Identities and Contacts: Scots and their Relations with Scandinavia, 1500-1700

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Introduction

THE AIM of this short article is to show the variations that were at play both in terms of identity and of contacts between Scotland and Scandinavia. Identity is an almost ungraspable notion, whose exact contours are hard to delineate. Instead of making nationalistic claims one way or another, be they for Scotland or Scandinavia, the paper focuses on the flexible nature of that identity and its evolution throughout one's life or career. Similarly, the contacts between Scotland and Scandinavia and their respective inhabitants took many forms leading to various models of representation of these contacts. Methodologically, the paper will draw from a series of still underused and undervalued materials as pointers for future research. Indeed, in themselves, the rich tapestry of heraldry and the flamboyance of *alba amicorum* deserve the historian's attention. The remit of this investigation will be restricted to the north of Scotland in the first (heraldic) instance and widened to the country at large in the second section (on *alba amicorum*). The period covered ranges from 1500 to 1700.

Identity

The quest to establish identity is a challenging exercise at times, fraught with traps or uninspiring dead-ends. Yet such an inquiry is still worth pursuing and not without its rewards. Ideally, in the piecing together of a person's identity, these single components – social, ethnic, national, and so on – should not be studied in isolation. It is rather the composite picture that makes up what, or indeed who, the individual is. The following section

thereby only constitutes the first step in the gathering of scattered pieces of the jigsaw of an individual's life. In a maladroit way, it addresses the occasional historiographical preconceptions and misrepresentations of claims made about a person's national or ethnic identity. In addition, it attempts to address the often-overlooked factor of chronology in the delineation of an identity, and proposes a different angle to complement it. In doing so, the selected approach has willingly embraced the abandoned beauty of heraldry.[1]

Over the years, very few scholarly studies have delved into the topic of heraldry in relation to migrating Scots. Apart from two general overviews of the issue, out of the remaining six case studies, one has looked at the connections between Scotland and Canada, another one focused on the Scottish families in the Netherlands and Dutch families of Scottish descent, the Scots in Russia captured the attention of one scholar, and the final three articles concentrated on Scots and their families in Sweden. Hence, northern Europe and Scandinavia in particular have attracted the main heraldic interest in Scots abroad.[2] The possession of a coat of arms enabled a claim to the membership of the nobility. Whatever the motivations guiding the migration of Scots, the success of such an operation depended on the acceptance of the arms as authentic by the appropriate authorities in Sweden. Briefly speaking, two different situations arose, depending on whether the migrant was a noble or not. As a noble, an official confirmation was needed by means of letters patent in the form of a birth-brief from the Scottish Lord Lyon. Failing this, this person could otherwise obtain letters patent under the great seal or by warrant of Parliament or a court order forcing Lyon to issue such a birth-brief. In the instance of someone of lesser rank, that individual needed a certificate of propinquity from the burgh magistrates of his or his family's residence, such as the birth-brief obtained from Cromarty by David Urquhart in Kcynia (German Exin), north-east of Poznań (Posen), in May 1663.[3] These certificates were essentially issued to vouch for the integrity and status of a member of that burghal community, whereas Lyon's birth-brief established nobiliary status. In these burghal documents, the misstatements of witnesses could combine with errors of fact and deliberate distortion. Conversely, the formal letters under the great seal could likewise enshrine gross lies. Once a person was ennobled or of proven noble descent, the King-of-Arms of Sweden, or *Riksheraldiker*, allowed the retention of the Scottish coat without any variation or devised a new blazon incorporating the Scottish arms and sometimes crest.[4]

1 Many thanks to Elizabeth Roads, Lyon Clerk, for her insightful comments on this section.
2 Burnett 1998, 339-41; Roads 1998, 461-66; Cory 1998, 105-10; Douglas 1998, 111-26; Fedosov 1999, ii, 301-20; Reid 1972, 561-66; Gayre 1961a, 103-21; Mörner 2016.
3 APP, Kcynia Gr. 102, pp.676-78; for a transcript and context, see Górny 1991, 81-84.
4 Reid 1972, 561-63; Glozier 2000, 57-70; Roads 1998, 464-65.

A few cases will serve to illustrate the variety of options and different paths taken by these expatriate Scots. Andrew Keith, first Lord Dingwall, an illegitimate son of Robert, Commendator of Deer Abbey, married Elisabeth Grip, a granddaughter of Margareta Vasa, sister of King Gustav I of Sweden. Above the door of their house on Baggensgatan in Stockholm, their arms are still displayed on a carved stone, Keith's being a chief paly of six and those of Elisabeth a lion's head erased. Dingwall thus based his ornamental stone on the Scottish arms of the family, such as carried by the Earl Marischal. His widow, Elisabeth, was content to use the territorial designation 'of Finsta' from their Swedish estate, a designation which Andrew himself had used in his signature in the 1590s. Keith blended elements of ancestral pride and lineage with a Swedish sense of belonging and achievement. Over the years, he changed his motto, which nonetheless retained its religious tone of God as the source of all things. It appears as *Sis deo gratvs* ('Be grateful to God') and *Memento creatorem* ('Remember thy creator') in a number of armorials. In a similar flavour, above their said house, is carved *Avxilvm* [sic] *nostrum a domino* ('Our help is from the Lord').[5]

