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A Fragmented Masterpiece

Recovering the Biography of the Hilton of Cadboll Pictish Cross-Slab

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Chapter 6

Recovering the biography of the Hilton of Cadboll Pictish cross-slab[1]

SALLY M FOSTER and SIÂN JONES

6.1 Introduction

The concept of a biographical approach to objects or monuments is not a new one,[2] as numerous recent publications attest.[3] Nor is it particularly controversial, if we accept that the meanings of objects change over time and that human and object histories inform one another. The concept of a 'biography' is used metaphorically to refer to these processes with respect to the material world. It also embodies a particular way of looking at objects, one that Gosden and Marshall characterise well when they explain that a biographical approach

> seeks to understand the way objects become invested with meaning through the social interactions they are caught up in. These meanings change and are renegotiated through the life of an object. Changes in meaning need not be driven by the physical modification or use of an object [...]. Meaning emerges from social action and the purpose of an artefact biography is to illuminate that process.[4]

Another way of characterising a biographical approach is in terms of the questions it encourages. These include conventional ones, such as, where does the thing come from and who made it? Why was it produced and what did it mean to the people who produced it? How did they use it and what was its place within society? But it also means going beyond the original or primary social and historical context of a thing to ask questions like how does its meaning and use change over time? Can we recognise distinct ages or periods in its social life? How have wider social and historical processes helped to transform its meaning and use and how does the object itself illuminate these processes? At a more personal scale, how do the relationships that people have with the object help to constitute its identity and their own? And finally, what are the accumulated meanings surrounding the object and how do former aspects of its social life inform its later biography?

The Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab has a complex and fragmented history. The detailed chronology has been outlined in Chapter 3 and we will return to this below along with any outstanding ambiguities and problems. However, the material biography of the monument can be summarised as follows. As a result of the excavations in 1998 and 2001, the Hilton of Cadboll Pictish cross-slab is now known to us through its massive upper portion, the newly excavated lower portion, 3370 carved and 4141 uncarved fragments. The upper and lower portions, along with the thousands of small fragments, have distinct life histories. From the excavations we now know that the cross-slab was erected twice at the Hilton of Cadboll chapel site, probably, in the first instance at least, prior to the construction of the visible chapel. There is evidence suggesting that the cross-face may have been damaged during the 16th century, and then, after the upper portion was broken off in a storm, it was reworked into a gravestone dated 1676. Following its 'rediscovery' by antiquarians, this upper portion of the cross-slab was taken to Invergordon Castle in the mid-19th century by the laird of Cadboll, Robert Bruce Aeneas Macleod. From here his son, Captain Roderick Willoughby Macleod, offered it to the British Museum in 1921. The removal of the upper portion to London resulted in widespread protest and it was re-donated to the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh within the same year. It now features prominently in the 'Early People' exhibition in the Museum of Scotland. Meanwhile, in Easter Ross, a full-scale reconstruction was commissioned by Tain and Easter Ross Civic Trust and erected adjacent to the Hilton of Cadboll chapel in 2000. The archaeological research took place between 1998 and 2001, leading to the rediscovery of thousands of fragments and the lower portion, which remained at the chapel site. In recovering the missing lower portion and thousands of fragments from the cross-face, the excavations themselves contributed to the ongoing biography of the monument. In a material sense they fundamentally altered the context of the missing lower portion and fragments, unearthing them so that they once again became a focus of human engagement, for archaeologists, art historians, heritage managers, local residents, journalists and visitors. The lower portion is in excellent condition and is still carved on both sides,

although it has lost its tenon due to a natural fracture associated with its early re-erection at the chapel site.[5] The thousands of small fragments have been removed to the Museum of Scotland, but the lower portion became entangled in conflicting claims of ownership and belonging and remains in the locality at Balintore to date (see Chapters 1 and 6.9).

Such a rich and compelling history cries out for a biographical approach. The Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab seems to 'accumulate its own biography'; a characteristic that Gosden and Marshall attribute to the Parthenon and its fragmented marble sculptured reliefs as well as the Bradbourne cross from Derbyshire.[6] The fragmented, displaced and contested life-histories of these latter monuments have a particular resonance with the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab. In his analysis of the cultural biography of the Parthenon marbles Hamilakis stands back from the restitution debate and illustrates the ironies and ambiguities surrounding their deployment in a variety of projects.[7] Not least of these was their contribution to the construction of classical antiquity as the cornerstone of Western European civilisation and the emergence of Hellenic nationalism, projects which interlocked with one another. Moreland's exploration of the biography of the late eighth-century Saxon cross from Bradbourne reveals how medieval parishioners, iconoclasts, and members of the 18th- and 19th-century antiquarian/archaeological community each 'contextually constructed their own monument'.[8] In exploring the biography of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, our aim is to reveal something of its rich social life and explore the wider social interactions and processes in which it has been entangled. The result, we hope, is a glimpse of life on the Tarbat peninsula of Easter Ross through the centuries as expressed through the relationship of its residents and visitors with a monument that is singular both in terms of its cultural significance and of our unique capacity to begin to tell its story.

We begin our biography with the 'birth' of the monument and its early medieval context, and then explore its active reverence in later medieval society. This is followed by an examination of a turbulent period in its life during the 16th and 17th centuries, which resulted in the fragmentation of the monument and creation of a chasm between past and present. Its rediscovery as a 'romantic ruin', a piece of national heritage, and a form of historical evidence, by 18th- and 19th-century tourists and antiquarians is discussed, followed by further phases of displacement and re-presentation surrounding its removal to Invergordon Castle and then the British Museum. Finally we explore its meanings and values in later 20th- and early 21st-century society. The approach is highly contextual. Every effort is made to situate our analysis of the monument's biography in relation to the specific social worlds that constitute different phases in its life. To explore how meanings are negotiated and transformed, we also need to consider all of the ways in which people have engaged with it, whether or not they are considered 'informed' or 'uninformed' when measured against scholarly orthodoxies.

Of course our sources of information and depth of understanding vary over time. To begin with we rely entirely on material evidence for our primary information about the biography of the monument and the chapel. Documentary sources and existing archaeological and historical research are used to set the wider context. The upper portion enters written history in the 17th century if the obelisk which toppled in the extraordinary winds of 1674 recounted by Sir George MacKenzie is indeed the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab. However, reference to it by name does not occur until the late 18th century when it is 'rediscovered' by antiquarians and travel writers. From this point onwards we have an increasing number of documentary sources pertaining directly to the monument, particularly the 1921 episode and the last two decades leading up to the present. For the modern era we also have folklore and oral history, with the addition of ethnographic material from 2001 onwards. This is the result of the fieldwork carried out by one of us (SJ) in the village of Hilton of Cadboll and its vicinity between 2001 and 2003.[9] We have endeavoured to complement this ethnography with visitor research in the Museum of Scotland, focusing on the upper portion and the Early People gallery where it stands. The evidence generated has provided new insights into both the ways in which people engage with the various fragments of the monument and the diverse, complex and often intangible meanings that are produced through them. In pulling together a range of sources that fall within the expertise of a variety of disciplines we have made every effort to be attentive to their methodologies and theoretical frameworks whilst also exploiting the potential of an interdisciplinary approach.

6.2 Early medieval Hilton of Cadboll: 'birth' of the monument

Late eighth-century Easter Ross witnessed the birth and use of a series of spectacular ecclesiastical monuments

that linked the length of the Tarbat peninsula. The sculptures from Portmahomack, Hilton of Cadboll, Shandwick and Nigg are the survivors of a short, singularly intensive period of intellectual and artistic creativity, outcomes of highly localised political and social circumstances in which considerable resources were directed to produce a coherent programme of quite outstanding monuments.[10] Their monumental context and artistic origins lie in the cross-marked stones and symbol stones of the area, some of which show a masterly control of the incised line in abstract and animal designs. While they stand out because of their grouping, their quality is paralleled elsewhere, and it would be a mistake to isolate them from the rest of Pictish sculpture (see Chapter 5). Stone and timber structures may also once have existed alongside the tall cross-slabs. This was no marginal or peripheral area. Indeed, it has recently been convincingly argued that Fortriu, the core territory of the Picts, was north rather than south of the Mounth, and we know that in the late 16th century, at least, the royal court was based somewhere near Inverness.[11] It should therefore not surprise us that there were people living here who had wide intellectual horizons and extensive connections and were active participants in the social and artistic developments that were taking place in other wealthy parts of Pictland.

To begin we will therefore consider our knowledge of the organisation of the Pictish church in the eighth century and the functions of cross-slabs. In this context we can then review what we know of the early medieval church on the Tarbat peninsula and the range of options for how this might have been organised, with its implications for what was happening at Hilton of Cadboll. Then we can begin to think about the realities of creating this slab: the vision for the programme of sculpture and its patronage, the procurement of stone, process of carving, and impact of the creation and use of the monument on its intended audiences (see Chapter 5).

6.2.1 The bigger picture: the church in Pictland

Our meagre knowledge of how the church developed in early medieval Scotland derives primarily from archaeology but also from documentary sources, place-names and sculpture. Ideas continue to evolve as we acquire more evidence or reinterpret the existing sources, informed by the ideas that are developing elsewhere in better documented parts of Europe, particularly Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England.[12] Parts of Scotland were certainly Christian by the late fifth century and thereafter we can trace a picture of Christian influences on Pictland from various directions, notably from the Columban church in the west, with its base at Iona, and the Northumbrian church in the south. Early Columban activity was probably concentrated in those areas under control of the sixth-century king of the 'tribes of the Tay' (Bridei son of Mailcon)[13] in territories lying north of the Grampians.[14] From the seventh-century writings of Adomnán the inference is that within about 50 years of Columba's death his followers, and perhaps those of other pioneering missionaries, may have organised an infant church centred on the Moray Firth.[15] From the earliest introduction of Christianity, a recurring feature is the close association between the church establishment and the local secular elites, a synergy apparently reflected in a correspondence between their mutual territories of authority.[16]

The early eighth century saw the establishment of a Pictish church in which kings played a more pro-active role (in comparison to what was happening in the Irish church). Religious and political motives appear to have lain behind a conscious effort to introduce continental liturgical practices and customs (as practised in Northumbria) rather than the insular ones. In around 716 Nechtan sought advice from Northumbria on how to make his changes of the Pictish church from Columban to Roman observance more effective. Gaelic Columban clergy who had accepted these changes assisted him in this process.[17] The conscious introduction of a reformed church may have been an effective way of consolidating and extending royal authority. It reflects the type of symbiosis between king and Church that was a recognised phenomenon throughout north-west Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries, a relationship in which kings came to recognise their responsibility to protect the church in their realms and for the spiritual well-being of their people.[18] Nechtan's reforms were apparently very effective. In northern Scotland bishop Curadán (Curetán) may have carried them out, apparently basing his mission at Rosemarkie, on the Black Isle, the next peninsula south of Tarbat.[19] Here the impressive surviving assemblage of carved stones includes architectural sculpture that testifies to the existence of a very elaborate stone church with a treasury.[20]

In practice we have very little reliable evidence for how the Picts and their neighbours organised their church in different parts of the country and how/if it provided a pastoral service for the wider

community.[21] It is realistic to assume that a diverse range of ecclesiastical establishments might have co-existed, including: seats of bishops (some of which may have been monastic); monasteries (of all sizes including nunneries), some of which might be mother-churches; churches dependent on mother-churches, some of which might be proprietorial;[22] free-standing proprietorial churches; and hermitages. As mentioned above, the role of royalty and local nobility in providing political and economic support (through grants of estates, assignment of taxes collected from an area or relief of payment from dues)[23] would have been critical, whatever the structure in question.

6.2.2 The role of cross-slabs in Pictland

The appearance of symbol-bearing Pictish cross-slabs is possibly a direct outcome of the innovations introduced by Nechtan.[24] If so, it is a measure of his success, for we may interpret their extensive distribution and content as a direct reflection of the support that local aristocracies were giving the church in their areas.[25] The extent to which much of their imagery (such as hunting scenes) is secular is now called into question (see Chapter 5).[26] However, the view that some of the symbols on them might represent Pictish names is gaining favour, [27] and it is recognised that secular rulers would have seen the advantages in being associated with such public monuments, even if the lead for their production came from the Church. As expressions of shared social ideals, there would have been mutual advantages in the ecclesiastical and secular authorities supporting their erection.[28] The evidence for the eighth/ninth centuries therefore points to a shift in monumental patronage that focuses on the embellishment of churches (the main focus of attention, but sadly something we know virtually nothing about) and their immediate surroundings (with sculptures, some of which have survived, and, we presume, other crafts that have fared less well). This is part of a wider phenomenon throughout the British Isles, where we see royalty recognising the propaganda value of associating themselves with churches and sculptures,[29] notably in the context of family burials, enshrinements or anniversaries.

But to appreciate the context of an individual sculpture it is important to know exactly where it was first erected and to understand the local conditions, since each circumstance is different.[30] When we look more widely at the early medieval evidence for how cross-slabs, and their Irish equivalent of free-standing crosses, were used, we can detect a host of potential contexts for cross-slabs such as Hilton of Cadboll,[31] for example, marking entrances to burial grounds or monastic enclosures, or areas of special significance within them (might include being within a church); focuses for worship in the absence of a church; in monastic contexts, a role in elaborate liturgical rites and processions as focus for prayer, confession and penitence, and so on; a focus for burials; to commemorate events; and to make a claim and validation.[32] So far there is no conclusive evidence in Scotland for cross-slabs being erected to mark the graves of individuals, although some kind of memorial function may be likely in some cases,[33] as seems likely for the inscribed Apostles' Stone at Portmahomack. As we shall see, we can suggest alternative and more complex functions for a cross-slab such as Hilton of Cadboll which reflect the complexities of their content, including biblical imagery.

6.2.3 The Tarbat peninsula: the immediate context for Hilton of Cadboll

Turning now to the Tarbat peninsula, how does the evidence for its church organisation relate to the above? We suspected a monastery at Portmahomack because of the inscription found in the 19th century and the large ditch seen on cropmarks to surround the church.[34] Excavations by the University of York have now produced good archaeological evidence for a substantial but undocumented Pictish monastery. This can make strong claims to be one of the early Columban foundations (an 'Iona of the east'), a site that becomes very wealthy and thrives until at least the ninth century when it, or a part of it at least, was destroyed.[35] We therefore have reasonable grounds for suggesting that this was the principal church for a defined region in Easter Ross. The present-day parishes of Tarbat, Fearn and Nigg were effectively an island at this time, and there is a suggestion that the whole peninsula formed a coherent monastic estate.[36] The location and extent of any monastic *paruchia* beyond this can only be a matter of conjecture. But we should remember that the peninsula possessed two later medieval parishes (Tarbat and Nigg) and Nigg is associated with two 'annat' place-names. There is some evidence to associate such names with future parishes; it certainly suggests that, when the name was coined (between around 800 and 1100), Nigg was a superior church in its own right that could have had a separate patron and local ruling kindred and community.[37] While the sculpture of the

peninsula suggests a very close relationship between Nigg and Portmahomack in the late eighth century, their evolving relative function and status throughout the early medieval period (indeed that of Hilton of Cadboll and Shandwick too) is far from clear. We need to be open to the possibility they formed a joint monastery at some point.

The relationship of the very wealthy monastery at Portmahomack to Rosemarkie, a possible early medieval bishopric only 32km to the south-west, is also highly relevant. We do not know if there was a church at Rosemarkie prior to the early eighth century (only archaeological work could determine this). We also do not know how the development of Rosemarkie as an episcopal centre, with its cult of Curádan (later Moluag),[38] impacted on the fortunes of Portmahomack and its associated sites.[39]

At Portmahomack we therefore have a context for the 200-plus fragments of sculptures that have been recovered, including the several fragments of cross-slabs that are on a par with Hilton of Cadboll in their scale, content and execution. The high intellectual content of the Nigg, Shandwick and Hilton of Cadboll sculptures alone argues for their production stemming from within the walls of an erudite monastery such as this. But, with the exception of the sculptures, we know nothing of what existed at Portmahomack's neighbours' sites in early medieval times, although the promontory of Nigg is redolent of the topographic location of early medieval monasteries elsewhere in the British Isles, the Hilton of Cadboll chapel site has amphitheatre-like qualities, and each is associated with later burials and churches.[40]

6.2.4 Hilton of Cadboll in early medieval times

At Hilton of Cadboll we have evidence for ninth-century activity of some type (on the basis of radiocarbon and OSL dates) and for pre-Setting 1 activity of an undetermined nature in the form of dated early medieval human bones, iron-slag that probably derives from redeposited midden and, interestingly, a dressed stone that may relate to a structure (see Chapter 3.5).[41] There is also a well-carved relief ringed cross (Chapter 7.5.1). Based on existing evidence, the simplest explanation is that the cross-slab was first erected in Setting 1. (However, reasons for modification of the lower projections remain unknown: see Chapter 3.5.)

The proximity of a holy well to the chapel site is very interesting in this context since early Christian sites were frequently located at places of earlier pagan significance, including wells, that might have been used for worship and offerings. There is a 1610 reference to 'Oure-Lady-Well', situated at the angle of the 'kailyaird dyke' occupied by Andrew Denoon of Balnakok. According to Watson, Tobar na baintighearna, Lady's Well, is known to have been near a small graveyard east of Hilton used for unbaptised children.[42] This seems more likely to be the unnamed well 580m north-east of the chapel (ie close to Lady's Rock 'under Cadboll') rather than that 290m SSW of the chapel.[43] None of this helps us to assign a definitive function to the Tarbat peninsula cross-slabs, but it further underlines the importance of being able to envisage the precise landscape context of a monument at any given point in time before we can comprehend the changing relations and meanings that adhere to it.

We do not assume that the monks found an uninhabited peninsula when they arrived here. A secular power centre at Hilton, perhaps on the cliff-top near the later Cadboll Castle, might also be a factor in siting of the cross-slab.

Carver has suggested that the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab was originally erected somewhere on the cliff above the chapel site. This is because he believed the cross-slab to have been re-erected at St Mary's and this led him to suppose it would have moved from elsewhere and, by analogy with Portmahomack, Nigg and Shandwick, the most obvious place would be a nearby hill. He also suggests that each of the Tarbat peninsula monuments might be 'seamarks and portals', boundary markers deliberately sited where they could guide travellers arriving by sea to landing places and an official reception.[44] Leaving aside the new evidence for early medieval activity at the Hilton of Cadboll chapel site, this does not explain why visitors might want to arrive here, rather than at the monastery. But such monuments could have acted as beacons defining the coastal extent of the monastery's estate to those travelling along the shoreline. This would be analogous to Ireland where they used (simple) crosses to define the lands over which a church might claim direct jurisdiction.[45] However, it is only in close proximity that the architectural impact and the complex messages of the cross-slabs would have been legible to the visitor. We must also consider who the audiences for these messages might have been: the monks, the local farmers, or visitors? Either way, were people intended to encounter them in a structured way as part of their use of a liturgical landscape (going from one to the other, such as at times of pilgrimage or in association with the events in the ecclesiastical calendar)?[46] Or

were they primarily intended to inhabit an integrated sacred and secular landscape, serving the needs of the farming community who would come across them as they moved through the landscape during the course of their work? Was a conscious decision made to appropriate places that were significant in the pre-existing sacral landscape (such as wells), transforming their meaning and use?[47]

It has been argued that these monuments are too elaborate to be simply prayer crosses, but that they could be mass-crosses, the types of place that later attracted burials and churches. An alternative model for the Tarbat peninsula is of a liturgical landscape that contains burial grounds and churches functioning in different ways. Each cross-slab also has a distinct function and is therefore different, but each glorifies the cross: Shandwick as a public focus for dispensing the Sacraments; Nigg with its a depiction of the Mass designed for the use of a knowledgeable community within an enclosed space; Portmahomack with its inscription to stand in a monastic church; and Hilton for a context where its deep theological significance could have been contemplated and appreciated (see below and Chapter 5).[48]

The slender slab from Nigg and the beautifully inscribed monument from Portmahomack seem likely to have stood in buildings, but we cannot say yet whether this was the case for the large, robust monuments at Shandwick and Hilton (although note the evidence for a dressed stone structure at Hilton, see Chapter 3.5).[49] With such different functions, the individual places could have had a role in liturgical events that extended across the peninsula and that were intended to attract external visitors and revenue to the monastery, as well as asserting the rights of the monastery to these rich agricultural lands.

6.2.5 Creating the Hilton of Cadboll monument

How then can we begin to translate our various strands of evidence into a story for the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab? We must start by envisaging a highly intellectual, extensively connected ecclesiastical world, fed by the support of equally well-travelled leaders, whose family members were often found in the most important positions in the Church. At Portmahomack, a wealthy monastery with a treasury and scriptorium decided to invest significant resources in the production of a group of highly impressive cross-slabs. Iconographic content, function and location within a defined block of landscape links these. The stimulus for their creation can only be guess-work but is likely to be a coincidence of highly specific ecclesiastical, political and cultural objectives. Possibilities include marking a significant ecclesiastical event, such as the anniversary of the foundation of the monastery or the death of its saintly founder and confirming an aspect of the relationship between the Portmahomack church and the local elite. The ecclesiastical communities could benefit the souls of the secular patrons, who in return could take satisfaction in dedicating their resources to such a holy work. The result, a bold physical expression of ecclesiastical identity, would distinguish Portmahomack monastery from its ecclesiastical neighbours, adding to the pride of the principal church and its local patrons.[50]

At Hilton itself, the result is that an artistic genius, aware of current, particularly east coast Insular, tastes, created a unique monument, the prime aim of which was to venerate the cross, the central symbol of Christian belief, and illustrate through complex iconography the benefits of Christian belief, such as salvation at the Day of Judgement. Such a creation will have involved much planning. Considerable discussion must have preceded the inception of the project to scope out who was to be involved in the project, what its objectives were, who was responsible for what, what the intended products were to be, and subsequently to agree on the finer details of every stage of production. Its apparent creation as part of a scheme leads us to suggest that the monastery (perhaps the abbot himself) specified, commissioned and directed the work, and his colleagues procured and monitored the sculptors. However, this does not preclude political patronage.

Whether the secular elite influenced the design of cross-slabs is a moot point, and the new art-historical interpretation of Hilton of Cadboll's back-face makes this more unlikely. None the less, hunting scenes do evoke an aristocratic ethos and may have also conveyed general meanings about the relationship of the secular and ecclesiastical powers in the context of the Pictish church as a whole, and the local church in particular.[51] And if the Pictish symbols *are* names (see Chapter 6.2.2), we have to explain whose, why they are included so prominently on such cross-slabs,[52] and what their relationship with the hunting scenes may have been. The designs of Pictish symbols employed on the Tarbat peninsula are of regional significance, if the surviving distribution of their use is anything to go by, and they are clearly invoking specific and important messages relevant to the local context in the later eighth century, as befits their elaboration (see Chapter

5.4.2). While the Tarbat peninsula monuments were created within a short period of each other, they each bear different combinations of such symbols, and thus by inference they name different individuals. Could these be the names of local aristocrats, ecclesiastics or saints who played a significant part in the life of the local church or helped create this monument?[53] If monuments with such symbolism are also in some way political and expressions of ethnic identity, the sculptors played a particularly important role in affirming the Pictish presence in the landscape.[54]

In this non-monetary economy our sculptors were presumably supported.[55] If we are correct in assuming that there was a close relationship between church and secular powers then joint 'ownership' of such ambitions might be a reflection of the *Realpolitik* in which the church authorities and secular lords provided mutual support and legitimisation for each other. Such co-operations could provide the networks by which well-travelled, high-status artistic metalwork, manuscripts, textiles and ivories came to fill monastic treasuries providing the material that the patron could admire and craftsmen could interpret, synthesise and make their own (see Chapter 5.5).[56]

The production of a sculpture such as Hilton of Cadboll required enormous technical skill (from the procurement and transport of the massive blocks of stone, to their dressing, erection and all stages of carving, including careful layout). It is likely that a patron in Easter Ross, probably the abbot of Portmahomack monastery, commissioned a master sculptor and his team to produce a programme of sculptures that would embellish his monastic estate. Several people would have had a hand in quarrying, transporting, erecting and carving the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, but our master sculptor had full control of the design layout, imagery and decoration.[57] The local secular patrons supported this project, and possibly assisted in some way with resources. Our understanding of how early medieval sculptors worked is poor,[58] but one suggestion is that such sculptural expertise, including training, developed at key centres as the result of localised patronage. The secular master craftsman and his team were free to move on to undertake work elsewhere once their contract was finished (the sculptures at both Nigg and St Andrews can probably be ascribed to the same sculptor with access to some of the same high-status models).[59] In this way sculptors brought their experience and were exposed to new ideas and sources of inspiration, resulting in further inventiveness.[60]

Prehistoric archaeologists increasingly recognise the importance of the act of construction of a monument in terms of the construction of the identity of the community who built, used and lived around it, rather than simply its end-use.[61] Similar processes are likely to have surrounded the production of monumental sculpture, particularly if it took place within the landscape (see below). Its likely intersection with politically motivated patronage and propaganda, as well as the way in which it may have been involved in appropriating pre-existing sacred sites,[62] suggests that such processes might also have been contentious and subject to negotiation. We do not know who lived where modern Hilton now is, or how large this community might have been, but we can infer at the very least a series of small farms, tenants who paid dues to the monastery at Portmahomack. Conceivably such dues might have included assistance with construction, such as procuring stone or timber, or helping with building projects. We must wonder, therefore, about their role in quarrying and transporting the stone to where it was carved and erected, and how they engaged with the religious enterprise that had initiated and directed its creation. Our sculptors may have lived for months in and around Hilton, sharing their life with its local residents, whether monks or local farmers. It is interesting to note how late 20th- and 21st-century Hilton residents engaged with the sculptor Barry Grove during the carving of his replica.[63] Who in the early medieval period looked over the sculptor's shoulder as the designs emerged? Whether or not they understood the multiple levels of meanings underlying the designs, and to what depth, it is likely that the process of carving of the cross-slab would have acquired significance and acted as a focus of social memory and construction of community. Although obviously located in a very different social and cultural context, these processes were certainly at work in relation to the carving of the Hilton of Cadboll replica (Chapter 6.8). Witnessing the process also provided the latter-day inhabitants of Hilton with a sense of revelation and growth as the designs emerged from the block of stone. Many other ethnographic studies attest to the social significance surrounding artistic and technological production and the metaphors of growth and transformation which often surround it.[64] For the early medieval context we have little evidence of the precise meanings and processes surrounding the production of monumental sculpture, but such analogies help to open our minds to the social realities associated with such an enterprise.

6.2.6 Hilton of Cadboll to the 12th century

The fate of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab between the late eighth and 12th centuries, and any associated activities around it, is inextricably linked to the fortunes and destiny of the monastery at Portmahomack. Since 13th-century sources do not mention a monastery at Portmahomack we can be confident that it no longer existed at this stage; rather, the documentary sources suggest that we would have found a parish church here at this time that served the area including Hilton of Cadboll. Working back in time from this is rather more difficult, for we know nothing about the organisation of the church in ninth- to 12th-century Ross and the ideas we might present for what could have happened to Portmahomack depend on our very shaky understanding of the politics of Ross during these centuries.

There are good grounds for suggesting that an effectively run Pictish kingdom may have encompassed both Easter and Wester Ross.[65] In the ninth to 12th centuries this was to find itself a frontier zone between the territories of the Gaelic Cenél Loairn dynasty (centred on Moray), the kings of Alba based in the south, and from the Norse who moved in from the north and west following their conquests of Orkney and the Hebrides. The chronology is not known, but it seems likely that the Cenél Loairn dynasty, who came from the south-west, were able to take advantage of the disruption caused by initial Viking attacks to conquer the whole of northern Scotland, including Ross, perhaps by around 870.

The area came under attack from the Vikings from the late ninth century, and by the late 10th to mid-11th centuries the dominion of the earls of Orkney and Caithness extended into Ross, where the woodland resources are thought to have been a particular attraction. During this period the province of Ross was effectively outside the Gaelic power structures that were being brought together to create the kingdom of Alba in the south. Norse place-names in the inland areas of Ross, including several settlement names on the Tarbat peninsula, seem likely to date to the period of the 1040s and 1050s.[66] The presence of a Viking hoard at Tarbat dating to around 1000 should be noted. The -bol of Cadboll is a *ból*, a 'farmstead' name, but the full derivation of the name is uncertain.[67]

By the 1070s Moray was under the control of the Scottish king, Malcolm III, and it seems likely that he also asserted power in Ross, probably through a provincial governor. But the 12th and 13th centuries were a period of strife in which it is clear that Alba's authority was contested by native Gaelic lords. This explains the absence of 'Norman' settlement in Ross at this time. However, by 1226 the situation had clearly changed when Alexander II established Ross as part of the Anglo-Norman world through his knighting of Farquhar MacTaggart as the Earl of Ross, an individual who appears to have had very strong associations with St Duthac and his church in Tain, only 14km to the west of Portmahomack.

Of Hilton of Cadboll itself there are of course no documentary sources. The archaeological evidence can be interpreted as suggesting that the cross-slab stood in Setting 1 until such time as it lost its tenon and was re-erected in Setting 2 (possibly after an attempt to re-erect it in Setting 1), just 0.3m to the west, its lower portion acting as the new tenon. Furthermore, if the monument had been erected elsewhere prior to our Setting 1 then this is unlikely to have been very far away. The nature of the fracture would suggest that the breakage was due to natural causes, and the dating evidence suggests emplacement in Setting 2 in the 12th century. We cannot tell how much time elapsed between breakage and re-erection, although the high quality of preservation of the carvings on the lower portion would suggest prompt re-use. We also cannot be sure of the original orientation of the cross-face. In the case of the St Martin's Cross on Iona, the figural face (back) would have been seen by visitors entering the church, its front face pointing east, but if we think of altars, on these the cross would have faced west.[68] The Shandwick cross-slab apparently survives this period intact and unmoved; the same may well apply to the Nigg cross-slab.[69] We can therefore contrast the scene here on the southern parts of the Tarbat peninsula with the north, at Portmahomack, where destruction levels incorporate broken, fresh Pictish sculptures, interpreted by the excavator as the product of ninth-century attacks by pagan Vikings.[70] The events observed here are far from simple to interpret. We know that the monastery on Iona and much of its sculpture continued through this difficult period, even if it moved its main religious base to Kells. Not all the fabric of the monastery at Portmahomack was necessarily destroyed at this stage, although that is the excavator's preferred interpretation.[71] One cross-slab had certainly gone before the 12th century (re-used as building stone in the church) and one in the earlier destruction levels. The Ordnance Survey First Edition map of 1872 records the site of a 'Danish Cross', thought to be where a Pictish cross-slab had stood,[72] and it is

possible that this cross-slab, or its base, had survived until the 18th century. Metalworking continued on the site until about 1000.[73]

More subtle, local politics might also provide a context for the destruction of sculptures at Portmahomack. The Cenél Loairn may, like their Gaelic neighbours to the south,[74] have promoted a particular saint as the evangelist for their territories, for it is suggested that Rosemarkie was adopted to become the main church of St Moluag.[75] If Portmahomack was indeed closely associated with Columba, we might wonder how the new secular powers viewed this establishment and its inhabitants, and what impact this might have had, particularly on the fabric of churches and sculptures that were closely associated with particular saintly or political dynasties – destruction, or at the very least, dismantlement? Equally, if the monastery at Portmahomack was to survive in any way into the 11th century, this begs the question of what the impact of the Norse was in this area, and whether they introduced their church here at all.[76]

The specifics of what happened to Portmahomack and Hilton of Cadboll therefore elude us. What we can see is that the fate of the rich sculptural assemblage attached to the principal church at Portmahomack was quite different from that of its neighbours, including Hilton of Cadboll. It may be that the Norse spared Hilton of Cadboll, Nigg and Shandwick because of the relative unimportance of these sites and their location, or indeed their importance to the local community. But, of course, we have no means of knowing what losses and destructions may have take place at these sites because only Portmahomack has had its church and a significant area beyond this excavated. Such is the context to consider the later medieval biography of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab.

