Three Scots Tombs in Riga

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IN THE final decades of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth, the schoolmaster and antiquary Johann Christoph Brotze recorded hundreds of funeral monuments and epitaphs spread across the Russian Baltic provinces of Estland, Livland, and Kurland. Amongst these were three richly decorated effigial slabs in the Jacobikirche in Riga, all commemorating Scottish officers of the Thirty Years' War: James Scott (and his wife Margaret Gibson), Matthias Forbes, and Edward Johnstone.

None of these monuments have survived – they were probably already lost by the beginning of the twentieth century – and Brotze's drawings, the unique record of their existence, are unknown to Scottish scholarship.[1] This alone makes them worthy of interest. They are, however, important artefacts for more reasons than simply antiquarian curiosity: they also provide new information on prominent Scots abroad and allow for the further development and honing of theories concerning the cultural assimilation and/or 'Scottishness' of Scots furth of the realm during the early modern period.

The present paper reproduces and contextualises Brotze's record of these monuments, editing their inscriptions for the first time, and uses them to argue that such artefacts performed acts of cultural translation, acts which served to establish and make legible elite Scottish immigrants in their new surroundings across Europe. Visual representations of identity, such as funeral monuments, located their subject within recognisable nexuses of class, occupation, and ethnic origin and, in doing so, had the potential to explicate potentially foreign or socially ambiguous figures such as immigrants to the inhabitants of their new homes.

Johann Christoph Brotze (1742–1823) was one of the leading antiquaries of the Baltic Enlightenment, compiling tens of thousands of pages of manuscript

1 Loeffler 1929, 99, cites Brotze as his only source for the Johnstone and Forbes tombs, suggesting they were already lost in his day, and makes no mention of the Scott-Gibson tomb.

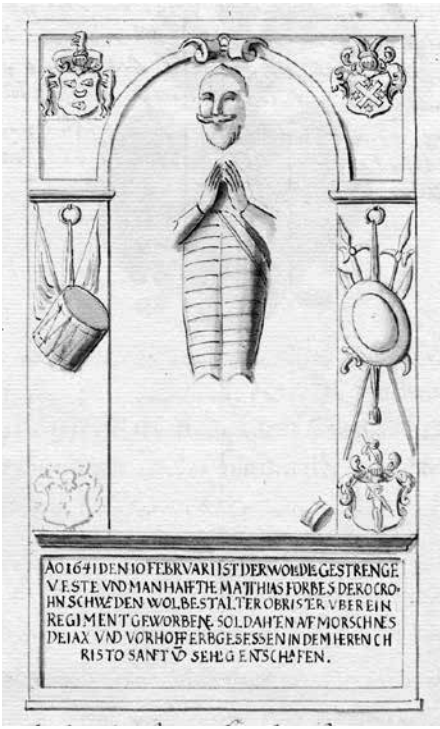
on the cultural, political, and intellectual history of the Baltic provinces.[2] A native of Görlitz in Saxony, he had come to Riga as a private tutor while still a young man and spent the remainder of his life as a teacher at and ultimately rector of the Imperial Lyceum in Riga.[3] Brotze, like many antiquaries of his generation, had a keen eye for the visual as well as the textual. His most famous manuscript work, the ten-volume *Sammlung verschiedener liefländischer Monumente, Prospecte, Wapen, etc.* (compiled 1771–1818) contained a rich and beautifully-drawn miscellany of maps, prospects, sketches, and water colours of regional dress and tools, coats of arms, and funeral monuments, amongst other subjects.[4]

Funeral monuments such as those discussed in this article bulk large amongst Brotze's subjects, particularly in the early volumes which follow the young teacher's footsteps through Riga's ancient churches, sketching, observing, and commenting as he went. Collectively, Brotze's accounts of the funeral monuments he saw in Riga and elsewhere are of immense scholarly importance. Many did not survive the destruction of the second world war and many more were lost even before the golden age of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Baltic art history personified by historians such as Eugen von Nottbeck, Wilhelm Neumann, and Heinz Loeffler.[5]

The three monuments under discussion here were erected in the Jacobikirche, one of the principle medieval churches of Riga. Its chequered confessional history was informed by Riga's changing political allegiances during the Reformation period: the site of early Lutheran sermons, it was controlled by the Jesuits between 1582 and 1621 before returning to Reformed hands with the Swedish conquest in the latter year.[6] When these monuments were first installed in the middle of the seventeenth century memories of confessional conflict and instability would still have been very recent.