Clan chiefs projected a pictorial and highly personalised pride of their own sense of accomplishments and genteel status in much the same manner as warriors on the frontier in early-modern western Hungary.[6] More pragmatically, Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, exuded his martial feats in the Thirty Years War by bearing a pikeman and a musketeer as dexter (right) and sinister (left) supporters, respectively.[7] It is worth noting that the contemporary military historian Colonel Robert Munro held the pike as a nobler weapon than the musket. To him, the pike was 'the most honourable of all weapons, and my choice in day of battell'.[8] It seems befitting that Reay, also a colonel, opted for the pikeman as the dexter supporter, which is considered the side of greater honour or principal side. It is significant that prior to Reay's time, the hand featured in the Mackay blazon was displayed appaumé or naked (as, for instance, in 1503) rather than associated with the sharp weapons favoured by Reay.[9] Fortunately, Reay's targe, dated 1623, has survived and can be found at the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow. The warrior-like nature of the chief was already visible with the depiction of a

5 Berg and Lagercrantz 1962, 18-20; *Dublin Armorial*, 134-35; McAndrew 2006, 317-19.
6 Tóth 2000, 158.
7 NRS, GD84/2/246, frontispiece; LO, MS21, pl.109.
8 Monro 1637, ii, 37, 192.
9 NLS, MS 979, f.228r; Mackay 1903-4, 527-32. The alternative heraldic charge of swords or daggers applies when depicting Reay's blazon: NLS, Adv. MS 15.1.11, f.34v; LO, MS1, p.36, no. 46.

hand not quite grasping a sword.[10] Earlier, the Mackay chief had preferred a plain personal seal with only his initials 'MK' and subsequently chose a deer's head couped as depicted on two of his letters, dated 1616 and 1617, respectively.[11] A clear evolution is thus visible in the heraldic achievements of Sir Donald Mackay prior to and during his time in the war.

William Gunn is a very interesting figure as he illustrates upward social mobility to noble and military status. Extracting himself from clan warfare and friction by means of the patronage of Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland, he began his career in service to Sir Robert. With the warlike conflagrations rocking both Britain and the Continent, Gunn rose through the military ranks. A very early seal, dated June 1628, appears to show the head and dexter arm of a savage or Indian.[12] When a colonel, the seal of William Gunn, dated June 1639, depicts a coat parted per pale, in dexter an arm in pale with the hand holding a sword, in sinister a stag's head couped pierced by an arrow in fess, in crest a stag's head erased.[13] In August 1646, Gunn was made a baron of the Holy Roman Empire.[14] Basking in this glory of honours, Gunn thereafter embarked on an identity mission towards establishing his credentials amidst his European noble peers. In 1647, Sir William Gunn granted a warrant to Sir Robert Gordon, his erstwhile employer, to pass Gunn's pedigree and kin branches through the seals by means of the clerk of the Scottish Privy Council, which cost Gordon 520 Scottish marks.[15] As governor of Staufeneck (in Baden-Württemberg), Gunn kept his blazon but quartered it instead with the hand and sword in first and fourth and the stag's head in second and third, facing sinister in the latter. In the centre of the shield, however, Gunn added an escutcheon of pretence which bore a tower embattled Argent (white) with flames coming from the crenelated battlements, a reference to the local castle which he had purchased in 1642.[16] A series of personal seals, spanning a decade, shows the crenelated castle but not in flames and with its quarters inverted (the stag's head in first and fourth and the hand and sword

10 Hunterian Museum, GLAHM C.72. Thanks to Aonghas MacCoinnich for this reference.

11 NLS, Dep. 175/65, nos 24, 44. That is, if these were actually Mackay's seals. By May 1636, Mackay bore on a chevron between three bears' heads couped muzzled a stag's head couped between two hands each holding a sword point uppermost. This coat remained unchanged for a number of years: NLS, Dep. 175/65, nos 271-72; Dep. 175/66, no. 311.

12 NLS, Dep. 175/65, no. 163.

13 NRS, GD406/1/857. Also mentioned in Thompson 1998, 11. The stag's head was adopted by William Gunn from the fact that the Robson Gunns were tacksmen of Dirlot, traditionally a Mackay hunting lodge. A hunt also features in a traditional narrative of the Robson Gunns: Sinclair 1890, 181-82.

14 Frank 1967-74, ii, 142.

15 Sinclair 1890, 115.

16 Rietstap 1884-7, i, 852, as a baron in Swabia. As a source, Rietstap almost certainly drew from the main contemporary (1656) German armorial: Siebmacher 1656, 107.

in second and third).[17] His relative, John Gunn of Oława (Ohlau, died 1649), chose a shield parted per fess; in chief a dexter arm with a hand holding a sword piercing a demi-stag and in base a hunting horn. For his crest, he had a demi-stag pierced by an arrow. These charges appear on his seals of 1644 and 1645.[18] Interestingly, these can also be found above his epitaph, which was authored by the local pastor, Rev. Bartholomaeus Schleicher, as part of Gunn's funeral arrangements (Figure 1).[19] Clearly, John Gunn stressed his affiliation by choosing the pierced stag, as William Gunn did. John's choice of the hunting horn seems to point to his personal character.[20] These are demonstratively emblazoned on his sarcophagus, which can still be found in Oława (Figure 2).[21]