6.3 Later medieval Hilton of Cadboll: active later reverence

6.3.1 Active reverence

To quote Sandy Grant, 'speculation is essential when dealing with the early history of Ross',[77] and our attempts to understand the specifics of any one, small place such as Hilton are nigh on impossible without more extensive excavation. However, we can state with reasonable confidence that the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, having lost its original tenon, was re-erected, sometime in the 12th century, where its lower portion was recovered in 2001. That very considerable efforts must have gone into re-erecting it is indicative of the value that the local community (secular and/or ecclesiastical) placed on this monument, despite the fact that it was 300 years old and damaged. We are unable to establish from the existing archaeological evidence whether or not the erection of the cross-slab in Setting 2 predates the construction of the visible chapel, but the excavator suggests this is likely (see Chapter 3.5), and the slab and chapel are not on quite the same alignment, which might also suggest a disjunction in date. This would therefore suggest that they re-erected the cross-slab close to where it had fallen because this monument was of particular significance in this particular place. This is most probably a reflection of the popular religious veneration still associated with it, as well as its part in helping to shape the personality of the place and its people.

Such demonstrable, active 12th-century reverence for an earlier medieval sculpture is difficult to find in Scotland, but the fact is how can we expect to recognise this? We can list plenty of sculptures which were clearly not revered, being quarried for use as building stone in later medieval churches or, as in the case of the St Andrews Sarcophagus, apparently buried not long after creation,[78] but recognising ongoing reverence (as opposed to passive tolerance of such monuments) is nigh on impossible unless they are constructed into later structures where they are still visible.[79] A possible example may be the cross-shafts laid in the basal levels of the west face of the east gable of St Andrews Cathedral, the re-use of which is possibly symbolic.[80] We can demonstrate reverence for some early medieval metalwork, notably the personal relics of saints which we find being patched up and/or incorporated within later medieval shrines (eg bells and crosiers), or indeed manuscripts in which important inscriptions, such as land charters, are later recorded. The *Bachul Mor* (Great Staff, from Lismore), Guthrie Bell Shrine and the Book of Deer are good Scottish examples of this phenomenon, which is better documented in Ireland where kings and abbots are known to have worked hand-in-hand to promote the cults of the saints associated with their territories, such as St Patrick.[81]

Stone monuments do not readily lend themselves to such physical phasing which, when it does exist, is more to do with loss rather than addition of material, although some reworking, as at Meigle and Cossans, may have been to allow the addition of decorative metalwork.[82] Likewise, detecting conscious curation, as opposed to passive or benign neglect, is impossible

if we know nothing of the archaeological context, and even then this may not be detectable (consider how we would have been able to interpret Setting 2 if the lower portion had not been there for us to find). We have consciously explored very few locations of *in situ* sculpture to modern standards,[83] and serendipity has not yet furnished us with other examples used in a later context in which they clearly still retained their full monumental qualities.

The types of early medieval objects that we know to have been revered in later medieval times therefore seem to have been those associated with particular saints (such as St Columba's Cathach). And they were the types of things for which there might have been a particular respect for the earlier workmanship ('the work of angels', in Gerald of Wales' felicitous late 12th-century description of an Irish early medieval manuscript). These were also the types of objects that famous churchmen might have made, which could have enhanced their sacred value.[84] Clearly a sculpture could not be regarded as a personal effect of a saint, but it, and the place where it was erected, are likely to have been associated with a particular saint. In this way certain categories of sculpture could have come to embody some of the symbolic powers of the saint in question, particularly if they were part of a consciously determined liturgical landscape, as we have suggested for the Tarbat peninsula. The loss of the religious focus at Portmahomack could even have enhanced the religious value of those monuments that had survived, for the local community at least.

Of the designs on the cross-slab, the Pictish symbols were long out of date, in the sense that they do not appear on monuments created later than the late ninth century, and it is guess-work as to whether their original meaning was still understood, or what changed values attached to these designs. The other designs may have seemed old fashioned too, but the Christian symbolism of the cross, and perhaps the iconography of other panels, would be readily apparent. The slab's outstanding scale and workmanship may also have been a source of continuing respect and awe.[85] The date of the Marian dedication of the chapel is unknown, including whether this association pre-dates the visible chapel.[86] Either way, whether or not the female on the hunting scene was originally intended to be associated with the Virgin Mary (see 5.4.3), this is an interpretation that may well have been applied in later medieval times.

There is no obvious liturgical significance for a chapel being located (6m) to the east of a cross-slab (or vice versa), although such a general arrangement is known elsewhere.[87] But we can well imagine how the massive slab would have continued to make a major impact in the local landscape where the presence of a small, simple chapel may have enhanced, rather than diminished, its physical presence.

While we do not know what direction people commonly approached the chapel site from, or whether the orientation of the cross-slab changed between settings, we can say that it is now the cross-face that would have been visible from the west, framed by the west gable of the church, and that the form of the cross could have been visible from some distance. Meantime, the symbols and hunting scene would only have been visible to those who walked between the monument and gable-end of the chapel – the significance of these designs appears relegated, perhaps due to dwindling appreciation of their meaning. The significance of this location would be enhanced if the chapel's entrance was in its west gable. (We do not know where the entrance was, but the RCAHMS survey could perhaps be interpreted as indicating an entrance for laity towards the west end of the south wall, and for a priest's entrance towards the east end of the south wall.)

6.3.2 Ecclesiastical and settlement context

As mentioned earlier, Hilton of Cadboll lay in the 12th-century parish of Tarbat. There was a second parish on the southern end of the Tarbat peninsula based around Nigg.[88] Both parishes were assigned to the bishops of Ross in 1227. The cathedral moved from Rosemarkie to Fortrose, a new site in the same parish. By 1274 the vicarage of Tarbat had been granted to the Canons of New Fearn, whose relocated Premonstratensian house, supported by earl and bishop, had lain within the parish since about 1238.[89] This is the context in which we might expect the later medieval chapel at Hilton of Cadboll to have functioned, as a pendicle (dependent chapel) served by the vicar from the parish church, or perhaps on occasion by canons from the abbey. Since the chapel is unexcavated we cannot be sure whether it was built before or after the parish's association with Fearn Abbey. Very little of the medieval cemetery has been excavated, but the evidence to date is predominantly for child burial.

The chapel at Hilton is the only visible survivor of a 'comparatively large' number of sacred sites known, or thought, to have been on the Tarbat peninsula in later medieval times, some of which may be associated with

local aristocratic residences.[90] Of these, only Hilton still has visible medieval remains, although St Mary's, by Cadbollmount (illus 1.2b), was still visible in the mid-19th century.[91] It therefore appears they built a stone chapel at a place of continuing religious significance, 6m away from an earlier monument that they continued to revere. The siting of later churches and chapels apparently reflects the continuing significance of all the earlier monuments of the Tarbat ecclesiastical landscape. In later medieval times Nigg was associated with the bishops of Ross and their demesne lands,[92] further fuelling speculation that the early medieval foundation here was particularly significant.

The precise status of the chapel at Hilton through time is confused because of the blurry nature of the documentary sources. These do not distinguish which St Mary's Chapel they are talking about (as noted above, there was a second near Cadbollmount, 2.5 km to the north-north-east of the chapel at Hilton, that is thought to be the St Mary's confirmed to Fearn by Pope Clement VII in 1529)[93] and they name various Cadboll settlements in the immediate vicinity. Records after 1478 refer to Catboll or Cadboll, Wester Catboll, Catboll-abbot and Catboll-fisher (with further variations on spellings).[94] The lands of Cadboll were divided in the 13th century between Fearn Abbey and chaplains serving altars in Elgin at the cathedral kirk of Moray. The question is which of the lands referred to relate to Fearn and which to Moray, and on which does the chapel at Hilton lie (and why is there so much interest in this particular stretch of coast)? Cadboll Castle was certainly on lands held from the chaplains of Moray, and it is suggested that the other three names are designations of a Cadboll belonging to the abbot of Fearn. This division of land seems to have caused long-running disputes about who owned land in Cadboll, as we can see in the 16th- and 17th-century records of *The Calendar of Fearn*.[95] In relation to modern settlement, Balintore is associated on later maps with Abbotshaven,[96] and is therefore perhaps Catboll-abbot, while Wester Catboll/Catboll-fisher seems likely to have been near modern Hilton. Even in medieval times, the settlement here may have had a cliff-top (as the name suggests) and coastal component.[97] Geophysical survey conducted by Carver revealed a concentration of features to the north of the chapel which may represent the remains of Catboll-fisher,[98] and medieval finds from the chapel excavations certainly suggest that there was some domestic activity not far away. It is reasonable to assume that the chapel was located here because there was a community whose religious needs had to be provided for.

In terms of understanding the local landscape of the chapel and cross-slab in the later medieval period uncertainties must therefore remain. We do not know how far back in time any of the named Cadboll settlements go, although medieval pottery from the chapel excavations may be at least as early as the 13th century. We also do not know whether the chapel was directly associated with the lands of Wester Catboll/Catboll-fisher or in fact had a connection with Cadboll itself, where the local lords lived. This affects whether it lay in lands owned by Fearn Abbey or the bishops of Moray. The former seems more likely if the chapel was supported by, and served the needs of, the local community, functioning as a dependent of the parish church at Tarbat; the latter if it fulfilled a proprietorial function. The 1561–6 rental of the Abbey states:

> The mylne and otheris landis quhilkis are not sett in few payis as efter followis – … Item the fisharis aucht akeris of land, quhilk newer payit ane penny, bot giwin to thaim to dwell upon for furnishing of fishe to the place and cuntrie upon the cuntries expenss.

Local tradition has it that the chapel, which lies on open land now known locally as the 'Park', lies within the eight acres for which dues to the Abbey were exempted.[99] If correct, this would confirm the association of this area of land with Catboll-fisher. Either way, by 1643, after many transfers of the Abbey's land following the Reformation, the lands of Catboll-fisher became part of the barony of Cadboll, held by the Sinclair family who had earlier acquired the late medieval tower-house at Cadboll,[100] one of nine sub-medieval lordships in Tarbat parish before 1628.[101]

Only further excavation will be able to tell us if the chapel at Hilton continued in active use as a working chapel until the Reformation. As expected, Fearn Abbey ceased to exist as a working religious house after 1560 though it continued to act as a land-holding corporation (see discussion in next section).[102] Whatever the use of the chapel, the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab stood beside it up to and beyond the Reformation. The altered meanings that attached to the designs on the cross-slab during the later medieval period must remain a matter of speculation. Our only detailed and direct indication of how the sculpture's content might have been viewed is to be inferred from the damage apparently meted out to its cross-face during the 16th-century Reformation.


VEIL
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6.4 An act of Reformation? Defacement and re-use in the 16th and 17th centuries

During the early modern period the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab was fundamentally altered, materially and socially, by a series of events resulting in its physical transformation and fragmentation. In his *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland*, Hugh Miller (see Chapter 2 and 6.5 below), offered a scathing retrospective account of the fate that befell the cross-slab:

> The obelisk at Hilton, though perhaps the most elegant of its class in Scotland, is less known than any of the other two [Shandwick and Nigg], and it has fared more hardly. For, about two centuries ago, it was taken down by some barbarous mason of Ross, who converted it into a tombstone, and erasing the mysterious hieroglyphics of one of the sides, engraved on the place which they had occupied a rude shield and label, and the following laughable inscription; no bad specimen, bye the bye, of the *taste and judgement which could destroy so interesting a monument* [...]
>
> HE THAT LIVES WEIL DYES WEIL SAYES SOLOMON THE WISE
> HEIR LYES ALEXANDER DUFF AND HIS THRIE WIVES [1676][103]

As can be seen, the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab stands testimony to this physical transformation. The back face has been re-dressed and inscribed with the following inscription: 'VEIL/HE THATLEIVESVEILDOOES/SAYETHSOLOMON THE VYSE/HEIR LYES ALEXANDER DVF AND HIS THREE WYVES 1676' (illus 6.1). Beneath the inscription is a quartered coat of arms flanked by letters (A DVF/KS/CV/HV), which represent the name of Alexander Duff and the initials of his wives.[104] Faced with this physical evidence, many have assumed, as Miller does, that the felling, defacement, re-dressing and inscription of the monument were all part of a single event carried out by Duff's 'barbarous mason'.[105] Furthermore, these actions have often been judged by later standards and condemned as representing vulgar taste and judgement and/or a crude utilitarianism.[106] As we shall see, however, Duff's actions were by no means out of keeping with those of his contemporaries. Rather than simply a poor act of taste and judgement his appropriation of the cross-slab was informed by shifts in religious doctrine, which resulted in changes in the significance of medieval sculpture, as well as changing forms of burial and memorialisation.

Illustration 6.1
Duff inscription and coat of arms (© Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland)

The archaeological research carried out in 2001 reveals that the events surrounding the cross-slab during this period were more complex than previously thought and probably involved two or three separate incidents, rather than a single act of re-use. As discussed above, the Premonstratensian Abbey at Fearn had ceased working as a religious house after 1560, but it is unclear at what point the pendicle chapel at Hilton declined and went out of use, or precisely how it related to the Abbey. As regards the cross-slab, archaeological evidence suggests that there were three phases of activity dating to some time in the 16th and/or 17th centuries.[107] First, there was an unsuccessful attempt to dig up the cross-slab up, as evidenced by a pit cut down alongside its western face.[108] This was followed by some selective defacement of the cross-face whilst the cross-slab remained upright resulting in a distinct concentration of fragments around the base and within the pit. This activity has been dated to the late 16th century using the OSL dating technique (Chapter 7.3.2). Finally, after the cross-slab had broken across its body and the upper portion had fallen in the direction of the chapel onto its back-face, the entire cross-face was re-dressed and the burial memorial inscribed. Whether the cross-slab had been deliberately broken off/chopped down, leaving the lower portion in the ground, or whether it had broken due to natural causes was initially unclear. However, subsequent expert examination of the fracture suggests that it snapped under pressure and is thus consistent with a natural breakage.[109] Furthermore, the serendipitous discovery of a letter[110] from Sir George MacKenzie (later Viscount Tarbat and 1st Earl of Cromarty) to Mr James Gregory, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Edinburgh, dated 16th January 1675, suggests natural causes. Reporting that 'the wind here on 21 December last [1674], was extraordinary' he goes on to note that

> it broke a standard-stone that stood as an obelisk near an old church it was high about 12 foot, broad 5 and towards two foot thick whole woods are overturned and torn from the root, albeit in a low situation it blew from northwest and of a long time the wind had continued westerly.[111]

The letter goes on to discuss equipment for studying wind and unfortunately does not provide any further

information as to the identity of the obelisk concerned. Nevertheless, the dimensions provided, the context, the location, and the date, suggest that it probably was the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab.[112] There would be few obelisks of similar dimensions in the area that would have stood near an old church and the timing of the event just a year or so before the date of Duff's inscription strongly supports such an interpretation.

The new archaeological and documentary evidence has important implications. It suggests that Duff did not have the monument taken down for the purposes of re-use as a burial memorial; rather he appropriated a prostrate and already damaged piece of sculpture. It also suggests that the activities surrounding the cross-slab whilst it remained upright, the excavation of the pit and the first phase of defacement, may possibly have been discrete events. Thus, someone other than Duff may have taken an active interest in the monument prior to the storm damage of 1674. This may have been in the same year, but may also have been considerably earlier, perhaps in the late 16th or early 17th centuries if the OSL date is reliable.[113] The significance of these events surrounding the monument, and the question of how interconnected they all were, will be discussed in more detail below. Furthermore, the question of who Alexander Duff and his three wives were, why they might have selected the monument as a burial memorial, and where they were ultimately buried, will be explored. First, however, it is important to examine the wider social and historical contexts which might have informed the abandonment of the chapel and the appropriation of the cross-slab as a personal memorial; one that involved the removal of its most sacred religious symbol, the cross.

The early modern period saw radical changes in religious doctrine and practice associated with the Reformation, which spread across central and north-western Europe during the 16th century. Crystallised by Martin Luther's protest in 1517, the Protestant religious movement emerged, marking a split with Rome and the beginnings of a long-running conflict with Catholicism. To reform the church it was deemed necessary to dismantle its liturgical and physical structure, which was manifested in a wealth of ecclesiastical art and architecture.[114] This was justified in part by adopting a more literal interpretation of the biblical prohibition on images[115] resulting in varying degrees of iconoclasm, although not all branches of the reformed church rejected imagery outright. Thus, as Moreland points out, images such as the cross, which had been regarded as sacred in the Middle Ages, imbued with the power to counteract evil and facilitate salvation of the soul, became regarded, by some at least, as objects of idolatry and superstition which needed to be destroyed or desacralised and put to profane use.[116]

The degree to which Protestantism took hold, and the forms of material destruction associated with it, varied between countries and within them. In Scotland, the crisis of the Reformation is usually associated with the events of 1559–60, but Lutheran influence was evident from the 1520s and 'reforms' went on throughout the later 16th and into the early 17th century. Iconoclasm was widespread around the crisis, with a further wave associated with the Covenanting movement of the 1630s and 1640s.[117] Religious houses were 'cleansed' through acts of destruction against altars, pictures, statues, books, tombs and windows, and in some cases the very fabric of the buildings was 'cast down'.[118] However, support for Protestant reforms, including destruction of idolatrous images, was underpinned as much by political and economic interests as religious beliefs.[119] Furthermore, the popular response was complex and ambiguous with inconsistent and irregular stances being adopted in terms of both belief and practice within communities and even by particular individuals.[120] As a result, the impact of the Reformation on the material and visual culture of the church in Scotland was varied and complex. Rather than outright destruction and abandonment, many religious buildings, objects and images underwent complex processes of re-use involving the reconfiguration of their religious significance.[121]

Where early medieval sculpture remained an important component of late medieval ecclesiastical material culture it is more than likely that its future would have been affected in one way or another by the Reformation. In England there are some well-charted examples of deliberate iconoclasm, such as the 13th-century Cheapside Cross in London[122] and the eighth-/ninth-century Bradbourne Cross in Derbyshire.[123] In Scotland, the Ruthwell cross provides a well-documented case. The latter was the focus of a late phase of iconoclasm following the expressed concerns of the Aberdeen Assembly in 1640 that many idolatrous monuments erected and made for religious worship were still extant.[124] Within two years the Assembly at St Andrews passed an 'Act anent Idolotrous Monuments at Ruthwell' which recommended that the Presbytery 'carefully urge the order prescrived by the Acts of Parliament anent the abolishing of these monuments, to be put to execution'.[125] The cross was pulled down and broken, the upper portion being

re-used for church seating, while the middle fragments including the cross were disposed of under table tombstones in the kirkyard.[126] A few other examples have been also been acknowledged as possible cases of iconoclasm on the basis that they display deliberate and considered damage to Christian iconography. These include the Woodwrae cross-slab,[127] where the cross was selectively chiselled off, the Nigg cross-slab, where low relief carving probably depicting scriptural figures has been damaged by someone using a blunt instrument,[128] and the Elgin cross-slab where the head of a figure, possibly that of Christ, has been removed.[129] The fact that there are not more relatively clear-cut examples surviving may well be due to either wholesale destruction in some cases, or, more commonly, the difficulties of determining the historical and cultural contexts in which damage and re-use took place.[130] It is worth highlighting that were it not for the historical records pertaining to the Ruthwell Cross it is unlikely that the fragmentation and re-use of this monument would be interpreted as post-Reformation iconoclasm. Similar forms of damage and fragmentation, involving crude defacement of aspects of the cross-head, or breaks across the cross-shaft, evidenced in some of the St Vigeans and Meigle sculptured stones may also result from Reformation destruction.[131] Thus, we have to bear in mind that many more crosses and cross-slabs may have experienced deliberate damage, only to be subsequently obscured by re-use and loss.[132]

It would be a mistake, however, to associate the impact of the Reformation on early medieval sculpture simply with explicit acts of iconoclasm. Whilst some forms of re-use may have been more strongly influenced by economic and utilitarian concerns than others, it is unlikely that those dating to the 16th and 17th centuries were ever entirely devoid of symbolic significance relating to religious doctrine.[133] Even the act of dismantling a religious building for re-use in profane contexts, such as the construction of roads or domestic buildings, would have had a profound significance in terms of the desacralisation of the material and negation of its sacred power. Furthermore, re-use in religious contexts would also have involved shifts in the symbolic significance of objects and buildings. Tarlow has emphasised the complexity of re-use and transformation of religious objects, focusing on how the meaning of crosses and relics was often transformed in a way which built on and re-interpreted older meanings and structures.[134]

One aspect of the post-Reformation re-use of crosses and cross-slabs that is particularly relevant here is their appropriation as personal grave-slabs and headstones. In 1581 the reformed church in Scotland forbade burial inside of churches.[135] To begin with, the wealthy negotiated this prohibition by using disused churches and abbeys for burial,[136] or building burial chambers in kirkyards.[137] From the mid-17th century, however, it became commonplace for monumental grave-slabs and headstones to be erected,[138] and, in some instances, earlier monumental sculpture was appropriated for this purpose. A 15th-century cross-slab in Kirkwall Cathedral was re-used in the 17th century as a personal burial memorial following modification of the cross and the addition of an inscription.[139] A substantial proportion of the extant early medieval slabs (but not hogbacks) at Govan were re-used for personal funerary monuments between 1634 and 1807.[140] At Whithorn Priory churchyard a mutilated cross-shaft was inscribed in modern script with the initials A.M. (nd) within a small rectangular recess cut into the inter-laced work.[141] In Argyll and Bute both early and later medieval sculptures were frequently re-used as later gravestones: Kilmartin is the classic site, with over 20 examples of re-use of later medieval slabs, but examples of re-use, sometimes undated, are found elsewhere, as at Kingarth on Bute.[142] Finally, closer to Hilton of Cadboll in north-east Scotland, there are two other isolated examples. The Reay cross-slab was appropriated in the 18th century and used as the burial slab for Robert McKay,[143] and at Golspie, in Sutherland, a large ogham-inscribed cross-slab, now located in Dunrobin Castle Museum, was re-used as a burial memorial probably sometime in the 17th century.[144] In this case, the edge of the cross-face was dressed off and replaced with the following inscription: 'HEIR IS THE BURIAL PLEAC [*sic*] TO ROBERT GORDON ELDEST SON TO ALEX GORDON OF SUTHE[RLAND]'.[145]

Like purpose-made 17th-century burial memorials, the inscriptions applied to these earlier pieces of monumental sculpture are brief and often consist simply of the initials of the deceased sometimes with the addition of a date. These tend to be crudely incised in Roman capitals of a classical style resurrected during the Renaissance.[146] For instance, at Govan most of the inscriptions applied to cross-slabs and recumbent slabs in the 17th and 18th centuries simply consist of initials, a few also have dates, and a small number have the full name of the deceased (or in one instance a place, 'Belliy Houstons') spelled out.[147] In one case, a cross-slab (no 7) seems to have been re-used twice, first by someone called R.D and later by Will^{m} Bogle. At Whithorn

the cross-shaft was also simply inscribed, in this case with initials alone. Others include longer inscriptions, such as those cited above for the Golspie cross-slab and Hilton of Cadboll. Hilton of Cadboll is the only re-used example to include a heraldic device, although this is not inconsistent with purpose-made headstones and grave-slabs. In contrast with other sepulchral monuments of the 16th-18th centuries, however, the re-used early medieval and medieval sculpture do not appear to include emblems of mortality, immortality, trade, or symbolic scenes. This may be because the iconography of the early medieval sculpture has been deliberately selected to provide a different kind of symbolic statement.

Their suitability in terms of form, and their ready availability, probably played a role in the appropriation of early medieval sculptured stones for burial memorials, as quarrying fresh stone of similar dimensions would be a costly and time-consuming task. Nevertheless, utilitarian concerns are unlikely to have been the only factors, or indeed the chief ones, in the production of monuments so intricately tied to the negotiation of personal identity and status.[148] Indeed, it has been argued that the families who chose to re-use the recumbent and upright cross-slabs at Govan were landowners who used the iconography of the earlier sculpture to construct a connection between themselves and Govan's past – a symbolic expression of their right to their estates.[149] Such appropriation of the material and visual culture of the early medieval church would have had to be negotiated with care in the context of the Reformed church, and a wide range of strategies is evident. A few examples appear to utilise or respect the pre-existing iconography in terms of the layout of the modern inscription.[150] However, many show little respect for the underlying design, simply superimposing the modern inscription over the cross-face, and some suggest greater irreverence by partially or completely removing the pre-existing design,[151] or placing the modern inscription the opposite way up.[152] Some of these strategies no doubt served to transform the kinds of iconography that could have been associated with idolatry into more or less acceptable Protestant burial memorials.[153] However, they clearly demonstrate a range of individual responses, and whilst they all suggest a desire on behalf of the deceased or his/her family to create an explicit link with the past, the nature of this link and the manner in which it was expressed no doubt varied according to the specific contexts and stances of the individuals involved.

Developments surrounding the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab thus took place against a background of religious reform associated with a range of strategies for engaging with the material and visual culture of the church. In the north of Scotland, the impact of the Reformation has often been assumed to be minimal and barely worthy of discussion in histories of the Reformation.[154] However, as Kirk points out in his analysis of the church in the Highlands following the Reformation, this is partly a product of the dearth of adequate historical evidence, which is particularly acute for this period.[155] In the ecclesiastical centres of the Highlands (cathedral cities, abbeys and college kirks), located in the lower lying areas, the language and customs of the Scottish Lowlands often prevailed. Furthermore, those who held important religious offices, such as bishops, abbots and commendators, were ambitious men fully conversant with political and religious life in the Lowlands. Many were involved in the suppression of heresies in the first half of the 16th century, and by the middle of the century some became advocates of Protestantism, as did many powerful landowners. There is no doubt that, in these respects at least, the Reformation had an impact in the far north-east in the dioceses of Ross and Caithness.[156] In Caithness the reforming bishop, Robert Stewart, championed the Protestant cause, and, although the diocese of Ross saw a succession of Bishops who remained loyal to Rome in the 1560s, the Provost of Tain and Commendator of Fearn Abbey, Nicholas Ross, took part in the provincial church council of 1549 and attended the Reformation Parliament of 1560.[157] The latter is often said to have been motivated by economic and political interests and his religious position remains unclear, but a strategic ambivalence was by no means unusual at the time. Furthermore, one of the most powerful Easter Ross lairds, Robert Munro of Foulis, also attended the Reformation Parliament of 1560 and played an active role in promoting reform in the area. During the crisis of the Reformation, ecclesiastical visual and material culture in the region was perceived to be under threat. For instance, the Dominican house in Inverness handed over silverwork and vestments to the provost and bailies for safe-keeping, and the major relics of St Duthac's in Tain were placed under the protection of the Laird of Balnagowne.[158] Finally, despite a policy of gradual change based primarily on filling vacant positions with protestant ministers, exhorters and readers, Kirk argues that 'within a remarkably short interval, the kirk had more or less achieved the startling

distinction of having a presence in most mainland parishes in the Highlands'.[159] In Ross, within a decade of the Reformation, this amounted to three ministers and 19 exhorters and readers, distributed across its 35 parishes. Some of these clearly had a presence in the Easter Ross area with the Bishop of Ross, Henry Sinclair, providing £50 per year for 'the prechar of the kirkis of Nyg and Terbat'.[160] Furthermore, at one point the vicar of Alness and Nigg was also John Davidson, the reforming principal of Glasgow University.[161]

Thus, Tarbat parish, Fearn Abbey, the Hilton of Cadboll chapel, and the cross-slab itself, were by no means isolated from the impact of the Reformation. As we have seen in Chapter 6.3, the Abbey was in decline from the early 16th century onwards. By the 1550s Ross of Balnagown had acquired a large section of the monastic lands and had a kinsman, Nicholas Ross, appointed abbot. Four to five canons probably remained living at Fearn after the crisis of the Reformation, but there would have been no new recruits and protestant reform would have been felt in the area from the 1560s onwards. The Abbey would have become increasingly secularised and was eventually granted in feu to Patrick Murray of Geanies in 1598, being subsequently annexed to the bishopric of Ross in 1609.[162] It is not clear at precisely what date the Hilton of Cadboll chapel went out of use. The excavations uncovered evidence for the collapse of part of the west gable wall, but this particular incidence was probably of a later date (Chapter 3.4). Whether or not the chapel was in a ruinous state, it appears that the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab was still standing at the site until 1674, if we accept that George MacKenzie's letter refers to its toppling in a winter storm that year. How then might the events surrounding the Hilton of Cadboll chapel site and the cross-slab before and after this event be interpreted?

It could be argued that the cross-slab gradually became desacralised up until the point when it fell as a result of natural causes, transforming the upper portion into a suitably sized slab that could be reworked to create a monumental grave-slab for someone of pretensions, in the fashion of the day. However, it has been argued above that the re-use of such material culture was unlikely to have been devoid of symbolic significance relating to religious doctrine. Given that the cross-slab displayed explicit Christian iconography and was located at a medieval chapel, there is little doubt that it would have been associated with the Catholic Church in the context of the Reformation. Moreover, the archaeological evidence suggests that the situation was more complicated. It is clear that someone tried to dig down alongside its cross-face whilst it was still standing in the second setting. Furthermore, the fragment distribution analysis suggests that subsequently some of the fragments were removed from the cross-face again whilst the monument was still upright in the ground. The cross-slab then broke and fell probably as a result of natural causes in 1674 and subsequently the rest of the cross-face was dressed off and the burial memorial inscribed. The likelihood that the cross-slab broke as a result of natural causes, suggests that the earlier activities were probably discrete incidents, rather than a linked sequence carried out by Duff's mason. Furthermore the late-16th-century OSL date associated with this initial defacement suggests it may have been up to a century earlier (Chapter 7.3.2).

If there were previous attempts to dig up and deface the monument we will probably never know who was involved or what their motives might have been. However, in light of broader social and historical contexts discussed above a range of possibilities can be considered. Whoever dug the pit may have been trying to excavate the monument in its entirety; perhaps in an attempt to remove it due to its idolatrous connotations, perhaps to appropriate it for another purpose as Duff was to do later, or perhaps even to protect it from iconoclasm by removing it or burying it, as was the case with more portable sacred objects. It is even possible that whoever dug the pit was not trying to dig it up at all, but merely seeking something they thought might be buried at its base. The subsequent removal of some of the cross-face whilst the monument remained upright could have been the result of natural causes; frost action and or storm damage leading to lamination of the surface. However, the presence of tool marks on many of these fragments suggests otherwise, and if they were removed by human agency then the possibility that they were knocked off as an act of iconoclasm involving deliberate and selective damage to the cross cannot be discounted. Whatever the case, the activities surrounding the cross-slab cannot be divorced from the Reformation in general and the decline and secularisation of the chapel site in particular. We have seen above that, whether or not objects of prior sacred significance were the victims of outright iconoclasm, their re-use and appropriation would have involved a change in their significance and possibly an active desacralisation.

