

Scots and Scandinavia As Seen Through *Alba Amicorum*, 1540s-1720s

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Introduction

SCOTTISH RESEARCH on the theme of *alba amicorum*, or autograph albums, dates back to pioneering work carried out by Johnstone in the 1920s.¹ In the 1980s, James K. Cameron renewed Scottish interest in the genre with his series of articles on the topic, and scrutiny of this type of material has recently gathered pace with the study of two Scottish *alba*, incidentally, yet tellingly, carried out by two non-British academics who do not specialize in Scottish studies.² These studies have been supplemented by articles on the broader theme of Scots who have appeared in autograph albums and, overall, these forays have placed Scotland at the forefront of *alba* research in Britain.³

The Scandinavian historiography on the subject is vast by comparison. Good introductions to the topic can be found in the works of Åke Davidsson for Sweden and the towering achievements of Vello Helk for Denmark and Scandinavia more generally.⁴ In terms of the Finnish literature on the topic, Nuorteva's studies remain essential reading.⁵ There is no overall coverage for the Baltic states, as far as the present writer is aware, but a few collections have been catalogued in depth recently.⁶

Moreover, Scandinavia enjoys a relatively large collection of *libri amicorum*. In Sweden alone, scholarly research by the early 1980s had uncovered some 360 of these volumes.⁷ Besides, both Uppsala and Lund universities have

1 Johnstone 1924.

2 Cameron 1986; Cameron 1987; Waser 1980, 266, 280-2; Papy 2000; Gattei 2013.

3 Brochard 2016, 18-23; Brochard 2020.

4 These are summarized in Helk 1994, 178-80, 214-15.

5 Nuorteva 1983, 104-7 for the English summary; Nuorteva 1983a.

6 Taimiņa's work on the collections at the University of Latvia and the mammoth catalogue for those of the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius come to mind for instance: *Album Amicorum: Pieminas Albumų Kolekcija; Atminimų sodai*.

7 Davidsson 1981, 22, 36.

made their entire collections of *alba* available online in a digital format using the Alvin portal.⁸

The study of *alba amicorum* is not a particularly strong theme of academic research in the rest of the Anglophone world. Apart from the substantial corpus of research done by June Schlueter, primarily on England and Englishmen, few scholars have immersed themselves in the genre.⁹ The reason for the relative lack of interest in the genre is primarily because the custom of album keeping, while a foreign tradition, was not, generally speaking, a British one. To put it succinctly, the people and the documents are not British.¹⁰

However, the present study explores how this source can illuminate a variety of academic fields, and raises awareness of *alba* as an interesting source material worthy of attention. As album-keeping was a pan-European phenomenon, and not particularly a British one, the potential of the source is apparent. In parallel, the article will add to the better knowledge of the Scottish diaspora in the early modern period.

***Alba* and their uses**

The practice of keeping autograph books, or *Stammbücher*, originated in the university milieu of Protestant Wittenberg in the 1540s.¹¹ From there, it spread among university students and beyond to Catholics, nobles, urban burgesses, craftsmen and women. Album keeping spread from Germany, becoming particularly popular in the Netherlands and Scandinavia, and to a lesser extent in central and eastern Europe. These books were used to collect autographs of a variety of contacts including friends, colleagues, classmates, fellow soldiers, and dignitaries. Their entries varied and might contain poems, drawings, personal messages, and other mementos. An unwritten consensual code emerged that codified the elements present in a contribution, notably a

8 <http://www.alvin-portal.org>, accessed 24 January 2017.

9 Schlueter 2011, and her own works cited therein. The book serves as a good introduction to the genre itself. Although dated, the following still remains relevant: Rosenheim 1910. The present article was done using Scandinavian and other foreign sources. Not being a linguist, the help of modern technologies enabled me to garner enough biographical data for the various individuals featured in this study. Friends and colleagues have generously helped with a number of these *alba* entries, with particular thanks to Dr Kathrin Zickermann (German), Dr Alexia Grosjean (Danish and Swedish), Professor Marc Lauxtermann (Greek), Dr Johanna Svensson and Professor Dana Sutton (Latin), and Professor Steve Murdoch for some transcriptions.

10 Nickson 1970; Nickson 1981, on the collections in the British Library mostly composed of German *Stammbücher* (or autograph albums).

11 This article is part of a wider research project into Scots found in these *alba* in the period 1540s-1720s. The coverage of relevant entries listed in the present article is by no means universal.

quote from classical literature or the Bible, words of wisdom (proverbs), praise of the owner, the date and place, and a signature. Additionally, artistically gifted inscribers left a drawing and musically inclined dedicators might add a musical score. Nobles and armigers generally arranged for their coats of arms to be painted in, and album owners would turn to professional artists for these blazons and other painted scenes.¹² Establishing a social typology of album owners is fraught with difficulties. This is compounded by the lack of academic consensus on this issue and on the criteria that should be used for such a typology. The most widespread form were probably student *alba*, but of the surviving autograph albums in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, almost ten per cent belonged to women.¹³

Among the various purposes of *alba amicorum*, one that has not been extensively researched, is their use as a repository of ancillary notes. A few *alba* became notepads during their owners' travels to record monumental inscriptions, such as the one possessed by the Swiss Johann Jakob vom Staal who made transcripts of Latin inscriptions found on monuments during his travels in England and France.¹⁴ In the late 1560s and early 1570s, Louis de Montmorency, Lord of Beuvry, and his brother John compiled an album which was later recycled in 1595 by Louis' son François when a student, as a volume of epigraphic notes taken from heraldic tombs and vestiges in northern France, southern Belgium, and Paris.¹⁵ Genealogical notes were sometimes recorded in *alba*, making these akin to marginal notes present in family bibles. Further family matters occasionally made an appearance. One of these can be found in the manuscript of Axel Ulfstand of Axelvold which contained contributions for the period 1615-1618 and subsequently, the album must have remained in the family. Later on in the century, and prior to her death in March 1702, Mette Marie Dunbar consigned her testamentary provisions in her own hand in that very manuscript, being her mother-in-law's father's *stambog* (Danish for album amicorum).¹⁶

12 The fundamental work is Schnabel 2003, 10-18, on the multidisciplinary uses of *alba*; and compare with Thomassen 1990 for a robust scholarship on Dutch *alba*.

13 On this issue, consult Schnabel 2003, 151-5, and an alternative typology in Ryantová 2007, 110-11; Delen 1989, 80. The group specific classification cannot be structured along purely social categories, partly because of mixed forms, such as an album belonging to a nobleman who could also be a student or a soldier at the same time.

14 Heesakkers 1994, 129.

15 Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 785; Enlart 1910, 170. The album has no British entries.

16 CKB, NKS 400 8°, ff.5r-9r; Helk 2001, 361; Helk 1975-6, 44, 85. Mette Marie was the daughter of major and commandant Patrick Dunbar of Cumnock, Count Spanderup (in Åsbo Southern Hundred, in Skåne), and Maren Munck. Mette Marie married Jørgen Urne of Axelvold: DAA 21 (1904), 480; 37 (1920), 459-60. On Patrick Dunbar, see Murdoch 2000, 235-6.

Scholars would carry these volumes during their travels, which the owners could then use as informal academic credentials. Indeed, *alba* have been described as a new medium supporting utilitarian, pragmatic learned friendships and made international friendship political, thereby weakening the strength of affective bonds in the process. This politicization of social friendly relationships and of learning was severely criticized during the course of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ But this perception of *alba* as a new tool of methodical travel that modified the nature of friendship, indeed which resulted in the corrupting of affecting bonds, cannot universally apply to the genre: what about the thousands of entries bearing just a signature or merely a coat of arms, or those which focused on love, women, general moral aphorisms; or when students collected entries merely from fellow students as opposed to learned men of letters (for political motives)? In other words, the universality, or even the generalization of the utilitarian argument, can be questioned by analysing the contents or messages of *alba* entries and by looking at the status of both owner and inscriber.

The research potential of *alba* is vast, as will become apparent in the course of the present article. One current field of study looks at the genre of the books of friendship as a forerunner of our modern social media in the building of a network.¹⁸ Scrutators of the early modern humanist culture have seized keenly on this medium to emphasise these cultural agents' interactions.¹⁹ In other fields, lexicographers have scrutinized the minutiae of some of the *alba* messages.²⁰ The rich iconography the *alba* contained has assisted not only art historians but also, less predictably, theatre scholars.²¹ Dutch academics have led the way in their ground-breaking works on the relation between women and *Vriendenboekjes* (friendship books), in particular in association with the song culture of the northern Netherlands.²² These are only a few of the research foci that the genre has generated over the last few years, and *alba* scholarship remains in its infancy in the anglophone world.

Early modern travels generated a swathe of documents, not least of which were autograph albums. As a result of extensive movement across Europe and beyond, it is no surprise that *alba* are to be found in so

17 Keller 2011, overemphasized (p. 671) the strict rigidity of the social hierarchy present in the order of signatories in *alba*.

18 Van Ommen and Cazes 2010; Solling 2016; Reinders 2016.

19 Rastogi 2017; Balsamo 2019.

20 Latzkovits 2015.

21 Notably in the English-speaking world the works of Katritzky, such as Katritzky 2007, chapter 4.

22 Reinders 2017; and the works of Strijbosch, e.g. Strijbosch 2016.

many countries and that, like family bibles, a large number of them are kept in private collections, rendering the identification of their locations problematic.