Unfortunately, the earliest surviving church book of the second Lutheran period only begins in 1668; no corroborative or additional evidence concerning these interments is available from that source.[7] It is likely that, as with many other archives in the city, earlier volumes – if kept at all – were destroyed

2 For the context of the Baltic Enlightenment see Jürjo and Elias 1996.
3 Hollander 1924–26, 268–95.
4 The manuscript has now been digitised by the library of the Latvijas Universitate and is available online at https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/2354/browse?type=title. Subsequent citations are by manuscript volume and folio number, e.g., Brotze, i. 17.
5 For examples of their work see Loeffler 1929 and Nottbeck and Neumann 1896–1904.
6 Bergmann 1792, 16–18.
7 The earliest Lutheran church book for the Jacobikirche is now Latvijas Valsts Vestures Arhivs 3142.1.13. An earlier Jesuit church book covering the Jacobikirche's brief post-Reformation Catholic phase was taken to Sweden after the 1621 occupation of Riga and has been published as *Das Kirchenbuch der St. Jakobskirche in Riga*.



during the 1656 siege by Russian forces which decimated Riga during the Second Northern War. These vagaries of survival give some indication of Riga's position during this period, a rich mercantile city but one at the border between the Swedish and Russian empires, a constant bone of contention, and a heavily guarded military outpost which attracted individuals such as the Scottish soldiers examined here.

Chronologically, the earliest of the three monuments is that dedicated to Matthias Forbes, a Swedish colonel who died in 1641, twenty years after the capture of Riga by the Swedes.[8] As Brotze's drawing suggests, the monument was already worn and damaged in his time, with only the trunk of Forbes's effigy and his head visible while the lower left-hand coat of arms was indistinguishable and only a faint trace in one corner gave evidence of the military accoutrements of helmet and gloves which would likely have occupied the lower section of the central panel.

The inscription as given by Brotze is as follows:

AO 1641 DEN 10 FEBRVARI IST DER WOL EDLE GESTRENGE
VESTE VND MANHAFFT HE[R] MATTHIAS FORBES DERO CRO-
HN SCHWEDEN WOLBESTALTER OBRISTER VBER EIN
REGIMENT GEWORBENE SOLDAHTEN AF MORSCHNES
DEIAX VND VORHOFF ERBGESESSEN IN DEM HEREN CH 5
RISTO SANFT V*N*D SEHLIG ENTSCHLAFEN.

[On 10 February in the year 1641 the well-born, gracious, strong, and valiant lord Matthias Forbes, long-serving colonel over a regiment of recruited soldiers in the service of the Swedish crown, hereditary

8 Brotze, iii. 194.

owner of Morschnes, Deiax, and Vorhoff fell peacefully and blissfully asleep in Christ.]

The individual commemorated is undoubtedly Mattias Forbes, an officer who had entered Swedish service as stable master in Samuel Cockburn's Regiment in 1618 and rose through the ranks to command a recruited regiment in Riga from 1638.[9] While Gustaf Elgenstierna's dictionary of the Swedish nobility credits him with a death date of 20 March 1641 and a burial in Mörskoms kyrka in Finland and while Carl Otto Nordenvan's *Värmlands Regements Historia* claims he participated in the 1642 battle of Leipzig, the discovery of this funeral monument decisively locates his date of death as 10 February 1641 and his place of burial as Riga, where he had been garrisoned up to that time.[10]

