"Noli Me Condemnare"—Migrant Memories Set in Stone: The Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Memorials in Poland

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Abstract

In the early modern period a large number of Scots migrated to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Some stayed there for a short time, while others settled permanently and ran commercial business and practised crafts. The migration stopped in the late eighteenth century, and the Scots who remained seem to have lost their ethnic identity. Despite the fact that this once flourishing ethnic group is now long forgotten, we can reconstruct much about its past from external repositories of memory—memoirs, travel diaries, poll-tax records, parish registers, and council minutes. This article focuses on examining artefacts in the form of memories "set in stone", namely seventeenth and eighteenth century monuments belonging to some of those immigrants. I pose the following questions: What type of memories do the monuments personify? What can we learn about the people for whom the memorials were raised and about those who erected them? To what degree can data extracted from such artefacts assist us in finding out who they were and what they did? Could the knowledge contained in the epitaphs reveal the extent to which the Scots remained a distinct ethnic group and how deeply they integrated into the Polish society? By examining the memories "set in stone" comparatively, I will attempt to assess the value of such "contained memories" in recreating the past, especially when cross-referenced with other primary documents.

Keywords: epitaphs, memorials, migration, Scots, Poland

Until recently the Scottish migration to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth
between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries has received only peripheral
attention in the English-language academic works on migration from Britain. Apart
from a handful of Polish and Scottish academics, the general public is oblivious
to the fact that indeed during this period a large number of betterment migrants
from Scotland immigrated to Poland-Lithuania. While some stayed there for a
short time only, others settled permanently and ran commercial businesses and
practised crafts.

The migration, part of a larger Scottish mercantile expansion to continental
Europe, reached its peak in the 1640s. At that time the group consisted of 5,000-
7,000 individuals. Some Scots (or people of Scottish descent) were still active
in the Commonwealth as late as the 1710s. Nevertheless, assimilation processes
and decline in the inflow of immigrants—a direct result of a changing economic
situation in both Poland-Lithuania and Scotland and the opening of new
destinations for migration in Ireland and in the New World—led to the subsequent
halt of that migration. It also led eventually to the disappearance of the Scottish
ethnic group in Poland-Lithuania; the past of this once vibrant and flourishing
community is now long forgotten.[1]

Nevertheless, much detail concerning the history of that migration can be
reconstructed from external repositories of memory, a wide array of written
documents such as state papers, parish registers or council minutes, and other
artefacts. This article focuses on one particular kind of relic: migrant memories
"set in stone", the seventeenth and eighteenth century memorials and tombstones
belonging to Scottish immigrants and their descendants.

The iconographic and linguistic analysis of such funereal monuments poses a
series of important questions. What type of memories do the epitaphs personify?
What can we learn about the people for whom the memorials were raised and
about those who erected them? To what degree can this type of an external
repository of memory assist us in finding the answer to who some of the migrants
were and what they did? Could the knowledge contained in the epitaphs reveal the
extent to which the Scots remained a distinct ethnic group and how deeply they
integrated into Polish society? Can the memories "set in stone" help us broaden
our understanding of what happened to this diaspora, to the descendants of those
for whom the epitaphs were erected?

The most vibrant Scottish communities existed in Gdańsk, Elbląg, Warsaw,
Cracow, and Lublin, and also smaller private towns belonging to Protestant
nobility like Birże (Biržai), Kiejdany (Kėdainiai), and Węgrów. The principle of
religious tolerance enshrined in the Confederation of Warsaw (1573) allowed
the Scots of Poland-Lithuania not only to find common ground with the local
Calvinists, but also locations where they were more readily accepted and could
safely exercise their creed. Moreover, within the larger Reformed church, the Scots
were allowed to worship in their own way.

Although they may have been well conversant in their second language, it seems
that wherever they congregated the Scots still preferred to pray in their native
tongue. Thus they attempted to separate themselves from the larger Protestant
community by having their own preachers, communions, prayer meetings, and
conventicles.[2] Likewise, they showed a preference to marry other Scots and to
choose their compatriots to act as godparents. Due to this, they gravitated towards
a select few Evangelical Reformed parishes, places where they were able to meet
other expatriates and together form semi-autonomous congregations. There is no
doubt that the creed was the one particular feature that distinguished this minority
group from the others.[3]

The parish records reveal a dramatic decline of the expatriate community in
the 1650s. When compared with other state and municipal documents, the records
of the two Reformed parishes in Gdańsk suggest that one of the main reasons
for the subsequent halt of that migration and eventual extinction of the Scottish
ethnic group in Poland-Lithuania was the war with Sweden (1655–1660) and its
aftermath. The documents show that many of the Scots sided with the invaders. As
a result, a number of them were forced to depart with the enemy once hostilities
were over.

Their disappearance as an ethnic group in Poland-Lithuania may have been
also caused by: assimilation, re-migration, ageing of the community, and the
changing political and economic situation in the Commonwealth. The church
registers indicate that many of the Scots who died in the parishes were buried in
the parish churches or graveyards.[4] Unfortunately, first the war with Sweden, and
later numerous armed conflicts and disasters which besieged Poland-Lithuania
for the next 300 years, meant that many of the churches and cemeteries were
destroyed. Alongside them many of the Scottish monuments also vanished.