In analysing the developments of Scots in *alba*, a socio-professional approach has been followed in this article. This categorization has its limitations, notably as a result of the fluid careers of the early modern period. However, this model enables the comparison between shared experiences, pointing out similarities, but also differences, between individuals in each category. It facilitates the identification of some possible patterns for each group and comparisons with other groups. This approach helps to establish thematic lines of enquiry for future research.

Scottish educators

Learned Scots embraced the career of tutor to young nobles during these students' tours across Europe. One such was Patrick Gordon, younger son of John Gordon of Braco.²³ In 1589, he was studying at Rostock University and thereafter became tutor to the Swedish count Gustav Stenbock.²⁴ On 7 October 1600, the pair were at Elsinore where they met Swede Laurentius Quenslovius, a clergyman's son (*'præstesøn'*) from Småland, who was then on a tour of northern European universities and towns before heading to Copenhagen.²⁵ The *'Scotus'* man of letters left his Swedish acquaintance a quote in Latin in his album. Reflecting on St Bernard of Clairvaux, with a hint of Petrarch, his message was one of aspiring to perfect humility intimating to him '[t]o despise the world, to despise no one, to despise oneself, to despise to be despised, only these things make you blessed'.²⁶

Another such tutor was Henry Albert Hamilton, the Copenhagen-born son of the local mayor, Christen Albertsen Hamilton and his consort Margrethe van Mørsen. Henry studied mathematics at German universities, in particular Heidelberg, 1607-1615. On completing his studies, Hamilton rapidly found a position as a secretary in the foreign chancellery, in which he served until 1619. In January that year, he was authorized by the King to travel abroad, as it was his desire to visit France, Spain, Italy, and Britain

23 Stevenson 2004. Patrick's early years need to be revised.

24 Biegańska 2001, 20-1; Murdoch 2006, 257. Gordon's subsequent diplomatic role for the Stuart court as a factor at Gdańsk is touched upon in: *England and the North*, 63-5, 70-1, 184, 186, 189-90; Bajer 2012, 89-91, 131, 164, 169-70, 217-19.

25 Helk 1973, especially 148, 155.

26 Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, Rps 3501 I, 115 *'Spernere mundum, spernere nullum, spernere sese, Spernere se sperni, faciunt haec sola beatum'*; *Petrarch's Remedies*, iii, 94; *Petrarchae* 1613, 470; Herrad of Landsberg, ii, 349.

to further his preparation for public service. He travelled as preceptor for the Holstein nobleman Friedrich Buchwald, who was around fourteen years old, and enrolled himself for further studies at German universities during the period 1619-1621, at Geneva in 1622, and in northern Italy in 1623.²⁷ In December 1619, Hamilton and his protégé registered at Heidelberg University and during his time at the Baden-Württemberg town, Hamilton entered into a close friendship with the foremost German poet of the time, Martin Opitz. The latter composed a poem in Hamilton's honour, while Hamilton penned two Latin epigrams for Opitz's *Teutsche Poemata* (1624).²⁸ Contrary to the established opinion of earlier historiography, Hamilton and Buchwald did not accompany Opitz on his journey to Jutland.²⁹ As well as Opitz, Hamilton became a close acquaintance of Flemish-born philologist and scholar Jan Gruter to whom he addressed many of his poems.³⁰

The jurist Johann Stalknecht, from Schermbeck in Nordrhein-Westfalen, toured at least half a dozen German cities in the 1610s-early 1620s. When he stopped at Heidelberg in late 1620, he presented his octavo volume to some of the local students for their signatures. Given the said friendship between Hamilton and the famous Heidelberg librarian Gruter, it is no surprise that Hamilton appended his name in Stalknecht's album immediately before Gruter's entry, who had done so himself only a few months before. On 1 December, Hamilton quoted from the Roman statesman and man of letters Quintus Aurelius Symmachus stating that '[h]e who interposes for good men is not more advancing their interests than commending his own judgement'.³¹ Hamilton added one line from Horace's epistle to Florus, spurring on the recipient, just as he would as a mentor to his student: 'Go, sir, whither your valour calls you. Go, good luck to you!'.³² Just a few days later, on 6 December, Buchwald put pen to paper, choosing the folio immediately after Gruter. In what can be perceived as a response to his tutor, Buchwald also selected a passage from Symmachus noting that '[t]rue friends should not be induced to forget their intimacy because of physical distance'.³³

After their sojourn in Heidelberg, the pair travelled to Tübingen. There,

27 Riis 1988, ii, 194-5; SSNE, ID no. 879.

28 Opitz 1968-90, i, 267-8, 277, describing Hamilton as of Jutland ('*patria Cimbrum*'); *Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, ii, 299; Helk 1971, 178, 182; Opitz 2009, i, 273, 349, 414.

29 Helk 1978, 143-50; Opitz 2011, 302-4, 316.

30 Jensen 1995, 40, 49, 52. Hamilton wrote occasional poetry and excelled at writing anagrams.

31 CKB, Thott 386, 8°, fo.71r '*Pro optimis viris quisquis interuenit, non magis illorum videtur iuuare commodum, quam suum commendare iudicium*'; Symmaque 1972, 172-3.

32 '*i, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat, I PEDE FAUSTO*'; Horace, *Satires*, 426-7.

33 CKB, Thott 386, 8°, fo.73r '*Veri amici neque locorum intercedente diuortio in oblivionem familiaritatis adducantur*'; see Symmaque 1982, 17.

on 1 January 1621, Hamilton and his student became acquainted with Ålborg-born Frans Rosenberg. They duly signed the book of their fellow student, then also on a tour. Hamilton wrote, 'I send you this sample of my handwriting by way of a gift on New Year's day, may Love preserve it for your benefit'.³⁴ On that same day, Buchwald was approached by the Tübingen professor Johann Martin Rauscher for another autograph and the next day, 2 January, it was Hamilton's turn. Leaning on Horace's *Odes*, Hamilton noted that 'the tireless Hercules is present at Jove's banquets'.³⁵ Soon afterwards the pair crossed into Strasbourg and were found in company of Rutger zur Horst, a student from Riga. Hamilton duly reprised a few lines from Virgil's *Aeneid*, 'O thrice and four times blest, whose lot it was to meet death before their fathers' eyes beneath the lofty walls of Troy!'.³⁶ The Danes remained in the Alsatian town for a while, at least until mid-May 1621 when only Buchwald contributed to the manuscript volume of Danish student Axel Juul with his painted coat of arms in full colour.³⁷ What is interesting in terms of identity is that throughout his inscriptions, Hamilton identified himself as '*Danus*' whenever his nationality was mentioned. This question of identity is an area of research that has not received due attention within *alba* studies but deserves greater scrutiny.³⁸ Hamilton's experience, however, points to these books as tools to unlock some early modern networking dimensions in Europe, especially, but not only, in the Republic of Letters.³⁹

Robert Kinninmond, another travelling tutor, was raised in pedagogical fashion within the mercantile household of his parents Hans Kinninmond and Barbro Nyman in Stockholm. In 1659, he attended Uppsala university and then Åbo in 1660-2, returning to Uppsala in 1663. Having received his degree at the philosophy faculty of Uppsala in 1670, Robert readily found employment the following year as a tutor to the young Fredrik Stenbock (1654-99), Count of Bogesund, son of a Swedish military and government official Count Erik Stenbock who was himself the son of the above-mentioned Gustav Stenbock. The Stenbocks thus demonstrated a certain appreciation of Scots as tutors to their progeny. By 1674, Kinninmond was recorded as a court gentleman to Count Bengt Gabrielsson Oxenstierna (1623-1702) on his

34 CKB, NKS 2090 h, 4°, fos.259v-60r '*Hanc tibi do dextram strenae pro munere, mentis illa sit arrha meae, quam tibi servet Amor*'; Helk 1976, 225-6.

35 TUB, Mh 960a, pp.450, 452, '*Jovis interest Optatis epulis IMPIGER HERCULES*'; Horace, *Odes*, 242-3; Domka 2007, 46-7.

36 BL, Egerton MS 1254, fo.51v '*O terque quaterque beatos, Quois ante ora patrum TROIAE sub moenibus altis Contigit oppetere*'; Virgil 1999-2000, i, 268-9; Goldmann 1956, 356.

37 CKB, NKS 379 fm 8°, fo.154r.

38 Brochard 2016.

39 Van Ommen and Cazes 2010; Tienken 2014; Wilson 2012.

embassy to Vienna.⁴⁰ In early September 1674, Robert was in Nuremberg, still accompanying his protégé Count Fredrik, where they befriended the young Ulm student Hans Eberhard Krafft von Dellmensingen, leaving in his album a dedication in French and an aphorism, also in French, recommending that he '[proceed] [w]ith God frankly and with man wisely'. On the following day (7 September), the comital pupil also entered a maxim in French.⁴¹ Robert would have left Fredrik soon thereafter to join Oxenstierna in his ambassadorial duty in Vienna. These autograph albums could have a major impact in exploring the role of pedagogues in particular for these Scots who studied abroad and went on to find employment as tutors to the progeny of noble and gentry families.⁴²

Scottish students

The diaspora of Europeans and their migration during the early modern period were large-scale phenomena. Within these can be found travellers who were motivated by their studies and/or men interested in seeking a broad education, to be cultivated in the wider humanist sense, as a well-travelled person.