Although bearing a Scottish surname, Forbes was the third generation of his family to live outwith Scotland. His grandfather Mattias (presumably Matthew), a younger son of Forbes of Corsindae in Aberdeenshire, had immigrated to the continent and left a son Ernald (d. 1605) who entered Swedish service and married into the noble Finnish family of Björnram. Mattias the younger and his better-known brother, Arvid Forbes (called Fin-Forbes by fellow Scots in recognition of his mixed origins), were naturalised and introduced into the Swedish nobility in 1638.[11] Despite being described as Finns when they made their case for nobility to the Riksdag in 1636, they still sought confirmation of their noble status from Forbes in Scotland in what Steve Murdoch has seen as a larger 'reawakening' of interest in Scottish ancestry on the part of Scottish-descended officers in continental service.[12]

Of the three estates identified in Forbes' monumental inscription, 'Morschnes' was his principal landholding, Myrskylä/Morsköm, in southern Finland. His family were resident there for several generations and the sixteen noble quarters of Mattias's son Ernst Forbes survive as carved *vapenepitafien* in the church at Myrskylä.[13] 'Deiax', which Brotze corrects to 'Ilax', and Vorhoff are unidentified. It is possible that one or both may have been situated in Livland rather than Finland as his and his descendants' marriages suggest

9 Murdoch and Grosjean, *The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database* (hereafter SSNE), https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/index.php, no. 2248.

10 Elgenstierna 1925–1936, ii. 788; Nordensvan 1911, 45.

11 Elgenstierna 1925–1936, ii. 787–788.

12 Murdoch 2006, 22; SSNE, no. 2227.

13 Photographs of these *vapenepitafien* are available online at https://soc.genealogy.medieval.narkive.com/89pBEeRT/listing-of-coats-of-arms-displayed-in-the-church-of-myrskyla-nylandia-finland

continuing Livonian connections.[14]

Although Forbes' wife, Brita Larsdotter Creutz (living as late as 1660 when she and her son Ernst gave a bell to the church at Morsköm), is nowhere mentioned in the text of the monument, she is present in its armorial decoration. The top right coat of arms on Forbes' monument is that of the Creutz family while the bottom right coat belonged to the family of her mother, Margareta Wildeman (the top left coat is Forbes with a crescent indicating descent from a younger son and the lost bottom left coat presumably belonged to his mother's family of Björnram).[15]

The decision to depict these arms, rather than additional coats pertaining to his own ancestors, is likely to be intentional. In the context of 1640s Riga, the arms of Matthias Forbes' paternal grandmother, apparently from an obscure Mecklenburg family named Penters, or his maternal grandmother, a scion of a recently ennobled Finnish family, would have lacked the recognition or cache provided by the arms of Creutz and Wildeman. Brita Larsdotter's brother Ernst Creutz (d. 1635) owned estates in Livland and had served as Stadthalter (broadly equivalent to governor) of Tartu (Dorpat) and Landshövding (a similar position of authority over a county rather than a city) in Norrland, Öster- and Västerbotten while her cousin Samuel Wildeman (d. 1658) was a leading Finnish officer during the Thirty Years' War.[16] By associating Forbes with prominent families known in a Riga context, his nobility and place within Baltic society was implicitly confirmed.

Eight years after Forbes's death, a second Scot was commemorated in the Jacobikirche: Edward Johnstone, who died on 6 August 1649. Johnstone's

14 Note especially that his brother-in-law Ernst Creutz was active in Livland and buried at Pärnu/Pernau, apparently under an impressive funeral monument (Elgenstierna 1925–1936, ii. 61).

15 Klingspor 1890, 33 (Creutz), and Elgenstierna 1925–1936, viii. 784 (Wildeman).

16 See Elgenstierna 1925–1936, ii. 61 (Creutz), viii. 787 (Wildeman).

monument was in better condition than Forbes' when recorded by Brotze, with only one damaged coat of arms and gaps in a single line of text betraying its age. The two monuments are very similar in style and were probably the product of the same mason's workshop. Johnstone's monument was among the first to be recorded by Brotze – it appears early in the first volume of the *Sammlung* – and the reason is evident: it lay on the left-hand side of the altar in the Jacobikirche, beneath the pews of the two upper classes of the Imperial Lyceum. Brotze would have had it in his view every Sunday.