The findings in this article are based on an investigation of inscriptions from
34 tombstones and memorials representing 40 individual Polish Scots: 30 men
and 10 women (among them five children). Of those, 13 monuments date back
to the seventeenth century, while the other 18 were erected during the eighteenth
century. Of the 34 monuments, 28 have survived until the present day and were
examined *in situ*, while the inscriptions of the other seven have been investigated
based on the seventeenth and nineteenth century inventories (see Figure 1).[5]

The largest number of stones under investigation come from two of Gdańsk
parishes: St. Peter and St. Paul, and St. Elizabeth. The first of the churches housed
one of the largest and most affluent Scottish Reformed congregations in Poland.
Research into parish records indicates that at its peak, during the 1640s, the church
may have attracted up to 1,000 Scots. Between 1650 and 1800, a minimum of 150
Scots and their descendants were buried there. Smaller in size, and thus possibly
less prestigious than the former, was the St. Elizabeth church. Attended by the less
affluent members of the Reformed community in the 1640s, the church attracted
approximately 700 to 800 Scots.[6]

The monuments from Gdańsk share several similarities. First, apart from two
epitaphs written in Latin, all other inscriptions are in German, the dominant

Figure 1. Inscription on the memorial of Patrick Ogilvie of Birże recorded by Starowolski – S. Starowolski ed., Monumenta Sarmatarum, viam universae carnis ingressorum (Cracoviae: in Officina Viduae et Haeredum Francisci Caesarij, 1655), 309.
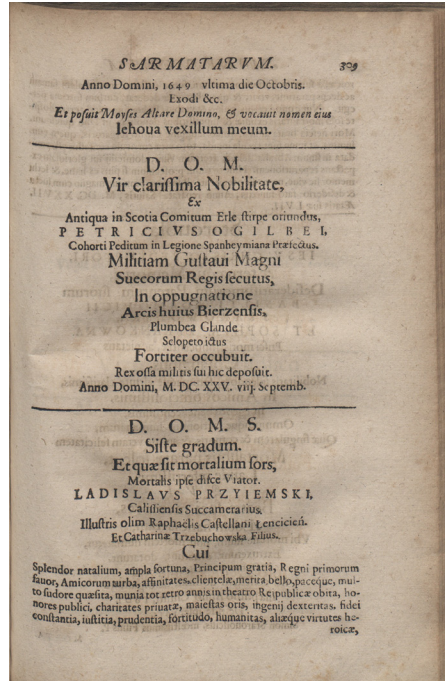
Figure 2. Wall memorial of George Moir and his wife Catherina Turner (1769), black marble, St. Peter and St. Paul Church, Gdańsk.

language in the city at that time. Second, apart from the richly decorated and inscribed memorial of George Moir and his wife, Catherina Turner, the inscriptions on the other stones are very brief (Figure 2). A typical monument consists of the name of its owner, a statement communicating that the stone is erected to them, the names of descendants *(Vor sich und seine Erben)*, a date of erection, and a grave number.

Finally, more often than not, a coat-of-arms or a housemark *(housemarke)* dominates the composition. Such heraldic displays, placed as a rule in the middle of a stone, are the only decorative element of the whole design (Figure 3).[7] Similar observations can be made about several Scottish monuments from the churchyard of St. Mary's church in Elbląg, the second most significant port-city of Poland.

Figure 3. Gravestone of William Clark (1683), marble, St. Peter and St. Paul Church, Gdańsk.

The memorials of two second-generation Scots provide a better indication of the social rank and the affluence of those who erected them, than information about the personal identity of the deceased. They are those of Charles Ramsay the Elder (d. 1669) and Michael Auchinvol, (d. 1704) (Figure 4), as well as a memorial of his relative, Thomas Auchinvol (d. 1755) (Figure 5). Like the epitaphs from Gdańsk, the inscriptions in German give very basic information. Only occasionally do the more modest memorials incorporate passages from the Old Testament.[8]

However, some stones were clearly commissioned to impress a spectator with the social rank or the wealth of the deceased. An example of the latter, which no longer exists, was the wall memorial of Charles Ramsay, once a Lord Mayor of Elbląg (1656). His epitaph, destroyed during World War II, consisted of important biographical details engraved on a red marble slab, enclosed in a luxurious sandstone frame, made up of rocaille, and surmounted with his prestigious heraldic display.[9]

Figure 4. Memorial of Michael Auchinvol (c. 1704), red marble and sandstone, St. Mary's Church, Elbląg (photo by M. Karaś).

Figure 5. Tombstone of Thomas Auchinvol, (c.1755), marble, St. Mary's Church, Elbląg (photo by P. Grdeń).

The monuments erected by the Scottish members of the congregation are impressive in their austere simplicity, and closely resemble tombstones of the local parishioners. Apart from the Scottish coats-of-arms, nothing else distinguishes them from the other tombstones. It should be noted that all Scottish names have been transliterated into German or Latin: William became Wilhelm, while John was transcribed as Johann. While this practice may indicate the level of integration, the display of Scottish coats-of-arms could be interpreted as a sign of distinctive identity.