This aspiration for the recognition of one's military achievements can be further detected in the blazon of Colonel George Matheson. He had his arms registered with the Lord Lyon on 5 October 1639 with an armed hand holding a naked sword for his crest, underlining his military exploits. Matheson traditions and genealogies have erringly identified him as George of Shinness in Sutherland.[22] Confusingly, another family tradition made Donald Murchison of Auchtertyre the recipient in this instance. An alternative source reported that both actually did it on that same day.[23] The thirst for the acknowledged prestige of the family's military valour undoubtedly gave rise to conflicting claims. In this case, however, the colonelcy points to George Matheson from

17 Hohenlohe-Zentralarchiv Neuenstein, Sf 75 Bü 139, 2 Feb. 1650; NLS, Dep. 175/67, no. 770 (Jul. 1652); Dep. 175/68, no. 1022 (Jul. 1660).

18 Svenska Riksarkivet, Skoklostersamlingen, box E 8366 (letters John Gunn to Carl Gustaf Wrangel, 22 Dec. 1644, 7 Feb. 1645). Thanks to Steve Murdoch for pointing out the existence of these letters.

19 Oława, the Church of Our Lady of Consolation (Parafia Najświętszej Maryi Panny Matki Pocieszenia), John Gunn's epitaph, 1649. Many thanks to Marta Możejko and Michal Zwierzanski at the Izba Muzealna Ziemi Oławskiej for pictures of the epitaph and sarcophagus below. Hildebrandt 1890, 110-11; Lenczewska 2006, 109-13, using the English summary; Thompson 2000, 13-18.

20 The hunting horn might be associated with the aforementioned Mackay hunting lodge and the traditional Gunn story. Nonetheless, it remains John's personal choice. It was not unknown to Scottish heraldry, being used, for instance, as a charge by the Forresters, the Murrays of Falahill and Philiphaugh, and Lord Semple: John Rylands Library, English MS 15, ff.26v, 41v; Bodleian Library, Wood C.9, ff.66r, 91r. The hunting horn was used by many *szlachta* (noble) families in Poland, including the leading Radziwiłł House, and also by quite a few in Sweden: Dahlby 1964, 91-92; Karin Tetteris at the Armémuseum in Stockholm, personal communication, 30 Nov. 2015.

21 Izba Muzealna Ziemi Oławskiej, Trumna Gunna. Gunn's arms are twice found on the sarcophagus, the second time wrongly assigned as being those of William Gunn.

22 NLS, Adv. MS 15.1.11, f.35r; Mackenzie and MacBain 1900, 140-41. The Matheson arms are given as within a bordure Or charged with crosses crosslet fitchy Gules gyronny of eight Sable and Gules, a lion rampant Or armed Argent in: *Scottish Arms*, ii, 355.

23 Edinburgh University Library, CW123, p.5; MS 2262/2/2/2.

Figure 1: John Gunn's epitaph. *© Izba Muzealna Ziemi Oławskiej*

Figure 2: John Gunn's sarcophagus. *© Izba Muzealna Ziemi Oławskiej*

Lothian, as amply recorded in his testaments. It is worth bearing in mind that military ranks were loosely attached to individuals, especially in genealogical works, to enhance the status of certain chiefs or clansmen of note.[24]

E contrario, other individuals do not seem to have changed their blazons to reflect their military experience in Europe. Colonel Robert Munro's seal of April 1635 only bore parted per pale, in dexter an eagle's head erased (for Munro), in sinister a lion rampant.[25] In the early 1630s, John Urquhart, son of Alexander Urquhart of Kinbeachie and Margaret Abernethy, accompanied some recruited regiments to Sweden. In 1635, he served as lieutenant-captain in Johan Skytte's regiment and rose to the full captaincy in 1636. In 1643, he assisted the commandant at the Neumünde (modern Dünamünde) garrison. In 1645, Urquhart was promoted to major to Queen Kristina's lifeguard. In May of the same year, the queen granted him three leaseholds – one relating to a hospital in Uppsala province and the other two linked to a cloister. These leaseholds were granted for the duration of his own life, the life of his wife, and that of his legitimate descendants. In 1647, Urquhart rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. His ennoblement followed in 1648, hence becoming a naturalised Swede. His introduction to the House of Nobility was dated 1650. In that year, he granted Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty two inscribed brass cannons 'in token of love gifts'[26] that were sent from Stockholm. He later became colonel in Magnus de la Gardie's infantry regiment. In 1655, he was commandant at Biržai (Birsen) in Livonia and died in 1656. John married Isabella Kininmont, daughter of William of Fife, and had Thomas and another child. Isabella was in fact the sister of Thomas Kininmont, the commanding officer of John Urquhart, leading to the marriage of John and Isabella.[27]

During the civil wars in Britain, the necessary documentary evidence of nobility proved difficult to obtain, meaning Urquhart's status was unattested '[s]ince the origin of this noble and vigorous man […] is overlooked in the regions in which he is staying'.[28] It was only in February 1655 that King Charles II issued a testimonial for Urquhart, thereby removing any potential challenge

24 NRS, CC8/8/60, pp.737-40; CC8/8/61, pp.248-49; both in complement to his earlier will and testament printed in Simpson 1992, 51-54; Fedosov 1996, 82. For context, peruse Barnhill and Dukes 1972, 49-63.