Brotze gives the inscription on Johnstone's tomb as follows:

> ANNO 1649 DEN 6 AVGVSTI IST IN GOTT DEM HERN
> SANFT VND SELIG ENTSCHLAFEN DER EDLE VND
> WOLGEBORNER VESTER VND MANHAFTER HER EBWERDT
> IOHNSTOUN DER CRON SCHWEDEN WOLBESTALTER OBRI
> STER LEUTENANDT UBER EIN REGIMENT INFANTERIE 5
> ERBGESESSEN AVF [ ]RWICK VNDT PEKON [ ]
>
> On 6 August in the year 1649 fell peacefully and blissfully asleep in God the Lord the noble and well-born, strong and valiant lord Ebwerdt [*sic*] Johnstoun, long-serving lieutenant-colonel over an infantry regiment, hereditary owner of [ ]rwick and Pekon[ ]

Edward Johnstone entered the Swedish service as a non-commissioned officer in William Johnstone's regiment in 1623 and was a lieutenant-colonel commanding his own regiment by 1645.[17] As with Forbes, however, the death date given on his tomb (6 August) is at variance with that given in later compilations (15 October).[18] Like Forbes, he had acquired estates in southern Finland, first Seitlaks in Borgå parish and subsequently Tervik in Pärnå parish, although unlike Forbes he was a first-generation immigrant who had married into the Scottish emigré community. A point of contact, albeit a distant one, can be found in the form of Francis Johnstone, guardian of Edward's son of the same name, who had previously served in the regiment of Matthias Forbes's brother-in-law; it seems likely that the two Scots were part of the same social and military circle in 1640s Riga.

Johnstone's Scottish origins are unclear, but can be partially elucidated with reference to his kinsman Francis Johnstone, a colonel in the Swedish service and a resident of Riga who died *circa* 1657 leaving a testament which refers

17 SSNE, no. 2734.
18 Ramsay 1909–1916, ii. 209.

to his guardianship of Edward's son.[19] The retour of Mary Johnstone, daughter of Andrew Johnstone of Myrehead in Dumfriesshire, to her 'father brother' Colonel Francis Johnstone on 7 February 1658 locates the latter's origin in a family of minor border lairds, but, as Murdoch has argued, the terminology of Francis's testament suggests that he and Edward were cousins rather than brothers so Edward's immediate antecedents remain uncertain.[20] This ambiguity is compounded by the presence of the Johnston arms in both the top and bottom left positions on Edward's tomb, implying that his mother also belonged to the family and opening the possibility that his relationship to Francis may have been on the maternal side.

Like the Forbes tomb, the right-hand coats of arms commemorate the deceased's wife's family. The arms at the top right are those of Robert Guthrie (d. 1620x1634), a native Scot and major in the Swedish service and the damaged arms at the bottom right were presumably those of Guthrie's wife, Katarina Lydiksdotter.[21] Once again, this choice served to highlight Johnstone's relationship to more prominent local families. Katarina Lydiksdotter, heiress of Tervik, the estate which her daughter ultimatley brought to Johnstone, had previously married Torsten Stålhandske, making Johnstone's wife the half-sister of General Torsten Stålhandske (1593–1644), one of the leading officers in the eastern theatre of the Thirty Years' War and a prominent patron of Scottish officers, due in part to his time as page to Patrick Ruthven and sometime Swedish recruiter in England and Scotland.[22] Emphasising Johnstone's relationship to Stålhandske and his kinship group provided his family with a usable ancestry which could not be found in rural Dumfriesshire.