In some cases, *alba* entries covered a long period of an individual's lifetime. Returning to the aforementioned tutor Henry Albert Hamilton, some of his contributions were made during his time as a student at German universities (1607-1615). During these formative years in Germany, Hamilton signed a number of *alba*. On 20 September 1610, Hamilton was in Frankfurt. There, he consigned a friendly memento in the volume presented to him by Vincents Steensen. The young Dane came from a noble family of Langeland and met Hamilton during his academic tour across Europe which would eventually see Steensen become a provincial judge ('*landsdommer*'). Hamilton used a self-acknowledged quote from Saint Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe (5th-6th century AD). In his epistle to Eugippius, abbot of Lucullanum near Naples, Fulgentius extolled charity, noting that 'the benevolent person is the dwelling place of charity'. Hamilton added in French, 'With God and Virtue'.⁴³ In September 1611, Hamilton was in Hesse, and there,

40 SSNE, ID no. 508; Thimon 1982, 45.

41 HAAB, Stb 131, fos.85r, 262r, '*Avec Dieu franchement et avec l'homme sagement*'; Goldmann 1981, no. 335.

42 The subject of pedagogues is hardly touched upon in the recent authoritative work on Scottish education, Anderson et al. 2015, 61, 64, 83, for the period under consideration.

43 Private collection, Denmark, Vincents Steensens Stambog, fo.225r '*Benivolus [sic] homo Charitatis domicilium est*', '*Avec Dieu et Vertu*'; the owner is duly thanked for making some of the entries available; Fulgentius 1997, 344. All the entries in Steensen's album are briefly listed in CKB, NKS 2662, 4^o. Hamilton's contribution is mentioned in Helk 1987, 233. On the album itself, consult Helk 1994, 209; Helk 2001, 357.

in Giessen with its recently established university (1607), he was approached by Frederik Andersen Klyne. This Dane, a merchant-councillor's son from Ribe, had matriculated at the university the previous year. On that occasion (8 September), Hamilton did not write a quote or a pithy sentence but only left a few words of praise for the future vicar, 'as a notice of friendship and favour to my dear brother'.⁴⁴ Whilst at Jena in 1614, Hamilton befriended law student Georg Wolff from Prichsenstadt in Lower Franconia. He wrote his entry partly in German, perhaps as his take on the Shakespearian citation or a more general adage in that 'a true heart I revere as gold', adding in Latin the famous quote from Virgil's *Aeneid* that 'Troy is no more'.⁴⁵ Hamilton's experience makes the case for the inclusion of these travelling companions in collating a student's European peregrination in the early modern period. In conjunction with matriculation registers, *alba* as a source have been well exploited in some student historiography, particularly in Denmark by Vello Helk, and this should be replicated for any comparable Scottish or other similar European project.⁴⁶

An as yet unidentified Johan Albert Hamilton may well be a kinsman (brother?) of Henry. It is tempting to see him as John Christensen Hamilton, Henry's brother and the son of the Copenhagen mayor Christen Albertsen Hamilton. If so, then John later became an accountant who was appointed in 1630 to the Danish East India Company and served this institution for a number of years.⁴⁷ Perhaps while still a student, Johan Albert was in the Danish capital in 1619 where he signed the album of German polymath and theologian Joachim Morsius. On 14 August, he noted down in Morsius' volume his religious devotion in French quoting John's Gospel (3:15) and Psalm 125 in that 'whoever believes in Him may have eternal life'. Hamilton added this ode to persistence in French which was befittingly the House of Lennox motto as well, 'To achieve I endure'. He concluded his inscription in Latin to remind its readers that 'virtue alone ennobles'.⁴⁸

The two brothers Carl and John/Jöns Netherwood were the sons of Captain William Netherwood. William was of noble descent and born in Scotland. He moved to Sweden and found employment as a ship's captain and was subsequently recruited by the Lord High Admiral Baron Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm as his court master. William was additionally

44 CKB, NKS 381 f 8°, fo.156r '*Fratri oculissimo Amantiae & Faventiae indicinam*'. See Degn 1981, 78-9; Helk 1975-6, 44-5, 78.

45 BL, Egerton MS 1251, fo.57r '*Ein getrewes hertz acht ich fur goldt*', '*fuit Ilium*'.

46 Helk 1987.

47 Johan Albert is not listed in Riis 1988 nor in Helk 1987. For John Christensen Hamilton, consult Riis 1988, ii, 195.

48 Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Lübeck, MS. hist. 4° 25, vol. ii, 349 '*Quy met en dieu son Esperance Jamais ne perira*', '*Pour paruenir J'Endure*', '*Sola virtus [sic] Nobilitat*'. Hamilton's entry is listed in Schneider 1929, 89.

rewarded with the estate of Förarp (Kronoberg county) in 1629 but died in 1633. He left behind these two sons, Carl and John, who followed in their father's footsteps and entered the service of the same powerful employer. Carl secured a position as a gentleman of the chamber for Baron Gyllenhielm. His ennoblement ensued in 1649, and likewise his introduction to the House of Nobility, through the personal intervention of Queen Kristina. His brother John joined the army as a private in the Smaland cavalry regiment and, like his brother Carl, was ennobled in 1649.⁴⁹ Olof Lilliesparre of Fylleskog was a neighbour of the Netherwoods and their uncle, being the brother of their mother Carin Lilliesparre. He served for six years as page to Duke Carl of Södermanland and a courtier of King Gustav II Adolf. He travelled abroad for his studies between 1616 and 1618, including to Stuttgart, and on his return joined military service. Lilliesparre collected autographs in his album which he began when he went abroad in 1616. In February 1645, he presented it to the Netherwood brothers for their inscriptions whilst they were visiting him in Fylleskog.⁵⁰ On 4 February, Carl and Jöns paid their written respect in Swedish to 'my dear mother's brother noble and well-born'. Jöns was still only seventeen by then and his entry beneath that of his elder brother exactly matches his word for word.⁵¹

Another student who contributed to *alba* was Barthold Strachan/Strachoun, although he remains a shadowy figure. He was the son of Johan Strachoun (d. 1694) and Bodilla Nilsson Gardea. Johan was a resident of Klinte on the Swedish island of Gotland where he officiated as a tax collector (*mantalskommissarie*) and bailiff (*kronobefallningsman*). Six years before his death, in 1688, Johan erected a funeral monument which can still be seen in the local church at Klinte. The memorial tablet depicts Bodilla and her first husband and their five children alongside Johan himself. In his youth, Barthold went to study at Uppsala in 1687. He ultimately followed in the footsteps of his father and became *mantalskommissarie* in Visby before dying in 1730 in his home parish of Klinte.⁵² However, Barthold continued his studies after Uppsala as there is a record of him matriculating at Kiel on 12 August 1691 as '*Bartholinus Johannis Strachou Gothlandus*'.⁵³ Barthold stayed

49 SSNE, ID nos 1633, 4338, 4800.

50 The album was noted by Wrangel 1889-97, 129-30.

51 SKB, Y 117, fo.158v '*min Kiäre Morbrodher Edhele och Wällbördigh*'; Dillman 2005, 11, 21-5, noting that the Swedish National Library bought it in December 2003, that is after the detailed catalogue of the library's collection of *alba*: *Stammbücher der Königlichen Bibliothek Stockholm*.

52 Lemke 1868, 278, 337; http://lingualatina.se/epitafium_i_klinte_kyrka.html, accessed 12 October 2018; SSNE, ID no. 747.

53 *Album der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel*, 39.

on in Kiel for a number of years, as attested by his contribution to an album. In the Schleswig-Holstein capital, Strachoun met the future theologian, minister and general superintendent in Livonia Heinrich Brüningk whose father had been a merchant from Lübeck and later a councillor in Narva. Brüningk attended the Latin school in Narva and the Lyceum in Riga (1689-93), yet during this time, he also studied at the university of Dorpat (1690-2) and later went to Germany to study theology (Kiel in 1693; Halle and Leipzig; then Wittenberg in 1696). Subsequently, he travelled through Germany and Sweden and, in 1697, Lapland, Finland and Russia. In 1698-9, Brüningk was living in Stockholm and was ordained and took up his first pastorate in Narva in 1699. It was during his time in Kiel that he met Strachoun and presented to him his volume for an inscription.⁵⁴ On 6 July 1695, Strachoun wrote his commendation to the young Livonian appositely drawing from Seneca the Younger's *Epistles*' passage treating the subject of friendship and for whom 'to see and think of friends who are alive and well is like enjoying honey'. Strachoun then turned to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* for his pithy sentence highlighting that '[w]hat I hope for is no mortal thing'. To close his contribution, the '*Soeco-Gottlando*' Bartholino Joh: Strachoun' returned to Seneca and wisely commented that '[t]he vices of others we keep before our eyes, our own behind our back'.⁵⁵

As a well-established noble family in Sweden, the Hamiltons secured prominent military and diplomatic positions. One of the Swedish branches of the family and distinct from the Danish branch mentioned above, the Hamiltons of Hageby took its name after an estate in Västergötland. Malcolm, the progenitor of that branch, was born in Ireland in 1635 and made a successful military career in Sweden from the mid-1650s. He was ennobled in 1664 and introduced to the House of Nobility in 1693. Malcolm had a son Hugo Johan, who became a Swedish field marshal. Hugo Johan's son was Carl Fredrik (b. 1705) who climbed the social ladder to reach the position of Marshal of the Court (*hovmarskalk*). Earlier, he studied at Uppsala in 1717.⁵⁶ Just before being made a chamberlain (*kammarherre*) in December

54 *Album Amicorum: Pieminas Albumu Kolekcija*, 33-5; Gottzmann and Hörner 2007, i, 305-6. Incidentally, in August 1693 in Narva, Brüningk approached the local English minister, Charles Thirlby, who, like Strachoun, turned to Seneca for his dedication: *Album Amicorum: Pieminas Albumu Kolekcija*, 38, 303; SSNE, ID no. 1059.