25 NLS, Dep. 175/66, nos 308-9.

26 This exchange of artillery pieces is found in *RPC*, 3rd ser., i, 17-18, which discusses these cannons in detail and gives the inscription thereon; and NRS, GD248/580/1/12, showing that they were subsequently (1666) in the possession of James Ogilvy, third earl of Findlater. This writer is most obliged to the anonymous reviewer for these two references.

27 SSNE, ID no. 3718; Glozier 2000, 58; Tayler 1946, 7, 21, 61, 92; Fischer 1907, 264; Donner 1884, 41; Malinovskii 2007, 155-65; Gordon and Malinovskii 2010, 176-77.

28 BL, Add. MS 15856, f.49. For a translation: Malinovskii 2007, 165.

to his noble identity since his Swedish ennoblement in 1648.[29] However, this was not enough for Colonel John who, as Sir William Gunn discussed above, was intent on firmly establishing his peer credentials. Like other Scots abroad, including high-ranking officers, military prestige was not enough. They craved for an official ratification of their positions and social recognition, which was the case for women too.[30] John Urquhart went on to request his cousin and chief Sir Thomas Urquhart to take additional steps. Whilst in London, Sir Thomas had purchased, on behalf of John, 'the Subscriptions of So many noble and worthie men being rather a certificat of his descent then a borebrief'.[31] And it is this rather large and formal looking document that hangs in the hall at Craigston Castle to this day (Figure 3).[32] Then, once in the Netherlands, Cromarty received several letters from Colonel John, showing 'an Exceeding great desire' for a birth-brief.[33] Cromarty thus wrote to Alexander Leslie, first earl of Leven, with an enclosed letter to Sir James Balfour, Lord Lyon, together with the colonel's genealogy, entreating Leven to move Lyon to despatch the birth-brief to John.[34] Whereas the Urquhart chief of Cromarty bore in his blazon Or (yellow) three boars' heads erased Gules (red), John displayed both in his shield and in crest Or three greyhounds' heads erased Sable (black) collared Or. Noticeably, the greyhound featured as Cromarty's supporters.[35]

In this spirit of the retention of his Scottish roots and ostensibly displaying them through heraldry, Francis Sinclair, son of James Sinclair of Murkle, rose

29 BL, Add. MS 15856, f.49.
30 Glozier 2000, 59-61.
31 NRS, GD26/13/267.
32 Craigston Castle, Colonel John Urquhart's birth-brief. Thanks to William Pratesi Urquhart and his family for their kind hospitality, as well as to Alexander Forbes of Druminnor for bringing to attention this document.
33 NRS, GD26/13/267.
34 Ibid.
35 SRH, Great Hall, no. 423. Thanks to Göran Mörner at the Riddarhuset for copies of these Scottish coats. LO, MS1, p.165; MS33, p.130; Dahlby 1964, 80: björnhuvud, tre*, två och en ställda, utan nosgrimma, med halsband, fält gyllene*; *Sveriges Ridderskaps*, ii, no. 423. It is not even known if the Urquhart blazon exists in the Swedish letters patent: Göran Mörner, personal communication, 22 Jun. 2016. At Craigston Castle, John's coat is the same as the one he registered in Sweden, except for the tincture of the heads (Gules) and the absence of the collar. The supporters are two collared greyhounds. In crest is a naked woman from the waist upwards proper, holding in her dexter hand a sword and in her sinister hand a palm sapling Vert. Gayre 1961b, ch. 5, deals with the changing of charges but does not mention selecting the charge from the crest or supporters, a method which highlighted a familial continuity. The practice is mentioned neither in Mackenzie 1680, 69-76, 89-91, 93-96, nor in Nisbet 1816, ii, 1-23. It is worth remembering that out of the nineteen different cadency methods identified, the most common practice at the time amongst cadet lines was to incorporate a charge from the mother's family achievement: McAndrew 2006, ch. 12.