It should be noted that of all the discussed gravestones, there seems to be only one stone that does not reside within a Reformed church, which essentially confirms observations based on other sources. It demonstrates that the best part of

the diaspora gravitated towards the churches belonging to the followers of
Calvin. However, among the immigrants there was also a sizable group of Roman
Catholics whose monuments are scattered in different parts of the Polish-
Lithuanian Commonwealth.

One of the oldest artefacts belonging to a Catholic Scot resided in the St. John
the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist Church in Vilnius. Although it no longer
exists, the memorial of James Arnott (d.1640), like most of other monuments
found in the Catholic churches, contained an inscription in Latin. The epitaph
gave much detail about Arnott's career and it attempts to portray his virtues.
According to the inscription he was a talented medical doctor, who at one stage
was a councillor in Vilnius. This faithful subject of King Zygmunt III was also
characterised as prudent, courteous, and a devout Catholic. The epitaph also
contains a note on Arnott's ethnic origins—*Natione Angli*.[10] However, this entry
is slightly misleading—after the signing of the personal union between England
and Scotland in 1603, few people in the Commonwealth recognised the difference
between these two "nationalities". It nevertheless signifies the importance placed
on revealing such information.

The expression of the ethnic origins of the deceased by his or her descendants
seems to be important to many patrons erecting monuments. Latin phrases
such as *Natione Scotus, ex Scotia, Anglico* or equivalents in Polish (*z Szkocji
r[odem]* meaning originally from Scotland and *z Wielkiey Brytaniey* from Great
Britain) appear on epitaphs of not just Catholics, but also Protestant Scots
buried in parishes dominated by ethnic Poles.[11,12,13,14,15] More often than not, such
manifestations of the lineage were supplemented by heraldic displays.

A notable example of such monuments is an eighteenth century wall memorial
of George Forbes of Chełmno (1704–1757). Its central component is a gold-plated
inscription engraved on a tablet of black marble (Figure 6). A funeral portrait of
the deceased has surmounted this plaque, decorated with a highly ornamental,
wooden frame. Below the inscription and the frame is a cartouche displaying
Forbes's coat-of-arms. The inscription itself is no less ornate. It lays out Forbes's
genealogy, his Scottish predecessors, his siblings, and even his brothers-in-law.

The epitaph contains information about his wife, two of their surviving
children (again the record is supplemented by information about their spouses),
and the names of the most prominent families of Chełmno to whom he was
related. The next section of the epitaph concentrates on a description of Forbes's
career. We learn that his wisdom, prudence, and righteousness attracted the
attention of the Court by his appointment as a Royal Secretary and he was also
active in the town council, first as its president, and later as mayor.[16]

Of all the intricate elements of this monument, its most interesting and
telling aspect is Forbes's funeral portrait, or more precisely a "coffin portrait"
(Polish: *portret trumienny*). This distinctive feature of funerary art deserves more
explanation, as it was a tradition virtually unknown outside the Polish-Lithuanian
Commonwealth. The portrait executed in oil on a hexagon-shaped piece of tin was
painted specifically for his funeral, most probably just after Forbes's death.

Figure 6. Wall memorial of
George Forbes of Chełmno (c.
1757), The Assumption of the
Blessed Virgin Mary Roman
Catholic Church, Chełmno.

Figure 7. Portrait from the wall
memorial of George Smith
of Chełmno (c. 1721), The
Assumption of the Blessed
Virgin Mary Roman Catholic
Church, Chełmno (photo by
M. Zieliński).

As the ritual required, the portrait would have been attached to the narrow side of
the coffin, where the head of the deceased lay. It was removed before the burial
and most likely hung on the wall of the church, before being finally incorporated
into the present memorial. While this custom was particularly widespread among
Polish noblemen, the most affluent members of the burgher estate also embraced it
as they tried to emulate the gentry.[17]

A similar coffin portrait also features on a monument of Forbes's cousin,
George Smith (1685–1721), a second-generation immigrant and likewise an active
member of the town council (Figure 7). A highly realistic picture, similar to the
other coffin portraits, was designed with the intention of creating an impression
that the deceased is participating in his own funeral. This was reinforced by the
depiction of Smith staring directly at the viewer. His strong features, alert gaze,
and expensive wardrobe—heavily influenced by the style of clothing worn by the
gentry—provides information not just about contemporary culture and Smith's
relationship with the host community but also about the deceased himself. This is
invaluable material as the painted inscription is now almost illegible.[18]

Another two impressive portraits are part of a richly decorated monument
from Chełmno: a memorial to John Charters and his wife, Jadwiga née Smith,
constructed about 1736 (Figure 8). The artistic programme of Charters's wall
monument closely relates to its wordy eulogy, which concentrates on a description
of the virtues of the deceased, while the description of his career and achievements
takes a lesser role. This particular feature is characteristic of monuments found not
just in Catholic churches, but also on a number of gravestones of Protestant Scots
living under Polish cultural influence.[19]

Figure 8. Fragment of the wall memorial of John Charters and his wife Jadwiga née Smith (c. 1736), The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Roman Catholic Church, Chełmno.

