay and allowances of the 24 members of the staff of the Dutch factory, whose positions – from *opperhoofd* to *gevallier* (soldier) – he names *in Dutch*. As he would hardly have been allowed to copy the appropriate record, might he have tacitly employed mnemonics to do this when, as a special favour, he was merely shown it? See Luria 1987, 44ff, for a discussion of memorizing an unknown language.
  7. The supercargoes who had jealously resented his (quite proper) interest in the details of Indian trade must have been helplessly envious of his easy communication with this probably unrivalled Armenian source of information about trade in the whole Indian Ocean.
  8. To Abraham Grill, 10 December, 1755: *men å andre sidan synes äfven at så stort mistroende, i det all belöning lämnats för en owiss framtid och après coup, utan at mig andre medell lämnats i händerne, än hwad nästan jag förtjänt för förre resan, så att all risqun är min, och Directionens ingen.* 'but on the other hand there seems to be so great a mistrust, in that all forms of remuneration are left until some

uncertain future date, after the event, without any funds being put into my hands than what I had earned earlier on the voyage, so that all risk falls to my lot and none to the directors' (L185, Uppsala University Library).

9. At sea in 1748-49, he read 2 books in Danish, 3 in Dutch, 3 in English, 27 in French, 28 in German, and 41 in Swedish. Mainly in *Surat*, he cited Lucius Coelius Antipater, Ausonius, Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Herodotus, Horace, Juvenal, Megasthenes, Ovid, Plutarch, Pomponius Mela, Ptolemy, Strabo, Valerius Flaccus, Vitruvius; others remain to be identified.
10. Braad spoke a little Swedish with a fellow passenger, Karlskrona-born Jacob Funck, an awkward character whom the English had thrown out of Bombay (*CV*, chapter 12), but by this time he must no longer have bothered to conceal his identity: the *Yorké's* papers describe him as a 'Supercargo in the Swedish service' (Oriental & India Office Collections, British Library, L/MAR/B/237F).
11. His later work included Somerset House, off the Strand, and the Great Pagoda in Kew Gardens. As supercargo and ship's clerk, he and Braad had spent a month in Calicut in 1754, negotiating the purchase of a load of pepper.
12. One of the latter was a gentleman called Anders Gotheen. Having learned Braad had lost virtually all he possessed in a shipwreck, he slanderously put it about, among others to one of Braad's friends, that, having actually been idle since leaving Canton, Braad would explain away his lack of notes and the like by reference to this loss. The following year, Braad told one of the directors that he would not set his foot in the same ship as Gotheen (*CV*, Chapter 15). Those who consider the company's voyages as 'adventures' presumably find such conduct 'adventurous'.
13. *Bengal*, 92ff.
14. See chapter 2, 'Natural History and Vulgar Errors', of Keith Thomas *Man and the Natural World. A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York, 1983). 'In the works of Goldsmith and other eighteenth-century popularizers of natural history ... the snake [was] 'treacherous" 'Plants and animals should be studied for their own sake, independent of their utility or meaning for man. This was a return to the [views of] the ancient Greek atomists Leucippus and Democritus ... [an] essentially modern view of causality [that] had been overlaid by centuries of Christian teaching, when nature was portrayed as the creation of an omnipotent deity'.
15. *inrättningar med skopor likasom på ware grundwärck, som går ned i brun, och föra op watnet, samt äfwen drivas med oxa* 'arrangements with scoops similar to our



*grundvärck* that go down into wells and bring up water, and are also worked by oxen'. (*Surat*, 174); probably a device with a series of buckets or the like on an endless chain, as used in dredging. The word does not occur in SAOB, and a Swedish Google search on *grundvärck* (20 May 2007) gave no result.

16. See the Microsoft Word User's Guide © 1993-1994, Using Advanced Search Criteria, 65ff. As often as not, Windows deems the language of my files of translations of Braad's texts – a mixture of English, modern and 18<sup>th</sup>-century Swedish, French, Latin and some linguistic odds and ends – to be Finnish!

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## Appendix 1. UnSwedish words in manuscripts in the Braad corpus

Words in **bold** are absent from SAOB; those in parentheses are variant spellings of the preceding words, of which the basic part of some is indicated by a swung dash ~. Explanatory comments are in *italics*. Nouns are generally given in singular form; verbs in the form of the search definition.