Damage to the final stone in this sequence prevents a precise identification

19 SSNE, no. 2734; Murdoch 2006, 230–232.
20 *Inquisitionum retornatarum*, iii. Gen. no. 4320.
21 Ramsay 1909–1916, i. 162. For the arms see *Lord Crawford's Armorial*, 310.
22 Murdoch 2006, 19, 369; *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, xxxiv, 165. For more on Stålhandske, including his funeral monument, see Villstrand and Villstrand 2015, 191–206.

of its date. However, James Scott died in 1635 and his widow Margaret Gibson was still living in 1642, suggesting construction in this latter year at the earliest and perhaps significantly later in the century.[23] The double monument which commemorates husband and wife was already significantly damaged when Brotze recorded it, missing approximately the upper third of the stone and most of the bottom two lines of the inscription. What survives, however, indicates a distinct inscriptional formula and a slightly different mise-en-page for the stone as a whole, perhaps indicating that it was the work a different mason or was made to different specifications from the tombs of Forbes and Johnstone.

Brotze located the stone as being situated in front of the entrance to the sacristy of the Jacobikirche ('vor dem Eingange in die Sacristry [*sic*]') and gave the partially illegible inscription as follows:

MARGARETA GIBSOVN HERR OBERSTER
IACOBVS SCOTT EHEGEMAHL ERBGESE
SEN AVF FENERN TOLEREN VND SARAM
OYSE IN [ ] SELIG ENDSHLAFEN
DEN [ ] ANO 16[ ] 5

Margaret Gibsoun, wife of Colonel James Scott, hereditary owner of Fenern, Toleren, and Saramoyse in [ ] blissfully asleep the [ ] anno 16 [ ]

James Scott was the grandson of William Scott of Craighall in Perthshire and may have been the second generation of his family to be resident in Sweden. He was a captain in Patrick Ruthven's Regiment in 1610, served as lieutenant-colonel of a Finnish regiment in Narva, and at some point, presumably towards the end of his career, appears to have been governor of Riga.[24] Elgenstierna reported that his arms (presumably *vapenepitaf*) were preserved in the church at Olshammar, Örebro län, though he seems to have had no other connection with this parish.[25] The estates mentioned in the inscription were all located in Livland. Fennern, in the parish of the same name, was granted to Scott by Gustav Adolf in 1624.[26] Tellerhof (the 'Toleren' named here), Saramoise, and Rustifer, all in the parish of Marien Magdalenen, were granted to Scott by Gustav Adolf on 5 November 1625.[27]

23 Elgenstierna 1925–1936, vii. 120–121.
24 SSNE, no. 1638.
25 Elgenstierna 1925–1936, vii. 120–121.
26 Hagemeister 1836–1837,ii, 158.
27 Hagemeister 1836–1837, ii, 119.

Little is known of Margaret Gibson. Her name is given in the standard genealogical encyclopedias but there is nothing to connect her to any of the other scattered Gibsons known to have lived in Sweden or Poland and she may have married in Scotland rather than coming from an immigrant family. Her descendants maintained close ties to the Scottish officer community in Sweden for several generations, with her daughter marrying the Fife-born Thomas Kinnemond and her granddaughter marrying fellow Fifer James Bennet.[28] Of the three families commemorated, the Scotts seemed to have been least integrated into the local society of Riga and the Swedish-dominated eastern Baltic.

We should not imagine that there is anything intrinsically unusual, much less unique, about the physical and textual forms of the three monuments under consideration. All belong within the main stream of northern European protestant funereal art of this period, a tradition which stretches back well into the Middle Ages, was inflected but not destroyed by the Reformation, and retained a remarkable degree of continuity as late as the end of the eighteenth century.

In the sphere of the Baltic provinces, comparable monuments are easy to find. The 1601 effigial slab of the Baltic-German nobleman Otto von Uexküll in the Domkirche of Tallinn exhibits an appearance by now familiar: its subject is presented facing the viewer, hands brought together in prayer, wearing a full suit of armour with his helm and gauntlets at his feet. At the base of the tomb an inscription beginning with his date of death, proceeding with his personal attributes and public offices, and concluding with his translation to the heavenly realm is formulated in strikingly similar language to that which has already been examined. The only significant difference is the presence of sixteen, rather than four ancestral coats of arms, a variation most likely attributable to the deeper genealogical knowledge possessed by a family long-established in the Baltic as compared to the Scots incomers.[29] Nearer in date to the present subjects is the grave slab of Johann Hastfer and his wife Helena Taube which closely reflects, albeit in a more lavishly baroque form, the double monument to James Scott and Margaret Gibson.[30] Examples could easily be multiplied, particularly amongst the products of the workshop of