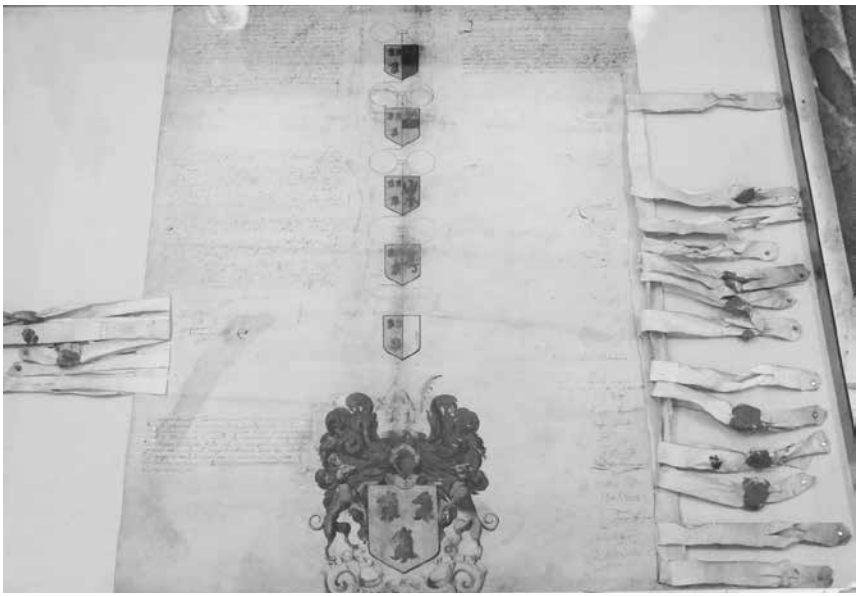

Figure 3: Birth-brief of Colonel John Urquhart, Craigston Castle.
by kind permission of William Pratesi Urquhart

to the Swedish nobility in 1649 after his military service for the country. The lymphad or galley in full sail of the Sinclair family is easily recognisable as is the charge of the lion rampant and a cock in crest.[36] However, a completely different picture emerges with John Maclean, son of Chief Hector Maclean of Duart. Gone are the traditional Hebridean charges. Instead Hans Makeléer, to provide his ennobled name, opted for five white carnations and in crest a pigeon holding in its dexter foot a white carnation between two red carnations.[37] Nevertheless, Maclean changed his coat of arms around 1655 for

36 Elgenstierna 1925-36, vii, no. 444. The arms of the earls of Caithness can be found in College of Arms, ID 1107, ff.37v-8r; Lambeth Palace Library, MS 316, ff.47r, 50v. The same applies to Colonel Mauritz MacDougall/Duwall, ennobled in 1638. Although from Makerstoun (west of Kelso) in the Borders, his coat denotes his ancient patronym and is the trademark MacDougall blazon, albeit with modified devices, depicting so many common Highland and Hebridean charges, that is, the lion rampant, the galley, and the salmon. As a result, his clan affiliation and roots come strongly to the fore, as did those of his half-brother, Baron Jakob: SRH, Great Hall, nos 64, 241; Campbell 1997, 46-67; SSNE, ID nos 1623, 2473; Murdoch 2006, 58; Macdowall and MacDougall 2009, 22-23, 43-44, 46-48.

37 SRH, Great Hall, no. 513; Maclean 1971, pp xiv-xv, 1-28; http://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Makel%C3%A9er_nr_513. A recent suggestion has been made that John was not a Maclean, or, at least, did not think of himself as a Maclean by the time he was settled in Sweden: Elizabeth Roads, personal communication, 9 Nov. 2016, and, more generally, Roads 1988, 2-6.

a shield which probably showed a token of respect for James Graham, first marquess of Montrose, with its three roses Gules barbed and seeded proper. Maclean proudly added the charge of a sinister hand appaumé Gules as his entitled badge of a baronet of England. Beyond this multi-layered national identity, his heraldic choice is also unmistakably one of social status.[38]

Finally, the Kraków (Krakau) merchant Alexander Ross, known as 'Polander Ross' for his connections to the country, acquired Easter (or Little) Kindeace in 1717 and renamed it Ankerville.[39] Alexander almost undoubtedly married Zofia French and was a member of the Reformed congregation of Wielkanoc in Kraków. Their young son, George, died in 1706 and their daughter, Zofia, married Władysław Gordon, son of Major George Gordon, naturalised in Poland in 1676. Alexander Ross, son of William of the Invercharron branch, thus claimed descent from the earls of Ross and Rosses of Balnagown, as intimated by the heraldic three lions rampant on George's gravestone. This was quite distinctive from their southern counterparts, the Rosses of Sanquhar and of Haining, whose charge was three water budgets. Additionally, this shows George Ross' attachments to his Scottish roots as a lasting memento of a sense of belonging cast in stone for posterity.[40]

This short survey has highlighted choices made by individuals in the depiction of their identity reflecting a personal course of action as opposed to a national or ethnic one *per se*. On their blazons, some individuals kept their Scottish roots and identity, whilst others did not. Others still blended Scottish and Scandinavian elements. At times, changes occurred to these visual representations, stressing a chronological element. Furthermore, the aspiration towards a sense of belonging to the nobility was one key driving force, presenting a complementary vision of identity, one defined not just by national or ethnic traits but also by social ones.

Contacts

The establishment or use of Scottish contacts with Scandinavia no longer needs an introduction, there were many ways in which these were established. One understudied field of investigation in this respect remains the category of documents known as *alba amicorum* or *stammbücher*. These books were used to collect the autographs of others, be they friends, colleagues, classmates, professors, or dignitaries. Entries were filled with quotes, drawings, personal

38 Maclean 1971, 25; Maclean-Bristol 2015, 6-16, only follows Colonel/Marshal John Hepburn's campaigns.

39 NRS, SIG1/140/13; Meldrum 1935, 95. The birth-brief of Alexander Ross cannot be located: *Pedigree* [1892].

40 Bajer 2012, 473-75, 505; SPLC, nos 3616, 3617.

messages, and other mementos. The autograph book was popular among university students from the mid-sixteenth century. Scholars would carry these during their travels thus conveying a form of academic credentials.[41] Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm is home to eighty-four of these holograph volumes.[42] Having said that, a large majority of them are not relevant to our Nordic purpose, including the conveniently edited autograph book of *Rikskansler* Axel Oxenstierna which does not contain any Scots. Oxenstierna's connections as a student were with fellow Swedes, Finns, Danes, and Germans.[43] It is also worth pointing out that unlike the surviving Scottish *alba*, the collection in said Stockholm library boasts a number of volumes belonging to women, presenting an opportunity to explore female networking beyond the scope of the present article.