### A

**aborigine**, **abusera**, **accablera**, acceptera, accordera, accurate (~tess), acten, action, addressera, **admirera**, **admirable**, **adstringera**, aggravera, allamera, alliance (~ence), alliera, alternative, ambition, **amphiteatre**, anecdoter, apparence (aparence), **apologie**, **apologisera**, **appaisera**, **appange**, **application**, **aprofondera** (**approfondera**), **archipelago**, arithmetica, article, **astrologiska**, **Astronomus**, **attachera**, attachment, attaque, attraction, attrapera, auctoritet, **authenticiteten**, avancera, **avancementer**, avanturer, **avanie**

### B

balance (*scales*), ballancera, (*sand*)banck, banquerouter, **banqueur** (*banker*), barbarer, barbari, barbariskt, **barier** (bariär) (*barrier*), barometer, **barqueur** (*bearer*), bastonade, **bay** (*of the sea*), **bazaar**, (**bazarn**), beurs (Du.), bloqering, **brallera**, **brilliant**, bravera, **bår**, **barer** (*tidal bore*)

### C

**calculation**, **calcule**, calculera, calumnie, **canoer**, capabel, capacitet, caravan (carawan), **caresser**, cassera, catharact, cavalierer, cedula, ceremoniel, chagrin, chaise, charge, charger, **charitable**, charlatan, chronologie, **circumstantielle**, citation, **clarifiera**, clarera, climaterne, **coiffeur** (Fr. *coiffeur*), couleur, commando, commendera, commerce, commoditet, communication, comoedia, competitor, complaisant, complett, completer, complexion, compliment, composition, comprimera, concedera, concubine, concurrera, condescendera, condition, condolence, conduite, conduite, conferera, conference, confirmation, confiscation, **confisquera**, confundera, confusion, conisk, conjunction, connaissance, conjunctur, **conquerant** (~ent), **conquette**, consacra, conservera, considerable (~bel), considerera, consideration, consternation, constitution, consumption (consumption), conte(i)na(e)nce, continuer, contradictioner, contrait, contraminor, **contrapart**, contrast, contrescharpe, contribution, controverser, conversation, convoy, convoyera, copiera, **copulation**, correspondera, correspondence, corrosive, corruption, courage,

## THE EVOLUTION OF 18<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY SWEDISH

courir, course, crepera, croco(i)dile, cultiv(w)era, cur, curera, curieust, curieuse (~itet), current, **cyclet**

### D

debauche, debitera, debitorer, decadence, depance (~ence), **departuren**, depencerade, dependence, dependera, **depouillera**, derivera, despot, desperate (~tion), **dessinteressement**, **detergent**, determinera, **device**, devotion, **dialectisera**, differera, digression, diopter, **disappointment**, **discouragera**, discourse, discretion, **discus** (*disc*), disention, dispensation, disponera, disposition, **dispute**, **dissharmonie**, distance, distinguera, **divulgera**, doctor, doublera, duelle

### E

**ebb**, education, **educera**, egaard (eguard), embarkera (embarquera), **embrouillera**, emphatiske, employ, employera, encouragement, encouragera, engagement, **enterprise**, **entretenera**, equipera, escaloupe (*sloop*), **eschapera**, estime (estæme), æstimer, **æmulera**, æquinoctia (~tialen), evaluation, evertuera sig, evitera, **exaggeration**, excedera, excellera, exception, excess, execution (exequera), exempel, exercitierne, exponera, **exportation**, express, expression, exprimera, extendera, extrahera, extremitet, egalera

### F

façon, fameux, fatal, fatiguera, fatigant, favourable, favourit, fermé, fermeté, fermt, fine, flod (*tide*), florera, force (forçe), formidablaste, fortification, fournera, **foutral**, frequentera, **friman** (~män), fundament

### G

genereuse, genie, grace, grassera, gravation, grimace, grundwärck

### H

harmonie, **hæmisphere**, hazard, hero, horreur, hospitable, hospital, hospitalité, humeur, humiliera, humiliante

### I

ignorera, illumination, imaginatat, imagination, imaginera, **immediate**, **impenetrable**, impertinence, impertinent, imposition, impracticable, impregnable, **inaccordera**, incommode, incommodera, incommoditet, inconsiderable, independent (~e), indifferent, indulgence, inficurad, influence,

informera, **inhabitable**, **inimitable**, inlogera, inpractisera, **insensibelt**, insignificante, insinuera, insolentare, **insoutenable**, instruction, instructivt, **insulaire**, interrompera, intrigue (intrique), introducera, invitation, irregulaire, irresolution,