28 SSNE, nos. 1612 (Bennet), 2832 (Kinnemond). Elgenstierna (1925–1936, iv. 126), indicates that the Kinnemond family in Sweden came from 'Calensk i Skottland', i.e., the farm of Callange in Fife which was owned by Patrick Kynninmonth at the end of the sixteenth century (cf. *Registrum magni sigilli regum Scotorum*, v. nos. 1272, 2267). James Bennet was the son of William Bennet, sometime minister of Monimail in Fife, and grandson of Andrew Bennet, also minister of Monimail (*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, v. 165).

29 Nottbeck and Neumann 1896–1904, ii. 143.

30 Brotze, ix. 122v.

Arent Passer, Tallinn's Dutch stone carver and one of the most talented Baltic sculptors of the early seventeenth century.[31] The three Riga monuments came, if not from the hands of one of Passer's pupils, from the same artistic sphere which had produced effigial slabs such as Passer's monuments to Otto von Uexküll, discussed above, Caspar von Tiesenhausen, and Carl Horn.

Looking further afield, the Riga monuments are comparable to similar grave slabs found across the German lands. Effigial slabs and mural monuments analogous to these were particularly common in southern Germany and examples similar both in design and phrasing can be seen in, for example, the high-relief effigial stone of Wilhelm von Zillenhart (d. 1577) at Dürnau where a shell-motif similar to that of the Johnstone tomb is also evident.[32] Similarly the double tomb of Hans Ludwig and Margaretha von Nippenburg (d. 1578 and 1603) at Hemmingen is notably analogous to the Scott-Gibson tomb in Riga.[33] It is evidence, perhaps, of a slight stylistic lag that tombs of this sort in southern Germany were most prevalent thirty or forty years prior to the erection of the Riga tombs (the same generation as Arent Passer's work in Tallinn). Elsewhere, similar examples can be seen throughout Poland, Sweden, and Denmark.[34] The effigial tomb of the seventeenth century was a comparative constant across the Baltic and central European cultural sphere.

It is striking, however, that the Riga tombs are not particularly comparable to funeral monuments of this era in Scotland. The bas-relief slab was a common form of funeral monument in Scotland, as elsewhere, but effigial representation of the deceased was much rarer in post-Reformation Scottish contexts with Scottish carvers and patrons instead demonstrating a noticeable preference for text and heraldry alone.[35] Why, then, did these three tombs of immigrant Scots deviate so widely from the artistic standards of their native country?

One obvious answer would be deracination and incorporation into the culture of their new home, but such a claim is difficult to make. All three,

31 see Üprus 1987, ills. 181–183.

32 DI 41, Göppingen, Nr. 302 (Harald Drös), in: www.inschriften.net, urn:nbn:de:0238-di041h012k0030204.

33 DI 25, Lkr. Ludwigsburg, Nr. 507 (Anneliese Seeliger-Zeiss und Hans Ulrich Schäfer), in: www.inschriften.net, urn:nbn:de:0238-di025h009k0050707.

34 See Cederström 1926; Hamner 1933; Jensen 1951–1953; and Labno 2011, for examples within these contexts. It should be noted that these artefacts are seeing increasing use in recent scholarship on early modern Scots, e.g., in Bajer's study of a number of tombs of Scots abroad in Bajer 2012), 145, 198, 283, and *passim*.