To some degree these points also apply to Alexander Duff's appropriation of the upper portion of the cross-slab in 1676. Although over a century had passed since

the crisis of the Reformation, reform movements continued into the 17th century, not least of which are those associated with the Covenanting movement of the 1630s and 40s which led to a further wave of iconoclasm. Furthermore, we have seen that the Ruthwell cross was declared an idolatrous monument and destroyed as late as 1642. But who was Alexander Duff and what kind of perspectives and motives might have influenced his decision to turn the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab into a burial memorial? We do not know when he was born and whilst it might be assumed that he died in 1676, the date inscribed on his burial memorial, a writ in the *Calendar of Writs of Munro of Foulis* refers to assignations carried out by Duff and his then wife in 1686, suggesting, if the manuscript and its reading are correct, that he was still alive 10 years on.[163] Preparing a gravestone in advance was not uncommon. It has been possible to identify two of his three wives, who are only referred to by their initials (KS/CV/HV) on the Hilton of Cadboll slab. CV refers to 'Crestane [Christian] Urquhart spouse to Alexander Duff and daughter to Alexander Urquhart of St Martins', who according to *The Calendar of Fearn* died on 2 September 1660 and was buried at Fearn on the 4 September.[164] HV, Duff's third wife, was Helen Urquhart, daughter of Thomas Urquhart of Kinbeachie, and widow of Hector Munro of Findon,[165] as well as Duncan Bayne of Delny,[166] prior to marrying Alexander Duff.[167] Campell-Kease's analysis of the coat of arms carved beneath the burial inscription complements this information, for the buck's head in the first quarter is a common emblem of the Duff clan in north-east Scotland and the three couped animal heads (possibly boars) in the third and fourth quarters are plausibly emblems of the Urquharts.[168] The coat of KS shown in the second quarter is not known to be that of any family. However, it shows a sinister hand issuing from dexter holding a banner. Since the chief of Scrymgeour was and still is Hereditary Bannerman of Scotland, this suggests she may be of this family.[169] According to Alex Maxwell Findlater,[170] the method of marshalling the four family quarters here is unusual, even novel, and at variance with the rules. Comparing Duff's armorial to that for the Duffs of Braco, he suggests it is probable that Alexander Duff was a member of the 'old' Duff family of the north-east.

Alexander Duff resided in the vicinity of Cadboll and acted as chamberlain to Lady Mey, wife of the 4th Laird of Mey, Sir James Sinclair.[171] Earlier generations of the Sinclairs of Mey had been entangled in Reformation politics. Sir James' great-grandfather, the 4th Earl of Caithness, was branded a papist by John Knox, whereas his grandfather, George Sinclair 2nd of Mey, entered the Reformed ministry at Rogart, prior to becoming Treasurer of Caithness in 1572.[172] At this point in time Duff was not a common name in this area, and it may be that Alexander was a descendant of Donald Duf who is mentioned in 1565 in the context of the Innes family who then occupied Cadboll Castle.[173] The Sinclair family acquired Cadboll in 1585, and by 1644 Sir James Sinclair was the largest landholder in Fearn parish, with additional lands in the parishes of Tarbat, Tain and Kincardine. Thus, Duff would have enjoyed reasonably high status, occupying an important office as chamberlain to the Cadboll Estate, and employed by one of the most powerful land-owning families in the area.[174] This would explain his pretensions regarding his status, which are clearly signalled by the use of both an epitaph and a heraldic shield on the upper portion. Duff's epitaph 'He that lives well dies/does well, sayeth Solomon the wise. Here lies Alexander Duff and his three wives' also signals a strong Protestant faith. Although its source is unknown, such memorials, stressing the quality of an individual's life, became particularly important in the context of Reformation theology where, in the absence of a concept of purgatory, the fate of an individual on death depended on their virtue in life.[175] The use of verse on gravestones is also apparent at St Regulus in Cromarty at around the same time. Here gravestones were apparently being used to reinforce the new social order, as well as being recognised as a form of 'public art'.[176]

How then can Duff's attempt to appropriate a piece of early medieval sculpture bearing what could have been regarded as Catholic iconography be interpreted? The storm of 1674 no doubt triggered an opportunistic appropriation of what seemed a very suitable piece of stone for a burial memorial, which lay on his employer's land. He may also have been influenced by knowledge of other examples of similar re-use, such as the Golspie cross-slab, which was re-used by Robert Gordon of Sutherland.[177] Even if he was not, the post-Reformation use of grave-slabs and headstones as an index of social position would have rendered the monumental Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab an enticing prospect. In his epigraphic analysis of the Duff inscription, Thomson argues that the crudely executed lettering should be classed as vernacular rather than formal in style, indicating that the mason had limited training or was only employed in masonry part-time.[178] However, even though Duff did not have access to the kind of

skilled masonry evident on memorial inscriptions in more southerly urban areas such as Perth, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, he clearly had pretensions in that direction and the use of a heraldic shield indicates his concern to secure and legitimise his status. His desire to communicate his pedigree suggests a certain anxiety or insecurity at a time when Scotland was facing challenges to its traditional religious, political and constitutional values.[179] He may also have seen such a monument as a means to reinforce his status through the creation of a connection with the past, as suggested for the Govan examples.[180]

However, Duff's re-use of the monument is far from straightforward. It differs significantly from other examples in the north-east and elsewhere in that his mason completely removed the early medieval design from the cross-face prior to carving the modern inscription. This may be simply because, in contrast to other examples, the cross-face was already badly damaged as a result of earlier human activity. Equally, though, given its history and iconography, it is possible that the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab was a problematic choice for Duff. Certainly its potential to be regarded as an idolatrous object could not have passed someone like Duff by. Indeed, as indicated above, Duff's chosen epitaph expresses strong protestant overtones, stressing the moral virtue of his life in the face of death. Thus, Duff probably found himself in a compromising and ambivalent position, desirous of a monumental stone of some antiquity to emphasise and legitimise his status, whilst at the same time troubled by its historical associations. He, or his family, may consequently have felt compelled to have the entire cross-face erased, leaving evidence of its antiquity (in the form of the iconography on the surviving back-face) hidden from view once it was in use as a horizontal grave-slab, or as a parietal memorial.[181]

Yet, whether or not the cross-slab was ultimately used to mark the burial site of Duff and his wives remains open to question. What is clear is that the cross-slab remained at the Hilton of Cadboll chapel site[182] and was not taken to Fearn Abbey, which had become the parish church and main burial ground. Given that the burial inscription was left intact facing upwards, it could be argued that Duff and his wives were actually buried at Hilton of Cadboll Chapel. Such an act would have been strange for someone of Duff's status, for the chapel is unlikely to have been used as a sanctioned place of worship at this time. Thus, if Duff and his wives were buried there, it could raise questions about his social standing or his religious affiliation; we know, for instance, that there was a warrant of apprehension issued against him in 1665 for non-payment of dues.[183] Alternatively, if they were buried at Hilton of Cadboll perhaps it was a deliberate statement on his behalf, asserting an historical family tie to the land around Hilton of Cadboll and what may have been seen as a family chapel. However, the archaeological excavations did not produce strong evidence in the form of skeletal remains to support the theory that Duff and his wives were buried at the chapel site.[184] It would also seem strange that he was buried outside the chapel walls, as people who chose to be buried in ruined ecclesiastical buildings at this time often did so in order that the building itself could act as some kind of burial aisle or vault.

It seems more likely therefore that Duff and his wives were buried at Fearn Parish Church.[185] Taylor and Taylor cite an inscription to Duff, which they allege is at Fearn. The inscription quoted is similar, but not identical, to that at Hilton of Cadboll: 'Live well and die well, said Solomon the Wise, Here lies Alexander Duff and his three wives.' *The Calendar of Fearn* also states that one of his wives, Christian Urquhart, was buried at there in 1660.[186] It has not been possible to locate her grave or that of Duff and his other wives, but perhaps this is not surprising given the poor state of preservation of the 17th- and 18th-century memorials. If we accept that they were buried at Fearn Church then the abandonment of the upper portion at the chapel site may have been due to the logistics of moving it.[187] Another possibility though is that the decision was influenced by the ambiguity of such a monument at a time when religious reforms and attitudes to religious iconography were still in flux and subject to negotiation. If Duff did live for at least a decade after 1676 then perhaps, he, his family, or even the Sinclairs of Mey, had misgivings about what the appropriation of such a monument as one's personal burial memorial would communicate to others.[188]

6.5 A 'remarkable ruin': new ways of seeing and engaging with the Hilton of Cadboll slab in the modern era

A little more than a century after Duff's attempt to re-use it, the Hilton of Cadboll slab was rediscovered by antiquarians and travel writers who portrayed a very different set of attitudes towards it. These new attitudes altered the meanings attached to the monument, and contributed to its reconfiguration as a source of historical evidence, an object of aesthetic

value (see also Chapter 2.1), and an important piece of national patrimony. We shall return to these wider aspects of the biography of the monument and its changing significance below. First though it is important to consider what early antiquarians and traveller writers tell us about the physical location, context, and condition of the upper portion between the late 18th and the mid-19th century when it was taken to Invergordon Castle (see Chapter 6.6).

The first two accounts, dating to the 1780s, are provided by the Reverend Charles Cordiner, an antiquarian travel writer from Banff, in his two books, *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland* and *Remarkable Ruins and Romantic Prospects of North Britain*. From Cordiner we learn that

> On a green plain near the beach, about two miles north from Sandwick, under the brow of the hill, on which the seat of Mr. M^{c}Leod, of Catbol, is situated; lies another very splendid monument, near to the ruins of a chapel, which was in early age dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[189]

The upper portion was lying on its back face with Duff's inscription facing upwards, probably where he abandoned it a century earlier. Yet, the landowner, Macleod of Cadboll, clearly thought it worthy of Cordiner's attention, conducting him to the site, as well as to 'several fragments of other obelisks lying on Tarbetness'.[190] Furthermore, Cordiner's account suggests that Macleod took a degree of care over such historic sites, noting that 'the proprietor, from veneration of the consecrated ground, has enclosed it with some rows of trees'.

Illustration 6.2
The Reverend Charles Cordiner's drawing of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab (Cordiner 1788, title page, by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Archives & Special Collections)

However, Cordiner's two books provide little further information about the specific condition of the upper portion and its local context. He notes in reference to Shandwick and Hilton of Cadboll that 'these monuments are all said to have been erected in memory of defeats of the Danes', but it is not clear whether he is referring to a local source or merely the arguments of other antiquarian writers such as Gordon and Pennant.[191] Unable to find evidence for such an historical event amongst the 'hieroglyphics' on the monuments to hand, Cordiner instead eulogises about their aesthetic qualities and the great skill of those who carved them. Even the illustration included in *Remarkable Ruins* lacks the precision and detail needed to evaluate the condition of the upper portion and its immediate surroundings at this time (illus 6.2).

Following Cordiner, the next account of the antiquities of the area is provided by the *Statistical Account*, published between 1791 and 1799. Here the Reverend Alexander Macadam of Nigg Parish discusses the 'obelisks' of Shandwick and Nigg, noting that the former is said to have been erected in memory of three sons of the King of Denmark shipwrecked nearby and 'buried where the obelisk stands'.[192] However, Macadam makes no reference to the Hilton of Cadboll monument in this respect and his counterpart, the Reverend John Urquhart of Fearn Parish, is either unaware of its existence or deems it

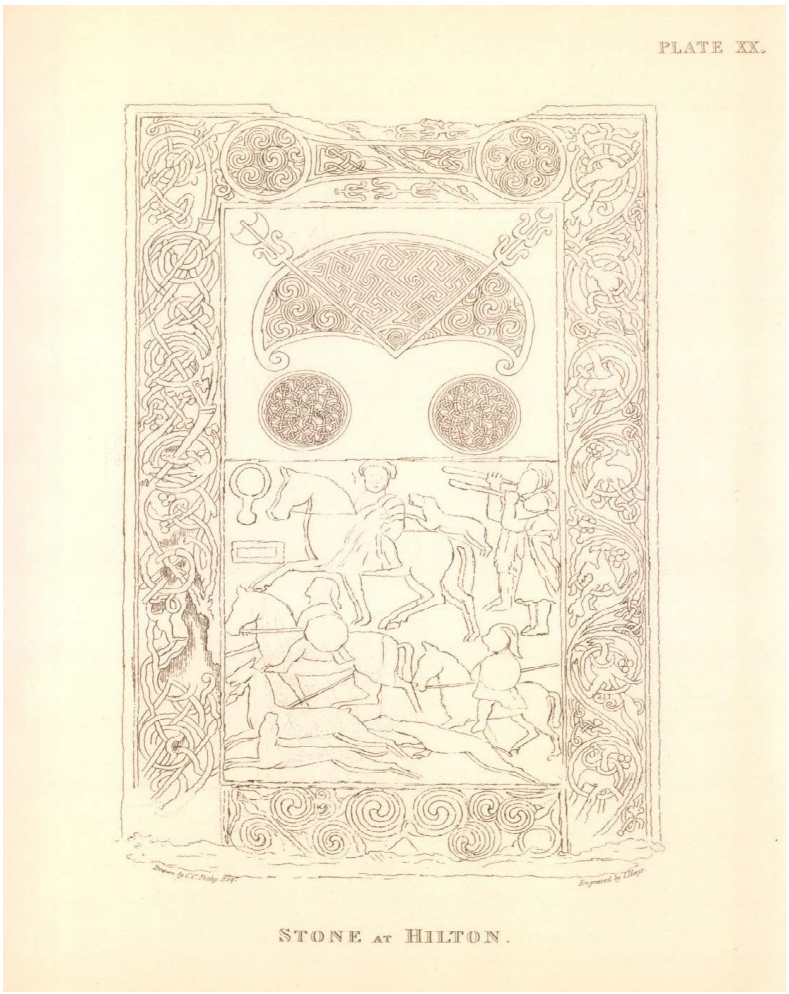

Illustration 6.3
Charles Carter Petley's drawing of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab in 1811/12. (Petley 1857, plate XX)

insignificant in comparison to Fearn Abbey, and the parish's castles. Thus the next record of the Hilton of Cadboll slab is provided some 30 years after Cordiner by the antiquarian Charles Carter Petley who offers a more detailed and scholarly account based on two visits in 1811 and 1812. An account of Petley's findings was not read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland until 1831, and it was not until a quarter of a century later that this was published along with his etchings in *Archaeologia Scotica* in 1857.[193] Nevertheless, despite the delay in publication his paper sheds important light on the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab at the time of his fieldwork.

Although Cordiner must have had the upper portion turned over in order to describe and illustrate the original sculpture, Petley found it lying once again on its back face at the west side of the chapel, 'a few hundred yards from the sea-shore'.[194] In contrast to Cordiner who discusses the sculptured stones in the context of a wider travel narrative, the stones are Petley's sole concern, and his aim is to describe and illustrate them, along with associated local traditions. The series of etchings which he produced of the Shandwick, Nigg, Hilton of Cadboll and Edderton cross-slabs are not without errors, but they are considerably more accurate than those of Cordiner. Furthermore, the separate detailed etchings based on wax casts provide an important record for Hilton of Cadboll,[195] preserving information about parts of the design that were subsequently damaged by weathering. The illustrations suggest that the upper portion was in a relatively good state of preservation in 1811/12 (illus 6.3 & 6.4), with only two areas significantly affected by weathering; one along the top edge above the double disc and Z-rod, the other down the left hand side of the vine-scroll adjacent to the hunting scene.

Petley devotes a similar degree of care and attention to the local traditions surrounding the early medieval sculpture of the Easter Ross peninsula. He is the only antiquarian to record the Gaelic names attached to the chapel and monument locally. The Hilton of Cadboll chapel is referred to as the 'chapel of *Mhuor*' meaning Our Lady's Chapel, whereas the term '*Bardvour*', translating directly as Our Lady's Park or Field, is directly applied to 'the stone near Hilton'.[196] Although it might thus appear that *Bardvour* has been incorrectly used by Petley, it is possible that the monument was referred to as 'the stone of Our Lady's Park' in a similar fashion to the Shandwick cross-slab, which was known in Gaelic as '*Clach a Charridh*', the stone of the burial ground.[197]

Petley also provides the only detailed study of the King's Sons folk narrative first outlined in the *Statistical Account* for Nigg Parish. Different variants are discussed and his favoured version of the folk narrative is recounted as follows:

> A daughter of one of the Kings of Lochlin was married to a chief of this country. One day after dinner, in the presence of a large company, the husband (said to be an ancestor of the Balnagown family [Rosses of Balnagown]) being displeased, gave her a slap on the face. She, in return, replied, that if her nine brothers were present, he would not dare treat her so. She afterwards contrived to make them acquainted with his conduct, and they, coming over to take revenge, were slain one after the other by the husband; and a stone of this description was raised to mark the place where each fell and were buried.[198]

The other main folk variant recited in Petley's published account accords more closely with Hugh Miller's whose work has already been discussed in Chapter 2:

> In this [Viking] age, says the tradition, the Maormor of Ross was married to a daughter of the king of Denmark, and proved so barbarous a husband, that her father, to whom she at length found the means to escape, filled out a fleet and army to avenge on him the cruelties inflicted on her. Three of her brothers accompanied the expedition; but, on nearing the Scottish coast, a terrible storm arose, in which almost all the vessels of the fleet either foundered or were driven ashore, and the three princes were drowned. The ledge of rock at which this latter disaster is said to have taken place, still bears the name of the King's Sons [...]. The bodies of the princes, says the tradition, were interred, one at Shandwick, one at Hilton, and one at Nigg; and the sculptured obelisks of these places, three very curious pieces of antiquity, are said to be monuments erected to their memory by their father.[199]

Whereas Petley approached the folk narratives as a source of antiquarian evidence to aid understanding of the monuments, Miller's primary aim was to preserve the oral knowledge and local traditions of north-eastern Scotland as a matter of some urgency before they were lost.[200] Consequently, he was less concerned with critical evaluation of the accounts and their sources, preferring to offer a single entertaining narrative of what he described as the 'doubtful and imperfect tradition' of the King's Sons.

It is unlikely that this oral tradition contains within it the kind of deep and continuous folk memory that Petley implied.[201] As we have seen in Chapter 1, subsequent art historical and archaeological research has firmly established the insular origins of the sculpture.

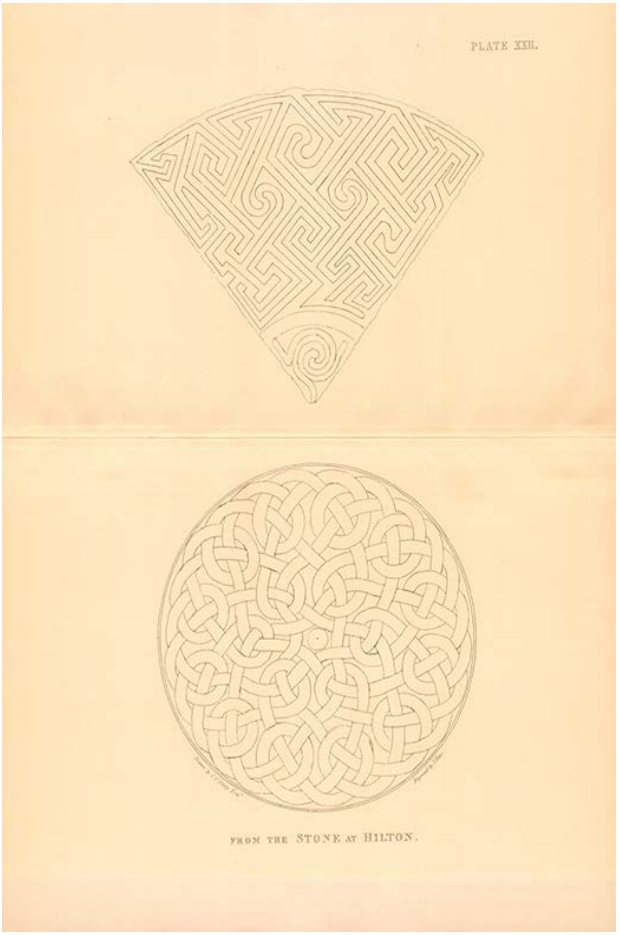

Illustration 6.4
Charles Carter Petley's detail of one of the large pair of discs in the upper panel taken from a wax cast (Petley 1857, pl XXII)

However, regardless of its lack of historical veracity, the King's Sons folk narrative became entwined with the biography of the Hilton of Cadboll monument at some point in the course of its social life. For those who engaged with this folklore it provided an origin myth for the three cross-slabs which ties places (on land and at sea) together, no doubt reinforcing their mnemonic potential. It also reflects post-Reformation ideas about the role of stone monuments as a means of commemorating the dead.[202] After the publication of *Scenes and Legends*, Miller's popular account no doubt served the purpose he intended, helping to perpetuate

Illustration 6.5
A Gibb's drawing of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab for John Stuart (Stuart 1856, pl XXV; A Gibb's drawing is dated to 1853. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Archives & Special Collections)

the King's Sons folk tradition. Nevertheless, Petley's earlier research suggests that it was already a well-established oral tradition in wide circulation, 'for the most part found among the lower class'.[203]

The *New Statistical Account* again provides very little information about the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab.[204] The Reverend Hugh Ross's account for the parish of Fearn is virtually identical to Urquhart's in the earlier *Statistical Account* and consequently omits any reference to the monument. The entry for Nigg parish was extensively revised, but only passing reference is made to existence of the Hilton stone in the parish of Fearn, before providing a detailed description of the Shandwick and Nigg cross-slabs.[205] The final source of information regarding the condition and immediate context of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab prior to its relocation at Invergordon Castle is thus John Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland,* which was published in 1856. The importance of Stuart's work lies in its integration of the Easter Ross monuments within a systematic and comparative art-historical study of early medieval sculptured stones (see Chapter 2). In terms of specific information regarding the condition and circumstance of the Hilton of Cadboll monument, we learn that by the 1850s the upper portion was lying 'in a shed, the wall of which is believed to form part of an ancient chapel'. Stuart's description is supported by archaeological evidence for the foundations of a lean-to structure outside of the western gable end of the chapel, which is likely to have been Stuart's shed (Chapter 3.5). Thus, at some point between Petley's visits in 1811 and 1812 and Stuart's fieldwork there was a significant shift in the treatment of the upper portion, suggesting both a desire to view the sculpture and to protect it. Given the interest that Cordiner attributes to Macleod of Cadboll this relocation is likely to have been at the landowner's behest, or at least subject to his approval. Yet despite the concern with preservation that the shed attests to, A Gibb's drawing reveals significant deterioration in the condition of the upper portion since Petley's visits in 1811/12. In addition to localised weathering along the top edge and down the left hand side of the vine-scroll, there is damage to the spiral work within both discs of the double disc and Z-rod, substantial erosion of the interlace design within one of the pair of discs in the top panel, and erosion of the vine-scroll on the right hand side adjacent to the upper panel (illus 6.5). The use of a shelter may well have been a response to this deterioration, although paradoxically a desire to view the early medieval sculpture on the back face no doubt contributed to greater exposure

and thus weathering.[206] Furthermore, display of the upper portion exposed it to other forms of human intervention, notably the desire to inscribe one's own identity onto the monument. Graffiti were a commonplace addition to ancient monuments during the 18th and 19th centuries and Hilton of Cadboll was not unusual in this respect. The letters TB/N on the Duff shield (specifically the banner) (illus 6.1) are of a different form and proportion than the rest of the lettering and were not cut by the same mason.[207] These are unlikely to be contemporaneous with the Duff inscription but they could pre-date the display of the upper portion within the shelter. The graffiti on face C, beneath the crescent and V-rod, must, however, post-date the turning over of the slab for display in the early-mid-19th century and have taken place either whilst the upper portion remained at Hilton chapel or during its time at Invergordon Castle.

Thus, in terms of its specific material biography and its immediate local significance, we learn that the Hilton of Cadboll slab is embedded in an established folk narrative, but that it also becomes a focus of antiquarian study and illustration, alongside initial attempts at protection and display. The significance of these activities and narratives in terms of their contribution to later art historical and archaeological understandings has been discussed in Chapter 2. But what of the wider significance of the Hilton of Cadboll monument and the modes of representation surrounding it during this period? To explore this we must resist the temptation to retrospectively assess antiquarian activities in terms of good and bad scholarly practice and consider their place within 18th- and 19th-century society.[208] During the 18th century, antiquarianism was an integral part of a wider concern with landscape, the resources within it, and their exploitation for the 'improvement' of society in both material and aesthetic terms.[209] As Sweet points out 'its monuments and antiquities were there to be counted and recorded like houses, crops, and custom duties'.[210] For instance, the remit of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, founded in 1780 by a number of 'gentlemen of eminence and learning' under the aegis of the 11th Earl of Buchan, included topographic and ethnographic surveys, examination of constitutional, military and ecclesiastical organisation, and documentation of tangible remains.[211] Furthermore, Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account* of 1791–9 involved a series of parish accounts prepared by local ministers who had been directed to address geography, topography, natural history, climate, population, agricultural production, and, as we have seen, antiquities.[212] Such organisations and projects were part of a 'large-scale expansion of national self-study'[213] driven by elite patronage and concerned with the geography and history of the nation.

Nevertheless, as Peltz and Myrone have emphasised, antiquarianism still lacked the 'discursive coherence' bred by an institutional framework and as a result it was characterised by instability of methods and modes of attention.[214] Furthermore, it emerged in multiple spheres of 'polite', educated society: 'the private spaces of the study and the library; the middle ground of the club; and the public sphere of the metropolitan market for the printed word and image'.[215] It was also a form of 'pleasurable instruction' which played an integral role in tourism, a sphere of activity which expanded rapidly during the 18th century with the development of better communications and the expansion of the leisured professional classes.[216] The nature of the records, publications, and illustrations produced also varied widely. Whilst some wrote about specific areas or types of monuments for restricted learned audiences, others produced popular guides for sale on the burgeoning market, which effectively repackaged the ancient as a kind of modern novelty for consumption.[217] Antiquarian illustrations also varied enormously from the work of people like Richard Gough, the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London (1771–97), who was concerned with accuracy and the development of standard stylistic conventions, to those of Francis Grose whose illustrations involved an imaginative engagement with the past and shied away from the dryness of detail.[218] Whilst the former approach leaned towards the ideals of precise recording, preservation and research that came to dominate archaeology and art-history, the latter was equally important in its day, aestheticising and popularising a national past for mass consumption.

The diversity characterising antiquarian research more widely is reflected in representations of the Hilton of Cadboll monument produced between the late 18th and mid-19th centuries.[219] From the mid-18th century, the remote parts of 'North Britain' became a subject of fascination, particularly for the English and Lowland Scots and this was accompanied by a burgeoning travel literature in which antiquities played an important role.[220] Charles Cordiner's work can be located firmly in this context alongside that of others, such as Thomas Pennant's *A Tour in Scotland,* Francis Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland*, and Adam

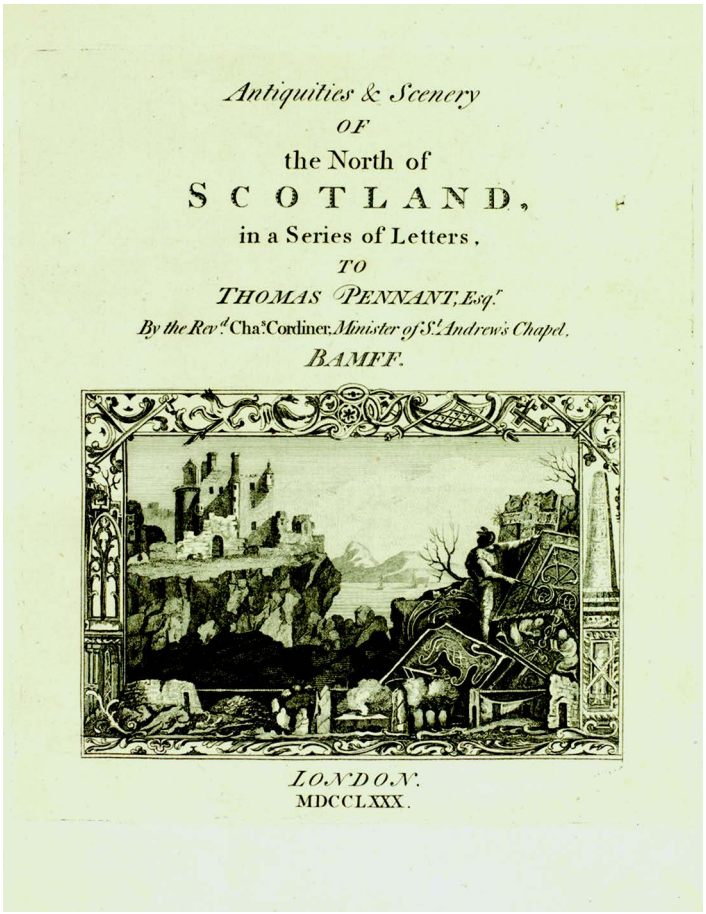

Illustration 6.6
The Frontispiece from Cordiner 1780 (by permission of University of Glasgow Library, Archives & Special Collections)

Cardonnel's *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland*.[221] Like other popularising antiquarian writers, Cordiner makes gestures towards a scholarly agenda and sees himself playing a key role in the preservation of a national past.[222] Yet, his books are not aimed at the specialist antiquary. Instead, they are intended for readers who wished to acquire a general knowledge of antiquities and topography in the form of pleasurable instruction. As such they address a wide range of subject-matter (antiquities, scenery, historic houses and local economy) framed by the fashionable topics of his day: the aesthetics of landscape and the nature and benefits of 'improvement' (illus 6.6). Parts of *Antiquities and Scenery* are set aside for commentaries on contemporary trade, agriculture and industry, such as the economy of Findhorn and improvements in industry and agriculture at Inverness. Acts of improvement are also identified in the aesthetic sphere. For instance, during his stay at Forres he was impressed by the improvements that had been made to Gordon Castle and its picturesque scenery and prospects.[223] Elsewhere he dwells upon the romantic and the sublime in nature. For instance, he muses about the decay and desolation of 'romantic' castles and ruined abbeys and with respect to Beaulieu explains that 'all is silence and desolation; decaying monuments of saints and heroes, are but as "the clouds of other times", and give a transient solemnity to the recollection of past ages'.[224] And in the interior near Helmsdale and Brora he encountered 'mountains, bleak, rocky and desolate' as well as 'wild and beautiful' cascades of water that bring to mind the songs of Ossian.[225]

It is not surprising to find that aesthetic evaluation is also one of Cordiner's main pre-occupations with respect to early medieval sculptured stones. There is some discussion of the historical significance or associations of the monuments, but this is limited to either specific historical events, such as victories over the Danes,[226] or his personal theories about the Egyptian associations of the mysterious 'primeval hieroglyphics'.[227] Otherwise the commentary takes the form of a type of connoisseurship. Sueno's Stone, for instance, is described as 'the most stately monument of the gothic kind in Europe',[228] and the Shandwick and Hilton of Cadboll cross-slabs as 'splendid' obelisks. Brief descriptions of the ornament and 'hieroglyphics' are provided, but much of his discussion is taken up with more general statements about the 'mathematical accuracy', 'masterly' carving and 'genius of the artists'.[229] Perhaps more surprisingly issues of improvement also enter the discussion of ancient art, just as they do in relation to Cordiner's evaluation of contemporary scenery:

> The genius, art, and application, discoverable in the carvings of these monuments; the elegance of some of the ornaments, the mathematical accuracy of others, and the elaborate execution of the whole; as they bear testimony to the ingenuity and abilities of the artists of an unknown age; so they are some acknowledgement of the tranquillity, improvement, and happiness of this country, ages before our accounts of it commence. The ornamental arts are only practiced and admired when leisure, quiet, and security is much enjoyed; and they must have been greatly encouraged

> and delighted in, before they could have come to such perfection.[230]

This projection of improvement into the Easter Ross past is then mirrored in the present by his parting statement that 'now the whole ride round its eastmost extremity is through well-cultivated fields, and commonly pleasant seats of view'.[231]

Undoubtedly Hugh Miller was of a very different stature to Cordiner, as both a writer and a scholar. Subsequent generations have praised his contributions to geology, folklore and social history.[232] Furthermore, he had an immense reputation during his life as a prolific writer, social commentator, and theologian. *Scenes and Legends* is primarily concerned with the folklore and oral history of the North of Scotland, and, whilst not about antiquities in the narrow sense, it is part of a broader tradition of research into 'popular antiquities' encompassing local customs and folk traditions. Furthermore, like Cordiner there is an aesthetic concern with scenes and landscapes even if these pertain as much to the social as the natural terrain. Miller was clear that the object of the book is to both preserve the folk traditions of the north of Scotland and to provide as wide an audience as possible with a form of entertaining instruction.[233] It is the King's Sons folk tradition, rather than the 'curious pieces of antiquity' to which it refers, that is Miller's primary subject-matter. Nevertheless, Miller asks the reader to indulge him in a few descriptive notices of the sculptured stones themselves; 'their weathered and mossy planes, roughened with complicated tracery and doubtful hieroglyphics' being compared to 'pages of provincial history'.[234] His descriptions of the designs on the Hilton and Shandwick stones are consequently brief, and his more detailed description and analysis of Nigg, although demonstrating an observant eye, reveals a restricted knowledge of Christian art (Chapter 2). Interestingly, despite the suggestion that he considers the King's Sons folk narrative to be of dubious veracity, he arrives by way of a stylistic comparison at the same conclusion; arguing that 'their design and workmanship display a degree of taste and mechanical ability which the Celtae of North Britain seem never to have possessed', and 'the eastern shores of the German Ocean abound in similar monuments'.[235] Yet, irrespective of its validity in light of subsequent art historical research, Miller's book was immensely popular and, like those of Cordiner, would have brought the sculptured stones of Easter Ross to the attention of a wide audience.[236] The writing of both men was devoid of the dryness of technical detail which the experienced antiquarian might wish for, but they were instrumental in reconfiguring these monuments as part of the cultural, specifically artistic, patrimony of the nation.