55 LUAB, Rk 2648, p.508 '*Amicos incolumes cogitare, et intueri, melle frui est*', '*Non est mortale quod opto*', '*Aliena vitia in oculis habemus, a tergo nostra sunt*'; Seneca 1934-53, i, 432-3; Ovid 1977-84, i, 64-5; Seneca 1928-35, i, 228-9. Strachoun's encomium is listed in *Album Amicorum: Pieminas Albumu Kolekcija*, 38; and Bruiningk 1913, 90.

56 SSNE, ID nos 2605, 4950; Hamilton 1933, 1014, 1083; https://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Hamilton_af_Hageby_nr_99, accessed 23 June 2018.

1727, Carl Fredrik found himself in Nuremberg ('Nörberg') in June of that year. There, he saw Johann Christoph Dorsch on 19 June. Dorsch was a famous local lapidary, that is a craftsman working in gems or precious stones. Describing himself as a Swedish baron, Hamilton graced the page with a distich in French, adapted from a contemporary proverb, 'Virtue, love, and honour are my heart's three flambeaux'.⁵⁷ Carl Fredrik was not an isolated instance of a young Swedish noble whose travels were part of a state-building process with educational ideals and their implementation within and outside the kingdom, and whose study journeys were justified by the gathering of 'political wisdom'. *Stamböcker* testify to this politically motivated tour.⁵⁸ Keller's utilitarian argument developed vis-à-vis *alba* is most compelling within that context.⁵⁹

Scottish soldiers

Among the Scots who went to Scandinavia, one group clearly stands out in the early modern period, soldiers, and the historiography of these men is extensive.⁶⁰ Although fragmentary and fleeting, their contributions to *alba* add details and a greater roundness of character by showing them in a new light as in addition to their martial activities and identity, some were learned men and linguistically gifted.⁶¹ At times, if these entries are dated, they help pinpoint the exact location or whereabouts of these military men. However, the insights into armed conflicts to be gained from these encomia are limited and restricted, as underlined in the study of an Estonian album apropos the Great Northern War (1700-21).⁶² On the other hand, these contributions can at times be politically decrypted through their allegorical or metaphorical connotations.⁶³

57 HAAB, Stb 325, p.65 'La vertu, L'amour, et L'honneur, sont les trois flambeaux, de mon choeur'. See Dubois 1683, 1, with Hamilton substituting 'love' for 'arms'. Dorsch's *Stammbuch* has been noticed many times ever since the early 20th century: Domka et al. 2009, 15, 138-9; Raffel 2012, 54-5; and most extensively in Henning 1986.

58 Giese 2008; Kurras 2005; Winberg 2018. The author thanks one of the reviewers for this last reference.

59 Keller 2011.

60 As a good introduction, consult Murdoch 2001.

61 For instance, see Seibold 2006, on the album of Anna Maria von Hallweil whose husband was a Württemberg Lieutenant-Colonel who served as a soldier in the French army. The album of a German soldier compiled in 1595-6 during the siege of Esztergom in Hungary is preserved in: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, MS 91.71. The album contains no British entries but has pictures of Englishmen and -women including one of the 'Roïna de Angleterre' (fo.1r).

62 Kaju 2011, from the English summary.

63 Ludwig 2010a, 232-3.

Even prior to the Thirty Years' War, Scots had emigrated to the continent and embraced a military career bearing arms for a foreign prince. One such officer was John Clerk. It is very tempting to identify him as the pirate who stood accused of committing depredations against Danish subjects in late 1570s, but this was not the same man.⁶⁴ Captain John Clerk commanded a cavalry corps for the Danish Crown against the Swedes in the early 1560s and was then sent to recruit 1,000 troops in Scotland for King Frederick II's war against Sweden. Among his activities, Clerk served as the agent of regent James Stewart, first Earl of Moray, despatched from Scotland to demand Bothwell's immediate execution. With the end of the war in 1570, Clerk faced a court martial in Denmark, accused of not preventing the defection of some of his soldiers to the enemy, obstructing the levies in Scotland, and of using men in Danish service against Queen Mary. It was also implied that Clerk had defrauded the Danish treasury. These were serious accusations. The new Protestant regimes of both James VI and Queen Elizabeth intervened on his behalf but to no avail. Clerk was tried in Copenhagen, incarcerated, and died having spent some six years in Danish custody.⁶⁵ Rather remarkably, a memento of Clerk's military activities has survived. Unfortunately, his entry to the *stambog* of Dane Morten Knudsen is undated, but the album's dated contributions ranged from 1568 to 1587, thus establishing a time frame for Clerk's dedication, almost certainly towards the end of his armed service prior to his trial. Clerk signed his name in Latin and described himself in his military capacity as 'commander of the Scottish companies in Denmark'. Beside his Latin, Clerk knew some French, as the motto he left to Knudsen averred, 'More or nothing'.⁶⁶

Robert Richardson served as a captain under Henrik Fleming, later Swedish Admiral and Lord Marshal, in 1623.⁶⁷ Yet, there is evidence that Richardson was already in the Finnish armed forces by 1620.⁶⁸ Little seems to be known about this officer. He might well be identified with the man who made an entry in a Swedish album. The manuscript belonged initially to Magdalene Bonde, the daughter of a noble and courtier from Västergötland who was one of the victims of the plague whilst in Kalmar in 1603. The *stambok* later came into

64 In January 1579/80, a royal proclamation was issued against him and with Robert Stewart, first Earl of Orkney, commissioned for his arrest: Anderson 2012, 117; Murdoch 2010, 143.

65 Scannell and Black 2015, 105-6; Lockhart 2004, 148; CUL, Mm.1.43, p.28; NRS, GD149/266, fos.161v, 163r, for his 1571 testimony in response to accusations made against him (for which see fos.159v-63r).

66 CKB, NKS 365 8°, fo.64r '*capitaneus scotoru[m] cohortiu[m] in daniam*', '*Plus ou ryen*'. There is a letter by Clerk dated October 1568 in which he signed using that title as commander in chief ('*Scoticorum cohortium supremus capitaneus*'): Riis 1988, i, 147.

67 SSNE, ID no. 3348.

68 <http://www.pohjanprikaatinkilta.fi/PohPr/perinnejoukot/Suomen%20Maarykmentti.htm>, accessed 7 October 2018, with the relevant sources quoted thereon.

the possession of Karin Ulfsparré (fl. 1635-50), the daughter of a gentleman of the king's chamber. Richardson wrote his commendation in Swedish next to that of his wife, Karin Svensdotter.⁶⁹ Richardson rather cryptically, but also metaphorically, commented about telltale signs of disobedience in that 'three things are easily revealed by their disobedience, a hobbled dog; a pig with a yoke; and a bad wife with a blackened eye'.⁷⁰ However, further identification of the couple has not been conclusive.⁷¹

Sometimes, these *alba* can greatly assist the researcher in confirming or refuting some biographical information. The facts concerning the life of James Spens of Orreholm are relatively well-known. Born in 1627 to James Spens of Wormiston and his second wife Margaret Forret, James junior went with his brother Axel to study at Uppsala university in 1639. James then joined the military and rose to the rank of colonel and chief of the Lifeguard in Riga. However, the dating of his death has been the subject of controversy, variously assigned to either January 1663 or February 1665.⁷² At this juncture, Martin Nordeman enters the scene. Nordeman (1636-1684) was born in Härnösand and, like Spens, studied at Uppsala. He eventually became a professor of mathematics at Lund University. During his time at Uppsala, he carried an album to consign the contributions of noblemen and scholars in 1663 before he went on a journey to Germany, Italy, France, the Netherlands, and Denmark as a tutor to the nobleman Eric Soop. '*Jacobus Spens*' duly penned his inscription in Nordeman's album as Baron ('*L[iber] B[aro]*') of Orreholm when in Uppsala on 13 May 1663. Spens completed his note by quoting in Latin Pythagoras' apophthegm on justice, 'Do what you have decided to be right, though it be at the sacrifice of thy reputation: For the populace is a bad judge of noble conduct'.⁷³ Spens' writing thus proved

69 Karin's entry has a religious tone to it: '*gudh som i himellen bor han hiällper viselliga allom dem som på honom thror*'. This translates as 'God in heaven wisely / discreetly helps all who believe in him'. So, the husband's and wife's entries are not dialogical.