35 It may be speculated that Calvinist suspicion of idolatry militated against effigial representation in the immediate post-Reformation context. One unusual example of an effigial slab in seventeenth-century Scotland is that of Agnes Lindsay, Lady Earlshall (d. 1635) in the parish kirk of St. Athernase at Leuchars, Fife.

from the recent immigrant James Scott and his close network of Scottish kin, to the long-established Forbes family who still maintained connections with their ancestral homeland, distinctly identified as Scots and fully participated in kinship and friendship networks based upon that identification. Nor can the choice of monumental style simply be a case of lack of choice. There is ample evidence for the existence of funeral monuments in seventeenth-century Livonia which were purely textual and heraldic, very similar to those common in Scotland. Examples within Riga include those of Johann Benckendorff in the Petrikirche and Rötger zu Horst in the Domkirche, both of which could have appeared – with only the slightest of stylistic alterations – not out of place in a Fife or Angus kirkyard.[36]

Effigial monuments, however, were the purview of the nobility in the Baltic at this period, with more severe tombs such as those of Benckendorff and zu Horst cited above being seen amongst merchants and the urban patriciate. In diverging from the Scottish model of monumental commemoration, the individuals discussed were neither turning away from their heritage nor conforming to a limited and distinct set of artistic options. Instead, these monuments were prioritising their subject's identities as members of the pan-European noble class by representing them in the artistic model traditionally reserved for the nobility of the Baltic provinces; it is their status as noble rather than their status as Scots which is most important.

We can see a similar motivation in other tombs of Scots abroad across the Swedish empire. If low-relief effigial representation was uncommon in Scotland, full-relief post-Reformation effigies were even rarer and were confined to a handful of noble burial aisles across the country.[37] However, examples of Scots tombs with full-relief effigies can be seen in Turku/Åbo Domkyrka in the tomb of the native Scot Samuel Cockburn (d. 1621) and in Uppsala Domkyrka in the tomb of the Swede Johan Skytte (d. 1645) and his Scottish wife Maria Neave (d. 1649).[38] These tombs, as well as the Riga group, support the conclusions of Thomas Brochard in his recent article in *Northern*

36 Brotze, ii. 92r (zu Horst), v. 81r (Benckendorff).

37 Notable examples of full-relief or sculptural effigies in a Scottish context include the tomb of Sir George Bruce of Carnock (d. 1625) and his wife in a burial aisle attached to the kirk of Culross, Fife, and the remarkable standing sculpture of Sir George Hay, 1st Earl of Kinnoull (d. 1634) in the Kinnoull burial aisle near Perth. For the latter see Howard 1996, 36–53.

38 For Samuel Cockburn see SSNE, no. 4219, and for Skytte and Neave see Elgenstierna 1925–1936, vii. 319, and Grosjean 2003, 158. Further research will undoubtedly multiply the list of Scottish tombs in the Swedish empire. One fruitful group which was not examined in the course of the present project is the series of Scots tombs at Sigtuna, for which see Palm and Undin 2012, 110–127. A late example, should it still survive, is the funeral monument of Major Malcolm Sinclair (1691–1739) in the Nikolaikirche in Stralsund, the lengthy epitaph on which is given in Kahler 1842, 215–232 at 232.

Studies that '[o]ne of the paramount concerns of Scots abroad was "status, thus focusing not so much on national or ethnic aspects as on social ones"'.[39] As immigrants in a new cultural context, Forbes, Johnstone, and Scott and Gibson (and, indeed, Cockburn and Neave) were simultaneously able to remain embedded in Scottish networks of friendship and kinship while also presenting themselves as comparable to the indigenous noble classes of Livonia and the Swedish empire.

Monuments such as these can best be read as acts of cultural translation, not so much in the strictly linguistic sense used in Peter Burke's edited volume on the subject, as in the broader anthropological sense: they serve to translate the real or desired noble identity of the individuals commemorated into codes legible to the inhabitants of their new homes, in this case the code of the traditional effigial funeral monument favoured by the Baltic nobility.[40] In short, these monuments translate and explain their Scottish subjects to a Baltic audience, naturalising immigrant identities into the culture of their new home.

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39 Brochard 2016, 8–29 at 23.

40 Burke and Hsia (eds) 2007. For the anthropological contexts and the disputes surrounding these see Buden and Nowotny 2009, 196–208, and Conway 2012, 264–279.

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