Antiquarian scholars such as Petley and Stuart were also engaged in a project of national self-study through the antiquities of the nation. However, their approach to early medieval sculpture was very different. The very nature of the production and publication of Petley's article illustrates this. He focuses exclusively on a particular kind of monument in a specific area, which he visited over the course of two years in 1811 and 1812. His aim was to make a record of the monuments through the production of accurate drawings and supplementary descriptions, as well as to gather local country traditions pertaining to them; this latter information being, in his opinion, 'at least as good as any that could be collected from tourists or any other source'.[237] The drawings are detailed and display a high level of accuracy, something which is enhanced by Petley's use of wax casts for specific aspects of the design. Furthermore, Petley's approach to the folk narratives displays a scholarly concern with the nature of the evidence and a critical approach to evaluation. For instance, in discussing oral tradition he rightly notes that great allowances must be made 'for inaccuracies which must, of course, in so great a length of time (as from their erection) have crept in'.[238] Furthermore, he goes to the trouble of examining the veracity of one tradition which claimed that the three King's Sons were buried beneath a large flat stone on top of Nigg hill: 'I had this stone raised and the ground opened and removed to about three feet, when the natural soil appeared.'[239] The difference between Petley's approach and that manifested in Cordiner's and Miller's books is further reinforced by the text itself. Although published after his death, probably on the basis of his fieldnotes, Petley's paper is characterised by an austere descriptive style, which displays none of the concerns with aesthetics and the pleasure of the reader which the latter two evince. After all, in contrast to the work of Cordiner and Miller, it was not intended for the commercial market, but rather took the form of historical research concerned with record and preservation. The fact that the illustrations and manuscripts remained in the private sphere of Petley's study until after his death, and were then committed to the safekeeping of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by his widow, is typical of this kind of antiquarian project.[240] His work was very

much in the tradition of antiquarians such as Richard Gough and James Douglas, who promoted systematic and rigorous collection of data through fieldwork and emphasised the importance of accurate illustration and description.[241]

If Petley's work, or that of Charlotte Hibbert around 20 years later,[242] represents the parochial and private end of antiquarian scholarship, Stuart's study of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland* some four decades later combined this inclination towards accurate and rigorous collection of data with systematic comparison and interpretation.[243] Stuart's two volumes were produced by the Spalding Club of Aberdeen, and covered all of Scotland, drawing upon T S Muir's attempt at a complete list and Patrick Chalmer's study of the sculptured monuments of Angus.[244] The first volume included illustrations of almost 150 stones from all over Scotland and its object was

> to furnish correct representations of the more ancient Sculptured Stones of Scotland, and such a collection of facts regarding their history as may prove a solid ground-work for comparison and further research.[245]

The descriptions accompanying the plates for the Easter Ross sculptured Stones are brief, but the illustrations themselves are intended to act as the primary source of evidence for other scholars. The imaginative and romantic stylistic conventions of Cordiner's drawings would have been anathema to Stuart who stressed the importance of accurate representation: 'no pains have been spared to secure accuracy, which, for the present purpose, is of primary importance' and that Mr Gibb's drawings are 'minutely accurate and trustworthy'.[246] The significance of Stuart's volume in terms of the wider meanings and values attached to the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab is two-fold. First, it represents the first time in which the monument is 'collected' within a comparative national corpus of early medieval sculpture, one in which the Easter Ross sculptures are claimed to be 'perhaps, the most remarkable in Scotland for their elaborate finish and varied representation'.[247] Secondly, the Hilton of Cadboll sculpture, along with the other Easter Ross sculptures, was placed within a systematic, scholarly framework informed by extensive references to historical sources, in particular early Christian illuminated manuscripts.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Stuart's work was 'a great advance' in terms of subsequent art-historical comparative analysis and interpretation.[248] It was taken forward by Allen and Anderson in their attempt to deal scientifically with the sculptured stones of Scotland 'in the hope that some advance may be made towards a systematic knowledge of their peculiar characteristics, their sequence in time, and their relations to other classes of antiquities within or beyond their own special area'.[249] Yet, it should now be clear that the significance of the early illustrations and written accounts incorporating the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab extends beyond its contribution to subsequent archaeological and art historical research. It also far outweighs the details that can be gleaned about the specific condition of the monument and its immediate local context as outlined at the beginning of this section. In terms of the wider significance of the monument the work of early antiquarians and travellers, parochial and anecdotal though it might be, contributed to a transformation of its meaning and value.

We have seen that the Hilton of Cadboll monument was embedded in an established folk narrative which interpreted it in relation to popular myths about the Danes and familiarity with the use of sepulchral monuments as forms of memorial. However, whilst providing a record of this folk narrative early antiquarian literature ultimately effaced any authority attached to it. Instead the monument became reconfigured as an object of aesthetic value, initially, at the hands of Cordiner, framed by wider concerns with the picturesque and the romantic in which medieval art occupied an important position. It also came to be seen as a piece of historical evidence, a fragment of the 'shipwreck of time', which if salvaged through accurate description and illustration, initially anecdotally and later within a systematic comparative framework, could help to uncover the truth about the past.[250] Finally, it was constructed as an important component of national patrimony worthy of collection and preservation, whether materially or figuratively. This was achieved through systematic national surveys such as that of Stuart and later Allen and Anderson, which situated the cross-slab within a corpus of comparable material and provided an interpretive framework embedded in early Christian culture in Scotland. Yet this literature was both comparatively late and largely restricted in its audience to dedicated antiquarians, art historians and archaeologists. In contrast, populist books, such as those of Cordiner and Miller, would have brought the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab to the attention of a wider audience. Cordiner in particular did not leave his readers in any doubt about its status as an important piece of national heritage, proclaiming it 'one of the most beautiful pieces of ancient sculpture that has ever been discovered in Scotland',[251] which is entitled to 'a

distinguished rank among the most valuable antiquities of the nation'.[252] Miller also singled out the Hilton of Cadboll 'obelisk' reflecting that it is 'perhaps the most elegant of its class in Scotland'.[253] As Bending points out, such relatively cheap antiquarian books and the prints they contained may have been inaccurate and idealised but they offered the literate population the chance of

> imagining one's place in the nation and of doing so without the aid of land or rank, and without the need to take action in the political arena. If prints transform the objects of the past into a commodity, buying into these representations of the past [...] is also, then, the chance to buy into a shared national heritage.[254]

Thus, through the activities of scholars and travellers, the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, like many other antiquities, became entangled in new discourses about taste, class and nation. As a result it also became subject to all the tensions and controversies which these engendered. As we shall see, some of these concerned the kind of taste and judgement needed to preserve and understand antiquities. Others concerned whether they belonged in the domain of the 'polite', leisured and ultimately land-owning classes, or whether they were a public concern of patriotic dimensions.

6.6 Appropriation and displacement: landscape, people and monument

> The motives which have actuated owners in removing the monuments into their private grounds have been in most cases, let us hope, a desire to give them better protection than is afforded when standing in the open fields, but it will be observed that the fact of an owner doing as he pleases with the stones shows that he considers they are part and parcel of his property, and, like the serfs in olden times, can be sold with it.[255]

Contemplating the landscape did not merely involve restructuring it in the imagination; 'for those who owned the land, and had sufficient funds at their disposal, it also meant restructuring the land in reality'.[256] As Brewer points out, by the late 18th century, 'the countryside and nature were considered malleable, to be adapted, created or realised through human agency'.[257] Agricultural improvement changed the appearance and character of the landscape. In lowland areas this involved the enclosure of common lands and the creation of field systems, whereas in the Scottish Highlands it involved the 'clearance' of cottars and small tenant farmers to make way for large-scale sheep farming. Furthermore, based on the increasing profitability of the land, landowners engaged in refashioning their country houses, the gardens and parks surrounding them, and even the ruins and monuments on their estates.[258] In etchings and paintings the romantic ideal of ruins and monuments was drawn out through the addition of mosses and foliage as well as piles of gothic masonry and tomb stones. The prospects to, and from, ruins and monuments were also physically enhanced in reality by careful planting of stands of trees, hedges, and in some instances antiquities were even physically relocated. Thus, the improvement movement which dominated economic, political, philosophical and aesthetic agendas during the 18th and early 19th centuries in Scotland, resulted in extensive reworking of the landscape and the 'resources' within it, including both people and antiquities. As we shall see, these processes had a lasting impact on the biography of the Hilton of Cadboll monument and the people associated with it informing many aspects of its later biography.

We have seen that the upper portion of the cross-slab remained outside of the western gable wall of the Hilton of Cadboll chapel after the Duff memorial was carved in 1676, whilst the lower portion remained *in situ* in the ground. By the late 18th century, it seems there was a concern to enhance the presentation and preservation of the cross-slab. Lines of trees were planted around the consecrated ground, and subsequently in the 19th century the upper portion was placed in a shed which had been built against the chapel wall. Stuart describes its location as such in 1856 in *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, but by 1872 the *Ordnance Survey Original Object Name Book* states that 'it was removed a few years ago to Invergordon Castle by R.B.A. Macleod Esq. where it remains'.[259] Unfortunately the latter source gives little further information about precisely when and how the upper portion was transported to Invergordon. There are no documents in the Macleod family papers (Highland Regional Archive HRA/D63) relating to this period. Furthermore, a search of the local newspapers proved unfruitful. However, one local resident of Hilton (D Macdonald) recounted how her grandmother had witnessed the event first hand when she was a young girl of about six to 10 years of age. As her grandmother was born in 1861 this places the likely removal of the stone in the late 1860s, which would also tie in with the account provided by the Hilton of Cadboll Estate Factor, J Young in the *O S Name Book*, where it is stated that the cross-slab had been removed a few years prior to 1872. A number of

other oral historical accounts relating to the removal of the stone were gathered from residents of Hilton of Cadboll whose families have been associated with the village for four to five generations.[260] These suggest that the upper portion of the cross-slab was placed on a cart pulled by oxen and transported to Invergordon by land, including one account derived from the great-granddaughter of one of the farmhands involved. This evidence is supported by published sources in 1921 where local commentators have provided accounts (presumably derived from oral history) (Chapter 7.6). However, there is one conflicting version of events offered by a correspondent in the *Glasgow Herald* who claimed that the upper portion was placed on a smack at 'Our Lady's Haven' close to St Mary's Chapel and conveyed to Invergordon by sea.

Whilst the appropriation and relocation of archaeological monuments is relatively unusual,[261] early medieval sculpture has a long history of relocation, which is documented by Allen in ECMS.[262] Landowners regularly removed carved monuments to their gardens, houses or private museums, as well as donated them to public museum collections. For instance, the Woodwrae cross-slab, following its discovery in the kitchen floor of Woodwrae Castle, was donated to Sir Walter Scott who erected it in his gardens at Abbotsford in the Scottish Borders.[263] Another example, is provided by the substantial collection of carved Pictish cross-slabs and symbol stones brought together in the private museum of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland.[264] Perhaps the closest analogy to Hilton of Cadboll, however, is the relocation of the Ulbster cross-slab from the ruined church of St Martin to the grounds of Thurso Castle, 20 miles away, where it was placed 'in the most exposed position possible on the top of a high, artificial mound'.[265] Thus, the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab was far from unique when it was taken to the gardens of Invergordon Castle by the laird of Cadboll Estate, Robert Bruce Aeneas Macleod.

The Castle had been acquired by the Macleods of Cadboll in the 1790s and it continued as their main residence until the early 20th century. In 1805 it was substantially destroyed by fire, but the family continued to live in one of the wings, and between 1872 and 1874 a new mansion of Elizabethan style complete with a battlemented tower was built under the instruction of Robert Bruce Aeneas Macleod who had succeeded his father in 1853.[266] Robert Bruce was known for his 'improving' work, in particular the landscaping of the Castle grounds and the creation of the 'American Gardens'. It has been suggested that the Gardens were based on a wild garden that he encountered on a trip to America,[267] although 'American Gardens' were fashionable in the mid-19th century.[268] Macleod's are described in the *OS Name Book*[269] as 'a shrubbery within the pleasure grounds of Invergordon Castle, tastefully laid out and sheltered on the east side by two rows of ancient beech trees'. The *Third Statistical Account* retrospectively refers to them as 'a thing of beauty' with 'their profuse display of rhododendrons, stately trees, and flower-bordered walks being famed throughout the country'.[270] Situated next to the 'Ornamental Drive', which ran from Rosskeen to the Castle, guests would encounter the American Gardens on their approach. Further to providing a pleasing and tasteful approach to the Castle, they were also undoubtedly intended for leisure and contemplation, containing a series of cross-cutting pathways, an ornamental pond and metal benches to sit on. It is here that the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab was re-erected and its precise location, adjacent to the Ornamental Drive, is indicated on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey map (surveyed in 1874) (illus 6.7). Here the monument, which as we have seen was already 'located' within an aesthetic discourse concerned with the romantic, gothic and sublime, would have enhanced the 'wild garden' and the romantic prospect that it was no doubt intended to create (illus 6.8). In this context the upper portion would have acquired a new form of agency, drawing the attention of visitors walking in the gardens, demanding their contemplation, and acting as a medium for the acquisition of knowledge and insight through such study. Indeed, one postcard shows a metal bench situated opposite the cross-slab to aid such contemplation/revelation. Furthermore, in contrast to the parallel use of classical antiquities in gardens, the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll monument would have referenced an axis of identity grounded in the local and the national rather than a discourse emphasising the classical roots of civilisation.

As documented by Foster,[271] such acts of appropriation and relocation were underpinned by the ambiguous status of sculptured stones on the cusp between art object and archaeological monument. With respect to the motivations underpinning acts of relocation, they have often been interpreted in terms of a straightforward desire to protect and conserve ancient monuments. Certainly antiquarian literature and organisations of the 18th and 19th centuries placed a great deal of emphasis on preservation, whether

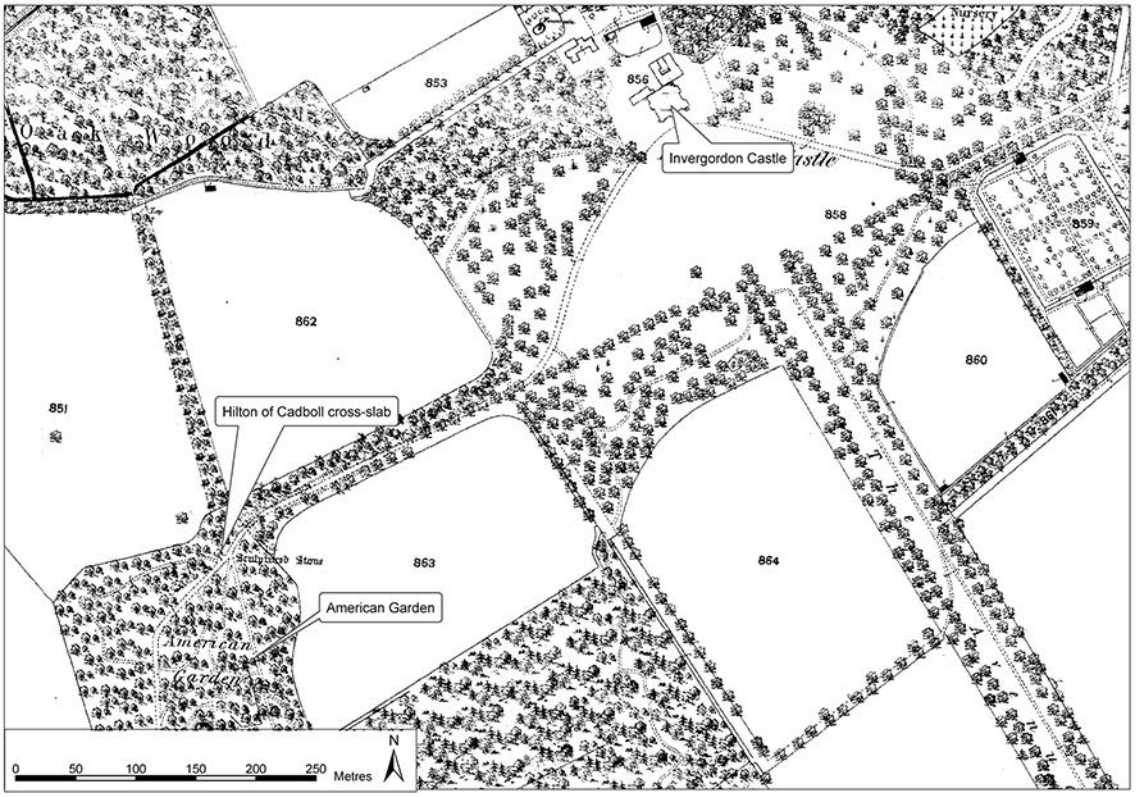

Illustration 6.7
Invergordon Castle and gardens as recorded on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map for Rosskeen Parish (reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland)

through appropriate custodianship of monuments, acquisition of portable antiquities, or preservation through accurate illustration. With respect to the early medieval sculptured stones of Scotland, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland had long expressed concern over their deteriorating condition and vulnerability, leading to the establishment of a Committee on Sculptured Stones in 1890.[272] Landowners also saw themselves as custodians of the antiquities on their land, often leading to clashes with antiquarian organisations, and with the state following the establishment of the Ancient Monuments Act in 1882. Indeed the parliamentary debate surrounding Lubbock's Bill in the 1870s revealed not only the hallowed status of private ownership, but also the strong sense of custodianship that many landowners (also Members of Parliament) felt. The idea that the state or antiquarian organisations might be better placed to look after an archaeological monument was seen as an insult to the taste and judgement which the landowning classes felt they had inherited from their forebears. Through their land management and private collections, landowners saw themselves as acting as custodians for the nation, preserving antiquities for future generations. It is highly likely then, that when Macleod's relocation of the monument to Invergordon Castle was discussed in 1921, commentators were correct in attributing his actions to a preservationist intent.[273] Ironically, it seems that the new location resulted in further weathering of the sculpture, which was a cause of great concern to Allen at the time of his visit,[274] but Macleod no doubt saw himself as acting in a responsible manner, entirely compatible with his duties as landowner, and thus owner of the antiquities located on his land.

Nevertheless, the duties of custodianship that some landowners expressed towards antiquities also applied to their estates as a whole. Antiquities, like other resources within the landscape, were a visible expression of the wealth, taste and status of landowners; attributes that were often displayed through acts of

Illustration 6.8
An early postcard showing the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab on display in the American Gardens at Invergordon Castle (HCA, number D565, © Highland Council Archives, Inverness)

improvement. The physical relocation of the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab was an integral part of the 'improvement' of the grounds of Invergordon Castle through landscape gardening. We have to remember that from Cordiner onwards the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab had been publicised as one of the finest examples of early medieval sculpture in Scotland. Thus, the decision to erect the monument alongside the main 'ornamental' driveway leading up to the Castle enhanced its visibility and effectiveness in the negotiation of taste and status. The same can be argued of the Tarbat fragments which Macleod had also removed to Invergordon Castle, all of which were located in prominent positions, one next to the Hilton of Cadboll Stone (Tarbat 1), two outside of the tower which provided the main entrance (Tarbat 9 & 10), and the rest in a room within the tower (Tarbat 2, 2a, 2b, 2c, 4, 5, 8). Other examples of relocation clearly performed similar roles in the negotiation of wealth, taste and status amongst the landowning classes. For instance, the Woodwrae and Gask cross-slabs, were placed in highly visible locations in the grounds, the latter being positioned alongside the carriage-drive to Gask House.[275] Others were brought together as collections within the house or private museums, such as at Dunrobin.[276]

The act of relocating early medieval sculpture in private grounds, houses, or museums, where access was restricted, thus both expressed and reinforced class relations and the exclusive position of the landowning elite in the conservation of antiquities during the 18th and most of the 19th centuries. The extent and nature of resistance to these practices is easier to gauge with respect to some sectors of society than others. It is clear that there was considerable disapproval in some antiquarian circles, and prominent individuals such as Allen and Pitt-Rivers were vocal about their views. Allen stated that

> The only justifiable reasons for removing a monument from the position in which it is found are either that it may be better protected from injury or that it may be made more easily accessible for purposes of study. There can, however, be no possible excuse for taking a stone away from its original locality in order to make it a mere ornament for a garden, as has frequently been done.[277]

Pitt Rivers also campaigned fervently for the preservation of sculptured monuments on their ancient sites wherever practicable: in order that 'country places' are not deprived 'of their old associations, and of the objects or interest, which serve to draw people to the localities'.[278] To what extent those who lived within these localities objected to their removal is less apparent due to the dearth of historical sources. However, several oral historical accounts gathered during the course of this research, suggest that some of the residents of Hilton of Cadboll were opposed to Macleod's removal of the upper section of the cross-slab and that a number of the men from the village had marched in protest behind the oxen and cart that had been used to transport it.[279] Whether the impetus for such opposition was derived from a specific appreciation of the monument, or, more likely, was part of a broader concern with resources and a sense of communal ownership of, or at least rights to, the land on which it was situated is to some extent irrelevant. As the 18th-century landscape gardener Humphrey Repton explained, the activity of landscaping was about 'appropriation [...] that charm which only belongs to ownership, the exclusive right

of enjoyment, with the power of refusing that others should share our pleasure'.[280] But who were the people who are said to have protested against the removal of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, and who were excluded from the pleasure it could offer by Macleod's act of appropriation? How was their biography tied to that of the monument, and indeed also moulded by the very historical processes that underpinned new approaches to antiquities and landscape?

We have suggested above (Chapter 6.3.2) that the modern fishing villages of Hilton, Balintore and Shandwick had medieval antecedents in the small-scale settlements of Catboll, Wester Catboll, Catboll-abbot and Catboll-fisher. These communities were embedded within a nexus of power involving the Crown, its feudal vassals, and religious houses, which characterised medieval society in the north-east of Scotland.[281] The houses they lived in, the resources they exploited, the products of their labour, and even their labour itself, were owned and heavily controlled by local landlords and religious houses.[282] The development of the villages in their modern form, however, was substantially linked to the Improving Movement that dominated Scottish economic, political and philosophical agendas during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.[283] As we have seen, the late 18th century witnessed widespread changes to the landscape intended to 'improve' its aesthetic appeal, as well as the development of more efficient communication, which enabled an expansion of tourism in the Highlands. These developments in turn informed a new concern with the description, classification and collection of antiquities such as the Hilton of Cadboll and Shandwick cross-slabs. However, the impact of the Improvement Movement was by no means restricted to aesthetic ideals regarding the landscape and antiquities; it also brought about profound transformations in social and economic relations that were intricately linked to the development of capitalism.[284] The most significant of these in the Scottish Highlands was linked to agricultural change and the displacement of tenant farmers and cottars to make way for sheep farming. The rural poor were to be resettled in farming and fishing villages, in industrial urban centres, or encouraged to emigrate. In the 18th century it was commonplace for a laird to own a 'fish-toun', as well as a 'ferm-toun', and in most instances the laird also owned the boats which fishermen were bound to for fixed terms, usually for periods of five to seven years. Most of the catch was retained by the laird in lieu of rent for the boat, and the fishermen were allowed to keep a small proportion. Fishing, like agriculture, became increasingly commoditised and the practice of mixed fishing and farming declined, contributing to a radical separation of 'fisherfolk' from 'landfolk' in respect to social relationships and identity.

The fishing villages of Easter Ross largely conform to this pattern of development. Later 16th- and 17th-century records suggest that the land associated with Catboll-fisher and Hilton of Cadboll chapel became part of the Cadboll estate.[285] Catboll-fisher was apparently abandoned and replaced by another small settlement located on the southern side of the chapel.[286] This latter village was referred to in the Cadboll estate maps and records of 1813 as 'Fishertown of Hilltown', and later became known as Hilton of Cadboll, undoubtedly referencing the rights of the laird over the village.[287] Prior to the late 18th century, historical evidence concerning the development and scale of this, and the other two fishing villages, is slight. However, there are manuscripts which allude to local lairds' attempts to control the fishing communities on their lands. Ash recounts how in 1713 a group of lairds from the seaboard parishes of Tarbat and Tain, including Macleod of Cadboll, signed an agreement intended to consolidate ownership over the fishers and prevent them leaving their master's boat for another.[288] Such documents underscore the role of landowners in the development of the fishing industry during the 18th century. However, their efforts were not as ambitious or as concerted as they were to the south of the Moray Firth.[289] Consequently, at the end of the 18th century, the Easter Ross fishing villages were still very small, probably with about 8–12 families in each.[290]

It was during the 19th century that the fishing settlements of Easter Ross, Sutherland and Caithness expanded significantly as a result of the re-settlement of people evicted from the interior of Ross-shire and Sutherland (see Table 6.1 for population statistics). One of the most overriding transformations wrought by the Improvers in northern Scotland was the massive depopulation of the Highlands to make way for sheep farming, a process that involved the removal of people from what were densely populated straths and glens.[291] The remnants of the population left behind in the Highlands were pushed on to the most marginal land, often coastal fringes where they were expected to become part of the labour force for the fishing and kelp industries. 'The last gasp of the centuries-old enclosure movements depriving peasants of access to land in both Britain and the European continent',[292] the advocates of the Clearances saw them as a means

Table 6.1
Table of population and fishing statistics for Hilton of Cadboll, and the seaboard villages as a group (Hilton, Balintore and Shandwick)[1]

Date	No of families/ households in Hilton	No of houses in Hilton	No of boats in Hilton	No of fishermen in Hilton	No of boats in all three villages	No of fishermen in all three villages	Source
1791–9	? *c* 8–12		**3**	**18**		**77**	*Stat Acct*, Vol 4, 292–3
1813	24+	**24**					*Contents of Estimate of the Estate of Cadboll Belonging to R.B. Aeneas Macleod Esquire*
1832	**58**	58 or less					Macdonald & Gordon 1971, 18
1855			**33**	**120**	**70**	**256**	Anson 1930, 271, based on Creek Returns for east coast of Scotland
1881			**23**[2]	**70**	**68**	**180**	Anson 1930, 274
1881	**94**	**79**					Census for 1881, *Mormon Family History Library*, microfilm 0208624
1918	105+	**105**					*Particulars and Plans of the Estates of Cadboll*, 1918, 40–1
1928					**14**	**58**	Anson 1930, 281

[1] The figures in bold are numbers provided by the sources whereas those out of bold are calculated on the basis of the figures offered in the sources. It is highly likely that the number of families would have amounted to more than the number of houses as it was commonplace in fishing communities for closely related families to inhabit different rooms within the same house as demonstrated by the 1881 census figures for Hilton (see also Anson 1950, 15).

[2] Anson's 1881 statistics suggest a sharp decline in numbers of boats and fishermen in Hilton. However, the figures for Balintore, the adjacent village rise sharply, with 12 boats and 36 fishermen in 1855 and 27 boats and 65 fishermen in 1881. The apparent decline in boats and fishermen from Hilton is likely to be a product of the shift in focus to Balintore in terms of landing and processing the catch during the later 19th century. A herring yard had opened in Balintore and the jetty at Hilton had been washed away in the mid-19th century. Anson (1930, 240) emphasises that whilst the boats were often based at Balintore, almost all the fishermen were from Hilton.

to increase the productivity of both land and people. However, the process of clearing people from the land was often brutal, and usually forced upon an unwilling population, resulting in the pain of dislocation and, for many of those involved, greater poverty and powerlessness.