70 SKB, Vs 24, p.13 '*Try ting skal man kenna på deres odygdor, En hund med En klamp, och Jt Suin med Jt ok, och En ond hustru med Jt blåt oga*'. The '*klamp*' were wooden blocks laid over the dog's foot to prevent it from walking. The entry is reproduced in Klemming 1866-7, 254; Steffen 1894, 77; and Noreen and Grape 1916, 78. The album has been heavily commented upon over the years, notably for its ownership by women: Delen 1989, 90, 92; Dillman 2005, 6; Strijbosch 2006, 417.

71 Lundgreen-Nielsen and Ruus 1999-2002, i, 108.

72 Murdoch 2005, 61; SSNE, ID no. 3549.

73 LUB, album amicorum of Martin Nordeman, no shelfmark, fo.63v '*Fac ea quae judicaveris esse honesta, etiamsi postquam feceris, ingloriosus futurus sis: Omnis enim honestae rei malus iudex est vulgus*'; Pythagoron, 153; Davidsson 1968, 47-8. Interestingly, the same Latin quote appears in the album of Johan Betz: Mayer 1860, 356-7. The Pythagorean text had long been available, among others, from the editions of the Macedonian compiler Joannes Stobaeus including that by Conrad Gessner: *Ioannis Stobaei*, 317, for the quote.

that he was alive in May 1663 and that his death might have happened in January or February 1665.

Lastly, Fredrik Sinclair was the son of Colonel Andrew Sinclair (d. 1689) who served as commandant of various strongholds from the mid-1670s. Frederik went to university as a student in Uppsala in 1688. Thereafter, emulating his father, he embraced a military career, being appointed captain in 1701. He died relatively young, childless, in 1708, in his mid-thirties.⁷⁴ In January 1706, whilst in Stockholm, he saw Olof Benzelius. Benzelius was the son of Eric Benzelius, Archbishop of Uppsala. He attended Uppsala university in 1686 aged only eight! Thus, he may well have met Sinclair at this higher institution. Before becoming a judicial assessor later on in life, Benzelius was a filing clerk at the national archives. It was in that position that he caught up with his (likely) former university acquaintance on 14 January 1706, 'Fredericus A. Sinckler' only had a few words to commit to paper, the Latin phrase for 'let kindly salvation shine'.⁷⁵

Collectively, these written mementos present military men as new and rounder figures, as men with wit, languages, and, for some, knowledge of classical literature. This is a far cry from the mere image of brutal force implicitly conveyed in the descriptive 'mercenaries'. *Alba* thus contribute to the redefinition of Scottish and indeed European military officers by highlighting their educated background.⁷⁶

Scottish diplomats

Among the few Scots who adhered to the practice of keeping a book of friends, one of them carried out diplomatic duties. William Shaw (ca. 1550-1602) is most famous as Master of the King's Works, a position he was appointed to in 1583, but later that year and in 1584, he was a member of the embassy despatched to France to assess the possibility of a marriage between Catherine de Bourbon, sister of King Henry of Navarre, and King James VI. On his return home, Shaw was nominated to the diplomatic team to entertain the three Danish envoys on their visit to Scotland in 1585, ostensibly to discuss the retrocession of Orkney and Shetland but essentially to sound out the prospect of the Scottish king's union with a Danish princess. Danish noble Manderup Parsberg and Mecklenburg noble Henrik Below, both Councillors of the Realm, and jurist and law professor Nicolaus Theophilus wrote their entries in Shaw's

74 SSNE, ID no. 3522.

75 SKB, Ib 20, fo.200r '*Fulgeat Alma Salus*'.

76 Murdoch 1997-98, 166-71, in a similar vein redraws the supposed mercenary contours of Scottish troops.

album on 8 August 1585 in St Andrews, complete with their blazons.⁷⁷

Two days later, the Danish envoys had made their way to Dundee, en route for Denmark. There, ‘riding at anchor’, they duly signed the blank pages presented to them by Scot David Graham of Fintry.⁷⁸ Fintry was a Catholic Marian supporter. He became embroiled as one of the leading conspirators of the Catholic plot known as the Spanish Blanks, for which he was beheaded in February 1592/3.⁷⁹ One can only speculate what the Danish ambassadors would have been willing to divulge, or not, to Fintry, especially in the immediate aftermath of this diplomatic conference. Fintry’s relations with the Danish officials had a clear political potential, that of information gathering, fitting into the scholarly model of *alba* supporting a utilitarian, politically motivated learned friendship.⁸⁰

Returning to Shaw’s album, in May 1586, a new Danish embassy was in Scotland for the ongoing marriage negotiations. Among its members was Danish noble Christian Barnekow. Whilst in Edinburgh on 28 May, he quoted an adapted passage of Sallust’s *Jugurtha* to his Scottish host, Shaw.⁸¹ Later on, in 1594, Shaw once more welcomed the Danish deputation sent to attend the baptism of Prince Henry. Barnekow and fellow Danish noble Steen Bille duly adhibited their signatures to the page whilst in Stirling on 2 September.⁸²

Like Shaw, another Scottish diplomat took to the practice of collecting signatures. Sir Michael Balfour, later Lord Balfour of Burleigh, was the son of Sir James Balfour, President of the Scottish Court of Session, and Margaret Balfour. Michael was admitted to St Leonard’s College in St Andrews in 1589. Then, prior to mid-1592, Michael was invested as a knight and was a rival contender with Andrew Melville, Rector of the University, for the provostship of St

77 The existence of Shaw’s album has been known for a long time: *Memorial Catalogue*, 71. Shaw’s original album is part of a larger heraldic manuscript known as the Dunvegan armorial (1582) held at Dunvegan Castle, Skye. A facsimile copy is in the NLS, Adv. MS 53.3.13, fos.88r-99r for the album itself, and the manuscript has been lavishly edited by the Heraldry Society of Scotland: *Dunvegan Armorial*, 195-223 for the album, and 213, 215, 217 for Parsberg’s, Below’s, and Theophilus’ contributions respectively corresponding to Dunvegan Castle, Dunvegan Armorial, 576, 578, 580; and NLS, Adv. MS 53.3.13, fos.94v, 95v, 96v.

78 Private collection, Scotland, MS 468, unfoliated, ‘*starent in anchoris in portu dondinensi*’ also appears as ‘*in portu Taodumensi*’. On the recent auction of the album, see Lyon & Turnbull 11 October 2017, lot 296.

79 Mudie and Walker 1964, 8-12; Yellowlees 2003, chapter 7.

80 Keller 2011.

81 Dunvegan Castle, Dunvegan Armorial, 598; *Dunvegan Armorial*, 219. This entry is not listed in NLS, Adv. MS 53.3.13.

82 Dunvegan Castle, Dunvegan Armorial, 561, 563; NLS, Adv. MS 53.3.13, fos.89r, 90r; *Dunvegan Armorial*, 201, 203 for Barnekow’s and Bille’s entries respectively. The Danish visit is noted in Jexlev 1969, 102.

Andrews. In 1598, the Kinross laird set out across the continent, with recorded visits to France, Lorraine, Rome, Naples, and Tuscany. Balfour conducted four royal missions to Florence (1598-9, 1601-2, 1602-3, 1604) to seek a matrimonial alliance with the House of Medici. In parallel, Balfour travelled, under the direction of King James, to the Low Countries in 1600-2 with a view to purchase arms for a possible future war of succession.⁸³

Balfour's album is instructive on many levels. Its exquisite watercolours and gouache paintings are spectacular and would be worthy of a proper in-depth study alone. Among these can be found the painting of the horse presented to Pope Paul V by the King of Spain, and the copy of a Pietro Bertelli print depicting a famous Venetian courtesan. So, beyond the visual reminders of Italian tourist attractions, the album pictorially encapsulates the perils awaiting Scottish youths embarking on their Grand Tour, including spiritual and moral dangers, with Venice represented as sin personified.⁸⁴

Balfour's book of friends adds to our knowledge of the diplomat's European movements with recorded visits to Geneva, Copenhagen, London, Nancy, Naples, Padua, Prague, and Rome, among others, over the period 1596-1610. More particularly for the present study, these pages illustrated the envoy's peregrination across Europe in 1598, coming from Padua (in late 1596) and Prague (in spring 1597) to Denmark. He was in the Danish capital in June where, on 26 June, he met fellow Scot and diplomat Andrew Sinclair of Ravenscraig, then in service as Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Queen Anna Catherine. Sinclair penned his Latin motto for 'My hopes are elsewhere [in heaven]' and spelt his name 'Andres' on that occasion.⁸⁵ Undoubtedly during that same visit, and helped by his official position, Balfour went on to collect the contributions from the royal family itself, namely the Queen Dowager Sophie, King Christian IV and Queen Anna Catherine, Prince Ulrik and Princess Hedwig.⁸⁶

A rather shadowy figure in foreign court circles is James Lockhart. He

83 TNA, SP38/7, fos.62r, 68v, 232v; *Handlist*, 165; Mackie 1923, 272, 278-82; Mackie 1927.

84 NLS, MS 16000, fos.41r, 128r; Brown 2006, 15 and figs. 1, 5-10 for illustrations from Balfour's album including Bertelli's Venetian courtesan (figs. 5-6).