If Charters's memorial is one of the most lavish when it comes to the formal qualities, the most pleonastic is an inscription appearing on a gravestone of Alexander Chalmers of Warsaw (1645–1703). His epitaph reads as a plethora of virtues. First, the inscription alludes to the illustrious lineage of the deceased. Second, it extols the piety of the departed and especially his conversion to Catholicism. Then the inscription eulogises his career, his double election as judge ordinary, and four-time election as mayor of Warsaw. Chalmers's personal virtues were communicated as a set of metaphors based on classical literature.[20]

Chalmers was presented as an individual "endowed with prudence and skill in the conduct of affairs, a lover of public good […] a defender of the ancient rights and privileges of the citizens". As such, his life and deeds reflected the four classical cardinal virtues: temperance, prudence, fortitude, and justice. The former part of the epitaph suggests that he also exhibited highly sought after Catholic theological virtues of faith and charity. According to the inscription, his courage—a virtue highly regarded by the Polish gentry—and outstanding administration at the Treasury won him the commendation of the King and the post of Royal Secretary.[21] Whether all of his qualities were real or fictitious is secondary to the fact that the inscription helps to reveal what qualities and traits of character were generally valued in this particular period. It also shows which moral qualities were highly regarded by the expatriate community.[22]

The propagandist function of the funerary art can also be observed based on the monuments of the Scottish Protestants. One of the largest Protestant immigrant

communities existed in Cracow, then the capital of the Polish-Lithuanian
Commonwealth. The Scots were recorded there at least since the first decade of the
sixteenth century.[23] In the 1630s the group have comprised about 170 individuals
and possibly between 200 and 250 at its peak in the late 1640s.[24]

Only nine gravestones belonging to Cracow's Scots have survived until the
present. These stones are distinctly different from those discussed earlier. Unlike
the epitaphs from the German-dominated parishes, these stones and memorials
contain extensive inscriptions. Moreover, unlike the lengthy eulogies of the
Catholic Scots, eight out of the nine epitaphs have been inscribed in Polish, the
dominant language of the larger congregation. What is more, six stones have
been inscribed in verse. Such a convention indicates the acceptance of influences
stemming from the culture of the gentry and the practices of the local Reformed
church, keen to use the native tongue for evangelical reasons.

Figure 9. Fragment of the gravestone of John Taylor (c. 1716), marble, The Lapidarium, Evangelical-Reformed Church, Żychlin near Konin.

Conversely, apart from being written in verse and in Polish (Christian names were
translated from Scottish or English), there is not much else that could distinguish
the epitaphs of Wielkanoc from the inscriptions appearing on the tombstones
of Scottish Catholics like Arnott, Charters, or Forbes. The inscriptions typically
contain a brief biographical description of the deceased, a record of his or her
virtues, an expression of sorrow and a heraldic display of the deceased. Other than
the coat-of-arms, the Scottish descent was explicitly indicated in writing on several
of the inscriptions. For example, the epitaph of John Taylor starts with a passage

that declares that he was born in Scotland and only later arrived in Cracow (Figure 9). An analogous description appears on a memorial of Elizabeth Taylor. Both examples indicate that, despite apparent integration, the Scots wanted to preserve the record of their ethnic origin.

Yet, integration was inescapable. Local customs and traditions had an effect on religious beliefs and practices of the Scottish expatriate community of Cracow. Just like the Polish Calvinists, the Scots (it seems) came to accept elements of the Roman Catholic theology. For example, contrary to the Calvinist doctrine, some Scots were offered prayers in suffrage for the dead. The inscription on the epitaph of Catherine Paterson that asks bystanders to plead to God on her behalf corroborates this. [25]

The monuments also provide information on the Scottish women. Gathered from their gravestones it allows us to form some generalisations about their lives, their duties, and the virtues and qualities that they embodied. One of the most interesting examples is the tombstone erected for the earlier mentioned Catherine Paterson who died and was buried in 1637. Her marble monument is composed of a full-length standing portrait of the deceased and an inscription.

Paterson is depicted dressed modestly in a traditional female Polish costume consisting of a long, plain skirt, and a cloak. Her head is covered with a bonnet and a *rañtuch*, a scarf falling onto her shoulders. Her piety is indicated by the Bible or some sort of a prayer book held in her right hand just over her heart. The inscription placed under the portrait revolves around domestic responsibilities performed during her short life as a wife and mother. We learn that during the 16 years of marriage, she and her husband had eight children, of whom five died before reaching adulthood.[26]

A similar message has been engraved on a monument of Anne Forbes who died in 1702. Married at 19, she had 14 children, before dying while delivering her fifteenth baby.[27] A comparable fate awaited 28-year-old Anna Henderson-Lidell, who died in 1696 while delivering her youngest daughter (Figure 10). All three inscriptions seem to epitomise the fate of many women of their times: early marriage followed by a premature death.[28]
Despite this, these monuments were presumably not simply formulaic statements about death and memory. As indicated earlier, the stones contain deliberately crafted messages intended both for contemporaries and for future generations. The epitaphs were used to propagate a certain model of virtuous life to create specific role models for women. The good wife was to be pious, prudent, dutiful, and modest. This would manifest itself in her clothing, rejection of luxury, and a willingness to look after the poor. Above all, a good wife was also to be a good mother, giving birth and raising offspring, fulfilling the basic role of a married woman.[29]

Finally, the monuments dedicated to the Scottish Protestants of Cracow, Gdańsk, and Elbląg, or the monuments belonging to the Catholic Scots of Chełmno or Vilnius, show that among the immigrant community there were a number of

wealthy individuals. The monuments were expensive to construct, and only the
most affluent individuals could afford them.[30] While most of the prosperous Scots
lived in large cities like Cracow and Gdańsk, funerary monuments suggest that
some also resided in much smaller municipalities.