Thus, the 'Highland Clearances' provided a source of labour for the fishing villages of the far north-east of Scotland. The seaboard villages of Hilton, Balintore and Shandwick were not planned Clearance coastal settlements like Helmsdale and Golspie, but they provided a refuge for displaced people particularly during the early to mid-19th century. The Cadboll Estate map drawn in 1813 shows two streets each running along the shore beneath the raised beach cliff. There are some 24 houses marked, suggesting at least as many families,[293] and an increase in numbers since the first *Statistical Account*. By 1832 there were 58 families suggesting a further significant increase in the population since 1813.[294] Hilton continued to grow throughout the 19th century (Table 6.1) and by the time it was sold ('with the houses, land, feu duties,

rental rights and others') as part of the Cadboll estate in 1918 there were 105 houses, including one hotel, three shops, a stabling yard and a schoolhouse. In their local history of the villages, Macdonald and Gordon suggest that Hilton provided a haven for the Mackays evicted from Sutherland, and Shandwick a refuge for the Rosses evicted from Glencalvie near Ardgay.[295] Oral history and genealogy also attest to the important role of the Clearances in the 19th-century growth of the villages, and during fieldwork one of us gathered a number of personal testimonies as to connections between Hilton and Sutherland, particularly with regard to the Sutherlands, Mackays and the Macanguses.[296]

Thus the fishing villages of Hilton, Balintore and Shandwick were historically built up from the poorest sectors of the rural peasantry who were forced off the land by processes of agricultural reform and enclosure, and later by systematic clearance of the Highlands. Once incorporated into fishing villages they endured chronic poverty and hardship.[297] Despite increased revenues and the prominence of the Scottish fishing industry during the 19th century, the prosperity of the Easter Ross fishing villages fluctuated according to international markets and the migration routes of the herring shoals themselves.[298] However, one of the chief reasons for their poverty was the 'want of good harbours', which prevented them from investing in larger sea-going boats and thus competing effectively with their 'brethren-in-trade'.[299] The construction of harbours required substantial investment from either landowners or the state and little was forthcoming until the very end of the 19th century.[300] The lack of critical resources, and the poverty and disempowerment attributed to them, also generated a variety of forms of resistance, and a growing militancy was evident towards the end of the 19th century.[301] A group of 400 fishermen from Hilton, Balintore and Shandwick presented a petition to the Napier Crofting Commission in 1883, pleading for harbour facilities on the basis of their lack of land and consequent total dependency on fishing.[302] Furthermore, in late 1884 and early 1885, fishermen from the villages were also involved in a number of meetings dealing with discontent about the introduction of steam trawling in the Moray Firth which was threatening the white fishing.[303]

The historical development of the fishing villages is important in understanding the negotiation of power and identity both within and out with the Seaboard villages. Ironically, their livelihood was rooted in Enlightenment values of industry and rationality and 'yet fishers themselves have experienced a public image that depicts them as backward and prerational'.[304] Furthermore, the very same Enlightenment values of improvement and progress that created the villages in their modern form also contributed to new ideas about antiquities like the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, their aesthetic and historic significance, and their conservation. The final irony is that although there is little direct continuity between the modern villages and the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, the history of displacement and marginalisation that contributed to the growth of the modern villages informs the symbolic resonance of the cross-slab and the recent conflict surrounding it. For as the monument became increasingly located at the core of Scottish national heritage, the Hilton of Cadboll fishers became more and more marginal in social, economic and political terms.[305]

6.7 'Tangible expression of the national soul': Hilton of Cadboll as national patrimony

> Ireland, a poorer nation than Scotland, has never dreamed of parting with the Book of Kells, the Cross of Cong, and the other priceless treasures that make Dublin one of the most interesting cities in Europe. Why should Scotland be in such indecent haste to write herself down a mere tributary province, and part with the tangible expressions of the national soul?[306]

The particular 'tangible expression of the national soul' at the heart of this *Scotsman* article is the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab. On selling up almost all his property in north-east Scotland, Captain Roderick Willoughby Macleod offered some of the sculptured stones acquired by his father to the British Museum.[307] By early February 1921, two of these, the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab and a cross-slab fragment from Tarbat,[308] had been sent to London and accepted by officials of the British Museum subject to approval by the Trustees. Their removal from Scotland sparked a 'storm of protest' from Scottish antiquarian circles and extensive newspaper coverage (Chapter 7.6). The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland led the campaign and the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh was widely favoured as the appropriate repository, although it was by no means the only option aired. Following much petitioning, political pressure, and, crucially, a little diplomacy, the Secretary for Scotland announced to the House of Commons on the 15 March 1921 that the Trustees

of the British Museum had released Captain Macleod from his original offer, and that the Hilton of Cadboll stone would be returned to Scotland. The Scottish newspapers had already been celebrating the fact that what seemed to be a 'very unpleasant incident now promises to have a satisfactory ending',[309] and 'all's well that ends well'.[310] By 10 November 1921 the cross-slab had arrived in Edinburgh at the National Museum of Antiquities, to where it had been transported by the North British Railway Company.[311]

Reflecting on the incident, one newspaper editorial commented that the controversy over the Hilton of Cadboll stone exemplifies 'the power of public opinion, when it is brought to bear in a reasonable manner upon a just claim'.[312] Many aspects of this statement could of course be questioned. The Trustees of the British Museum clearly disagreed about the 'reasonable manner' when they referred to the 'hectoring tone' of the Scottish antiquarian establishment.[313] Furthermore, the phrase 'public opinion' glosses the complex role of the machinery of the state, scholarly societies, political pressure and diplomacy, in negotiating the restoration of the monument. Finally, whilst it no doubt reflected a widespread view, the perception of the 'justness' of the claim presupposes a relationship between historic relics and the nation, that is more complex than the editorial goes on to assert:

> It [the Hilton of Cadboll case] settles finally and satisfactorily that historic relics of the sort are national possessions, and that the owner on whose lands they happen to be is really in the position of a trustee for the nation.[314]

Although the Ancient Monuments Act was frequently cited by those protesting at its removal (see below), the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab had not been scheduled, and as such it was still the property of the private landowner to dispose of it as he desired. Indeed, the debates enveloping this short-lived episode in the biography of the cross-slab are informed by, and provide insights into, wider tensions surrounding the claims of the nation and the rights of private landowners at that time. They are also revealing with respect to the relationship between contemporary Scottish and British national identities. As we shall see patriotism, class, morality, legality, authenticity and conservation were all brought to bear in the war of words that ensued from its removal to London. In the first instance, however, it will be helpful to discuss the events surrounding the cross-slab's brief sojourn in London and its return to Scotland in more detail. These will be pieced together from a variety of sources including the minute books of the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, letters from private individuals and antiquarian societies contained in the archives of the British Museum and the National Museums of Scotland, and a wealth of newspaper articles, editorials and correspondence (Chapter 7.6). The letters and minute books provide the most precise sources of information about the actual sequence of events, whereas the newspaper coverage, being more emotive and polemical in nature, provides fascinating insights into the symbolic significance of the monument, to which we will return later.

Captain Macleod sold his property, feus, farms, harbours and general estate at both Cadboll and Invergordon between 1918 and 1921, maintaining only about 50 acres of land near Invergordon.[315] Invergordon Castle and grounds passed into the hands of Mr Jones of Larbert, a timber merchant who, it was claimed, had purchased it solely for the timber on the property. In 1922 the Castle was again sold, this time to a sugar magnate, Sir William Martineau, who, following a fire, had it demolished in 1928.[316] As a result of the sale of his family home Macleod approached the British Museum offering to donate the upper portion of the cross-slab and at least one of the other fragments his family had acquired (Tarbat no 1).[317] By 3 February 1921 the Hilton of Cadboll stone had arrived at the British Museum where Sir Hercules Read, Keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography, prepared a report for the Trustees.[318] The report recommended that this gift 'of more than usual interest' be accepted by the Trustees 'with special thanks' on the grounds that it had been weathering rapidly at Invergordon and 'it is well therefore that so fine an example should be placed under cover'. Furthermore:

> These sculptured stones are commonly found in Scotland, many of them being still in the open as well as in the Museums, but so far as Sir Hercules is aware, there is in England no example of this ancient British art, so intimately related to the indigenous art of the pre-Roman Britons.[319]

In the event, the Trustees postponed their decision on the 12 February 1921 at the request of the Secretary for Scotland, Mr Robert Munro MP. Munro had written to the Trustees on 10 February stating that intense public feeling had been aroused in Scotland and the volume of protest he had received made it clear that 'if so characteristic an example of Scottish early Christian

Table 6.2
Table of known petitions of protest from Scottish bodies

Date	Author	Letter Recipient(s)	Response to SoAS campaign	Stance	Archive
03/02/1921	Society of Antiquaries	Circular letter to the antiquarian of Scotland	Campaign societies	Return of Stone to Scotland letter	NMS
08/02/1921	Society of Antiquaries of Scotland	Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland	N/A	Return of Stone to Scotland to be placed in National Museum if a local solution is unfeasible	NMS
08/02/1921	Society of Antiquaries of Scotland	Sir Lionel Earle, HM Office of Works	N/A	Return of Stone to Scotland to be placed in National Museum if a local solution is unfeasible	NMS
10/02/1921	Buchan Field Club	Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland	Yes	Return of Stone to Scotland	NMS
12/02/1921	Glasgow Archaeological Society	The Trustees of the British Museum; Secretary for Scotland; HM Office of Works; *The Scotsman*	Yes	Return of Stone to Scotland	BM
12/02/1921	Society of Antiquaries of Scotland	Sir Lionel Earle, HM Office of Works	N/A	Extending their protest to the Tarbat ragment, with the same demands	NMS
12/02/1921	Society of Antiquaries of Scotland	Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland	N/A	Extending their protest to the Tarbat fragment, with the same demands	NMS
17/02/1921	Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society	Sir Frederick Kenyon, Director of the British Museum; Secretary for Scotland; three unnamed MPs	Yes	Return of Stone to Scotland – 'either to the neighbourhood of Cadboll where it could be suitably cared for, or to the Scottish National Museum, Edinburgh'	BM and NMS
18/02/1921	Scottish Ecclesiological Society	Sir Lionel Earle, HM Office of Works	Yes	Return of Stone to Scotland to be placed in National Museum if a local solution is unfeasible.	BM
22/02/1921	Perthshire Society of	Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Natural Science	Yes Scotland	Return of Stone to Scotland – and erection 'near its local site in Hilton of Cadboll'	BM
24/02/1921	Glasgow School of Art	Sir Lionel Earle, HM Office of Works	Unclear	Return of Stone to Scotland	BM

Table 6.2 (cont)
Table of known petitions of protest from Scottish bodies

Date	Author	Letter Recipient(s)	Response to SoAS campaign	Stance	Archive
25/02/1921	Glasgow Celtic Society	Sir Lionel Earle, HM Office of Works	Unclear	Return of Stone to Scotland to be placed in National Museum or some other museum	BM
25/02/1921	The Institute of Scottish Architects	Trustees of the British Museum	Yes	Return of Stone to Scotland either to original location or, preferably, to the National Museum.	BM
28/02/1921	Buteshire Natural History Society	Sir Lionel Earle, HM Office of Works	Yes	Return of Stone to Scotland to be placed in National Museum if a local solution is unfeasible	BM
02/03/1921	Greenock Philosophical Society	Trustees of the British Museum	Unclear	Return of Stone to Scotland to be placed in National Museum	BM
10/03/1921	Paisley Philosophical Institution	Sir Lionel Earle, HM Office of Works	Unclear	Return of Stone to Scotland to be placed in National Museum 'where it would be readily accessible to Scottish craftsmen and students'	BM
ND (pre 11/02/1921)	The Elgin and Morayshire Literary and Scientific Association	Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland	Yes	Return of Stone to Scotland	NMS
ND (pre 14/02/1921)	Gaelic Society of Inverness	Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland; Mr Macpherson MP; Mr T. B. Morison, Lord Advocate.	Yes	Return of Stone to Scotland to be placed in National Museum	NMS
ND	Falkirk Natural History and Archaeological Society	Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland	Yes	Return of Stone to Scotland	NMS
ND	Hawick Archaeological Society	Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland	Unclear	Return of Stone to Scotland (Information based on a report in *The Scotsman*, 24 February)	N/A
ND	Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow	Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland	Unclear	Return of Stone to Scotland (Information based on a letter to *The Inverness Courier*, 14 Feb)	N/A
ND	St Andrew Society of Glasgow	Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland	Unclear	Return of Stone to Scotland (Information based on a report in *The Highland News*, 12 March)	N/A

art were allowed to leave the country, the resulting regret and disappointment would be extreme'.[320] He also pointed out that it had been the intention of the Ancient Monuments Board to have the stone scheduled in the immediate future and 'but for the war, this would have already been done'. Munro concluded by asking if the Trustees could postpone their decision about whether to accept the gift until he had had the opportunity of discussing the situation with 'the proprietor' (Macleod) who was seriously ill at present.

At the same time the Trustees also received a letter of protest from Glasgow Archaeological Society, the first of many from Scottish bodies.[321] The letter contained a copy of a Resolution passed by the Council of the Society in a special meeting which stated that

> The Council of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, representing archaeological interests in the West of Scotland, expresses its strong disapproval of the action of the Trustees of the British Museum in removing from Scotland the Hilton of Cadboll Stone – one of the most highly valued monuments of Celtic Ecclesiastical art in this country – and respectfully represents that it should be returned to Scotland.

Both Munro and the Glasgow Archaeological Society had been urged to act by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland who rapidly orchestrated what can only be described as a nation-wide campaign for the repatriation of the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab. On 3 February the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, R Scott Moncrieff, sent a circular letter to a large number of antiquarian and related bodies.[322] The letter referred to articles about the removal of the Hilton of Cadboll stone in *The Scotsman*[323] and *The Glasgow Herald*[324] and stated that 'this is one of the finest of the early Christian monuments of Scotland, and, should it be allowed to remain permanently in London, the loss to Scotland will be irreparable'. Despite its unscheduled status, Moncrieff then went on to set the protest firmly in the context of the Ancient Monuments Act and its role in the preservation and protection of such monuments, stating that 'it is invidious that the stone should ever have been removed from the district to which it belonged' and that

> It was undoubtedly for the protection, *inter alia*, of such monuments as this that the Ancient Monuments Acts were passed and the Ancient Monuments Board recently appointed, and every pressure must be brought to bear on His Majesty's Government to prevent the violation of the very principle which underlies these Acts of Parliament.

The letter concluded with an earnest appeal to societies 'to send a formal protest to the Secretary for Scotland against this reprehensible proceeding, with a request that the stone should be returned to Scotland'.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is thus quite clear in instructing societies as to what their position should be and in providing a context for their protest.[325] At least 18 societies joined the protest; some of them almost immediately and the rest within four to six weeks (Table 6.2). A few bodies addressed their protest direct to the Trustees of the British Museum, or its Director, Sir Frederick Kenyon. Most, however, wrote to the Secretary for Scotland, Mr Robert Munro, and/or Sir Lionel Earle at HM Office of Works, the latter forwarding them immediately to the British Museum.[326] The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland wrote to both on 8 February 1921,[327] and sent a further protest on 12 February regarding the removal of another fragment from Invergordon Castle. This, they mistakenly took to be Tarbat 10, with the Hiberno-Saxon inscription, whereas it was in fact Tarbat 1.[328] Most of the other bodies registering a protest did so simply with respect to the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, but they used equally strong terms, for instance, stating their 'strong disapproval', 'great regret', and 'formal protest', mostly aimed at the British Museum and its Trustees rather than at Captain Macleod.

The significance of the monument in national terms was stressed, mostly with respect to its historic value, but also as a source of inspiration for contemporary artists and craftsmen.[329] Furthermore, many followed the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and drew upon the Ancient Monuments Act in an attempt to lend moral authority to their demands for its return. However, whereas Scottish bodies were unanimous in appealing for its return to Scotland, there was some divergence of opinion about where it should be deposited were that to happen (Table 6.2). Of the 18 bodies that are known to have made formal written protests, one argued exclusively in favour of erection near its ancient site in Hilton of Cadboll; three argued exclusively in favour of the National Museum of Antiquities; seven stated that it should be placed in the National Museum of Antiquities if a local solution was not possible or feasible; and a further seven simply requested that the stone be returned to Scotland. Where explanations were offered as to these views, they focus on issues of conservation, authenticity and local character; issues which had been subject to debate since at least the late 19th century.[330] For instance, The Council of the

Glasgow Archaeological Society was of the opinion that

> If the stone is in such a condition that it should be protected from the action of weather the proper resting-place for it is in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.[331]

Whereas the Perthshire Society of Natural Science argued that

> While it might be necessary in some cases to put such monuments under cover either for their safe custody or for their preservation from the weather, the nearest museum or suitable public building should be selected for this purpose so that local interest might be retained. The Society, therefore, is strongly of the opinion that the Cadboll stone should be sent back from London and erected in or near its original site in Hilton of Cadboll.[332]

Aside from mobilising Scottish antiquarian, scientific and artistic organisations to register a formal protest, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland campaign also set in motion a chain of further correspondence with individuals, societies, and important figures in public life. The NMS archive provides glimpses of this. For instance, R Scott Moncrieff, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, wrote on instruction of the Council to the Earl of Rosebery enclosing the protest of the Society in the hope that he would be able to help in the matter.[333] Lord Rosebery replied that it seemed to him 'an outrage that this ancient stone had been removed from Scotland, for which there can be no possible excuse', but he feared that he had no means of assisting in its restoration.[334] Graham Callander, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities, had more luck with W Douglas Simpson of Aberdeen who forwarded the Society's circular letter to the Working Men's Natural History Society, with whom he was well-acquainted.[335] He also recommended that the Society contact the Aberdeen Regional Survey Association and the Northern Arts Club, to whom he would be lecturing that Friday and would take the opportunity of pressing the issue personally. Finally he asked whether the Rev Archibald B Scott of Helmsdale, a 'Pictish authority', had been alerted as he is 'the sort of man to raise ructions in the North'. We can only imagine that officers of other societies also took it upon themselves to 'raise ructions' where they could, by writing to societies, friends and acquaintances, who they felt might exert influence. Politicians were also a target. The Gaelic Society of Inverness, for instance, wrote to T B Morison, Lord Advocate and MP for Inverness-shire, and Ian Macpherson, MP for Ross-shire.[336] As a result of the wide publicity and direct lobbying of MPs the fate of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab was also discussed in the Houses of Parliament. On 3 March 1921 Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Murray asked the Secretary for Scotland for a statement regarding the Hilton of Cadboll Stone and its acquisition by the British Museum,[337] and on 15 March 1921 the latter announced that the British Museum had decided to release Captain Macleod from his offer by declining the gift of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab.[338]

Press coverage was extensive and this was in no small part a result of the activities of the antiquarian societies and their members. Our research has identified 78 articles focusing on the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab during 1921 in 8 newspapers: *The Glasgow Herald* (now *The Herald*) (16); *The Glasgow News* (1); *The Highland News* (11); *The Inverness Courier* (9); *The Perthshire Courier* (1); *The Ross-Shire Journal* (7); *The Scotsman* (28); *The Times* (2) (Chapter 7.6).[339] These articles varied in type and consisted of reports, commentaries, editorials, and letters to the editor. Most of the reports focused on recording developments from the initial removal of the cross-slab to its return to Scotland.[340] Some of these cited sources in official or prominent public positions, such as the Director of the British Museum, the Secretary for Scotland, the Office of Works, the Chairman of the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland, the Duke of Atholl and others to lend authority to their reports (see Table 6.3 for a summary of their roles). The formal protests recorded by many of the antiquarian societies, along with the replies that they received, were frequently reported upon, cited at length, or summarised.[341] Other reports described the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab and the Tarbat fragment, and discussed their recent history and state of preservation with greater or lesser accuracy.[342] Whilst all of these reports were written from particular perspectives, it is the editorial commentaries and letters which are most revealing about the stances of newspapers and individuals.

The Scotsman adopted a very clear position in favour of return of the monument to Scotland. For instance, an editorial on 9 February began with the statement that 'Scotland is threatened with the loss of one of her most notable historical monuments [...] unless the voice of public pinion makes itself heard promptly and in unmistakable fashion'.[343] The same editorial went on to discuss Macleod's actions and cite examples of

repatriation, for instance of artefacts from the British Museum to Ireland. Furthermore, in a later editorial, discussing reports that Macleod wished to have the stone returned to Scotland, the author stated that 'what threatened to be a very unpleasant incident now promises to have a satisfactory ending'.[344] *The Glasgow Herald* adopted a similar position by virtue of presenting the viewpoint of the Scottish antiquarian establishment that the stone is a 'national treasure', which should be returned to Scotland (usually naming the National Museum of Antiquities), pretty much to the exclusion of other arguments.[345] *The Inverness Courier* adopted as staunch a stance as *The Scotsman* in favour of the return of the monument to Scotland, although its articles and letters were much more inflammatory.[346] Initially reports focused on the wrongs of its removal from Scotland *per se*, but, once it became evident that the stone would be returned, the newspaper adopted a position in favour of a local solution, either at the ancient site or in Fearn Abbey.[347] Leader and editorial statements in *The Ross-Shire Journal* also positioned the paper firmly in favour of the return of the monument to Scotland, specifically to Ross-shire. For instance, reporting on the intimation that Captain Macleod was prepared to hand over the Hilton of Cadboll stone to the National Museum of Antiquities, *The Ross-Shire Journal* stated that

> This is infinitely better than that the stone should be housed in London, but it does not meet the objection that the stone after all, is really of Ross-Shire origin and that Ross-Shire is its native and natural home. Captain Macleod obviously is acting under advice not of Ross-shire origin.[348]

The Highland News adopted a more non-committal stance. It was the first to report on the disappearance of the upper portion from Invergordon, and it published a number of letters outlining the local background and context of the gift, but it did not take a strong editorial stance. Finally, *The Times* represented the opposite end of the spectrum from newspapers like *The Scotsman* and *The Inverness Courier.* There was not a great deal of coverage, but an article published on 1 March provided a series of arguments challenging Scottish demands for restoration and concluded by arguing that

> While, out of courtesy to the Secretary for Scotland, the Trustees have postponed their decision, it is understood that it is their very decided wish to possess the stone, and it is hoped that it may find an honoured place in the Museum.[349]

A wider range of perspectives were of course represented in the newspapers in the form of individual letters to the editor. Correspondence frequently stemmed from fellows/members of the antiquarian societies and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was well represented. The purpose of a large proportion of these letters was to make personal protests about the removal of the stone, or to endorse those of particular societies. If condemnation of the British Museum had been strong in the formal protests of antiquarian and scientific bodies, this was often magnified in letters to the press and criticism also extended to the conduct of Captain Macleod.[350] There were also a handful of letters which defended the actions of The Trustees and Officials of the Museum[351] and/or Macleod himself.[352] On the subject of their actions, a number of correspondents also entered into debates with one another, as well as over the wider issue of national patrimony versus private ownership. Finally, a number of letters focused on the history of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab and the local background to the donation,[353] these also leading to minor debates between correspondents, usually over matters of factual accuracy.[354]

Both the strong disapproval expressed by the antiquarian establishment and the rather more polemical and emotive statements published in the national media aggravated the Trustees of the British Museum, if Viscount Esher's public response is representative. In his letter to *The Glasgow Herald* he pointedly stated that

> Some of the Trustees would have been glad to give consideration to the desire of Scotsmen to retain the stone in Scotland, but their task was rendered difficult, if not impossible by the hectoring tone of the documents to which I have alluded. [...] If Scottish antiquarians and archaeologists desire to press the very sound point that the stone should remain in Scotland, they should show courtesy and tact towards Mr Macleod and the Trustees of the British Museum or they are likely to be disappointed.[355]

Despite this very thinly veiled threat, the public campaign of protest, courteous or otherwise, probably played a role in bringing about the return of the upper portion to Scotland, putting the Trustees under pressure and certainly placing Macleod in a difficult position personally. More importantly, however, the campaign no doubt mobilised certain individuals in prominent positions and informed the actions they took. Table 6.3 identifies these individual participants and summaries their actions. Some, such as Graham

Callander, Sir Frederick Kenyon, and Sir Lionel Earle were fulfilling their professional duties. Others such as Robert Munro and the Duke of Atholl were involved in direct negotiations between Macleod, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the National Museum of Antiquities. As we shall see, their political persuasion and diplomacy was crucial in sealing the fate of the upper portion of the cross-slab; so much so that they both received formal letters of thanks from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.[356]

The archives of the British Museum and the National Museums of Scotland do not provide a comprehensive record of these negotiations, but it is possible to reconstruct many of the key events. As we have seen, Munro had taken action immediately, writing to the Trustees of the British Museum in his role as Secretary for Scotland on 10 February requesting that they postpone their decision. His next step was to approach Captain Macleod and meet with him as soon as he was recuperating from his illness. However, he did not manage to do this until the 7 March and it was the Duke of Atholl who was the first to communicate with Macleod over the matter. A letter from Atholl had been published in *The Scotsman* on the 21 February in which he adopted a conciliatory tone sympathising with all parties over the issue, including the Trustees of the British Museum and Macleod. He had been in touch with Macleod apparently suggesting that the British Museum might be prepared to release him from his offer and asking whether he would be well enough to meet with someone to discuss the matter.[357] Macleod responded on the 24 February, stating that whilst he was sceptical about the outcome it was worthwhile approaching the Museum and that

> For my part I am quite willing to let it be known that if I had realised what was the feeling of Scottish Antiquarians with reference to the stone, I should never have thought of allowing it to leave Scotland.[358]

Atholl forwarded a copy of the letter to Sir Lionel Earle who in turn communicated with Sir Frederick Kenyon over the matter. Earle's role was largely one of mediation, forwarding documents and liaising with the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland through Lord Carmichael and R Scott Moncrieff. He was, however, important in pursuing guarantees that the National Museum of Antiquities would be prepared to accept the cross-slab and also that Macleod would be prepared to offer it to them, were the British Museum to release Macleod from his gift.[359] The latter issue it appears was again resolved by the Duke of Atholl.[360] Thus by the time Robert Munro was to meet with Captain Macleod on 7 March 1921 much of the ground-work had been prepared and he was able to report Macleod's attitude as follows in a letter to Sir Frederick Kenyon:

> If he had been aware of the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Act, or had he foreseen the strength of sentiment which has been expressed with regard the matter, he would not have dreamt of permitting the Stone to leave Scotland, and he now hopes very much that ways and means will be found for restoring it to Scottish custody.[361]

Munro's letter, communications between Macleod and Hercules Read, and letters of protest from Scottish bodies, were considered at the next Standing Committee of the Trustees of the British Museum on 7 March 1921.[362] In light of this the Trustees bowed to Munro's hope that 'they may see their way to co-operating with Macleod in giving effect to his express wish' and recorded the following resolution:

> [...] while considering the offer to have been made in the best interests of archaeology, and confirming the action of the Keeper in the matter, [the Trustees] resolved not to accept it, so as to leave Captain Macleod free to make such dispositions as he might now prefer.

Macleod formally took advantage of this offer on 15 February 1921 in a letter to Sir Frederick Kenyon in which he stated that

> The Scottish antiquarian societies and others may seem to take a narrow view of the question, but from the various letters I have received I can see that the feeling is widespread in favour of this stone being returned to Scotland and therefore with many regrets I feel I must take advantage of the very generous view the Trustees have taken in allowing me a free hand and decide that it is sent back.[363]

It appears that Macleod did not communicate directly with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland or the National Museum of Antiquities until prompted to do so by a letter from R Scott Moncrieff on 1 April 1921. Moncrieff thanked Macleod on behalf of the Council for agreeing to return the stone to Scotland. He went on:

> They further hope that you will see your way to present the stone to the nation and deposit it in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities where, with other notable Scottish relics, it would be for all time safeguarded.[364]

In his brief and rather cool response Macleod stated that, 'I suppose I cannot do better than agree to have it preserved in your national museum', concluding with a request that the expenses incurred by the British Museum be reimbursed by the Society. [365] Thus, the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab was incorporated into the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Queen Street where it remained until the late 1990s when it was moved to the new Museum of Scotland in Chambers Street.

So far we have concentrated on the role of individuals, antiquarian bodies, museums and the media in the events surrounding the upper portion of the cross-slab in 1921. However, the debates surrounding the removal of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab to the British Museum are to a large degree prefigured in wider discourses about the relationships between antiquities, particularly early medieval sculpture, and the production of Scottish national identity. Indeed, it could be said that the cross-slab itself was already woven into narratives concerning the origins and history of the Scottish nation. In Chapter 6.5 it was argued that the national significance and aesthetic value attributed to the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab in the work of popular authors such as Cordiner and Miller ensured its incorporation into the national imagination. It became a well-known and highly regarded example of a body of indigenous art associated with the spread of Christianity and the history of the Scottish nation. There were also prior connections between the cross-slab and the work of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In the early 1830s, Charles Carter Petley's drawings and copper engravings of the upper portion were donated to the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by his widow.[366] A photograph of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab standing in the grounds of Invergordon Castle forms the frontispiece for the Second Series of Joseph Anderson's influential Rhind lectures, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*.[367] Furthermore, as part of a wider body of early Christian art, the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab had been subject to extensive discussion and classification during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, not least in Allen and Anderson's seminal *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*.

However, located in the grounds of Invergordon Castle, where it functioned as an accessory of power for an elite stratum of society, much of its national symbolism remained latent, implicit in its privileged position as an outstanding example of early medieval sculpture. It was only with its removal to London in 1921, relocating it in the sphere of state institutions and machinery, that its relationship to state and nation was fully realised. In the debate surrounding its removal, the monument was described as a 'national treasure', a 'precious Scottish treasure', a 'national relic', and its Scottishness (as well as its Celtic character) was repeatedly emphasised. Proclaimed as 'one of the most highly valued monuments of Celtic ecclesiastical art in this country',[368] its significance was further enhanced by its status as art, at a time when Celtic art was the focus of a modern revival which itself fed into the production of Scottish national identity.[369] The international importance of this 'national treasure' was also highlighted, thus situating the art of Scotland in a pre-eminent position in relation to that of other European nations. For instance, it was described by one correspondent as 'one of the most exquisitely carved sculptured ancient stones in the world'[370] and compared favourably with classical art in another article that cited Hugh Miller's view that the vine-scroll border 'would hardly disgrace the friese of an Athenian portico'.[371]

The instrumental role of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in the whole affair also highlights the national status of the monument. As we have seen in Chapter 6.5, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was founded in 1780 with the aim of studying 'the ancient, compared with the modern state of the Kingdom and people of Scotland'.[372] From the outset the establishment of a collection of Scottish antiquities was a principal objective, and one that was very much presented as a national endeavour. As William Smellie pointed out in his *Account* of the society:

> They [the 'noblemen and gentlemen' involved in instituting the Society] considered that some useful materials, which had been amassed by eminent Antiquaries, were now perishing in the possession of persons who knew not their value; that others, still existing, in public libraries, depended upon the fate of single copies, and were subject to obliteration, to fire, and to other causes of destruction; and that it was *an object of national importance* to bring all these, either in their original form or in accurate transcript, into one great repository, which should be rendered accessible to the republic of letters.[373]

Initially, like other scholarly societies, the Society and its collections had been the preserve of the privileged. However, during the early 19th century, the Society became anxious to use the Museum to expand its public role,[374] and by the early 1840s had started to appeal to the government for financial support in running

Scotland's 'national' museum. The creation of public museums and galleries was a characteristic of European nation-states in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. As Anderson has shown, the formation of modern nation-states involved the creation of large-scale 'imagined communities' based on a sense of common experience rooted in the intersection of a particular history and territory.[375] The museum and the map were key artifices in producing such a consciousness, the former providing a repository of national tradition that could be displayed for public consumption utilising new forms of temporal classification to illustrate the history of the nation. In its new conception, the public museum was to be an instrument of instruction, a means to 'civilise' the masses, and, in the case of national institutions, a vehicle for visualising and promoting a collective national identity.[376] However, research has shown that 'the process was as complex as it was protracted'.[377] Their creation involved the transformation of earlier collections which had functioned as accessories of power for an elite stratum of society, into 'museums as cultural resources that might be deployed as governmental instruments involving the whole population'.[378] Furthermore, the process frequently involved the negotiation of continuing elite influence in one form or another, for instance through maintenance of a degree of control over the classification and display of the collections, or negotiation of privileged access to them.