J

jalousie (jaloux), jurisdiction

K

**kitschen** (Eng. *kitchen*), kurri

L

labyrinth, **lame**, landwind, lappris, **lascar**, lecture, lædera, lifmedicus, liniamenter, literature, **liverie**, logement (~e), lot, läncassæ

M

machiner, **maiz**, malice, **malignant**, malentenduer, **march**, **manquera**, marmalade, marquera, marsquitten, mascarade, masquera, massacrera, materien, maxim (~e), mechanismus, medici, medicine, medicus, medtid (*favourable tide*), meen (*harm*), melancholiske, **Mendicants**, meridian, mesquineri, messurar, Metempsychosien, meubler, meublera, middelen, milice, minarets, miscredit, miserabelt, **misere** (Eng. *miser*), misgärningsmän, moderera, moderation, modestie, **monopolisera**, monopolium, morass, mortification, mottid (*unfavourable tide*), movera

N

nativiteter, naturel, neglicera (negliger), negocé, negociera, neutral, neutralitet, nipper, notioner

O

objecternes, obligation, observation, odisturbera, offerera, ompregnera, opdyka, opnegociera, opposition, opropotionerlig, outrera

P

palais, palliativ, pardon, pardonera, partialité, particular, passable (~abel), passage, passera, penetration, perefine, permission, **perquisits**, perspiration, perswasion, pestera (Fr. *pester*), peulera, phantasie, phlebotomi, phlegmatisk, phlegme, physionomi, pique, pipstafwor, plantagier (~ager), **platform**, plausible,

## THE EVOLUTION OF 18<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY SWEDISH

plunder, pluraliteten, poenitence (~çe), poliqt, politesse, politicus, **politis**, **pomerantz**, **populaire**, poreus, **portchais**, positivitet, posture, **potato**, pousser, practicable (~bel), pratique, **practisera**, pravenera, præcaution, præcipitera, præeminence, præferera, præference, **præjudice (pre~)**, præparation, presence, præsent, præsentera (pre~), præstera, prætendent, prætendera, prætension, prætext (~text), pravenera, pretension, principalaste, private, probera, process, procession, profession, profitable, profusion, projectera, promiscue, promotion, prompt (promt), propagera, proponera, proportion (~aliter), proposition, prospect, prospected, protection, **prosternerad**, provision, publiqt (publiqt), pulverisera

### Q

quantum, quæstion

### R

raisonement, **rapacitet**, rapell, rapellera, **rapiditet**, **rare**, ravage, rebellion, recidive, reclamera, recognition, recommendation, recompensera, recruit, reellera, regulera, remedium, reparera, repartera, repat (*reap*), repetition, **reproache**, reputation, requiera, requisition (reqvisition), retardera, revolution, recommendera, reducirera, relation (*narration*), residence, resistence, resolution, resolvera, respective, restituera, restitution, **resurrection**, retablera, retour, retournera, retraite, revenge, revengera, revolution, **rhinoceros**, risqué, **rivalisera**, rudematerien

### S

sacrifice, sacrificiera, salam (salaam), satisfaction, scandaleust, **skeleton**, science, scruple, scrupuleuse, sculpture, securera, sement, sensation, sensible, sentiment, sequestera, simple (simpla, simpell), sincka, singulair, situation, situera, sky (*regardless*), smugleri, smugla, solemnisera, sollicitant, sollicitera, sordid, souccourse, soulagora, soulagement, soutinera, **spatieusesta**, specieuse, speculation, speculara, splendida, spogieust (spongieust), spring (springtide), squalor, stagnation, sterile, stricte, subaltern, subjection, submiss, subordination, subsistera, substance, subtile, succedera, succession, successor, supçon, superfine, superioritet, superstition (superstitieuse), suplique, surprenera, surprenante, suprimera, surprise, **susceptible**, swaarsgod, sycophant

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T

tact, **taffelsten**, temperade, tendre, *terreur panique*, **terrible**, theatre, theologien, thermometren, thriumpherade, thronen, tidwatnet

Words not yet documented in print in SAOB

T

tour, tranquillité, tranquillisera, transmigrera (transmigration), transportera, troupp, tolerable, **tornadoes**, torture, tract, tractat, tractera, transito, transportera

U

upnegotiera, usurpateur, usurpation, utpractisera

V

vacance, vacuum, vagabondo, vanitet, vapeur, variation, variable, variation, variera, vegetation, veritable, vigueur, visite, visitation, vitriol

W

warning, wassalage, (äga mera/lite)werld , wild, winning, **wirel**, wisitera

Ä

äventyrare