For example, four well-preserved, impressive gravestones can be found in
Węgrów, a small town located in north-east Poland. They are inscribed in Polish,
but their content is more like that found on the Scottish graves in Gdańsk. The
epitaphs include almost no biographical information, containing instead passages
from the Bible. The most elaborate of the four stones is the grave of the town's
mayor, Archibald Campbell, who died in 1692. Apart from a brief inscription of the
deceased, the stone also contains several quotes from the Old Testament and the
Campbell coat-of-arms (Figure 11).[31]

Figure 10. Gravestone of
Anna Henderson-Lidell (1696),
sandstone, Evangelical-
Reformed Cemetery, Węgrów.

Figure 11. Gravestone of
Archibald Campbell (1692),
sandstone, Evangelical-
Reformed Cemetery, Węgrów.
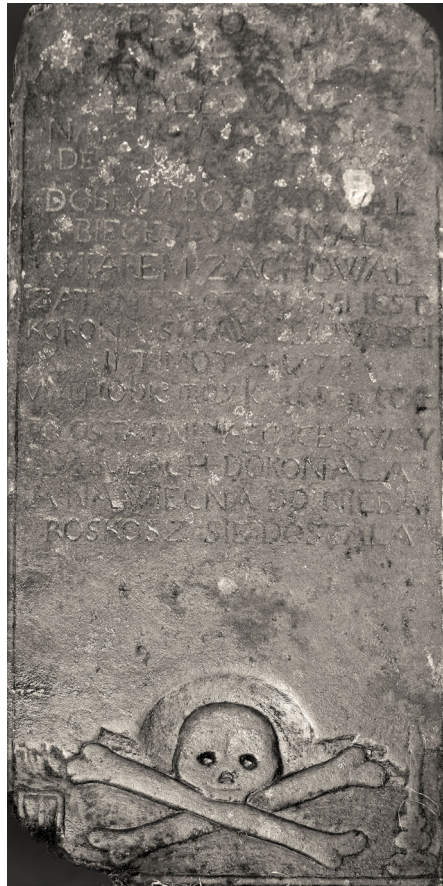
However, the most splendid and robust example of the funerary art is the chapel
erected by Robert Porteous of Krosno (1601–1661), a wine trader, regarded as
the chief importer of Hungarian wine into Poland-Lithuania in the middle of the
seventeenth century. His vast fortune estimated then at over £9,000, and amassed
during his lifetime, made him one of the most affluent Scots in seventeenth
century Poland. He was also one of the most notable Scottish converts to
Roman Catholicism, wholeheartedly embracing the new creed, and generously

contributing to the local parish. Not surprisingly, after his death in 1661, Porteous was buried in the church that he supported after his conversion. His remains were placed in the *Kaplica Porcjuszów* (Porteous's Chapel), which became a mausoleum for his family.[32]

Figure 12. Portrait of Robert Porteous (1661), oil on copper plate, Holy Trinity Catholic Church, Krosno (photo by J. Gancarski).

Porteous commissioned a portrait of himself to be hung in the chapel placed above a crypt in which he was later interred (Figure 12). The large oil painting depicts him as a distinguished, cultured, middle-aged man who gazes confidently at the viewer. As is characteristic of the portraits of the Polish gentry of this period, his pose, attire, and hairstyle demonstrate not only his extraordinary affluence and status, but create an impression that he considered himself an equal of a nobleman. Still, the portrait was not just about vanity. Porteous's piety is represented by the inclusion of a large crucifix sitting in front of him on the table.[33]

In conclusion, the monuments erected by the Scottish immigrants in Poland-Lithuania contain a vast array of "memories" that are particular to these specific artefacts. The inscriptions and imagery employed to identify and commemorate the deceased have been also used to immortalise the good name of his or her family, and to eulogise the virtues and/or deeds of predecessors. Apart from listing accomplishments, and providing genealogies and histories, the monuments offer a great deal of information about the social values and financial status of those for whom they were raised as well as those who erected them.

Second, the monuments reveal that the immigrants embraced many of the local stylistic devices and traditions. The ornaments appearing on the monuments, language and literary style of the inscriptions (or even distinct forms of the memorials themselves) reflect dominant, external influences. The memorials and stones found in parishes under German influence (Gdańsk, Elbląg) clearly display more ascetic forms and often contain little more than the name of the deceased. More wordy and elaborate epitaphs, frequently embellished with metaphors and references to antiquity, can be found on tombstones in parishes under Polish influence. Such epitaphs not only provide a record of the deceased but also often express the hope of the soul's happy destiny after death.

Taken as a whole, the information recorded on memorials allows us to enrich our understanding of this particular migratory movement. It not only helps us to advance our knowledge of particular individuals or families, but deepen our understanding of the relationship between the group and the host community. It adds human perspective to otherwise dry, detached entries in church or public documents and registers.