By 1851 an agreement was reached to transfer the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to the Crown 'to be the nucleus of a National Archaeological Museum for Scotland'.[379] The Board of Manufacturers was to be responsible for providing accommodation, new display cabinets and employment of staff. However, the Society was to maintain the role of arranging the collection and appointing the curator.[380] Their continuing role as 'custodians' of the National Museum of Antiquities undoubtedly informed the active part that Council members and Fellows played in the Hilton of Cadboll protest of 1921. In its press statements and correspondence the Society restricted itself to calls for the return of the stone to Scotland, stating that it should never have been removed from the district where it belonged.[381] However, in later negotiations more specific interests allied to the National Museum of Antiquities become evident, not least in the letter from R Scott Moncrieff on 1 April 1921 asking Macleod to present the stone to the Museum. Indeed it is clear that there were tensions between the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, representing the National Museum of Antiquities, and the Trustees of the British Museum over the acquisition of objects of Scottish provenance, as well as conflicts between the Directors and Keepers at the two institutions. On 1 March 1921 the Society of Antiquaries sent an excerpt of the Council Minutes to the Trustees of the British Museum stating that

> The Council [...] warmly appreciate the manner in which the Trustees of the British Museum have dealt with the recent difficulty regarding the destination of the Hilton of Cadboll stone. The Council feel that the consideration which the Trustees have shown lays a corresponding responsibility upon themselves, and that they therefore regard it as a good omen for the future. If the incident should lead to a larger measure of co-operation, they are sure the best interests of both the institutions concerned would be materially furthered. The Council desire to place it upon record that they would welcome any practical steps towards the establishment of a closer understanding between the responsible officials.[382]

Little more than a fortnight later Graham Callander wrote to Sir Frederick Kenyon to advise him that the 'late Celtic bronze mask' from Torrs, Galloway, which had been preserved at Abbotsford, would be auctioned by Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's. 'In case your Museum has been thinking of bidding for it, I have to inform you that the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland have arranged to try and purchase it for this Museum, as the relic is one of the finest of its period in Scotland'.[383] The tension surrounding such negotiations is evident in the scribbled notes on the top of the letter between Sir Hercules Read and Sir Frederick Kenyon observing that this 'was no doubt the promised "collaboration"' and that a 'polite letter' would not be amiss. The resulting telegram from Read was abrupt, asking Callander to what price the National Museum would bid in order that the British Museum could ensure that both Museums did not lose the piece.[384]

The reaction of antiquarian bodies and the terms of the media coverage also reflect, and provide insights, into the increasingly nationalistic character of Scottish archaeology in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. Romantic nationalism was evident in the correspondence and publications of archaeologists, who were becoming more and more explicit about the role of the past and antiquarian pursuits in the promotion of national identity. For instance, the Scottish archaeologist Daniel Wilson spoke of the

Table 6.3
Key individual participants in the return of the upper portion of the cross-slab to Scotland[1]

Name	Position	Action taken
The Duke of Atholl	No official position with respect to ancient monuments. He was a founding member and first chairman of the National Trust for Scotland, est. 1931[2]	Atholl played a crucial diplomatic role, negotiating with Macleod, and communicating the latter's wishes to Earle who passed them on to the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. It is not clear what originally motivated Atholl to take on this role.
Graham Callander	Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities	The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland represented the interests of the Museum and thus Callander's role on the surface at least was a minor one. He confirmed that the upper portion would be accepted by the National Museum of Antiquities.
Lord Carmichael	President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland	Carmichael signed the formal letters of protest from the Society of Antiquaries. Along with Atholl, he was also involved in the negotiations behind the scene between Macleod, the National Museum and the British Museum.
Sir Lionel Earle	Civil Servant, HM Office of Works.[3] He is known to have stayed with the Duke of Atholl[4]	Earle received many of the formal protests from Scottish bodies. This was probably because the cross-slab was considered to be a monument, and many protestors attempted to bring the Ancient Monuments Act into the debate, even though it had not been scheduled. Earle acted as a mediator, forwarding protests to the British Museum and communicating with Atholl, Carmichael and Munro.
Viscount Esher	A Trustee of the British Museum	Esher provided the only public statement from the Trustees of the British Museum in his letter to *The Scotsman* (17 February), although there is nothing to indicate that he was offering an official view. His main agenda was to clarify Macleod's legal status as owner in the absence of scheduling.
Sir Frederick Kenyon	Director of the British Museum	Kenyon received a few of the formal protests direct from Scottish bodies, and was the main point of contact for Earle and Munro (who forwarded other protests to him).
Sir Hercules Read	Keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography, British Museum. Also President of the Society of Antiquaries of London making him a Trustee of the British Museum by office	It appears that Read played a key role in receiving the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab. He wrote a report for the Trustees recommending that Macleod's gift be accepted. Macleod clearly communicated with Read privately although copies of the letters are not in the archives.
Captain Roderick Macleod	Proprietor of Invergordon Castle and by association regarded as legal owner of the upper portion	Macleod's actions and desires were crucial to the outcome. He initially offered the upper portion of the cross-slab to the British Museum. Following the diplomatic activities of Atholl and political pressure from Munro he agreed to return it to Scotland, donating it to the National Museum of Antiquities.

Table 6.3 (*cont*)
Key individual participants in the return of the upper portion of the cross-slab to Scotland

Name	Position	Action taken
Sir John Stirling Maxwell	Chairman of the Scottish Ancient Monuments Board	The AMB was intending to schedule the cross-slab but had not done so by 1921. Maxwell resisted pressure formally to demand its return, but he did privately communicate to the Trustees and Macleod that the AMB desired its return either to the National Museum of Antiquities or to its ancient site at Hilton of Cadboll. Macleod took note of Maxwell's views in private correspondence with Atholl.
Robert Munro, MP	Secretary for Scotland	Munro received most of the written protests from Scottish bodies. He acted as an intermediary between Macleod, the British Museum and the Scottish antiquarian establishment. He also requested that the Trustees of the British Museum postpone their initial decision about whether to accept the gift and asked them to co-operate in giving effect to Macleod's capitulation.

[1] This table provides a summary of information that is discussed in more detail in the main text. References to supporting evidence can be found in footnotes to the main text.
[2] SCRAN, http://www.scran.ac.uk/.
[3] Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Vol 39, where he is described as 'affable, handsome and well-connected' with a strong interest in fine arts, public memorials and statuaries.
[4] Earle 1935.

role of antiquarian museums in the 'awakening' of 'genuine nationality'.[385] Furthermore, in the preface to his pioneering synthesis *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, he traced the 'zeal for archaeological investigation which has recently manifested itself in nearly every country of Europe' to Sir Walter Scott whose literary, antiquarian and folkloristic endeavours were, he argued, instrumental in the production of a romanticised Scottish national tradition.[386] By the late 19th century, archaeological enquiry was promoted as a national pursuit of the highest order. Furthermore, archaeological remains were not merely seen as national property, but as part of the very 'body' of the nation as an historical entity. For instance, in the first of his influential Rhind Lectures, Joseph Anderson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities between 1869 and 1913, argued that

> [T]he idea of nationality cannot be confined to the existing individuals (who have no monuments and no history), but includes the aggregate of all its relations of space and time. Strip the nation of its monuments and history, and what is there left to be signified by the term national? I think the inference from this is irresistible, and that it is scarcely possible to conceive of an object more truly national than that which aims at illustrating the nation's infancy.[387]

On this basis, Anderson zealously promoted the need to create an 'exhaustive collection' that is completely representative of the nation, encompassing the entire national territory and organised on a chronological basis to reveal the history of the nation. This national collection, he suggested, may be regarded as a 'great cairn', and 'every true-hearted Scotsman' should consider it his duty to hand the 'waifs and strays' that exist in private hands over to the collection; 'to add a stone to the cairn, by laying them as his offering on the altar of his country'.[388]

Given such eminent precedents, it is not surprising then that the commentaries and protests surrounding the removal of the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab to the British Museum were couched in similar terms. The Scottish nation was portrayed as an organic entity with similar attributes to people.[389] For instance, it is portrayed as one of the main actors in the drama in statements like, 'Scotland can ill afford to lose one of her interesting early Christian monuments'.[390] Furthermore,

Scotland was attributed a 'soul' or a 'spirit', and the removal of the Hilton of Cadboll stone was described as 'contrary [...] to the real spirit of Scotland',[391] or compared to the very 'soul of the nation', as we saw in the opening quote to this section. The nation is even ascribed personality traits, as in the case where one commentator argues that it is preposterous 'to imagine *Scotland so callous* as to allow this valuable volume from the Celtic Library of the North to pass to an untimely grave in the British Museum'.[392] Above all, however, it is the possession of cultural property which consolidates the idea of the nation as analogous to the individual; 'property' being central to the post-Enlightenment definition of the individual in terms of rights, liberties and identity.[393] Some of the newspaper articles simply state that historic relics such as the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab are 'national possessions'.[394] More often the assertion of national ownership is embedded in accusatory references to the stone having been 'robbed', 'smuggled' or 'stolen', and the behaviour of the British Museum authorities as 'clandestine', 'conniving', 'furtive' and even 'shabby'.[395] Far from representing the views of uniformed members of the public or journalists intent on fuelling the skirmish, this inflammatory language frequently stemmed from members of the antiquarian establishment.[396] Furthermore, Captain Macleod is castigated by some for failing to take the 'proper course of action', which a true Scotsman would take under such circumstances, basically neglecting to add his 'waif' to Anderson's 'cairn of the nation'.[397]

Thus the debate surrounding the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab in 1921 reveals continuing tensions surrounding the rights of the private owner versus the rights of the nation with respect to cultural patrimony. Such tensions had been a focus of political debate since at least as early as the 1870s when Sir John Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Bill stimulated the first parliamentary debate on archaeological monuments in Britain.[398] There were 21 Scottish sites listed on the schedule of the first Ancient Monuments Act in 1882, seven of which were early medieval sculptured monuments.[399] A further six sculptured monuments had been taken into guardianship by 1900.[400] As pointed out above, the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab had not been scheduled or taken into guardianship prior to 1921. The Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland established under the 1913 revised Act had been preparing a list of monuments to be scheduled, including the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab. However, as the Chairman of the Board, Sir John Stirling Maxwell explained, the policy had been to await the preparation of a complete list of this class of monuments rather than schedule individual examples in a piecemeal fashion.[401] The upper section of the cross-slab thus remained the private property of Captain Macleod in legal terms, a point that was emphasised by the British Museum and in particular by one of its Trustees, Viscount Esher. In his letter to *The Glasgow Herald* Esher emphasised the implications of this legal status:

> The stone is the private property of Mr M^{c}Leod, and as it is not scheduled as an ancient monument under the Act of 1913 he is free to dispose of it, sell it, give it away, or destroy it as he pleases. [...] Mr M^{c}Leod is free to offer and the Trustees [of the British Museum] are free to accept a valuable and important gift. If Scottish antiquarians and archaeologists desire to press the very sound point that the stone should remain in Scotland, they should show courtesy and tact towards Mr M^{c}Leod and the Trustees of the British Museum, or they are likely to be disappointed. The stone, not being scheduled, could be sent to America tomorrow if the Trustees refuse the gift [...].[402]

An unattributed article in *The Times* adopted a similar stance and elaborated with respect to Scotland's national claims:

> There is no question of Captain Macleod's legal right to offer the stone and the Trustees' legal right to accept it. The only question involved seems to be whether the principle is to be adopted that everything Scottish must stay in Scotland, or whether it is reasonable that the art of Scotland, like that of most other countries, should be represented in the British Museum. There might be something to be said for the argument that the stone must not be removed from Scotland if it was the only representative of its kind, but it is only one of a very considerable number.[403]

In contrast, a letter from the Duke of Atholl to the Editor of *The Scotsman* exemplifies the opposing view that the Hilton of Cadboll stone represents national property:

> This stone, an upright cross-slab sculptured in relief is one of the most beautiful of our Early Christian monuments, and also one of greatest interest to our archaeologists, and, like many others, I feel that no effort should be spared to get it returned to its native land. It is obvious that a stone of such antiquity is morally a national possession, and should be in Scotland, either in our National Museum, or on its former site, properly safeguarded from depredation or weather by the Office of Works.[404]

Such a view was echoed in many Scottish newspaper articles and editorials.[405] The debate surrounding Hilton of Cadboll thus provided a microcosm for the expression and negotiation of tensions between national patrimony and private property, but also between moral and legal conceptions of ownership. Interestingly, distinctions between legal and moral conceptions of ownership would also become the focus of tensions between national institutions and the local community some 80 years later following the rediscovery and excavation of the lower portion of the cross-slab.[406] In 1921, these tensions were played out with reference to arguments about patriotism and morality as much as they were about the legality of ownership and the machinery of the state. Ultimately, however, it was powerful class alliances and the intervention of elite members of society, such as the Duke of Atholl and Lord Carmichael, which appears to have been decisive in bringing about the return of the upper portion to Scotland and its acquisition by the National Museum of Antiquities.

6.8 Marginalisation and regeneration, reconstruction and discovery: the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab and the seaboard villages

> If I were to go into any of the three fishing villages on the East Coast [Hilton of Cadboll, Balintore, and Shandwick], I would find that nine out of ten know very little about the ancient relic and care not a 'haddie' whether it be presented to the art loving natives of Lapland or set up in a Scottish museum in Edinburgh. [...] What material benefit [do they] enjoy now that trouble and expense have been involved in the restoration of this primitive specimen of Celtic sculpture to its appropriate place amongst Scotias richest collection of rarities? [...] Their life is both arduous and dangerous. Amenities which, if improved, would facilitate his continual grind are allowed to go from bad to worse. Not a word is spoken on their behalf, and not a finger is raised to help them live comfortably: yet where the object is an extraneous one the interest displayed by promoters of the public weal is immense.[407]

Whilst the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab was being incorporated into one of the principal Scottish national institutions, the seaboard villages of Easter Ross became increasingly marginal in social and economic terms. The *Highland News* correspondent lists a number of hardships facing Hilton of Cadboll in 1921, including the absence of a water pump, a scarcity of milk for children, and the poor condition of Balintore harbour, which, due to silting and ill-repair, had become 'virtually useless from the point of view of commerce'.[408] However, the claim that, faced with adverse circumstances, people are largely ignorant of ancient relics such as the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, and care little about what happens to them, needs to be qualified. It is not possible to ascertain the breadth of interest in the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab in 1921, but at least one 'Hiltonian' had written to the same newspaper in mid-February correcting misconceptions about its local history, which had been perpetuated in the press.[409] Whilst it is unlikely to have been the most pressing issue in people's lives, it seems that the cross-slab retained a place in people's social memory during the 20th century. Furthermore, during the last few decades activities relating to the monument increased. First, however, we need to return to the social history of Hilton of Cadboll, particularly with respect to marginalisation and regeneration. These processes are an important factor in the production of a sense of identity and place in the Seaboard villages. They are also crucial to understanding developments relating to the cross-slab and its symbolic significance in local contexts (Chapter 6.9).

Until the 1960s the economy of the seaboard villages of Easter Ross continued to centre on fishing, with additional seasonal farm labouring. However, in the 1930s the introduction of seine-net boats decimated the white fish population in the Moray Firth and fishing declined from that point onwards.[410] Today there are only a few boats berthed in Balintore harbour that engage in fishing on a commercial basis. There are also a number of active salmon-fishing stations along the coast, but most of those involved supplement their income by other means. For the most part, the small boats based in the harbour are used for recreational fishing during the summer, providing for personal consumption and informal exchange networks. Yet, despite its commercial decline, fishing remains a prominent feature of social discourse and maintains an important symbolic role in the production of identities.[411]

Between the 1930s and 1970s life in the Seaboard villages continued to be characterised by relative hardship, a feature that is prominent in oral histories and in literature relating to the villages.[412] The post-War boom brought a slight increase in prosperity and improvements in village infrastructure and amenities. In the 1920s there was not even a water pump let alone

piped water and electricity, but these were supplied in the 1940s, and street lighting was eventually provided in the 1960s.[413] Many of the older residents who were born and brought up in Hilton stress the abject poverty which their parents and grandparents experienced, and suggest that 'scraping a living' or 'putting a square meal' on the table was the main priority. In other respects, however, many reconstruct life during their childhood in favourable terms, as a time when the villages had a strong sense of identity and solidarity. Experiences of past village life, for instance, when people had to go to the well to fetch water or when children played in the unlit streets at night, also serve to unite and distinguish those who see themselves as 'locals' from those defined as 'incomers', particularly recent settlers.

Aside from the influx of military personnel during the Second World War, and the growth of small-scale tourism revolving around the Balintore campsite during the 1950s and 1960s, there was still little intrusion from the outside world. Military staff and tourists were a temporary presence, and the few people who moved to live in the villages did so largely because they had married into the community.[414] Throughout much of the 20th century a consciousness of difference continued to be based on a fishing way of life, and the pervasive symbolic opposition between fishers and farmers, between those who lived below the cliff and those who lived above it. Such symbolic boundaries remain important today and intersect with class distinctions. However, by the 1970s, industrialisation in Easter Ross and the development of the oil industry brought about considerable economic and social change,[415] to some extent reinforcing these boundaries, but also leading to greater complexity.

By the late 1960s national and local government bodies had prioritised Easter Ross for industrial development. The first large-scale industry to arrive in the area was BA Co's aluminium smelter in 1967. This was closely followed by two oil-related developments. The oil-rig platform contractors, Highland Fabricators, set up a yard in Nigg in 1971, and an oil pipe coating firm, M K Shand, established a factory in Invergordon.[416] This led to a rapid increase in prosperity and aspirations, as well as substantial population growth.[417] Despite the population growth, there was little corresponding increase in services and facilities.[418] Furthermore, the new industries proved to be far from reliable employers leading to a boom and bust style economy, which ultimately led to long-term decline and increased social disadvantage.

Unemployment rose in the seaboard villages with the recession of the 1980s. Many young people moved away to seek employment with the knock-on affect that local business and service provision declined.[419] The two remaining shops in Hilton (a general store and a bric-a-brac shop) closed, along with the butchers in Balintore. For all three villages the main services are now located in Balintore: a post office and grocery store, the Spar, a fish and chip shop, a hairdressers, two public houses/hotels and a bed and breakfast. For most other major services residents must travel to Tain. The Highland Council and Ross and Cromarty District Council identified the seaboard as one of the most deprived areas under their remit during the late 1980s and early 1990s.[420] In response, the seaboard became the focus of a number of development initiatives and surveys. These include, 'Community House' established in 1986–7,[421] the Seaboard Community Development Group established in 1989,[422] and the Seaboard Learning Information Centre in the late 1990s.[423]

These late 20th-century developments have had considerable impact on the production of identity and place in the villages. Until the mid-20th century the three villages were geographically distinct with open land between them. However, with the industrial development of Easter Ross there came a rapid increase in population and the construction of additional housing, on the Balintore camp site, above the cliff behind Hilton, and in the gaps between the villages. Furthermore, the development initiatives of the 1990s have focused on the seaboard villages as a whole and indeed encouraged the adoption of the term as a joint place-name. As a result, pre-existing village identities have become more complex and contested. However, rather than a straightforward decline in distinct village identities, there is now arguably greater emphasis on their laborious and deliberate construction through social and symbolic processes. Furthermore, the production and negotiation of village boundaries through the act of drawing distinctions between 'locals' and 'incomers' is part of everyday social discourse. Tradition, social memory, genealogy and experience, all have significant roles to play in these processes.

The effects of deprivation and associated development initiatives on people's consciousness are also palpable. The lack of services is a common focus of conversation in the villages, as is the differential distribution of services between them. Thus, Hilton was described by one local resident at a meeting as

a 'backwater on a backwater on a backwater' and in interviews, carried out by SJ in 2001, people frequently digressed into discussion of the lack of shops and pubs within the village. For instance, Duncan, who was born and brought up in the village, stated that 'Hilton's got nothing, it doesn't have a pub, it doesn't have a Post Office, it doesn't have a shop, it had all of these, and Hilton's got nothing'. And Alan noted that

> The village itself, you know it's changed a bit over the years and in some ways it has become a bit of a backwater, it's a quiet place, it hasnae got very much in the way of amenities, nothing in fact and in some ways it annoys me in the fact that you know as time goes past there's lots of things could have happened in the village which didnae happen [...] but you know we've always been aware of our past, the past that's been handed down.

A strong sense of loss and anger pervades these commentaries. There is a sense in which Hilton, and the seaboard generally, is perceived as a 'non-place', bypassed by the rest of the world, marginalised not only geographically but also socially and economically.[424] However, at the same time there is an equally strong sense of pride in Hilton and the seaboard generally, with an emphasis on its special qualities, beauty and history. For instance, one woman, Kathleen, who has lived there all her life, stated forcefully, 'I mean I can't imagine ever living anywhere else. I can't imagine ever wanting to live anywhere else'. In discussing the appeal of the villages, residents also point to the powerful hold it has on certain 'incomers' who have moved there and over relatives abroad who return again and again. The articulation of this pride is also influenced by the development initiatives discussed above, with many people emphasising what has been achieved within the villages in terms of fund-raising, local events, community action, and so forth.

This background of marginalisation and regeneration is important in explaining the place of the cross-slab in people's consciousness. Its continuing significance in terms of social memory within the village[425] was undoubtedly reinforced by the presence of cross-slabs in other nearby villages and the well-known King's Sons folklore recounted in Miller's popular *Scenes and Legends* (Chapter 6.5). However, the wider sense of socio-economic deprivation and loss undoubtedly added greater poignancy to the absence of the cross-slab. A number of local residents were involved in attempts to locate the missing lower portion, and were joined by the late Mrs Jane Durham, who was Chair of Tain and Easter Ross Civic Trust and a Commissioner of RCAHMS. Some believed that it still rested at the chapel site, while others claimed it had been incorporated into the lintel of a house.[426] Jane Durham commissioned a dowser who located a point just outside the west gable end of the chapel similar to that noted on the first edition of the OS map.[427] By the early 1990s activities surrounding the cross-slab were taking on a more concerted vein. In 1994, the Highland Council was asked to approach the National Museum of Antiquities to explore the possibility of returning the stone to Hilton.[428] When this request failed, a reconstruction project was developed with the aim of providing an incarnation of the missing monument at the chapel site. As we shall see, individuals and organisations

Illustration 6.9
The reconstruction after erection adjacent to the Hilton of Cadboll chapel showing phase 1 of the project (© Siân Jones)

Illustration 6.10
Barry Grove engaged in phase 2 of the reconstruction project, August 2005 (© Siân Jones)

from outside of Hilton and the seaboard were to play important roles in this respect. Nevertheless, the wider context of active regeneration, and the development initiatives and funding associated with it, was a significant factor. A growing sense of pride in place, and active involvement in local development initiatives, undoubtedly made local residents more pro-active in their reaction to events.

Between 1994 and 1997 the reconstruction project was spearheaded by the late Mrs Jane Durham with strong local support and the help of Martin Carver who had been undertaking archaeological research at Tarbat since 1994. Jane Durham and her brother, Jim Paterson, took an active interest in Hilton, bordering on a sense of ownership, as Cadboll House and farm, including the land on which the chapel is located, had been bought by their family from Captain Macleod.[429] The Tain and Easter Ross Civic Trust (initially under the Presidency of Jane Durham and later Richard Easson) took a lead role in negotiations regarding the project, in consultation with the Fearn, Balintore and Hilton Community Council, the Highland Council, Historic Scotland and the National Museums of Scotland. In discussions with the National Museums of Scotland, the idea of a fibreglass replica cast from the original was rejected in favour of a carved reconstruction, and, on the recommendation of Martin Carver, Barry Grove, a sculptor who had been carrying out work at the Tarbat Discovery Centre, was commissioned to produce a full-scale reconstruction (illus 6.9). The first phase of the carving was carried out over a period of 14 months during 1998–9 in a large secure industrial unit on the premises of William Paterson & Son in Hilton of Cadboll. This 'studio' became a feature of daily life amongst residents in the village who would call in to watch the carving and to see the stone 'come alive' and 'grow'. The project was also publicised through local newspapers and at museums in the area and there were more than 2000 visitors to the 'studio' in total.[430] By the time it was erected in 2000, with an official opening ceremony on 2nd September, the reconstruction had become a source of great pride locally, and many local residents refer to it as one of the most significant happenings in the recent history of Hilton, at least prior to the 2001 excavations (illus 6.9).

Phase 1 of the reconstruction project involved carving the reverse of the cross-slab based directly on the surviving face of the original sculpture. Whilst working as closely as possible with the original design, sympathetic interpretation was necessary in reconstructing the missing lower part of the design and other sections where weathering had resulted in damage.[431] Phase 2 of the project, carving the remaining side of the cross-slab, took place after the reconstruction had been erected near the chapel site. There was never any intention to reproduce the 17th-century Duff memorial, which replaced the original cross-face. Earlier designs for the other side of the reconstruction had been based either on a sympathetic interpretation in the Pictish style, or a format which incorporated images relating to the biographies of the cross-slab and the village, including, removal of the cross-slab to Invergordon, a fishing boat, and an oil rig platform.[432] However, the discovery and excavation of the lower portion of the cross-slab and thousands of carved fragments from the cross-face resulted in the production of a new design informed by the sculptor's interpretation of the archaeological evidence as it was at the time (that is prior to the completion of the research to reconstruct the missing cross-face) (illus 6.10). This new design was carved between 2003 and 2005, the completed sculpture being unveiled in September 2005 (illus 6.11).

The reconstruction has undoubtedly developed its own significance within the village. The fact that it was carved in Hilton is an important aspect of this, giving it authenticity and meaning. In the absence of a shop, or a pub, the reconstruction project provided a focus for social interaction and communal activity. The studio for phase 1 (William Paterson & Son's industrial

Illustration 6.11
Unveiling the cross-slab at the opening ceremony, September 2005 (© Siân Jones)

unit) loomed large in people's daily comings and goings as they stopped by to observe progress. It also served as a place where people met one another and engaged in conversation unrelated to the reconstruction itself. The reconstruction was also significant in terms of symbolically redressing the sense of disadvantage and loss that, as we have seen, had come to pervade people's consciousness. Thus, in reflecting on the impact of the reconstruction on the people of Hilton and the other seaboard villages one local resident, Christine, suggested that

> I think people in Hilton were proud although they hadn't got the original stone they had something at last that they could associate with the Hilton stone. Because they had nothing and all they could say was oh, it's in Edinburgh. But now they've got something, they can go and look at it and it is part of them. [...] I think Hilton became whole. Something was missing. So, at long last something came back to what was taken away.

Interjecting between phases 1 and 2 of the reconstruction project, however, the excavations of 2001 had a profound impact on the significance of the cross-slab in the village. The history of archaeological research at the Hilton of Cadboll chapel site is fully documented in the introduction of this volume and only the salient aspects relating to the local context will be discussed here. As early as 1994 the local Community Council had approached Ross and Cromarty District Council enquiring about the possibility of an excavation at the site. By 1997, a non-invasive archaeological evaluation and project design was underway led by Professor Martin Carver of University of York, with Tain and Easter Ross Civic Trust acting as grant-holder and co-ordinator. The resulting project design integrated the reconstruction project and development of the site for public presentation, with an ambitious long-term programme of research into early historic Easter Ross. Before full investigation of the ruined chapel site could take place, however, Historic Scotland commissioned a small-scale trial excavation at the site in 1988 prior to erection of the reconstruction. This resulted in the retrieval of 462 carved fragments. The reconstruction was thus erected further away from the chapel in a less archaeologically sensitive area. Meanwhile, further excavations in 2001 led to the recovery of thousands more fragments and the discovery of the lower portion *in situ*.

Despite local attachment to the reconstruction, these archaeological discoveries, particularly the location

of the lower portion, re-ignited controversy over the ownership and display of the original monument. By late spring, concern was already emerging about what would happen to the lower portion; whether it would be excavated, and if so who would be the owners and where would it be located. A local petition reportedly raised over 200 hundred signatures from Hilton alone, a campaign leaflet was produced,[433] and an informal local action group, 'Historic Hilton', was formed. At a public meeting led by Historic Scotland in August 2001, an agreement was reached that the lower portion would not be removed from the village until decisions about its ownership and display had been taken through appropriate legal channels.[434] Thus the lower section was raised and placed in Mr William Paterson's industrial unit which had been the 'studio' for phase 1 of the reconstruction project. It remained in a temporary display at this location until the spring of 2005 when it was moved to a display cabinet in the new Community Hall on the boundary between Hilton and Balintore.

The complex and fraught issue of ownership has been discussed elsewhere.[435] Here we wish to concentrate on the question of why the absence of the cross-slab and subsequently the discovery of the lower portion was a source of such concern in local contexts. In part this can be explained in reference to the history of socio-economic disadvantage and regeneration discussed above. Heritage and tourism on the Seaboard have been significant components of social and economic development initiatives since the 1990s. Specifically, the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, the reconstruction, and the chapel site had become prominent features of local and regional development initiatives. For instance, the *Seaboard Environmental Action Plan*, *SEA 2000*, produced in 1995, identified tourism as an important basis for social and economic development. Initiation of archaeological research at the chapel site was identified as an aspect of 'interpretive provision' and the production of a replica of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab as one aspect of the provision for recreation.[436] Subsequently, the Seaboard Initiative's *Economic Development Plan* of 2001 identified the Pictish stones as an important aspect of the area's 'built assets' and presented a plan for promoting the Pictish heritage. Amongst other things this included: the completion of phase 2 of the reconstruction; the creation of a 'local home' for the recently discovered lower section; and the possibility of branding Easter Ross as a Pictish peninsula as a means to attract tourists.[437]

To some extent these issues informed the perceptions and reactions of local residents in 2001. Some interviewees perceived the reconstruction and the new archaeological finds as a direct means of economic regeneration through tourism. For instance, Julie who has lived on the seaboard for just over 10 years noted that it would be nice if the entire stone was reunited at Hilton 'because I think it would be a tourist attraction and we need tourist attractions [...] because we are a depressed area in many ways, it would help'. Another local resident, Stuart, argued that

> People have been so interested that they have taken the time and effort to come here. And there could be a lot more of that and you know tourism locally is not good and never has been. You know there's not a lot of industry around really with Nigg [oil rig fabrication yard] having closed down so it would be a help to the local economy if that piece of stone stayed. I'm quite sure that that would be the case because it just creates so much interest that you know there would be money coming into the local economy just because it's there.

Such views are reinforced by the initiatives of local development officers and Highland Council staff and councillors, whose agendas are very much oriented towards economic regeneration. Both the reconstruction project and the new discoveries have raised the profile of the villages, in the north-east of Scotland at least, and demonstrably increased the number of visitors. For instance the reconstruction project was publicised through local newspapers and at museums in the area. The erection of the reconstruction in 2000 and the unveiling of the cross-face in 2005 were accompanied by much ceremony and celebration, and there were more than 2000 visitors to the original studio,[438] as well as many more to the temporary studio erected around the reconstruction whilst the cross-face was carved. With respect to the original lower section, the excavations of 2001 generated much publicity and interest with the result that there were many visitors to the site. Subsequently, the display of the lower section in the village has also drawn visitors. Historic Scotland funded public viewing of the lower portion in Paterson's industrial unit every Saturday afternoon throughout most of the winter of 2001–2, and during the summer of 2002 the Highland Council paid for a guide to show the lower portion to visitors, supported by additional staffing provided by the Historic Hilton Trust. Coach tours also included the lower portion on their itinerary and some 1,127 visitors were recorded over a period of two and a half months in the summer of 2002 (mid-July–September).

To what extent this interest will be maintained in the long term is debateable, as is the direct impact that such visitors can have on the economy of the villages, when tourist infrastructure is so weak and there is little opportunity for visitors to spend money with the exception of the café in the new Community Hall. However, to some extent this is beside the point. For many residents the relationship between the monument and the village is less about direct economic value and more about the need to make Hilton a place of significance and thus counter the pervasive sense of marginality. For instance, Val who had lived in Hilton for about 10 years wearily recounted:

> Since I've moved here they'll say, oh you don't live in Inverness anymore and I'll say no. Where do you live? [they ask] And I know before I tell people where I live they haven't a clue where I'm talking about. [...] I mean you mention a little place like this and they think well, you know, where would that be now, whereas if for any reason this sort of took off or kicked off on a big scale, well people would know where Hilton was, oh that's that place where that dig's going on or that's where they've built that thing, oh maybe we'll go along there on a day off and then by that time hopefully the hall will have been finished along in Balintore and then they can go further along the road to Shandwick and see that stone.