The Kungliga corpus contains Anders Schwendi's autograph book, whose owner used it during his travels in north-west Europe, with a venture into France and Switzerland from 1590 to 1615. Schwendi (died ca. 1646) was the son of a secretary of the German Chancellery (*Tyske Kancelli*) from Zealand. His peregrinations led him to visit Scotland's easterly coast in the winter of 1594-5, where he sojourned in Aberdeen and St. Andrews during the period between 1595 and 1597. In the granite city, he met, among others, Robert Howie, Principal of the newly erected Marischal College, and Peter Udney, Sub-Principal of King's College. In Fife, he saw the well-connected Dane Lauge Christensen.[44] His presence in St. Andrews is further illustrated by a contribution he made to the album of Jonas van Reigersberch on 3 August 1597.[45]

A fellow touring student was Christian Sinclair. Sinclair was the son of Andrew Sinclair of Ravenscraig and Sinclairsholm and born in Denmark. He studied at the school at Sorø in 1618 and then went to study in Germany (Wittenberg, Leipzig) from 1622 to 1623, accompanied by his tutor. From there, he took himself to the Netherlands (Amsterdam and Leiden) in 1624. The next two years (1624-5), he attended French universities (Paris and Orléans). From 1626 to 1629, he continued his academic education in both Britain and France

41 A good introduction to the genre in English is Schlueter 2011, especially ch. 1 and her own works cited therein, as well as the dated but still highly relevant Rosenheim 1910, 251-308.

42 Dillman 2005, 11. A useful point of entry to this source can be found in the detailed catalogue of eighty of these *alba amicorum* housed in Kungliga Biblioteket, detailing not only their owners but also most advantageously listing their contributors: *Stammbücher der Königlichen Bibliothek Stockholm*.

43 *Axel Oxenstiernas Album*.

44 SKB, K85; St Andrews University Library, UYUY152/2, pp.195-202, where Schwendi, *nobilis Danus*, is registered as one of the *alumni* over the period 1595-7; Cameron 1986, 52-53; Ilsøe 1962, 24; Helk 2001, 354-55.

45 Meertens 1946-7, 32; Thomassen 1990, 65-66; Heesakkers and Thomassen 1989, 60.

(Paris and Orléans again) before his return home. Given Britain's alliance with Denmark-Norway at the time, Andrew might have sent out Christian to acquire language skills in Britain rather than to reconnect with his Scottish roots. This proved most useful when Christian subsequently became a secretary in the Chancery.[46] This is an important aspect of the students' European tour, whose purpose varied depending on the family's set of priorities.[47] Christian's stay in Paris is revealing in one key respect: it demonstrates his or his family's aspiration for him to receive a broad education. Once in the French capital, Christian set out to learn the lute. He signed the album of his master, Guillaume Morel, when in Orléans on 12 December 1624. His dedication to his teacher was written in French, underlining his ability in that language. As a *Dan[u]s*, Christian was still attached to his family roots as delineated in his coat of arms painted on the page. He adhered to the Ravenscraig's quartering of the arms of Orkney (first and fourth quarters, Azure (blue), a ship at anchor and sails furled) and Caithness (second and third quarters, Azure, a ship under sail) and overall an escutcheon Argent charged with a cross engrailed Azure.[48]

At least three other contributions by Christian can be traced. Having returned to Sweden, Christian was at the family home of Sinclairsholm (in Skåne) in late May 1632. With his French education still imprinted in his mind, he wrote a friendly dedication in French to a Braconnier ('Bracconniere'), an as of yet untraced individual – although presumably a French-speaker if not a Frenchman or Swiss. The printed book, a copy of Amyot's *Les Vies des Hommes Illustres* (Paris, 1584), had actually been in the possession of the family. Christian's father, Andrew, had used it in 1589-91 as his own *stambog*, from which it appears that Andrew was a guest of the astronomer Tycho Brahe at Uraniborg in August 1589. Christian recorded in his inscription that he gave the copy to Braconnier as a token of his friendship. The Dane laconically commented on immortal friendships and mortal enmities, adding a moral apophthegm in Latin: 'Do not let your faith fall into oblivion' (*Ne Dei obliuiscaris tui Ne Deu[m] tuu[m] obliuioni des*). Sinclair adhered to the Latin

46 Murdoch 2005, 68; Helk 1987, 377.

47 Maurer 2011, 46-47, identifying three ideal-types of student mobility: demonstrative (being that of the nobility with no sitting of exams), as a form of investment (studies towards a degree and then a career), and to follow an established practice of University attendance as set by a family member or a friend, which was the most common form of mobility.