Appendix 1. Descriptors of virtues of the deceased as found in the epitaphs of Polish Scots

No.	Descriptors (English translations in parentheses):	Gender	Memorial/tombstone of:	
			XVII century	XVIII century
1.	Animo hilaris (cheerful)	F		C.A. Moir née Turner
2.	Benefaciens / dobroczynna / opiekun/-ka sierot (charitable)	F		J. Chatten née Smith
		M		W. Ross
3.	Casta, castissima (chaste)	F		E. Taylor née Forbes
4.	Charissima (dearest)	F		J. Chatten née Smith
5.	Corpore debilior (of weak body)	F		C.A. Moir née Turner
6.	Dilectissimus / -ma, dilecta (beloved)	M	R. Gordon	
		F		E. Taylor née Forbes
7.	Emerissimus /-ma (meritorious)	M		J. Chatten
		F		J. Chatten née Smith
8.	Feocunditate (fecund)	F		A. Forbes née Carmichael
		F	K. Paterson née Kin	
9.	Felicissimus (most happy)	M		G. Moir

10.	Fidelis (faithful)	M		J. Chatten
		M		A. Sommer
		M		W. Ross
11.	Honesta (honest)	F		C.A. Moir née Turner
12.	Humanissimus (educated)	M		G. Forbes
13.	Humanitate integerrimi (honourable)	M	J. Arnott	
14.	Illustris / sławny (illustrious)	M	R. Porteous	G. Forbes
		M		W. Ross
		M		
15.	Integer, integeritate (righteous)	M		G. Moir
		M		J. Chatten
		M		A. Sommer
16.	Lectissimus / -ima, ukochana (most beloved)	M		G. Ross
		M		A. Forbes née Carmichael
17.	Liberalitas (generous)	F		J. Chatten née Smith
18.	Magnifici ac exellentissimi (most excellent)	M	J. Arnott	
19.	Nobilissimus (noble)	M		A. Chalmers
20.	Pia, pietate, pietata, pobożny (pious)	M	J. Arnott	
		F		C.A. Moir née Turner G.
		M		Forbes
		M		A. Sommer
		M		W. Ross
		M		A. Chalmers
21.	Probitatis (upright)	M		G. Forbes
22.	Prudentissimi (prudent)	M	J. Arnott	
23.	Religiosa (religious)	F		J. Chatten née Smith
24.	Sedula (diligent)	F		C.A. Moir née Turner

25.	Suavissima (charming)	F		C.A. Moir née Turner
26.	Utilis omnibus (obliging to others)	F		C.A. Moir née Turner
27.	Vita moribus (impeccable character)	M	J. Arnott	
28.	Wspaniała matka (exceptional mother)	F		E. Taylor née Forbes
		F		S. Chambers née Sommer
29.	Wspaniała żona (exceptional wife)	F		E. Taylor née Forbes
		F		S. Chambers née Sommer
		F		S. Forbes
30.	Zelosissimi (zealous)	M	J. Arnott	

Endnotes

[1]The Scottish migration to Poland has been a subject of several publications. The most comprehensive articles in English on the subject were written by Dr A. Biegańska and Professor W. Kowalski, an expert on the immigration and integration of a number of ethnic groups into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. See A. Biegańska, "A Note on the Scots in Poland, 1550–1800," in ed. Thomas C. Smout, *Scotland and the Sea* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1992); A. Biegańska, "In Search of Tolerance: Scottish Catholics and Presbyterians in Poland," in *Scottish Slavonic Review*, XVII (1991): 37-59; W. Kowalski, "The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in eds. A. Grosjean and S. Murdoch, *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); A. Biegańska, "The Reasons for the Immigration of Scots to the Polish Commonwealth in the Early Modern Period as Outlined in Contemporary Opinions and Historiography," paper presented to the Scotland and Poland: A Historical Relationship, 1500–2009 Conference, School of History, Classics and Archaeology, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1-2 October 2009; A. Biegańska, "Kraków Citizenship and the Local Scots, 1509-1655," in ed. R. Unger, *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); A. Biegańska, "Certificates of Legitimate Birth (Birth-Briefs) in the Practice of the City Councils of Aberdeen and Kraków at the Close of the Sixteenth Century and During the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," in eds. Z. Hojda and H. Pátková, *Pragmatické písemnosti v kontextu právním a správním* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2008), 187-201. Cf. P.P. Bajer, *Scots in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries: The Formation and Disappearance of an Ethnic Group* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). A selection of works on the subject is also available in Polish. The most up-to-