85 NLS, MS 16000, fo.70r '*Alibi Sperata Supersunt*'. That same motto, alongside Sinclair's coat of arms and that of his wife, Kirsten Kaas, still adorned the pulpit of the church of Rörum in Scania: Kofoed 1918, 132.

86 NLS, MS 16000, fos.30v, 32v, 33r. Anna Catherine inscribed hers with her acronymed motto 'R.M.H.D.D.H.G.' for '*Regiere mich Herr durch deinen heiligen Geist*' ('Rule me, Lord, through Thy Holy Spirit'). Princess Hedwig's 'G.W.W.S.N.S.W.' stands for '*Gott wird's wohl schicken nach seinem Willen*' ('God will make sure this [matter] will succeed well according to His will'): *Lexikon der Stammbuchsprüche*, 107. Prince Ulrik opted for French gallantry reminiscent of courtly love for his dedication, '*A tutele dames servir Mes pur une seule mourir*' ('To serve all ladies but to die for one'). Helk 1988, 8, only noting a manuscript in the NLS with King Christian IV's entry, but subsequently identified: Helk 1994, 196.

might have been Sir James Lockhart of Lee (d. 1674), as his early career has not been well researched. If it was him, he was born ca. 1596 and studied law prior to taking up a political career, representing the county of Lanark in Parliament in 1630.⁸⁷ Regardless of his true identity, this Lockhart was found in Elsinore in July 1617 where on 3 July, as a 'Scotus', he saw the German polymath Joachim Morsius and penned down on a white page the proverbial Latin wisdom proclaiming 'happy are they who can learn caution from the danger of others'. Underneath it, Lockhart provided its German equivalent. Most interestingly, Morsius added a note in Latin stating that Lockhart was a knight ('*eques*') and a gentleman-in-waiting ('*Aulic[u]s principis*') in Courland (western Latvia). This testifies to Lockhart's high social standing and provides additional elements to help identify this individual.⁸⁸ At a higher level, some pan-European events drew *alba* owners to them as witnesses to history in the making. One such occasion was the Thirty Years' War peace conference of the late 1640s. Further research could take that *alba* corpus and analyse the diplomats' contributions to reveal their main concerns and the messages these conveyed (peace, hope...)⁸⁹

One last ambassadorial contribution can be looked at. Unlike the previous diplomatic entries, the following one is unusual in that it is a drawing. Charles Stuart, sixth Duke of Lennox and third Duke of Richmond, went to Denmark as Charles II's ambassadeur extraordinaire to Copenhagen in 1672 only to meet his death later that year after an accident in Elsinore during which he drowned.⁹⁰ Jean Antoine Triboulet was from a privileged patrician family of Bern. As was common for young men of good family, Triboulet embarked on a study tour across Europe. From his album, we learn that he stayed in Oxford in the summer of 1671 and also visited London in early 1673. It is still unclear how Triboulet came in contact with the duke during his English visit. Triboulet presents us with this fascinating drawing of one of the Duke of Richmond's pages with the added note in French that the duke was accompanied by seven of them during his embassy in Denmark. The page is shown richly accoutred with a sword at his belt and a hat tucked under his arm and wearing contemporary Restoration fashion: a coat with either a doublet or a waistcoat underneath with a sash to match, all in gold braid or gold embroidery, a white cravat, puffed sleeves, silk

87 Lockhart 1993, 31-6; Handley 2004.

88 Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Lübeck, MS. hist. 4° 25, vol. ii, p.345 '*faelix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum*', '*Woll dem, der was einem andern geschieht Vernunfftig zu seinem Vorteil reicht*'; Schneider 1929, 94.

89 Dethlefs 1998, 289-320, though not exhaustive, Dethlefs' list of albums and album sheets can provide a sufficient corpus for that analysis.

90 *Handlist*, 38.



Figure 1: Album of Johann Anton Tribolet, unfoliated (Private Collection, Sweden).

stockings and petticoat breeches in the particular style of the Restoration Court. The shirt is voluminous and likely very fine linen, as is the cravat.⁹¹ Costume and textile historians have benefited from autograph albums as a source.⁹² Images of Italian women's dresses found in *alba* have exerted their mesmerizing appeal on and drawn the fascination of not just the book owners and their contributors but also modern historians.⁹³ Yet much more can be done along professional viewpoints (urban positions), national and ethnic ones (on Oriental outfits for instance).

Scottish noble women

Even though it was stated at the outset of this article that no Scottish album owned by women seems to have survived, well-born women nonetheless, at times, marked their presence in these little volumes. In a relatively rare instance of such a Scottish contribution, that by Brita Margaretha Hamilton deserves

attention. Brita was the daughter of Margaret Forret and Hugh Hamilton of Deserf. Hamilton played a major role in the Scottish community as a money-lender to fellow Scots on behalf of the Swedish Crown. Forret, Hamilton's first wife, died in 1653.⁹⁴ Within a year of her mother's death while she was still unmarried and, presumably, relatively young, Brita met Erik Drake af Hagelsrum. Drake was a military officer aged twenty-nine when he encountered Brita on 2 December 1654, very likely in Stockholm. On that very day, Drake also received the signature of the fifteen-year-old

91 Private collection, Sweden, album of Johann Anton Tribolet, unfoliated. Thanks to the owner for making the album entries and some of its illustrations available. There is a reproduction of the drawing in Bang 1972, 12 and see Helk 2001, 361. Thanks to Dr Sally Tuckett for her help with the description of the clothing.

92 Nevinson 1979.

93 Rosenthal 2006; Riedmatten 2016.

94 SSNE, ID no. 6386; Murdoch 2004, 92-3.

Eva Juliana Wachtmeister, the daughter of Hans Wachtmeister of Björkö, baron and cabinet minister (*'friherre'* and *'riksrådet'*). Brita would have been around the same age and it is conceivable that Drake saw these two girls together.⁹⁵ Hamilton wrote her entry with a forceful religious precept as she acknowledged, in German, that '[a]fter God and honour stands my desire'.⁹⁶ This shows that Brita managed to master the German language during her youth. British scholars could build upon the valuable work of Dutch scholars in this area to explore women's voice and feminine agency in these ego-documents.⁹⁷

Scottish clergymen

Various sub-groups accompanied soldiers to the wars on the continent. These have not been very well studied overall.⁹⁸ However, Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch have made contributions to redress that imbalance in their studies of military musicians and medics respectively in this journal.⁹⁹ Another group of Scotsmen supporting the troops was that of the army chaplains, although the Scottish ecclesiastical presence in Scandinavia predated ministers' pastoral role within the army.¹⁰⁰ One such was the Perth Dominican friar John Macalpine, also known as Machabaeus, who obtained his bachelor's degree in divinity at Cologne. Later, he fled into exile in England in 1534 when faced with judicial citation. By 1540, Macalpine left for Saxony and the Protestant University of Wittenberg. From there, he took himself to Copenhagen, serving both as a professor and chancellor at the University and as a chaplain to King Christian III. His son, Christian Machabaeus, is recorded in Copenhagen in 1554 and in Wittenberg the following year. Following the death of his father in December 1557, Christian pursued his studies back home in Copenhagen and later in Cambridge where he obtained an M.A. in 1563. Like his father, Christian subsequently secured a teaching professorship in the Danish capital which he held from 1565 to 1567. Thereafter, he held ambassadorial positions to Russia but also enjoyed ecclesiastical functions such as canon

95 The only dated entries for 1654 across the volume are located in Stockholm. One of them is dated a week later, on 9 December, in Stockholm: UUB, Y 38 d, fo.91r. The two girls' entries follow each other: UUB, Y 38 d, fos.22r, 23r.

96 UUB, Y 38 d, fo.23r *'Nach gott Und Ehrenn stet mein begerren'*.

97 For instance Reinders 2017.

98 E.g. Talbot 2007.

99 Grosjean 2016; Murdoch 2016.

100 Dow 1962.

of the cathedral of Lund.¹⁰¹ In June 1573, Christian was in Lystrup in Danish Aarhus where he met his '*amico*' Morten Knudsen, the son of the university treasurer and mayor of Copenhagen. To the future canon of Hamar (Norway), Christian left a comforting distich from Horace, 'If the situation is now bad and was so in the past, it will not always be such'.¹⁰²

In 1577, the German nobleman Otto Heinrich, Pfalzgraf von Sulzbach, was in Denmark. On 2 June, the Pfalzgraf met Machabaeus, most likely either in Copenhagen or Frederiksborg. With this high-born German visitor, Machabaeus shared the wisdom of Horace:

Fortune, revelling in her cruel business, and determined to play her high-handed game, switches her fickle favours, kind now to me, now to someone else. I praise her while she stays, but if she shakes her swift wings, I return her presents, wrap myself in my virtue, and go in search of honest Poverty, though she brings no dowry.¹⁰³

Later on, on 16 May 1579, Machabaeus met with Vilhelm Dresselberg at an unspecified location, leaving him three elegiac couplets in Latin in his album. This Protestant satire against Catholics roughly translates as:

When a treacherous cardinal takes away the water of the Word from his congregations when they are thirsty, or muddies pure streams, rendered distinguished by doctoral titles conferred on all sides and hymned by choirs of aristos and papists, or frogs swimming around in the academic pond, but frogs destined to be received into their sulphuric ponds by the Styx and Phlegethon.¹⁰⁴

At the time, Dresselberg was a secretary in the chancellery and holder of a deacon's land (*degnedømmet*) in Lund.¹⁰⁵ This might well be where the two saw each other as Machabaeus was a canon at the local cathedral, but there was much more to it. Machabaeus and Dresselberg actually sat

101 Christensen 1970, 137-8; Holloway 2011, 41-2; Murdoch 2006, 114-15; Helk 1987, 306; Durkan 1992, 326, 333-4.

102 CKB, NKS 365 8°, fo.52v '*Non si male nunc et olim, sic erit*'; Rørdam 1864-6, with Machabaeus' autograph listed at page 661.