48 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fr. 25185, f.100r; Goy 2009-10, 5-6, 23-24; Brizzi 1998, 129; McAndrew 2006, 220, 297-98. The only major difference with the Ravenscraig's blazon is that the cross is engrailed Sable as opposed to Azure. Also, not adopting the Ravenscraig motto, 'Feight', Christian preferred a religious statement reminiscent of and adapting Cicero's quotation: *Deo duce, virtute comite* ('Where God leads, virtue follows'). In the Renaissance, Cicero's quote became well known through Erasmus' *adagio*: Musvik 2002, 152.

motto he wrote for Morel. Noticeably, Sinclair even signed his name in French, 'Chrestien Sinclar'.[49]

Two years later, in late October 1634, Sinclair was in Copenhagen when the renowned German polymath Joachim Morsius presented him with his album. Once again, Sinclair resorted to his Latin motto. This time, the difference was that he left his dedication in Danish in his own hand (*egenn handt*) to his good friend (*min gode uenn*) Morsius, which suggests that Sinclair already knew him.[50] In October 1638 and still in Copenhagen, Sinclair came into contact with newly arrived Werner Meyer from Salzwedel, a Hanseatic town in Sachsen-Anhalt. During his time in Denmark, Meyer served as librarian to Jørgen Seefeld at the monastery of Ringsted, from where he seemingly made several trips abroad.[51] To the monastic librarian, Christian only left his dated signature from the Danish capital, describing himself as a Danish noble. Christian also resorted to a similar motto to the one found in Morel's album but with the inversion of its second part, *comite Virtute*.[52]

The son of Montrose merchant Walter Guthrie, James Guthrie went to Sweden in 1614, accompanied with his brother William and his father, the latter trading in Stockholm. In Hedemora, James was an apprentice to Scottish merchant John Finlay before initially taking up studies locally.[53] In 1623, he attended Västerås gymnasium where he was ordained in 1625.

49 CKB, 169II, 211, 01327, f.10v. Andrew's album is briefly noted in Jørgensen 1918, 152-53; Walde 1932, 13-14, and more recently as an illustration of friendly ties between the courts and nobles of Scotland and Denmark in Toftgaard 2016, 168-69. There is a Charles Braconnier from Metz who studied in Strasbourg in 1636. Later on, an L. Braconnier, also from Metz, can be found in Orange in 1640: Alten Matrikeln, 308; Grunau 1942, no. XVI, 2. Brother Finbar, O.S.B., is duly thanked for his Latin translations.

50 Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Ms. hist. 4° 25, vol. iv, p.942; Schneider 1929, 79-110 for the album and ibid., p.103 for Sinclair's entry. Sinclair's phrasing was very conventional, adhering to the dedicatory language of *alba amicorum*, as *dette skreff ieg till en wenlige ihukommelse* ('I wrote this as a friendly reminder'). Thanks to Alexia Grosjean for her translation.

51 Helk 1976a, 59, 80; Helk 1976b, 381.

52 CKB, Thott 1950 4°, f.93r.

53 One should not generalise about the perceived lack of education among merchants. Indeed, their account books testify to a knowledge of some basic arithmetic. Besides, a number of them took a more intellectual and systematic approach. In Jan. 1660, the Glasgow dean of guild court ordered Alexander Cumming, merchant, to render to John Cumming, a fellow merchant, the book *lex mercatoria* lent by John to Alexander about a year previously. Unfortunately, Alexander was unable to do so as he, in turn, had lent it out to somebody else: Glasgow City Archives, Dean of Guild Court, Act Books, B4/1/4, 12 Jan. 1660. The book was undoubtedly Gerard de Malynes' *Consuetudo, vel lex mercatoria*, originally published in 1622 and with many subsequent editions. In May 1623, the Dundee burgh court ordered Thomas Crombie, merchant, to redeliver to Andrew Abercrombie, a skipper, 'the buik callit arkaldia', which Thomas had borrowed from Andrew about ten years previously. This shows a broad readership for this pastoral romance, whether it be Robert Greene's version or, more likely, Sir Philip Sidney's: Dundee City Archives, Burgh Head and Admiralty Court Book, 1622-51, 2 May 1623.

James then decided to further his studies, matriculated in February 1625 at Uppsala University, and graduated with an M.A. in 1630. He thereafter briefly returned to Scotland in 1631, and was appointed a lector in logic at Västerås gymnasium during the following year. Within four years came his promotion to a lectureship in Greek and the priesthood in Sala in 1638. James was considered for a position at the University of Uppsala in 1640. In 1648-9 came his transfer to Stora Tuna, where he remained until his death in 1661.[54]

In 1631, whilst terminating his studies in Uppsala, James Guthrie embarked on a tour of Sweden, aged twenty-eight. During the months of May through to July, he visited various places, some of which were familiar to him for his earlier connections to them. During his journey – with his album in his luggage – Guthrie gathered encomiums from Uppsala, Västerås, Västerfärnebo, Hedemora, and Stockholm. This brought him in touch with contemporary or future professors of Semitic languages and medicine, (arch)bishops, jurists, and astronomers such as Martinus Olai Stenius. In Hedemora, Guthrie caught up with fellow Scot Henry Steinson in late June 1631. Describing himself as a Scot, citizen of Hedemora, Steinson adopted an Ovidian locution as a metaphor for his own life – that every land is a brave man's country as to the fish the sea.[55]