date accounts have been composed recently by the earlier mentioned Professor
Kowalski. See W. Kowalski, *Wielka imigracja. Szkoci w Krakowie i Małopolsce
w XVI – pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (Kielce: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu
Humanistyczno-Przyrodniczego im. Jana Kochanowskiego, 2010); W. Kowalski,
"Robert Spens i szkocka gmina w Krakowie u schyłku XVI stulecia," in eds. B.
Rok and J. Maroñ, *Między Lwowem a Wrocławiem. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora
Krystyna Matwijowskiego* (Toruñ: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2006), 409-17.
[2]Quoting a bequest of Andrew Dunken ("pauperibus religionis suæ, utpote
Scoticæ"), Professor Kowalski contended that the Scots were well aware of their
brand of Calvinism. See W. Kowalski, "Scoti, cives Cracovienses: Their Ethnic and
Social Identity, 1570–1660," in ed. D. Worthington, *British and Irish Emigrants and
Exiles in Europe, 1603–1688* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010), 84.
[3]Bajer, *Scots*, 183.
[4]A deaths register constructed in such a way was put together in the Cracow parish
(1631-1656). See "Reiestr Umarłych w Panu y Pogrzebionych Ex Epitaph appens"
("Register of those who passed in the presence of the Lord and were buried,
taken from the epitaphs"), in "Księga Wtóra," Archiwum Parafii Ewangelicko-
Augsburgskiej, Cracow, fols. 141-49. Cf. "Collecta Zboru Kiejdańskiego: To
jest rachunek wszystkich recept i expens zborowych zaczęty roku 1628 dnia
20 novembra," unpublished print, Wilno: 1939, Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos
Biblioteka, Vilnius, Rankrasciu skyrius, Fond. 9–3040, 126.
[5]Information about epitaphs of James Arnott of Vilnius and Patrick Ogilvie of Birże
have been given in S. Starowolski, *Monumenta Sarmatarum, viam universae carnis
ingressorum* (Cracoviae: in Officina Viduae et Haeredum Francisci Caesarij, 1655),
235, 309. Tombstones of Charles Ramsay and Michael Auchinvole of Elbąg have
been described by Kownatzky, see H. Kownatzky, *Elbing als ehemaliger englischer
Handelsplatz; (Elbing) as a Former English Trading Centre,* trans. W. Baumfelder
(Elbing: Wernich, 1930), 27, 31, 32. The inscription from the epitaph of Alexander
Chalmers of Warsaw has been transcribed in ed. F.A. Steuart, *Papers Relating to
the Scots in Poland 1576-1593* (Edinburgh: Scottish Historic Society, 1915), 124-
25. Cf. W. Gomulicki, *Opowiadania o starej Warszawie* (Warszawa: Biblioteka
Syrenki, 1960), 234-35. Finally, David Morrison's and Robert Reid's marbles have
been copied down in "Stein-Buch oder Verzeichnis der Gräber und der darin
beerdigten Leichen in der St. Elisabeths-Kirchen in Danzig," Archiwum Państwowe
w Gdańsku, sig. 351/17, fols. 17-18, 59-60 (No. 27).
[6]Bajer, *Scots*, 182.
[7]The above-described design appears on stones of David Morrison, William
Clark, unknown Leslie, Daniel Davidson, Robert Reid, John Braun, and unknown
Davidson.
[8]The inscription on the tombstone of Thomas Auchinvol includes the following
passage: ICH SCHLAFE, ABER MEIN HERTZ WACHET (I sleep, but my heart
waketh – Song of Solomon 5:2). A passage from Isaiah appears on a stone of John
Slocumbe (1621) DIE RICHTIG FVR SICH / GEWANDELT HABEN, KOMEN / ZVM

FRIEDE VND RVGEN IN / IREN KAMERN IESAIA 56 – (Those who walk uprightly enter into peace; they find rest as they lie in death. Isaiah 57:2).

[9]A black and white photograph of the memorial was published in Kownatzki, *Elbing als ehemaliger englischer*, 27.

[10]This memorial from 1640 no longer exists. The original inscription was transcribed in Starowolski, *Monumenta Sarmatarum*, 235.

[11]"Gravestone of Robert Gordon (1663)," marble, St. Mary's of the Snows Catholic Church, Iłża.

[12]"Wall memorial of George Forbes of Chełmno (c. 1757)," The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Roman Catholic Church, Chełmno.

[13]"Gravestone of Elizabeth Taylor née Forbes (c. 1723)," sandstone, The Lapidarium, Evangelical-Reformed Church, Żychlin near Konin.

[14]"Gravestone of John Taylor (c. 1716)," marble, The Lapidarium, Evangelical-Reformed Church, Żychlin near Konin.

[15]"Gravestone of Alexander Sommer (c. 1706)," sandstone, The Lapidarium, Evangelical-Reformed Church, Żychlin near Konin.

[16]"Wall memorial of George Forbes," see J. Kruszelnicka, *Portret na ziemi chełmińskiej*, 2 Vols. (Toruń: Muzeum Okręgowe w Toruniu, 1983), 77.

[17]J.K. Ostrowski, "Portret trumienny," in ed. A. Borowski, *Słownik Sarmatyzmu* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2001), 152-55. Cf. A. Borowski, *Land of the Winged Horsemen: Art in Poland, 1572–1764* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1999), 279; A. Ciechanowiecki, "Polish Art Treasures at the Royal Academy Source," *The Burlington Magazine* 112(803), (1970), 120-24; M. Karpowicz, *Baroque in Poland* (Warszawa: Arkady, 1991), 68.

[18]"Wall memorial of George Smith of Chełmno (c. 1721)," The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Roman Catholic Church, Chełmno. I am grateful to Dr Marek Zieliński for his kind assistance with my queries and providing me with the photos of this and the following memorial. Cf. Kruszelnicka, *Portret*, 77; J. Nierzwicki, *700 lat parafii chełmińskiej* (Grudziądz, 1933), 43-44.

[19]"Wall memorial of John Charters and his wife Jadwiga née Smith (c. 1736)," The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Roman Catholic Church, Chełmno. Cf. Kruszelnicka, *Portret*, 82-83.