Another example is provided by the following extract from an interview with Mary and her middle-aged son, Ken:

> SJ: Why do you think that keeping the stone here is so important to people?
>
> MARY: Yes, yes, it's important to the next generation as well.
>
> SJ: But why is that?
>
> MARY: Well, it's part of your heritage and you, you feel, well, I think it belongs and it's like the fishing, you know the salmon fishing. I've been in it all my life and there's, we had lots of times we had to fight for ...
>
> KEN: Och aye, it's difficult.
>
> MARY: Because there was hardly any fish.
>
> KEN: Life's no easy.
>
> SJ: Do you think it's the same with the stone? I was just asking why the stone is so important to keep it.
>
> MARY: Yes, it's part of our ...
>
> KEN: Well, it's part of the village really and let's look at it this way, if you take the stone away from the village the village is no different from any other village in the country but that's why if you put the stone there then that's Hilton stone and Hilton village.

Finally, Alan evokes a more abstract relationship between the presence of the monument and the regeneration of community. Discussing his desire to see the return of the upper portion from Edinburgh at some point in the future he states that

> I feel that while that stone is in Edinburgh museum it's a dead stone but it could be made live [...] And when it's alive it'll be back in Hilton and the stump of the stone is a catalyst for this and it's you know, I feel our community in some ways is dying because you know we don't, as you say we don't have a post office or a shop or whatever, we don't have an awful lot of work about us, we don't have power, we don't have high tech industry, we don't have anything really in a way, but we do have a wee bit of community spirit and we do have an appreciation of what the past was.

In these last interview extracts many aspects of the connections made between the developments surrounding the monument and the marginalisation, decline and regeneration of the community come together. However, Alan's words also suggest that the social and economic values attached to the monument are inseparable from the symbolic and metaphorical meanings surrounding it in both national and local contexts. It is these latter aspects of meaning that we wish to turn to now.

6.9 Hilton of Cadboll and the symbolic construction of communities: local and national tensions

> ... it's a very important stone, and not just important in the sense of being iconic, it's very important because it's also one of the symbols of the nation's rights to it's own treasures.[439]

> ... it belongs to the village, it is Hilton, and I suppose Hilton looks on it a different way than Shandwick would or anything, I mean anyway Shandwick's got their stone, they aren't really very interested in ours.[440]

The attribution of meaning, significance and value to archaeological remains has a long history within the discipline of archaeology, heritage management and museums. For the most part, attention has focused upon eliciting the correct original meanings and uses of the monuments or objects concerned, and

attributing value to them on this basis. In attempting a biography of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab we have not neglected these original meanings and uses. However, we have also tried to put aside an overriding preoccupation with origins in order to examine later phases in the social life of the monument. In doing so we have shifted away from 'asking which narratives about a historical site are "correct" … [as] we can learn a great deal more by examining how the various interpretations of that site are used by interested factions and individuals'.[441] Furthermore, we have tried to grapple with the metaphorical, symbolic, and other connotative meanings which are a dynamic and often contradictory part of its social life.

In this penultimate section, such an approach will become more pronounced as we try to elicit some of the symbolic meanings and values surrounding the monument today. Of course different fragments of the monument are located in different contexts; the upper portion in the Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, the lower portion in the Seaboard Community Hall, and the thousands of small fragments in the archive of the National Museums of Scotland. In these locations the fragments stand for the whole in terms of 'presencing' the monument and providing a focus for the production of meanings. The situation is further complicated in Hilton of Cadboll by the presence of the reconstruction, erected adjacent to the medieval chapel in 2000.[442] The research underpinning this section is consequently multi-sited, focusing on two main locations: the Museum of Scotland and the seaboard villages, in particular Hilton of Cadboll.

Research at the Museum of Scotland was carried out in August and September 2002 (by SJ) and involved visitor tracking and qualitative semi-structured interviews.[443] 25 visitor interviews were conducted (with 36 people), and 64 visitor groups (151 visitors in total, including three tour groups) were tracked in the gallery where the upper portion is located. The Keeper of Archaeology and two front-of-house staff were also interviewed. On the seaboard of Easter Ross, ethnographic research was carried out by one of us (SJ) between 2001 and 2003.[444] This research involved established qualitative methodologies from anthropology and sociology, including semi-structured, person-centred interviews and participant observation.[445] Some 52 interviews were conducted involving not just local residents, but also heritage professionals, field archaeologists and those involved in socio-economic development.[446] The participant observation involved living in the villages for a period of about 6 months in total in order to both observe and participate in daily life.[447] Extensive field notes were produced focusing not merely on events surrounding the cross-slab and the reconstruction, but also the negotiation of social relationships and identities, the cultural meanings and values attached to places and things, and the ways in which these were reproduced and transformed through social practices.

As with any form of social research the results are a product of the mutual engagement between the researcher and the people who she worked with.[448] As far as possible, both the nature of the social engagement and the impact of the researcher are taken into account as part of the interpretative process.[449] However, it would be a fallacy to assume that a pristine or authentic cultural context existed prior to the influence of a researcher. In the case of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, we have seen that the meanings and values surrounding it over the course of its social life are, to greater or lesser degrees, dynamic and transient. The excavations of 2001 and the events surrounding them undoubtedly provided a charged social situation in which meanings and values were produced and transformed. Yet, it was not just members of the local community that were involved in the creation of meanings and values, but also heritage managers, field archaeologists, art historians, local government officers, politicians and journalists who engaged with the monument.[450] Indeed, most of the principal authors in this volume had an influence on the production of meaning and value in relation to the monument during the excavation and the events surrounding it. Part of the value of in-depth qualitative research is that it can provide insights into the social production of meanings and their relationship to the kinds of social and historical contexts that have been discussed in previous sections.

The upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab remained in the National Museum of Antiquities on Queen Street in Edinburgh for about three quarters of a century. In the 1990s it was moved to the new Museum of Scotland, adjacent to the Royal Museum on Chambers Street, which was opened 28 November 1998. The origins of the new Museum preceded political devolution and the establishment of the Scottish Parliament.[451] Furthermore, Cooke and Maclean's research suggests that, although most of the curators agreed that the Museum should 'be telling a story of Scotland', many also felt that it should be non-prescriptive and tried to avoid what they saw as nationalistic overtones.[452] However, framed by

the nation and with a mission to 'present Scotland to the World', the new Museum inevitably became entwined with national narratives and nationalistic interests.[453] The late Donald Dewar, Scotland's First Minister until 2000, emphasised its importance in terms of national identity and linked it explicitly to the new Parliament arguing that there had been two momentous happenings:

> One was the opening of the Museum of Scotland, and the other was the reinstatement of the Scottish Parliament. The future interplay between these two key institutions will help shape both our cultural identity and constitutional destiny in the next millennium.[454]

The Museum has more than 10,000 artefacts on display, mostly in glass boxes, contextualised by illustration and text. These are structured chronologically in the first instance, starting with 'Beginnings' (geology and natural history) and 'Early People' (mostly prehistory) in the basement (Level 0), and moving through time as one moves up through the building to 'The Kingdom of the Scots' (Levels 1 & 2), 'Scotland Transformed' (Level 3), 'Industry and Empire' (Levels 4 & 5) and 'Twentieth Century' (Level 6). Within each chronological slice there are secondary themes, for instance, religion, power and so forth, which vary in their prominence at different levels. However, chronology is the primary structure and it is reinforced through architecture. A visitor following the intended route thus enacts a tour through the history of Scotland from its origins in the basement to the very recent past on Level 6. Cooke and Maclean's visitor research reveals that most visitors recognise this national narrative, but there is no clear agreement on what kind of image is being attributed to the nation.[455] Some of their interviewees felt that part of the intention was to promote a kind of pride or confidence, 'showing Scotland at its best', but others, especially visitors from south of the border, perceived more nationalistic tones, especially relating to the treatment of historical documents and events, such as the declaration of Arbroath and the Jacobite uprisings.

The Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab is located in the 'Early People' section in the basement of the Museum, which focuses on how people lived in Scotland from around 8000 BC to AD 1100. Although the 'Early People' section is embedded in the overarching chronological structure of the Museum, period or ethnic sub-divisions are eschewed internally in favour of a strong thematic structure. The themes include: 'A Generous Land', focusing on resources and how people used them; 'Wider Horizons', exploring the theme of contact and the movement of people, goods and ideas; 'Them and Us', dealing with issues of conflict, power and status; and 'In Touch with the Gods', concentrating on spiritual life. Text panels focus on the themes of the exhibition and draw out one or two aspects of the multi-dimensional objects on display.[456] Chronological information is provided on a time-line located at the bottom of each text panel and likewise geographical provenance is indicated by the use of find-spots on a standardised map of Scotland. The latter device is very much indicative of the national framework of the Museum.[457] The same base map is reproduced on each text panel, and the provenance of artefacts is indicated by dots on the map.[458] The standard provenance maps never shrink below the nation, or pull back to include regions beyond the nation.[459] In the absence of images of landscape contexts for most objects, the nation is also implicitly represented as a homogeneous space with little indication of topographic diversity or the specificity of particular places. The thematic structure, which is intended to provide a more meaningful narrative than chronological periods, or ethnic sub-divisions, also produces a homogenising effect, with the exception of the Romans and the Vikings who are singled out as self-conscious incomers. Here the politicisation of the design process added a further dimension as education focus groups stressed the need for a sense of who the Scots are, leading to the adoption of a personalised narrative using the terms 'we' and 'they'.[460] The Romans and the Vikings thus become substitute 'others' as in the following extract from a text panel introducing 'Gods of the Frontier, God of the Book':

> To hear the soldiers tell it, there were never gods so powerful as those of Rome. Jupiter of the lightening bolt ruled the heavens as their emperor ruled the world. [...] How *they* loved their gods of war, commanding and pitiless fighters. Even *our* gods they honoured, because *they* always wanted more gods on *their* side. No small thing for them, this religion of vows made and contracts struck, of temples, shrines and altars.[461]

In contrast, the text panel goes on to state that

> The Christians had but one god and he was *our* father. As he was father of Jesus who died on the cross for us. *Their* message found message with *our* leaders. So *we* followed them into the church.

As an important component of the exhibition, the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab is embedded in these

national narratives. On descending the main stairwell to Level 0, the visitor encounters a spacious, open area, lit by both natural and artificial light. This area, called 'People', introduces visitors to the exhibition's absentees, the anonymous people of prehistory, through the abstract human figures sculptured by Sir Eduardo Paolozzi.[462] It also includes some of the relatively rare visual depictions of Scotland's early people, including the Roman marble head from Hawkshaw and the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab. Having lost its most obvious Christian symbolism with the removal of the cross-face in the 17th century, it is the hunting scene which is emphasised in the exhibition design.[463] The small, discrete text panel next to the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab provides an approximate date and a location map showing its find spot. The text reads:

> A FEMALE ARISTOCRAT
>
> Before the Romans invaded Scotland, images of people are very rare indeed. From then onward, there are more of them, almost always seen on monumental sculpture. Here a female aristocrat, riding side-saddle, is the central figure in an elaborate panel depicting a hunting scene. Hunting was a favourite aristocratic pursuit; and this scene is more concerned with honouring the aristocracy than with picturing a real hunt. The sculptor's placing of the woman in the scene is a tribute to the person who commissioned the cross – a woman of some importance.[464]

The information provided is typical of the approach discussed above; one aspect of the multidimensional nature of the object is pulled out and used as a component in the exhibition narrative. Within such an approach other dimensions and interpretations are inevitably ignored, for example, the Anglo-Saxon stylistic influences, the Christian symbolism, such as the vine-scroll referencing the Eucharist, the Duff memorial and coat of arms, and the 1921 events surrounding the cross-slab. Henderson and Henderson are critical of the approach, which they argue detracts from an understanding of the original Christian symbolism which few visitors now recognise.[465] Whilst there is an inevitable selectivity in terms of what kind of interpretation is offered, there seems to be an implicit attempt to minimise the physical fragmentation that the monument has experienced. The side with the 17th-century burial inscription is placed at the back in the Museum and visitors are discouraged by the architecture and the signage from viewing it from that angle. The missing lower portion is physically replaced by a copper plinth, to suggest the original height of the monument, and provide an interpretation of the missing carving which is etched onto the copper surface, thus giving a sense of wholeness and completeness.[466]

The significance accorded to the cross-slab within the Museum is evident in its physical location and treatment. It occupies a particularly prominent position at the end of a walkway created by the four groups of Paolozzi sculptures, where it stands on a raised and wired-off platform (illus 1.1). David Clarke, the Keeper of Archaeology, refers to the monument as an iconic piece and emphasises that it has been used as an architectural element within the exhibition: effectively people are directed towards it, but it also acts as a barrier encouraging visitors to turn to the left, whereupon they are meant to enter 'A Generous Land' through an opening in one of the internal walls of the building.[467] The cross-slab is identified as one of the Museum's 50 'Most Treasured Objects', which feature prominently on the Museum's audio-tour where it is described as 'an impressive carved stone'.[468] Its eminence is signalled by its raised wired-off platform and its juxtaposition with the sculptures produced by one of Scotland's most prominent 20th-century artists, Eduardo Paolozzi.[469] Whether intentional or not this juxtaposition dislocates the cross-slab from other early medieval sculptured stones,[470] and creates a relationship between past and present Scottish art; alluding to an indigenous national artistic tradition. Moreover the politics of representation in the new national Museum informed the selection of the cross-slab for this location. David Clarke explicitly tried to evade a nationalist agenda when designing the exhibition. Yet he acknowledges that it was important to have something monumental and indigenous confronting the visitor at the entrance to the exhibition, something that corresponds to the 'we' in the narrative on the text panels. In contrast, an object like the Bridgeness commemorative inscription from the eastern end of the Antonine Wall would have provided a problematic representation of early people with its themes of Roman conquest and domination.

The special treatment afforded to Hilton of Cadboll within the 'Early People' exhibition may be evident to the Keeper of Archaeology and other Museum staff. Indeed, for those who work in the museum and heritage sectors its sojourn in London and restoration to Scotland adds to its symbolic capital in respect to national patrimony. Nevertheless, for many visitors to the Museum it is one object amongst thousands which serve to produce a representation of Scottish

heritage and an account of the history of the nation. The interviews conducted in the Early People gallery in 2002 revealed that most visitors had come to the Museum to gain some insight into the history and identity of Scotland through its material heritage.[471] Some had a specific interest in archaeology and early history, whereas others had simply come down to the 'Early People' Gallery because they felt they should start at the beginning and had been directed there by the Museum literature or staff. A few were there to see specific artefacts, such as the Pictish silver chains, the Whithorn sculptured stones, and one person in the interview sample had come specially to see the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab. The movement and behaviour of visitors reflected these diverse interests. A small proportion engaged in very systematic and detailed inspection of the objects on display and read the text panels in some detail. Others wandered through the exhibition at a leisurely pace, gazing on the objects from a distance, selectively engaging with some in greater depth if they attracted their interest. Still others wandered though in a disinterested fashion and left quickly, while others flitted about rapidly taking in as much as possible, but still leaving after a short period. A strikingly small proportion of visitors took the 'official' route that had been built into the exhibition design, and despite its deliberate architectural prominence within this route only about half of those visitors who were tracked actually stopped to look at the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab.

Both the interviews and the tracking revealed considerable diversity in terms of the kinds of objects that visitors were drawn to and hence focused on. However, the sculptured stones (Neolithic, Roman and early medieval) and the jewellery stand out in contrast to one another, suggesting a polarity in terms of the scale of the objects that people were attuned to as well as an attraction to different kinds of materials.[472] The objects that were highlighted most frequently by visitors prior to being asked about any in particular were the Paolozzi sculptures and these were also the most controversial objects. Almost all visitors saw them as an anomalous presence and were divided roughly equally about whether that presence was a positive or negative one. Some found them interesting, stimulating, novel and/or attractive. Others saw them as an ugly modern intrusion so off-putting that rather than draw them in to the exhibition they actually felt repelled. Indeed, the tracking revealed that a significant proportion of people when faced with the Paolozzi sculptures actually turned away and entered the Early People exhibition through the end of the religion section called 'In Touch with the Gods'. Thus whilst it can be argued that the juxtaposition of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab with the Paolozzi sculptures, serves to emphasise its aesthetic value as a form of high art, in practice the distinctive and contentious nature of the Paolozzi sculptures actually detracts attention from the cross-slab.

Nevertheless, for those visitors who did engage with it, the cross-slab produced the kinds of impressions that one might expect of an object that has been attributed such national significance. It was described as: 'a high form of art'; 'very, very attractive'; 'handsome and well-preserved'; 'an outstanding object'. One visitor also noted that as you come down the steps 'it hits you in the eye', but, as we have seen above, many visitors failed to engage with it at all for one reason or another. In general the early Christian sculpture has a strong appeal for visitors, particularly with respect to its aesthetic value and as evidence for the adoption of Christianity. Most spoke favourably of the collection and display of such sculpture in the Museum emphasising that it allows people to gain access to it and to place it within the story of the nation. However, whilst emphasising the importance of protecting it from the elements many visitors also expressed a strong sense that such monuments had a 'proper' or 'natural' place, which they imagined to be associated with specific types of topography and weather. This sense of a 'natural' place was explained further in terms of atmosphere, belonging and age, and is clearly tied to ideas of authenticity. Interestingly many people commented favourably on the natural lighting that falls on many of the early Christian sculptured stones in the Museum, which ties in with this sense of the authentic.

Whatever the appeal of the objects in the exhibition, for the majority of visitors interviewed they represented Scotland as a whole rather than specific localities or regions. Foreign tourists in particular paid little attention to provenance and when asked about the location maps stated that the dots on the map were mostly meaningless to them; 'you need a little geography to use things like that' and 'more or less I know it's Scotland and that's all'. As might be expected for these visitors the distinctiveness and specificity of the objects now lies with Scotland as a nation in contrast to say Italy, China, or England. In contrast, there was another group of visitors whose experience of the Museum was informed by attention to specific localities and regions. Most of these visitors identify

themselves or their ancestors with specific places and thus seek out objects derived from the same area. For instance, one visitor explained that she came from Fife originally and that she was quite interested in 'anything from around my area [...], maybe more so than if it had come from somewhere else'. Another visitor, a Trustee of the Whithorn Trust, emphasised the importance of regional comparative displays which contribute to a sense of regional identities within Scotland. Furthermore, the visitor who had come specially to see the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab had grown up in Tain and his father had taken him to see the Easter Ross monuments as a boy. Nevertheless, with the exception of visitors like the latter example, it is clear that in the Museum of Scotland the meanings surrounding the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab are inextricably tied to the idea of Scottish national heritage and to the story of the nation as a whole. Furthermore, rather than being tied to a specific locality, as its name suggests, the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab has become an integral part of an exhibition that stands for the abstract space of the nation.

We now wish to return to the seaboard of Easter Ross. Here, the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab is also associated with an array of meanings, many of which intersect with its wider significance in both contemporary and historical contexts. Undoubtedly the national and international significance attached to the monument, and the prominence of the upper portion in the Museum of Scotland, contributes to its value in local contexts. From the late 18th century onwards, the monument has been described as 'one of the most beautiful' pieces of early Christian sculpture in Scotland, and a monument of national importance. As we have seen in Chapter 6.8 the monument, in its various fragmented forms, has the potential to make the village a place of significance and this is predicated on its national significance and symbolism. The excavations of 2001 provided a contemporary context in which that symbolism and significance was made manifest; they were publicised in the national media, attended by prominent scholars, and were clearly a matter of concern for national heritage institutions. Thus they contributed to the production of meaning and value. A number of narrative frameworks also inform the production of meaning in local contexts. Perceptions of the monument's Pictish origins are significant, being associated in some people's minds with a kind of ancestral or descent relationship. The King's Sons folklore which was recorded in depth by Petley and popularised by Miller is widely known and also provides an important narrative framework, tying together the villages of Nigg, Shandwick and Hilton through their cross-slabs. Finally, the cross-slab is bound up in family stories and genealogical accounts in the context of local oral history on the Easter Ross Seaboard, providing more intimate associations and in many cases tying the past affectionately to the present. However, it is also associated with a range of metaphorical and symbolic meanings in local contexts, which are not immediately evident.

One of the most striking aspects of this symbolism is the way in which the cross-slab and the reconstruction are conceived of by many local residents as 'living things'.[473] For instance, the cross-slab and the reconstruction are both referred to as having been 'born', 'growing', 'breathing', having a 'soul', 'living' and 'dying', even having 'charisma' and 'feelings'. A few informants and interviewees were more explicit about this symbolic dimension of the monument drawing direct similes rather than relying on metaphor. For instance, one local resident, Christine, noted that the cross-slab (specifically discussing the large carved section of the base after it had been excavated):

> ... was like something that was born there and it should go back [...] It's like people who emigrate or go away, they should always come back where they were born and I feel that that stone should go back.

Another, Duncan, remarked that if the main part of the cross-slab returned from Edinburgh

> there'll be a party maybe and there'll be things going on here that'll be absolutely unbelievable like a, how would I put it now, an ancient member of the village coming back, if that came through here on a, on a trailer and everybody would be here. [...] Coming home where it's always been. [...] If the stone had a soul it would be saying oh there's the Porst Culac you know, there's so and so's house you know I'm going over to the park and there's, there's the other bit of the stone and it broke off a hundred and fifty year ago or whatever.

Furthermore, as the last quote highlights, the monument is not merely conceived of as a living thing, but as a living member of the community. Not only is a direct analogy drawn between the cross-slab and an 'ancient member of the village', but it is also attributed the kind of social knowledge which is essential to establishing a person's membership within the community, knowing who lives in which house, recognising local landmarks and beauty spots, and so forth.

Not everyone participated in this kind of discourse about the monument. It was particularly prominent

amongst those with long-term, often multi-generational, associations with the village; people who defined themselves and were defined by others as 'locals'. People who had moved to the village from other parts of the Highlands, Scotland or the UK tended to place more emphasis on the economic marginalisation and the role of the cross-slab in making Hilton a place of significance. Nevertheless, the application of discourses of kinship and 'belonging' to the cross-slab by the 'locals' reinforces its place as a living member of the community. 'Belonging' is one of the key concepts in the identification of kinship and other relations of identity, particularly amongst the older generation who were born in Hilton and/or have spent most of their lives there.[474] Thus the term regularly crops up in daily conversation, for instance, in an interview with Maggie: 'she *belongs*, they're both Sutherland in their name', or 'it was the first of the Sutherlands that *belong* to my granny'.[475] Such statements do not simply relate to actual kin relations, but are also extended to others who are considered part of the community. Indeed rather than a reflection of static relationships they provide a means of articulating and negotiating 'who is and who is not "part of the place", and who is and is not authentically "local"'.[476]

The concept of belonging is also extended to the cross-slab by local residents, for instance as used by Mary, 'I still think that the stone *belongs* to the people here', and Janet, '… it's still not where it should be, it should be back up home where it *belongs*'. It can be argued that the use of the concept of belonging in relation to the stone symbolically confers it with the status of kin. Indeed the kinship metaphor is further reinforced by the following interview extract where Duncan is musing on what it would be like if the upper portion returned to the village:

> … there'd be a ceilidh, there'd be pipe bands, there'd be absolutely amazing, […] that stone *belongs* here and that's part of the village so that would be, that would be one of the happiest days of my life to see that coming back to the village.

Here the cross-slab even becomes the focus of celebratory events and performances, which typically accompany key events in a person's life, or the lives of their family and friends.

One event, or rite of passage, that is of particular importance in terms of 'placing people' within a network of social relationships, and in particular negotiating degrees of 'belonging' is that of birth. Being born in Hilton, or related to someone who was born there, is an important aspect of establishing one's position as an insider or a 'local'. Again, this process of social identification is applied to the cross-slab. Like people, the cross-slab belongs in Hilton because it is 'like something that was born there', and 'that's where it was created'. The close association between the monument and the soil, which local residents witnessed during the excavation of the fragments, is also important metaphorically in terms of the life-force attributed to the cross-slab. One woman commenting on the lower portion after it had been lifted and placed in the Paterson's industrial unit explained:

> CHRISTINE: I think being in the ground gave it something […] whatever was in the ground was good for it […] I feel if it is back in the ground it'll breathe.
>
> SJ: You think it can't breathe when it's out here?
>
> CHRISTINE: It's just a cold piece of stone.

Of course, the archaeological research revealed that the lower section was not in its original position having been broken and re-erected at an early date, probably around the 12th century, a facet of its biography that most local residents acknowledged. Nevertheless the metaphorical association between the monument and the village and the perception that it was 'born' in the vicinity remained powerful, especially whilst the lower portion was still in the ground.

There is thus a whole body of metaphorical and symbolic meaning which surrounds the monument in local discourse, concerning its place within the community. In this way it facilitates the negotiation of identities and the expression of boundaries. Once symbolically conceived as a living member of the community, the cross-slab itself (through its various fragmented forms) becomes a medium for the reproduction and negotiation of relationships. Thus, in the debates that surrounded the future of the new discoveries in 2001, 'locals' negotiated relative positions of authority and status through their association (and their forefathers' associations) with the biography of the monument. 'Incomers' on the other hand negotiated greater degrees of 'insiderness' through adopting, or respecting, the socially constructed authentic position of 'the village' demanding that the new discoveries remain there. Indeed, those 'incomers' who played an active role in the informal local action group established at the time of the excavation became almost honorary 'locals' and their position was subject

to special comment, such as, 'she's only lived in the village for [X] number of years but she feels for the stone as much as we do'. In contrast, the few local residents who publicly asserted that the base should go to Edinburgh were cast as 'incomers', thus questioning the authority of their opinion.[477]

Given the way it mediates the symbolic construction of community, it is perhaps not surprising that the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab also plays an integral role in the production of a sense of place. Conceived of as a living member of the community, the monument provides a mechanism for expressing the relationship between people and place. Place, and indeed placing people, is an important aspect of social life in Hilton and the other Seaboard villages. There are frequent references to who is related to whom, particularly amongst the elderly who were born and brought up there. People are said to 'belong' to places as well as to each other, for instance, someone might comment, 'she belonged over to the Nigg area', or ask 'did he belong to here, or did he belong to Portmahomack?'. Thus, discourses of belonging incorporate a strong spatial dimension, and when people assert that the cross-slab 'belongs' to the village they are simultaneously referring to both community and place; 'it belongs to the village, it is Hilton'.

Furthermore, the monument not only 'belongs' to the place, it is simultaneously constitutive of place and therefore perceived as part of the fabric of people's existence. Associations between the monument and other aspects of the landscape, such as rocks and sea, serve to place it as an integral component of the landscape. For instance, one interviewee, Màiri, commented:

> the Hilton stone, you almost feel attached to it, it's almost like being attached to rocks or the sea or it's always been here, it's part of the place and for generations, I don't know, it was a close community you know …

Such a conceptualisation of the monument, as one of the physical constituents making up the 'world', enables it to act as a metaphor for the relationship between people and place, here referencing the closeness between people and the landscape, as well as the closeness of the community as a whole.

However, as we have seen in Chapter 6.8, processes of 'place-making' in Hilton, and the Seaboard generally, are fraught and problematic. There is an ambivalence associated with local residents' consciousness of place, for Hilton is both a place of deep significance and value and a marginal place associated with deprivation, particularly as refracted through the eyes of those involved in social and economic development. Such processes of displacement, decline of community institutions, and blurring of community boundaries, often lead to a more explicit and urgent emphasis on the production of a sense of 'community as place'.[478] It can be argued therefore that these wider socio-economic processes are crucial to understanding the significance attached to the lower portion in 2001 and anxiety about its possible removal from the village.

The history of the cross-slab means that it is well-suited to the task of metaphorically dealing with dislocation between people and place, the resulting fragmentation of communities, and the sense of loss surrounding such processes. Many local residents made connections between the cross-slab and issues of loss and decline, whether that be related to the fishing industry, the lack of shops in Hilton, high levels of unemployment, or a more abstract sense of marginality. Furthermore, current concerns about decline and marginality, as well as the need to fight against them, are framed by past events and injustices, such as the Clearances.[479] The Highland Clearances provide the most prominent locus of displacement and fragmentation in terms of social memory and the frequent uninitiated references to them in conversations about the Hilton of Cadboll monument highlight the symbolic role of the monument. Such references take the form of a slippage between those with power and authority today, such as landowners, politicians, and Edinburgh professionals, and their perceived counterparts in the past, namely lairds and ministers. Or sometimes they even seem to involve a direct relationship between people's longing to reconstitute or reconstruct the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, and their desire to destroy other monuments associated with the Clearances and their landlords.[480]

Of course these concerns with control, ownership and power also intersect with class identities which remain particularly strong in this part of Scotland. Condemnation of the Clearances often focuses on landowners and the political and cultural elites of Edinburgh, and to a lesser extent Glasgow. The manner in which class oppositions are articulated by different individuals is complex. However, as noted in Chapter 6.8, Hilton, Balintore and Shandwick, which are, for the most part, impoverished communities whose economic mainstay revolved around the fishing industry supplemented by seasonal farm labouring, have histories that play an important role in the construction of village identities for

many residents. The oil and aluminium industries contributed to a temporary increase in affluence and a growth in the population, and the growing number of people settling there during retirement has had a similar effect.[481] However, there are still few middle-class professionals living in the villages, and there is an air of well-intentioned paternalism, sometimes implicit, sometimes explicit, in the attitudes of many landowners, councillors, and professionals (especially those from the social, economic and development sectors). This is fiercely resisted by a number of the local inhabitants and frequently leads to tensions, usually expressed in terms of 'what's for the likes of us', and what are considered to be appropriate ways of acting and feeling. The symbolic nature of the topography of the raised beach cliff in drawing a class opposition between those who live above the cliff and those who live below it also remains important, and can lead to tensions about where meetings are held and where geographically the balance of power lies. Layered on top of this, however, is a broader opposition between Edinburgh and an unspecified 'us'; a flexible category that can expand and contract across a number of levels: Hilton; the seaboard villages; Easter Ross; and even the Highland region. Again this has a spatial dimension, in that Edinburgh as a place is attributed an agency, as in the not infrequent statements: 'Edinburgh's coming' or 'Edinburgh wants …'.

These complex sets of oppositions relating to power and identity also frame people's responses to the cross-slab and its ownership and display. In the perception of many inhabitants on the seaboard of Easter Ross, the displacement of the upper part of the cross-slab in the mid-19th century, and the recent excavation and possible further displacement of the new fragments, represent the power of certain individuals and organisations, notably landowners and national institutions, to forcibly move people/things against their will. It can be argued that opposition to the recent excavation of the base of the cross-slab, and to its potential removal to Edinburgh, provides a means symbolically to resist past wrongs, as they are constructed through social memory. The historic processes of displacement encompassed by the Clearances clearly play an iconic role in this respect, standing in for a complex history of events associated with perceived abuses of power. We must not forget, however, that there is also a redemptive dimension to the role of the monument in place-making. The historical association of the monument with a wealthy and aristocratic group of people in archaeological and art historical accounts, as well as the national significance attached to the sculpture in heritage discourses, are actively appropriated in making Hilton a 'place of significance'; a place worthy of such a 'fine stone'. Of equal importance is the way in which, when conceived as a living member of the community, it provides a means to metaphorically restore the community, to make it 'whole' again, against a historic background of fragmentation and decline.