103 WLB, Stuttgart, cod. hist. 4° 42, p.376; Horace, *Odes*, 214-5 '*Fortuna saevo laeta negotio & ludum insolentem ludere pertinax Transmutat incertos honores, Nunc mihi nunc alii benigna. Laudo manentem. Si celeres quatit Pinnas, resigno quae dedit & mea Virtute me inuoluo, probanque Pauperiem sine dote quaero*'.

104 CKB, NKS 904 8°, fo.36v: *Cum VERBI latices populis sitientibus aufert
Aut turbat puras perfidiosus Aquas
[Car]do sacer, titulis Doctorum clarus VBIQVE
Magnatum celebris pontificiumque choris,
Aut ranae lycio natantes gurgite, sed quas
Sulphurej excipient Styx phlegetonque lacus.*

This is only a very tentative reading and presumes that '*cardo*' here means '*cardinalis*'.
105 Bruun 1980.

together as part of the chapter of the cathedral of Lund, as they did for instance in May 1586.¹⁰⁶

On 30 April 1592, Machabaeus met Christian Paulsen Noviomagus, a theology student and later rector of Frederiksborg, at Sorø. Actually, Machabaeus had an existing friendship with Christian's father, Paul Noviomagus, court chaplain to King Christian III and later preceptor of Prince Magnus, to which he referred in his album inscription, 'in memory of my friendship with your father and as a token of the acquaintance I have made with yourself recently, but bound to endure forever'.¹⁰⁷ Machabaeus then turned to the early Church Father John Chrysostom for inspiration. In Greek, he warned about Man's sin and spiritual death as 'those who often sin and are not punished have reason to fear and dread. For the vengeance is increased for them by their present impunity and the long-suffering of God'.¹⁰⁸

John Forbes (ca. 1568-1634), a Scottish Presbyterian, was another clerical migrant. Forbes exercised his pastoral duties as minister of Alford in Aberdeenshire from 1592 to 1605. However, King James VI pressed for the re-imposition of Episcopacy which clashed with a Presbyterian party intent on keeping the autonomy and independence of the Scottish Kirk. Forbes presided over the General Assembly of July 1605 in defiance of the royal orders. This led to Forbes' exile, along with several other ministers, in continental Europe in November 1606. Once established in Zeeland in 1608, he ministered to the English community at Middelburg, preaching occasionally at the Scottish church at Veere and to the military congregation at Flushing. From 1612, Forbes became the pastor for the Merchant Adventurers in Middelburg until his forced resignation in 1633.¹⁰⁹

King Charles IX of Sweden backed efforts towards the unification of the Protestant churches then confronted with resurgent Catholicism. In November 1608, he arranged, in Uppsala, a religious academic disputation between Forbes, promoting a number of Calvinist theses, and his own Lutheran archbishop, Olaus Martini.¹¹⁰ However, Forbes had been in the Scandinavian

106 Rørdam 1868-74, iv, 346.

107 Kornerup 1982; LUB, Album amicorum of Christian Poulsen Noviomagus, fo.120r 'in memoriam paternae Amicitiae et recenter cum ipso contractae [uncertain word] sed aeternum duraturae significationem'. Noviomagus' album is discussed in Davidsson 1968, 39-41; *Corpus Alborum Amicorum*, 141; Helk 1994, 221; Helk 2001, 342-3.

108 'Οἱ πολλὰ πταίοντες καὶ μὴ κολαζόμενοι φοβέισθαι καὶ δεδοικέναι ὀφείλ[ο]υσιν· Ἀὔξεται γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς τιμωρίας διὰ τῆς ἀτιμωρησίας καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας τ[ο]ῦ Θε[ο]ῦ'; Chrysostom, Homilies, 79. Chrysostom comments on the story of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1-11).

109 Jong 1989; Talbott 2010, 203-9.

110 Grell 1995, 7.

kingdom for a while. In early September 1608, he was in Stockholm where he met Englishman Henry Francklin, court chamberlain and ambassador formerly in the service of King Sigismund III of Poland. Forbes duly inscribed his name in Francklin's album (6 September), underlining his character as 'Scotsman of Corse'.¹¹¹ In Greek, Forbes underscored God's omnipresence and man's sole aspiration in that 'God alone is all' which he also repeated in Latin. He then added the words of Boethius as the Roman senator-philosopher wrote of the opposition between natural law and the laws of individual nations, declaring that '[i]t is agreed that something is fixed and determined by eternal law, but nothing is fixed by the laws of nations'. The Scottish minister ended with the upbeat message that '[h]ope sustains the exiles'.¹¹²

Early in the campaigns of the Scottish contingent in mainland Europe, Sir Donald Mackay's regiment served the Danish Crown. In November 1627, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Munro took four companies of that regiment to garrison the island of Lolland (south-eastern Denmark). In April 1628, they launched an expedition against the imperial troops stationed at Eckernförde in Schleswig-Holstein. On that day, Munro's troops led the vanguard of the attack.¹¹³ '[H]aving put our selves in order, and dealt out Amunition, recommending the successe to the Lord, by our preacher Mr. *William Forbese*, companion of our dangers', they marched forward on the assault.¹¹⁴ Later on in the month came the defeat of nearby Großenbrode for the Danish king who ordered his troops, except two companies, to retire to Lolland. It was within this dramatic and gloomy context that we meet Forbes once again. Being back with the rest of his companies on the island and on his way to Copenhagen, he was visited on 26 April by a fellow churchman, Jørgen Sadolin, the local vicar. From his 'flying pen in pitched transit' on Lolland, the Scottish army chaplain turned to Euripides' *Phoenician Women* to express in a gnomic statement man's helplessness, in that 'one man cannot see all'. Forbes then

111 UUB, Y 52, fo.28r '*cutharisius scotus*'; Wikland, 1971, 217, and 207-18 for the album. Francklin is not mentioned in *Handlist*. In January 1603/4, Francklin was granted a Crown licence to travel abroad for three years with a servant and £150 sterling: TNA, SP38/7, fo.62v. On Francklin's album, consult Davidsson 1981, 26; Davidsson 1991-2, 8; Helk 1976a, 378.

112 'μονος τα παντα Θεος', '*Solus omnia deus*', '*Constat aeterna positumque lege est, ut constet, genitum nihil*', '*Spes alit exules*'; Boethius, *Consolation*, 25. The *Spes* adage was a popular one at the time which featured in Leonard Culmann's *Sententiae Pueriles* (1544) used by children to learn their Latin.

113 Murdoch 2003, 15; Monro 1637, i, 41-51.

114 Monro 1637, i, 51. Munro went on to praise Forbes in high terms, 'Here I must not forget the memory of our Preacher Master *William Forbese*, a Preacher for Souldiers, yea and a Captaine in neede, to lead Souldiers on a good occasion, being full of courage, with discretion and good Conduct, beyond some Captaines I have knowne, that were not so capable as he: at this time he not onely prayed for us, but went on with us, to remarke, as I thinke, mens carriage': Monro 1637, i, 52. Forbes appears in Riis 1988, ii, 119; Dow 1962, 66.

paraphrased Cicero, himself quoting Socrates, for inspiration recommending that '[n]othing is a shorter path to glory than that everyone should be truly what he wants to be seen to be'.¹¹⁵ As with the corpus of *alba* available to investigate the Thirty Years' War peace treaty discussed above, another pool of material can be collected to study the messages conveyed by the British delegates at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619.¹¹⁶ From the book of friends' origin in Protestant Wittenberg, one could be led to believe that confessionalization was a guiding principle behind an owner's choice of contributors. However, other non-confessional motives were also at play.¹¹⁷

Scottish scientists

The last group that can be studied in relation to *libri amicorum* are the scientists. A recent study has briefly surveyed Scottish medics in Scandinavia in the early-modern period, more specifically military physicians.¹¹⁸ Dr James Robertson was born in Perthshire in 1566 and went on to graduate as a doctor of both philosophy and medicine. Prior to the Thirty Years' War, he migrated to Sweden and obtained the post of court physician in 1611. Within a few years, he was promoted and, in 1614, became physician-in-ordinary to King Gustav II Adolf of Sweden. In 1623, Robertson opened his own apothecary in Stockholm. Robertson accompanied the king on most of his campaigns and was duly gratified with land and property in return. Beside his Crown properties in and around Stockholm, he enjoyed two manorial estates near Riga. In 1624, he secured the monopoly of the supply of all medicines within the royal palace which ran for several years. Although it was Robertson's financial difficulties which had brought him to court initially, by 1629 the Scottish doctor had become successful enough to set up his own business in Pomerania, in partnership with Jacob du Rees. With his financial success established, Robertson turned to his social one. In July 1630, Robertson secured a birth-brief from King Charles and was raised to the Swedish nobility. In 1635, he became a naturalised Swedish noble and was introduced into the House of Nobility. He went on to serve Queen Christina as her personal physician and named his eldest son after his employer, Gustav Adolf, and his eldest daughter after the

115 CKB, NKS 394 8°, p.257 '*calamo volante in transitu ponebat*', '*Legionis scoticæ ecclesiastes*', 'εὐς ἀνὴρ οὐ πανθ' ὀσά', '*Non est compendiosior via ad gloriam quam ut quisq[ue] talis fit qualis videri Cupit*'; Rørdam 1867, 173-8, esp. p.178 for Forbes' contribution; Helk 1975-6, 49; Cicero, *De Officiis*, 210-11; Euripides, *Phoenician Women*, 292-3.