[20]"Wall memorial of Alexander Chalmers of Warsaw (1703)." Until 1944 this monument was located in the St. John's Basilica in Warsaw. The inscription has been transcribed in Steuart, *Papers*, 124-25.

[21]Steuart, *Papers*, 124-25.

[22]The idea of virtues was first discussed by R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1962). More recently the topic was dealt with by I. Kajanto, *Classical and Christian: Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance (*Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1980), 82-136. Virtues relating to women in the context of sixteenth to seventeenth centuries epitaphs from Cracow have been discussed by K. Górecka, *Pobożne matrony i cnotliwe panny: Epitafia jako źródło wiedzy o kobiecie w epoce*

nowożytnej pobożne matrony i cnotliwe panny (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo
Neriton, 2006).

[23]One of the first historians who looked at the Cracow's Scots was S. Tomkowicz,
"Przyczynek do historyi Szkotów w Krakowie i w Polsce," *Rocznik Krakowski*
2 (1899): 151-74. The most comprehensive and up-to-date accounts have
been composed recently by Professor Kowalski. See W. Kowalski, "Scoti, cives
Cracovienses," 67-85; W. Kowalski, "Robert Spens i szkocka gmina w Krakowie,"
409-17; W. Kowalski, "Kraków Citizenship and the Local Scots"; W. Kowalski,
"Certificates of Legitimate Birth," 187-201; W. Kowalski, "Szkoci na rynku
krakowskim w połowie XVII wieku," *Zeszyty Wszechnicy świ tokrzyskiej. Filologia
Angielska* 1(23), (2006): 15-38; Cf. W. Kowalski, "The Scots at the Cracow Customs
House in the First Half of the 17th Century," enlarged and corrected version of the
paper presented to the Polish-Scottish Relations 15th-18th Centuries Conference,
Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, 20-23 September 2000, 1.
I am indebted to Professor Kowalski for providing an offprint of this paper.

[24]Bajer, *Scots*, 197. Cf. P.P. Bajer, "Scots in the Cracow Reformed Parish in the
Seventeenth Century," in eds. T.M. Devine and D. Hesse, *Scotland and Poland:
Historical Encounters, 1500-2010* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2011), 65-68.

[25]"Gravestone of Catherine Paterson née Kin (1637)," sandstone, The Lapidarium,
Evangelical-Reformed Church, żychlin near Konin. Cf. Similar phrases have been
found on gravestones of other Polish Calvinists of Lesser Poland, suggesting
perhaps a wider acceptance of this particular doctrine among them – Górecka,
Pobożne matrony, 74.

[26]The inscription on the epitaph of Catherine Kin reads "… przez lat 16 znym
potomstwo miała / ośmioro dostałego pięć ich ziemy dawszy / troie iest
frasobliwych po niey pozostawszy …" ("… during the 16 years of marriage,
together they had eight children of whom five have died, and the three living ones
are now in sorrow…").

[27]"Gravestone of Anne Forbes née Carmichael (1702)," sandstone, St. Martin's
Lutheran Church, Cracow.

[28]The inscription on the epitaph of Anna Henderson-Lidell reads "… Po ostatniey
córce swey w bólach dokonała" ("After the birth of her latest daughter, she died in
pain"). See "Gravestone of Anna Henderson-Lidell (1696)," sandstone, Evangelical-
Reformed Cemetery, Węgrów.

[29]Górecka, *Pobożne matrony*, 123-26, 187-88, passim.

[30]Górecka, *Pobożne matrony*, 44-45.

[31]"Gravestone of Archibald Campbell (1692)," sandstone, Evangelical-Reformed
Cemetery, Węgrów.

[32]W. Borowy, "Skąd w Krośnie ulica Portiusa," *Ziemia* 15 (1936): 238-40;
Biegańska, "Wielka emigracja Szkotów," 111, 155-58; S. Cynarski, "Krosno w XVII
i XVIII wieku," in ed. J. Garbacik, *Krosno: studia z dziejów miasta i regionu. Vol.
1 (Do roku 1918)*, (Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1972), 209-12;
A. Kosiek, "Robert Wojciech Portius – krośnieński mieszczanin, kupiec, fundator,"
in ed. P. Łopatkiewicz, *Kościół farny w Krośnie – pomnik kultury artystycznej*

miasta: Materiały z sesji naukowej Krosno, listopad 1996 (Krosno: Muzeum
Rzemiosła, 1997), 193-219; W. Kowalski, "The Placement of Urbanised Scots,"
73; F. Leśniak, *Krosno w czasach Odrodzenia. Studia nad społeczeństwem miasta*
(Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, 1992), 123-24; T. Łopatkiewicz, "Kościół
farny w Krośnie najstarsza nekropolia miasta," in T. Łopatkiewicz, *Kościół Farny w
Krośnie*, 141-61. Large sections of Porteous's testament were transcribed by Sarna
and subsequently translated into English by Fischer. See W. Sarna, *Opis powiatu
krośnieńskiego pod względem geograficzno-historycznym* (Przemyśl, 1898), 494-505;
T.A. Fischer, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia* (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze,
1903), 101-08.

[33]"Portrait of Robert Porteous (1661)," oil on copper plate, Holy Trinity Catholic
Church, Krosno.

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