In this particular instance, the album holds the key to the dating of James' movements and clarifying his chronological whereabouts. Indeed, his last dated entry in Sweden was recorded on 19 July. After this, James soon returned to his home town. He was in Montrose by late October 1631, where father and son Robert Strachan praised him in writing in his little book.[56] Robert Sr. was the son of James Strachan of Monboddo. Most interestingly, Strachan Sr. was a local doctor, having established himself in Montrose from Stonehaven in 1613-4.[57] Unknown is the fact that he obtained his degree at Padua, describing himself as *medicus patauinus*.[58] His son Robert was then a student of philosophy, as he himself noted. He graduated at King's College in Aberdeen in 1633.[59] Young Robert thereafter entered the Scots College in Rome in 1634 and after four years joined Würzburg Abbey. In 1640, he was ordained priest under the name of Fr. Boniface Strachan. He subsequently

54 Murdoch 2006, 117-18, with James' return to be corrected to 1631; *Uppsala Universitets Matrikel*, 100; Danielsson 1964, 126-27.

55 SKB, Ig 12, f.237r; Dillman 2005, 6; *Die Stammbücher der Königlichen Bibliothek*, 35-36.

56 SKB, Ig 12, ff.110r, 111r.

57 Rogers 1877, 36-37, 43-45, 73-75. Rogers did not mention young Robert.

58 Strachan is not listed in the list of British medical students attending Padua University: https://www.rcpe.ac.uk/heritage/english-speaking-medical-students-continent. His name is not found in the University of Padua archives, nor is there any trace of his doctoral degree: Remigio Pegoraro, personal communication, 10 Nov. 2016.

59 *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 460, 509.

spent two years living in the household of the Spanish ambassador in Venice. Strachan engaged in historical scholarship and began publishing a survey of the Scottish contribution to the Christianisation and monastic life of Germany, but never completed it by the time of his death in 1664. Strachan's entry in Guthrie's album clearly shows his origins and roots, which have not been well publicised until now.[60]

Conclusion

This brief exploration of relatively underused material has underlined a few salient points concerning Scots and Scandinavia. Some Scots truly professed their attachment to the country of their birth whilst others demonstrated an affinity with their host nation. But a key component of that identity is that of its evolution over time. This is not only true for the persons being researched but also for the perception and projection of these persons' identities by their families and communities, as in the case of funeral monuments. These, too, created and shaped that identity. It highlights the necessity of a multi-angled approach when tackling identity with these important aspects of time and input. In addition, historiographical inquiry into identity might be misleading in its scientific conception as its premise is based on national and/or ethnic lines. One of the paramount concerns of some of these northerners was that of status, thus focusing not so much on national or ethnic aspects as on social ones. This sense of belonging to the gentry and nobility across national boundaries complements the depiction of a national identity.

In terms of contacts, the *alba amicorum* have unveiled their role in individuals' formative years touring European centres of studies and meeting fellow nationals, local or national dignitaries, and like-minded peregrinating students. They have unlocked more precise chronological and biographical information and revealed unknown facets of these Scots' and Scandinavians' lives. There is certainly scope for further enquiries into the development, if at all, of these (juvenile) links, and to see whether these friendly relations were put to good use later on in life.

60 Dilworth 1967, 119. Strachan wrote a volume on the Scottish monasteries in Germany out of his projected two-tome work: Ibid., 119-22. Dilworth had traced Strachan's Montrose origin and education.

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The Scandinavian Service of British Isles Musicians ca. 1520-1650

Alexia Grosjean

'We marched againe in order of battaile,
with Trumpets sounding, Drummes beating'[1]

ROBERT MONRO'S memoir of military service during the Thirty Years' War aptly illustrates how musicians provided the soundtrack as men marched towards their likely deaths. The beat Monro described was known as 'the Scots March' but little other than the name of the presumably ominous sound has survived.[2] In the same era, a French diplomat described 'the din of drums and trumpets which throughout the north accompanies royal meals' at the court of the Vasa queen Kristina in 1648.[3] These two comments neatly expose a range of musicians' roles in early-modern Scandinavia, although they also participated in other musical capacities.

About a century earlier, the Catholic cleric and former Vasa diplomat Olaus Magnus had noted in his 1555 tome *Historia Dei Gentibus Septentrionalibus* that flute, horn, and trumpet-players, as well as harpists and organists abounded in the North, whilst clarifying that any highly skilled musicians there tended to be foreigners. Indeed, from that time onwards, musical foreigners were well-received and particularly welcomed by princes who sought the 'shrill blare of trumpets to rouse man and horses to charge against the foe'.[4] The link between music and war – entertainers and foreign military service – has an established heritage. Nevertheless, renaissance instrumentalists are sometimes presented 'as humble mechanics, little above travelling minstrels',

1 *Monro: His Expedition*, 192.
2 Grosjean, Murdoch, and Talbott 2015, 80. See also Purser 1992, 151-52.
3 A French diplomat at the Swedish court in 1648, as quoted in Persson 1999, 12.
4 Magnus 1955 [1998], vol. 2, 755.