116 Thomassen 1990, 140-50.

117 Ludwig 2010; Ryantová 2006, Visser 2008.

118 Murdoch 2016.

queen.¹¹⁹ It would have been at this stage, just before he was introduced to the *Riddarhus* (House of Nobility), that Robertson met Caspar Büsing senior, the son of a burgher from Stolzenau on the Weser River in Lower Saxony. From 1633, Büsing had been in Neukloster (south-west of Rostock, in Mecklenburg) to assist the local aging pastor whom he later succeeded. It was in that Pomeranian town that the meeting took place on 9 April 1633. To the theology candidate, Robertson underlined his position as personal physician ('*Medicus Cubicularius*') to the Swedish king. Robertson adopted as his motto a message from the Classics, which was also Tycho Brahe's, 'Not to seem, but to be', thus attaching importance to being truthful and faithful.¹²⁰ Robertson's experience fits and illustrates the broader medical world of seventeenth-century Stockholm where most medical practitioners were European migrants. Indeed, his venture has been described as the 'first grand attempt to expand the Stockholm pharmaceutical business'.¹²¹

There are still some difficulties concerning the identification of some Scottish signatories. One of them was a Thomas Burnet, '*Scoto-Britannus*', who signed the album of the Lithuanian Johannes Melchior Stawinsky in 1689.¹²² Stawinsky had matriculated at Leiden in 1684 for free.¹²³ Even when one turns to the matriculation registers of Leiden, the researcher is presented with the problem of identification as two Thomases registered at the Dutch university in relative quick succession, one in 1680 and the other in 1688.¹²⁴ Perhaps the latter is the one represented in the album. If so, then he claimed to be a twenty-one-year-old student of medicine. This individual can be positively identified as the son of Sir Thomas Burnet (d. 1704), a Montpellier medic and brother of the famous Bishop Gilbert of Salisbury. Student Thomas received his medical degree in 1691 and went on to become British King Charles II's physician. Burnet was one of Sir Robert Sibbald's collaborators towards the foundation of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. Burnet also produced the standard medical text of the time, *Thesaurus Medicinæ Practica*, running to twelve editions between 1673 and 1698.¹²⁵

Finally, a last individual will be studied as a representative of Scottish explorers. This group does not feature prominently in *alba amicorum*.

119 SSNE ID no. 1637; Robertson-Pearce 1970.

120 LBO, Cim I 254a, fo. 39r, '*Non haberi, sed esse*'; Büsing 1959, 6. See for instance Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 204-05.

121 Fors 2016, and 480 for quote. The author thanks one of the reviewers for this reference.

122 *Catalogue of an Invaluable ... Collection*, 141. The album is unlocated.

123 *Album Studiosorum*, col.665.

124 *Album Studiosorum*, cols.639, 699.

125 McCrae 2007, 20, 22, 37.

Following from these medical men, however, James Cunningham (d. 1709) stands out, as the earliest European to make 'botanical collections in China and whose rich herbarium safely arrived home'.¹²⁶ He was a Scot who studied medicine at Leiden in 1686. Later on, he travelled to and from the East Indies, likely returning to England in the second half of 1696. By then, Cunningham was already busily collecting natural curiosities and was in contact with Hans Sloane, Secretary to the Royal Society. Sloane introduced Cunningham to his circle of contacts, including the London apothecary and collector James Petiver (d. 1718). Cunningham notified Petiver of his intention to travel to China. His correspondent thus drew a list of the desirable plants to be sought in China and encouraged him to obtain drawings or paintings of the natural world (plants, insects, shells, etc.). The Scot left England in late 1697 as a surgeon in the East India Company bound for the Chinese island of Amoy (present-day Xiamen in the Taiwan Strait).¹²⁷ It was at this moment that Cunningham met David Krieg (d. 1710). Born in the Erzgebirge mining region in Saxony, Krieg went to study medicine at Leipzig where he additionally developed an interest in botany. In 1694, Krieg intermittently came to work as a naturalist and doctor in Riga until his death of the plague in 1710. When he met Cunningham, Krieg was also about to depart. In the early days of January 1698, Krieg sailed to the colony of Maryland to collect specimens of natural history.¹²⁸ Cunningham penned a Latin sentence to his fellow botanist while in London on 16 November 1697, which he took from Horace's *Epistles* in most appropriate fashion as it described '[t]he ardent merchant rushes to the furthest Indies, fleeing poverty through sea, through rocks, through flame'.¹²⁹ There is certainly more to be found in these autograph albums of scientific interest than Galileo's first drawing of a hyperbola (parabola), as important as it is, which appears in the album of Scotsman Thomas Seget.¹³⁰ The scientific value of *alba* has been driven largely by medical and pharmaceutical considerations, drawing strength from these volumes' rich iconography on the topic.¹³¹

126 Jarvis and Oswald 2015, 135. To date, his Scottish roots have proved elusive to scholars. His parents are not identified in Goodwin and Maberley 2004.

127 Jarvis and Oswald 2015, 135-6.

128 Tering 2015, 41, 59-79. Krieg's brother Elias had been a municipal notary in Riga since 1674 and a part-time organist. Incidentally, after his death, Krieg's widow sold her late husband's scientific collection, known as Krieg's *Collectanea Curiosa*, to Scot Robert Erskine, personal physician of Tsar Peter I.

129 BL, Sloane MS 2360, fo.7r '*Impiger extremos currit Mercator ad Indos, Per mare Pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes*'; Horace, *Satires*, 254-5; Lenz 1975, 115.

130 Gattei 2013, 352-3, 417, 419.

131 For instance Graepel 2016.

Conclusion

This brief exploration points to the importance of *alba* in the study of the relations between Scots and Scandinavia. This material is interesting because it is under-used and researchers ignore the presence of Scots within them. Like letters, this type of ego-document is particularly relevant as it presents the voice of Scottish migrants and settlers in its unadulterated immediacy. Rather than being confined to the outer edges of Europe, Scots participated in that mass phenomenon of album keeping that was prevalent in northern Europe at the time, not so much as album owners but as contributors. As demonstrated, the *alba's* relevance covers many groups of individuals (tutors, students, soldiers, women, diplomats, scientists) who interacted with, and experienced at first hand, that socio-cultural practice. This article has only managed to convey a limited range of interests which are present in *libri amicorum* which might be exploited by historians and those who specialize in iconography.

This rich vein awaits the researcher to nuance, amend and expand on the developing understanding of Scots abroad and, in the present case, in Scandinavia more particularly. These Scots in Scandinavia have left contributions in *alba* that are expressions of their status and self-fashioning. This projected identity as Scottish or Scoto-British is particularly interesting as the identity can be assessed over time (through several contributions) but also in relation to a perceived readership. Hamilton for instance steadfastly maintained and proclaimed his '*Danus*' identity. Scottish entries add to or rectify the biographical details concerning some of these Scots, and indeed facilitate the rescue of such fascinating figures as botanist James Cunningham from a relative historical oblivion. Moreover, for students, *alba* entries highlight linguistic abilities and put scholarly flesh on the dry bones of matriculation records, recording a few *bon mots* and an intimate grasp of the Classics. For other groups, these inscriptions demonstrate an erudition, primarily a classical one, and linguistic skills beyond the current historiographical and prosopographical knowledge concerning these migrants, most acutely, perhaps, about the soldiers, giving them rounder personalities beside complementing their service records. A fuller picture also emerges as regards the three Scottish owners of *alba* presented in the article. They were all connected with the world of diplomacy, either through their contacts (Shaw and Fintry) or indeed their own profession (Balfour). These *alba* clarify the relations between the owners and diplomatic envoys as a form of friendship based (in part) on political, utilitarian aims. This form

of friendship does not seem to apply to Scottish clergymen in Scandinavia. For them, the picture that emerges is one of individuals not ensconced in dogmatic reading of sacred texts but being able to summon classical and philosophical works to defend their views.

In addition, these *stamböcker* give a window into the world of understudied groups, such as women, young people, and servants. They help unlock the learning process, including that of women, and language training, and give the latter a voice which at times struggles to be heard in the scholarly world. *Alba* have helped preserved pictorial documents about these Scots on the move, beyond the portraits of successful achievers, to record attendants and their key role in projecting a visual grandeur and statement during embassies abroad. Albeit fleetingly given the constraints of this article, they establish contacts between Scots and Scandinavians, indeed with some lasting over two generations, that can be delved deeper into.

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