In Chapter 6.7 we saw that Macleod's offer to donate the upper portion of the cross-slab to the British Museum in 1921 precipitated an outcry from Scottish antiquarian bodies and the Scottish press. Much weight was placed on the symbolic significance of the monument as a national possession and a moral claim of ownership or belonging was asserted in contrast to the legal situation regarding unscheduled monuments. This reaction is not unusual, for as Barkan and Bush point out:

> The experience of […] alienation from part of our patrimony […] stands at the core of our dilemmas over group identity and cultural property. However, paradoxically, it is always the case that being alienated from the identity or cultural property of one's group helps precipitate our sense of belonging or ownership.[482]

It would not be correct to suggest that the monument held no significance in terms of Scottish national identity prior to its removal to the British Museum. We have seen that antiquarian literature and illustrations, along with more systematic and scholarly art-historical and archaeological studies, had highlighted its beauty and historical significance prior to this point. Nevertheless much of its symbolic value remained latent until the events of 1921.

The excavations of 2001 precipitated very similar processes, but this time at the level of the local community rather than the nation. The discovery of the lower portion resulted in considerable resistance and protest on the seaboard of Easter Ross. In this charged context, the monument undoubtedly acquired greater symbolic capital and became the locus for the production of community and place, just as the upper portion became a site for the production of an imagined national community in 1921 and to some extent remains so today within the Museum of Scotland.[483] As at the national level, in Hilton of Cadboll these processes were framed by pre-existing identities and power relations, as well as the history of the villages and their social and economic decline. The parallel can be

extended further, as the discovery of the lower portion also led to the assertion of moral claims of ownership or belonging which contrast with legal conceptions of ownership, although local activists have also explicitly engaged with legal frameworks.[484] A moral high ground is claimed in relation to past injustices, often framed by class oppositions, relating to the removal of the monument itself and rights to resources, most notably land. However, this research also revealed a deeper symbolic dimension underpinning these moral claims to ownership. For the discourses of 'belonging' in which the monument is embedded in local contexts create the perception of an inalienable relationship between the monument and the community, a relationship which is symbolically defined in terms of birth, soil and kinship.

6.10 Conclusions

> [T]he greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its gold. Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, or mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity.[485]

The Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab brings to mind Ruskin's eloquent argument that the value of a building, or in this case a monument, lies in the sense of voicefulness that we can feel in walls that have long been washed by passing waves of humanity. All too often in archaeology, art-history, and heritage management the original meaning and use of objects, images, buildings or monuments is privileged. Yet if we follow Ruskin, it is the effects of human engagement over time which produces their voicefulness or sense of authenticity. In this chapter we have endeavoured to reveal some of the substance of that human engagement by focusing on the entire cultural biography of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab right up until the present time. Here, in conclusion, we wish to highlight a number of themes: meaning, identity, place, centre-periphery relationships, and fragmentation and displacement.

Tracing the cultural life of the monument has revealed the diverse frameworks of meaning in which it has been situated. Even in its original early medieval context the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab is unlikely to have been located in a single or uncontested framework of meaning. Most of the iconography of the cross-slab is certainly of an exclusively religious nature, derived from an early medieval intellectual and spiritual milieu that embraced Insular visual and literary culture already well-established in the treasures and libraries of ecclesiastical institutions locally, and in other major Pictish ecclesiastical centres. The religious meanings embodied by the cross-slab were probably reinforced by its location within a liturgical landscape and the acts of contemplation and devotion associated with it. However, some of the symbolism, notably the ornate Pictish symbols, and possibly the hunting scene, may have had more localised political significance relating to secular power and an aristocratic ethos. Furthermore, there may have been highly localised meanings, secular and sacred in nature, associated with the specific landscape context in which the monument was erected. Certainly, whatever the intentions of those who commissioned, designed and produced it (and even here there is room for multiple meanings and agendas), levels of understanding of this iconography and the messages it conveyed are likely to have been highly uneven amongst those who gazed upon it. Despite the likely role of such monuments as pedagogical tools enabling forms of religious instruction and social commentary, deeper levels of Christian symbolism would have been restricted to those acquainted with the wider intellectual culture of the ecclesiastical elite. Ambiguity and multiple levels of meaning may well have facilitated relationships between the secular and religious elites, whilst simultaneously being conducive to the role of monuments like the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab in asserting power and authority over others. In which case, for some, whose access to deeper levels of meaning was restricted, the cross-slabs may also have come to represent symbols of elite power.

This multivalency and ambiguity of meaning was set to continue throughout the social life of the monument to the present day. We have emphasised the continuing reverence with which the cross-slab appears to have been treated throughout the medieval period, as evidenced by its re-erection in the 12th century and its close association with the Hilton of Cadboll Chapel. However, whilst it is reasonable to expect some continuity of meaning in respect to its Christian symbolic components, it is less likely that the meanings originally attached to the ornate Pictish symbols remained current in the later medieval period. Furthermore, the religious and political contexts in which the symbolism of the cross-slab would have been read were far from static, in fact they were frequently characterised by turbulence and conflict. Thus the Reformation of the 16th century is by no means the first time that the frameworks of meaning in which

the cross-slab was embedded were subject to change. Nevertheless, it was associated with radical shifts in attitudes towards religious iconography, in which formerly sacred images became regarded by some as objects of idolatry and superstition which needed to be destroyed, desacralised, or at least carefully negotiated. The archaeological evidence suggests there may have been some selective damage to the cross-face of an iconoclastic nature prior to Duff's attempt to convert the upper portion into a personal burial memorial. This earlier damage may have informed his, or his mason's, decision to use the cross-face for the inscription, or the removal of the cross may have been Duff's attempt to negotiate the potentially idolatrous connotations of the monument. Indeed Duff's subsequent abandonment of the upper portion as a burial memorial may have been due to continuing ambivalence about its Catholic associations. Had his plans been carried out, the upper portion of the cross-slab might still lie as a recumbent burial slab in the graveyard of Fearn Parish Church, its early medieval sculpture hidden from view. Instead, it was left at the Hilton of Cadboll Chapel where it was 'rediscovered' by antiquarians and tourists when the Highlands were opened up in the later 18th century.

Early antiquarian accounts recorded an established folk narrative suggesting that for the local inhabitants of the Easter Ross seaboard the monument needed no rediscovery. Within this framework of folk meaning the Hilton of Cadboll, Nigg and Shandwick cross-slabs were embedded in popular myths about the Danes and contemporary expectations regarding the use of sepulchral monuments as memorials to individuals. Popularised through Hugh Miller's work, the King's Sons folk tale has persisted ever since as a framework of meaning which links people and places within the Easter Ross landscape. Nevertheless, the authority of this narrative as an historical account was brought into question by the mid-19th century, by which time travellers and scholars had reconfigured the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab and others like it as objects of aesthetic and historical value. From this point onwards the upper portion of the cross-slab was incorporated into a radically different framework of meaning, associated with new aesthetic and historical values linked to ideas of national patrimony and identity. Macleod's appropriation of the upper portion as an ornamental fixture within his castle gardens situated the monument firmly within 19th-century discourses of taste and class. In the castle grounds it functioned as an accessory of power, symbolising the proprietorship, authority and artistic heritage of the landowning classes. At the same time, however, it was being figuratively incorporated within the heart of the nation, perceived as one of its most beautiful and valuable antiquities. Its national symbolism was consolidated by Roderick Macleod's failed attempt, on selling the Cadboll estate and Invergordon Castle, to donate the upper portion to the British Museum. In the context of the furore that ensued it was portrayed not only as the property of the nation but as part of its very being, having an intimate relationship of belonging encapsulated by one correspondent's description of the cross-slab as 'the soul of the nation'.

With its return to Edinburgh and incorporation within the National Museum of Antiquities, the upper portion, which at this time stood for the monument in its entirety, was firmly located within national narratives and its status as an icon of Scotland's artistic heritage was consolidated. Its national significance was further reinforced by its recent incorporation within the Museum of Scotland, where visitors encounter it as an integral part of the national story represented in the Museum's permanent exhibition. However, the monument continues to evoke meanings of a quite different nature on the seaboard of Easter Ross. Here the folklore and oral history surrounding it ensured its continued significance despite, or indeed because of, the absence of the upper portion. Its physical absence was often read within a wider set of concerns about marginalisation, displacement and disadvantage and the monument acquired additional meaning as a symbol of loss and disenfranchisement. This local framework of meaning helped to precipitate a variety of interrelated events, including local attempts to locate the lower portion and the production and erection of a full-scale reconstruction. The excavations and the recovery of the lower portion enhanced its symbolic potential providing a new forum in which people could engage with the monument. The meanings produced bear remarkable similarity in some respects to the national symbolism surrounding the upper portion. The tendency to view the monument as a living thing relates to a symbolic relationship of belonging whereupon the cross-slab is viewed as part of the body of the community just as it was described as part of the body of the nation in 1921. However, in contrast to its meaning in national contexts, its conception as a living member of the community also enables it to act as a metaphor of fragmentation and displacement, most notably tied to social memory regarding the Highland Clearances and subsequent marginalisation.

The biographical study of the monument also highlights the myriad ways in which it has been, and continues to be, integral to the production of identity and place. In the early Christian period it can be argued that it was involved in the expression and negotiation of religious and political identities, as well as possible regional or ethnic ones. By its very nature it would also have been intimately tied to place, quarried from a particular part of the landscape and erected in a place where it probably drew upon pre-existing secular and sacred meanings at the same time as expressing new ones. It would also have acted as a mechanism for the production of a sense of place in the context of various forms of contemplative, devotional and everyday practice, as well as acting as a focus for individual and social memories.

In the aftermath of the Reformation it seems that the cross-slab became tied up with new forms of religious and political identities. It is also the first time when we gain insight into the attempts of individuals to appropriate the monument in the construction of personal identities, although it is likely people also tried to do so at an earlier date. For Duff the upper portion clearly offered a medium for the negotiation of status and identity perhaps deliberately referencing his relationship to the history of a particular place. From the late 18th century onwards the monument's significance with regard to religious identity waned in contrast to its part in negotiating personal identities of the landowning elite and the 'polite' classes, as well as its increasing role as a medium for the production and expression of national identity which was to become fully realised in the 20th century. In these contexts the upper portion became associated with new forms of place-making, first in the grounds of Invergordon Castle where it was a focal point in a landscape designed for contemplation and revelation, whilst simultaneously highlighting the good taste and judgement of the laird, Robert Bruce Aeneus Macleod. His son's attempt to donate it, and the Tarbat fragments, to the British Museum was also bound up in the negotiation of personal identity and status. Roderick Macleod was no doubt conscious of the enduring relationship of identity that often pertains between donors and objects in the context of museum collections. However, his actions backfired when his use of the monument came into conflict with its role in the construction of national identities. The museums and antiquarian institutions that provided the backdrop to this conflict were essential components in the realisation of the monument's national symbolism and its role in the imagination of the nation in Scotland. With its incorporation within the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh in 1921, and within the new Museum of Scotland in 1998, it became embedded within new forms of place-making. Used as an architectural piece within the Early People galleries the upper portion structures visitor movement, whilst at the same time it contributes to the construction of an abstract national space for visitors whose progress through the museum can be described as a 'ritual of citizenship'.[486] However, even in the Museum of Scotland, firmly embedded within the story of the nation, the upper portion of the monument informs more localised and personal identities for certain visitors whose backgrounds, experiences and memories lead them to engage with it in other ways. Meanwhile, in the village of Hilton of Cadboll in Easter Ross, the recently excavated lower portion, now located in the Seaboard Community Hall, acts as a medium for the production of community identities and processes of place-making, specifically in the construction of Hilton as a place of significance.

These recent developments highlight another important aspect of the social life of the cross-slab; the way it has been implicated in centre-periphery relationships. Over the last two hundred years the upper portion of the monument has been utilised in various projects relating to the emergence of the modern state and the production of a national identity. For instance, we have discussed how it became a focus of new forms of national self-study as well as the improving activities of the land-owning classes. Furthermore, the fate of the upper portion over the last 150 years highlights the role of the elite in the production of national culture as well as tensions between private ownership and national patrimony. Its eventual incorporation within the National Museum of Antiquities located it firmly within one of the core cultural institutions of the modern nation-state. Yet while the cross-slab has achieved a prominent position at the heart of the national museum, the Easter Ross peninsula has gradually declined in political importance and become increasingly marginal over time.

Our knowledge of both the early church and Pictish society in north-east Scotland is hazy, but it can be argued that the Moray Firth area was a centre of secular and ecclesiastical power during the early medieval period. Indeed, monuments like the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab may well have been one manifestation of a conscious attempt to introduce a reformed church with the intention of consolidating

and extending royal authority. However, during the later medieval and early modern periods they became increasingly peripheral to ecclesiastical and political developments elsewhere in Scotland and Europe. By the 18th century the population of the Highlands of Scotland was portrayed as backward and primitive and the improvement activities that they were subjected to only served to reinforce their marginality. Much of the rural population was displaced in the context of the Highland Clearances and those who became involved in the burgeoning fishing industry were perceived to be even more marginal, effectively the nation's 'ragged edge'.[487] Subsequent economic and social disadvantage associated with the decline of the fishing industry and later the changing fortunes of the oil industry have further reinforced this sense of marginality. It is against this background that the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab became a means of resisting marginality and decline, and a mechanism to negotiate relationships between centre and periphery.

The biographies of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, and those who have engaged with it, are characterised as much by fragmentation and dislocation as they are by continuity. The uncarved tenon was separated from the monument sometime in the early medieval period, its upper section broke off during the 17th century and the cross-face reduced to thousands of fragments by Duff's mason, a process possibly initiated by earlier iconoclasts. It has also been displaced at several points in its social life. Initially we have argued that this displacement was negligible, marked by the re-erection of the monument in the 12th century in the vicinity of its primary location. However, in the mid-19th century the upper portion was removed to Invergordon Castle and then subsequently, in 1921, to London and then Edinburgh dislocating it from its historical associations with place. The other fragments of the cross-slab became buried at the chapel site only to be displaced again with their excavation which allowed them to be located in new contexts: the small carved fragments in the Museum collection, and the lower portion first in William Paterson's industrial unit and then in the Seaboard Hall on the boundary between the villages of Hilton of Cadboll and Balintore. What is interesting is that these moments of dislocation and fragmentation have had a powerful impact on the meanings and values attached to the cross-slab. They allow the monument to function as a metaphor for the displacement and fragmentation of communities in local contexts in the Easter Ross seaboard. Furthermore, the experience of loss or alienation from the cross-slab has often magnified its significance and value. For instance, its removal to the British Museum in 1921 magnified its national significance, and the sense of loss engendered by the absence of the upper portion in Easter Ross was an important stimulus for the reconstruction project and subsequently informed the conflict over the lower portion.

Our final point concerns the issues raised by the conflicting and sometimes incommensurable meanings and values surrounding the cross-slab. At times it has clearly been possible for these to exist alongside each other without coming into contention, yet clearly at other times they have resulted in tension and conflict. Ironically the very project reported on in this monograph provided a forum in which different values and meanings came into conflict with one another. In writing a biography of the monument we have attempted to gain a greater understanding of the diverse meanings and values surrounding the monument, and how and why these can come to conflict with one another. To do so we have had to shift away from the usual concerns with which narratives about a site are correct and which values should be privileged.[488] In other contexts, where decisions regarding conservation, management and interpretation have to be made, it is of course necessary to weigh up conflicting values, and this is a matter that both of us have addressed elsewhere.[489] Here, we wish simply to remind readers of the rich meanings and values that have surrounded the monument throughout its social life in many different historical contexts, and which continue to surround the different fragments today, as testament to the way in which people and things enliven one another. The fragmented biography of the Hilton of Cadboll monument sheds light on potent themes of faith, identity, power, and place-making, which lie at the heart of people's relationships with one another and with the material world. Whilst the powerful nature of these themes contributes to the contestation surrounding the monument, it is also the reason why it has such a compelling aura, or sense of 'voicefulness'.

Notes

1 This chapter is the product of collaborative research and writing. SMF is the primary author for the early and later medieval phases of the monument's biography (6.2 and 6.3), whereas SJ is the primary author for the later phases from the Reformation onwards (6.4–6.9). As regards research there was greatest collaboration concerning the period from the 16th to the early 20th century (up to and including the events of 1921), whereas the early/later

medieval sections are based on SMF's research and the 20th/21st-century sections are based on SJ's. Obviously the research behind this chapter also extends to all those involved in the archaeological and art historical analysis included in this volume (especially the work of Heather James and Isabel Henderson).

2 In a recent book on *The Past in Prehistoric Societies* Bradley (2002, 50) argues that 'ever since Appadurai's edited volume, *The Social Life of Things*, appeared in 1986, prehistorians have tried to study the 'cultural biographies' of artefacts and monuments.

3 Alberti 2005; Appadurai 1986; Bender 1999; Bradley 2002; Driscoll 1998c; Gosden & Marshall 1999; Hall *et al* 2000; Hamilakis 1999; Hingley 1996; Holtorf 1998; Hoskins 1998; Jones 2002; Kopytoff 1986; Moreland 1999; Spooner 1986.

4 1999, 170.

5 Two projections on either side of the lowest level of the stepped base have been modified at some time.

6 1999, 176. This tendency to accumulate a biography also applies to other examples of early medieval sculpture in Scotland as revealed by Hall *et al* 2000 in their analysis of the Crieff Burgh cross.

7 Hamilakis 1999.

8 Moreland 1999, 194.

9 The field research involved participant observation and in-depth qualitative interviews (52 in total) carried out whilst living in Hilton of Cadboll and the adjacent village of Balintore for a period amounting to six months in total (between 2001 and 2003). The research was grant-aided by Historic Scotland and aimed to investigate 'the meanings, values and interests associated with the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, and the ways in which these are manifested in the debates and commentaries concerning its conservation, location and presentation'. Funding was also provided by the University of Manchester and the AHRC. The methodologies and resulting insights will be discussed in 6.8 and 6.9. A full report can be found in Jones (2004).

10 Henderson 2001; Henderson & Henderson 2004, 181.

11 Woolf 2006.

12 Foster 2004, Chapter 5, is an attempt to provide an overview and we derive what follows here from this.

13 Hudson 1994, 146.

14 Bridei was certainly king in northern Pictish areas. James Fraser (2003) suggests he had a base around the Tay too.

15 Grant (2000, 93) suggests that conversion of Ross cannot be attributable to Columba and his followers because of the lack of dedications to St Columba. However, Colmán can be used as a diminutive for Columba, and there are several instances of this name (eg Fraser, I A 1986, 28), including at Portmahomack (Carver 2004, 24, n 43). Other saints, such as Donnan of Eigg and Maelrubai of Applecross, were very important in the conversion of Wester Ross, but it is conceivable that Columba and his followers could have focused their attention in Easter Ross because it lay at the end of the Great Glen, a route that we know from Adomnán that they made good use of.

16 Hudson 1994 is a good survey of the relationship between kings and the church, particularly for the period from the eighth century (also the role of the local nobility). See Ó Carragáin (2003, 130) for a useful summary of how small, relatively well-defined territories might have had a principal church controlling considerable territories in their immediate vicinity and be affiliated mainly with churches in the same secular kingdom as themselves. See also Taylor (1996) and Driscoll (1998a) on how the distribution of early saint dedications may represent evidence for earlier Scottish polities in southern Scotland. Woolf (forthcoming) suggests that bishops would also have existed exclusively to serve the needs of dispersed monastic *familia* whose distribution cut across the regular territorial dioceses of secular clergy.

17 Hudson 1994; Taylor 1996; 1999. See brief overview of archaeological evidence in Foster 2004, 88.

18 Hudson 1994, 156.

19 MacDonald 1992. The distribution of cill- place-names in Easter Ross possibly also supports this (Taylor 1996, 102).

20 Henderson 1990; www.scran.co.uk.

21 Foster 1997; Fisher 2001, 4.

22 It is thought that there were some proprietorial churches in eighth–ninth-century Ireland (Ó Carragáin 2003) and 10th-century and later Cornwall (Turner 2003, 187). Ritchie (1995) argues that Meigle and St Vigeans were centres of lay patronage, and by implication proprietorial.

23 These types of pre-12th century support are inferred from the Book of Deer (Hudson 1994, 168).

24 Caution is needed here (Henderson & Henderson 2004, 176), for the cross-slab form could have developed within Pictland itself under the influence of art in other media, or have been evolving gradually through Irish influence.

25 Based on recent work by Henderson & Henderson (2004) and Henderson (this volume) it can be seen that Foster (2004, 91–3) over-states the case for a distinction between an ecclesiastical cross-face and secular back-face on such slabs. Importantly, Hilton of Cadboll can now be seen to have had a cross on both sides.

26 See also Henderson & Henderson 2004, 180.

27 Samson 1992; Forsyth 1997.

28 Henderson & Henderson 2004, 180.

29 Driscoll 1998b; see Plunkett 1998 for Mercia; Ó Floinn 1995 for Clonmacnois, Ireland. While we do not necessarily infer specific royal patronage, the developing cult of St Columba as founder of Iona probably stimulated the creation of the series of eighth-century crosses here, as well as the Book of Kells (Fisher 2001, 1).

30 Ó Floinn 1995; 2001.

31 Hamlin 1987; Fisher 2001, 9.

32 Henderson & Henderson (2004, 177) suggest this might be a possibility for the Drumdurno 'Maiden Stone'.

33 Higgitt 1982, 306.

34 Harden 1995.

35 Carver 2004; 2005.

36 Carver 2004, 1; 2005, 26. Four Pit- place-names also survive on the Tarbat peninsula (Fraser, I A 1986, 26–7,

Fig 2.4). These refer to individual estate- or land-holdings established after 900 but are almost certainly based on earlier land divisions. They give us a flavour of the number of individual land-units that monastic estates might have contained.

37 Clancy 1995, 111.

38 MacDonald 1992; Taylor 1996, 101; Woolf forthcoming.

39 To understand better the potential relationship of Portmahomack and Rosemarkie we need a study that embraces the evidence for the development and inter-relationship of secular and ecclesiastical power bases around the whole Moray Firth., including the relationship with Burghead, Kinneddar and Elgin.

40 Carver 2005, 22–5; James 2005. The *First Statistical Account* (OSA XIII, 19) reports the walls of a chapel and enclosure at Shandwick being visible in 1793, but modern fieldwork, including geophysical survey, has not yet detected this. We do not know if there were originally also other satellite sites from which the sculpture is now lost, or how much other sculpture is lost from the satellite sites themselves. Hugh Miller (Jnr) suggests (1889, 442) that a further fragment of sculpture was built into the base of the Shandwick Stone, although there is no mention of this being observed during the conservation and remounting of the slab in 1988 (James 2005, 95–6). The importance of Nigg is also highlighted by two 'annat' names in the immediate district (Clancy 1995, 111).

41 This stone remains on site in unexcavated deposits. If indeed structural, its presence is potentially highly significant since we have little evidence for the use of dressed stones by the Picts in anything other than an ecclesiastical context and scant evidence for Pictish dressed stone buildings.

42 Watson 1904, 43–4; *Reg Mag Sig*, Thomson (ed) 1892, no 409, 150–1.

43 See OS 1881 Ordnance Survey. 'Ross and Cromarty'. Sheet L (surveyed 1872), 1:10,560. In passing, there is a local tradition that Columba had an establishment near Port Lark beneath Cadboll Castle, ie by the northernmost of the two wells. The source of this tradition, quoted by Macdonald and Gordon (1971, 5) is unclear. A much later example of the special properties of water is the 'Wart Wellie'. This was a stone alongside the chapel with a hollow in the top. Locals believed that water from here cured warts (Macdonald & Gordon 1971, 61). This sounds like the (lost) font from the chapel site.

44 Carver 2004, 26; 2005, 26 Fishers used the Shandwick Stone as a navigational aid before the use of compasses (Macdonald & Gordon 1971, 17). Carver earlier suggested five possible candidate locations for the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab: Fearn, Portmahomack, Cadboll, 'Hilltown' of Cadboll and present Hilton (1998, 8).

45 Ó Carragáin 2003, 137–8.

46 A liturgical landscape is definable as a structured landscape where foci for different activities have been consciously created or evolved .

47 Wells are another type of monument that tend to have a complex biography, although it should be noted that not all holy wells necessarily have a pagan predecessor.

48 Henderson & Henderson 2004, 180–1; Hawkes 2005, 270. While looking at monuments over a far wider geographical sweep, Jane Hawke's 1999 study of the iconography of Anglo-Saxon sculpture from Deira & Bernicia nicely reinforces the point of how people probably intended each monument to function in a way specific to itself.

49 The projections at Hilton seem more likely to be the projecting ends of the cross-arms rather than architectural tenons, as may have been the case at Meigle 2 (Ritchie 1995, 5).

50 At times of uncertainty such locally-defined character could be particularly important, cf Ó Carragáin 2003, 146.

51 Carver 2005, 28 would also argue that this suggests secular commissions.

52 Carver 2005, 29; Henderson & Henderson 2004, 179.

53 We should note here Henderson's tentative suggestion (*see* Chapter 5.4.4) that they designed the blank panels on either side of the cross base at Hilton of Cadboll to bear an inscription. If so, this may tell us something about when in the sequence of carving an inscription might be added (at the end) and, since located by the break between the tenon and lower portion, that the slab broke before there was the opportunity to add any such inscriptions, ie very soon after manufacture.

54 Henderson & Henderson 2004, 74; Driscoll 1988, 228; Driscoll 1998a.

55 Carver doubts that such a centralised and massive investment could have taken place without royal authority behind it (Carver 2005, 26). There are only a few instances (in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England) when we have an indication of which (high status) person arranged for a sculpture to be created (eg Hamlin 1987, 140). It would be true to say that we know very little about the mechanics of the patronage of the arts in early medieval times (Bailey 1996, 105ff; Alcock 2003, 307–9).

56 Ó Floinn 1989, 72, 90; Plunkett 1998. See Helm 1993 on the symbolism behind the production and acquisition of such long-distance goods, and hence their value to the elite.

57 This is contrary to the passive and bleak role Fisher (2001, 15) suggests for the Iona sculptors as 'mere executants' working under the direction of monks with their own traditions of manuscript and metalwork design.

58 Hamlin 1987, 140; Mac Lean 1995a; 1995b; Bailey 1996, 105–6. Although there is a tradition of craftsmen-clerics in medieval Europe (Ryan 1989, 125), there is little evidence for these working in stone. The suggestion that Abbot Colmán (d 924) was the 'architectural sculptor' for the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise (Henry 1980, 44–5) is now questioned: the Colmán who may have made both the Clonmacnoise and Kinnitty crosses was, however, someone of high status who could travel and work for several patrons (Mac Lean 1995a, 141–

3). Geology can provide important insights into how far (finished) sculptures were transported from a quarry site, and the scale of investment involved in such transport and its implications for patronage (Lang 2001, 18–19).

59 Henderson & Henderson 2004, 212–13.

60 There is evidence from Anglo-Saxon England of sculptors working on a single site, or a single sculptor working at a adjacent sites, as well as evidence for individuals working over quite large distances (Bailey 1996, 108ff).

61 Eg Richards 2004; and for an early medieval example see Gondek forthcoming 2006.

62 See Driscoll 1998c.

63 Jones 2004, 12.

64 Eg Mackenzie 1991; Waterson 1990.

65 Grant 2000, 95–6.

66 Crawford 1995.

67 Fraser 1986, 31; *contra* Watson 1904, 40; Mackenzie 1931, 205.

68 The Shandwick cross-slab faces east, but it is not totally clear if this was the original orientation. Petley (1857, pl xix) describes the back-face as the east face, therefore west-facing. He also says that he lifted the stone, but makes no mention of turning it around (ibid, 346). The stone blew down in around 1846 so, if the orientation has changed, it perhaps took place at this time.

69 We cannot be 100 per cent confident about Nigg because we do not know where it was first erected and how many times it was moved prior to the earliest documentary sources in the post-Reformation period

70 Carver 2004, 25.

71 Martin Carver pers comm.

72 OS 1880 Ordnance Survey. 'Ross and Cromarty', Sheet XXX (surveyed 1872), 1:10,560. The early 19th-century destruction of this monument is described by Stuart (1856, 11), but there seems to be some mistake here, since Cordiner (1776, 66) had already seen the fragments; pers comm Carver.

73 Pers comm Carver.

74 From the mid-ninth century onwards the Gaelic kings of the Cenél nGabráin, following the lead of their Pictish predecessors, took an active role in ecclesiastical reorganisation of their kingdom. This involved taking Columba's relics from Cenél nGabrain lands in the west to Dunkeld in their new Gaelic territories. The motivation would appear to have been a desire to realign religious structures and practices with those of the Gaelic (Columban), rather than Pictish (Roman) church, although this is not to suggest that there was no continuity with the earlier Pictish church (Hudson 1994, 168–9). We do not know if these mid-ninth century reforms, stemming from southern Pictland, had any direct impact on northern Pictland because we do not know whether the lands north of the Mounth were regarded as a separate kingdom at this time.

75 Woolf 2000, 145–64; forthcoming

76 The Norse were nominally Christian since 995 and there was a bishopric in Orkney by 1035, and its authority would have extended at the same time as the authority of the earldom extended (Cant 1986, 51).

77 Grant 2000, 118.

78 Foster 1998, 46; Fraser 2005, 64.

79 High Island in Co Galway is an instance in which the excavators argue that the headstones of a line of significant early medieval graves were incorporated into a slightly later gable wall of a church (Marshall & Rourke 2000).

80 Hay Fleming 1931, Fig 30.

81 See, for example, Bourke 1993.

82 Henderson & Henderson 2004, 221.

83 James 2005.

84 Again we must turn to better documented Ireland to illustrate this. Some saints had their own metalworkers and some of these metalworkers were saints in their own right: the classic example is St Patrick and Bishop Tassach, one of his three 'artificers' (de Paor 1993, 127, 129).

85 In the West Highlands, in the 15th and 16th centuries there was a revival of interest in early medieval Insular art (Glenn 2003, 111–12), but there is very little evidence for this on the east coast.

86 The Gaels were certainly devoted to the Virgin Mary and there is no reason why this did not also apply to the Picts. Potentially early examples are found in east Scotland (Taylor 1996, 108, n 4) and the Virgin and Child features on a Pictish sculpture from Brechin. The strong connections between the Tarbat peninsula and Iona (a known centre of Marian devotion – see the writings of Adomnán and it sculpture) might make this more likely. However, in Ireland no churches or monasteries are dedicated to her prior to 1100, and the number of instances increases rapidly after 1150 (O'Dwyer 1988, 287–8).

87 For example, St John's Cross on Iona is 4.8m west of the chapel known as 'St Columba's Shrine', Kilnave Cross on Islay is 7m west of the chapel, and the Aberlemno Churchyard cross-slab in Angus stands west of the church (although some consider this to be moved). 1994 excavations at A'Chill on Canna, Highland, have demonstrated that its eighth-ninth-century free-standing cross lies about 10m WNW of a building that is thought to be a chapel (Hunter & Roberts 1994, 16–18).

88 McNeill & MacQueen (eds) 1996, 356. Grant 2000 Map 1 shows the likely extent of the parishes. The creation of the parish of Fearn, in which Hilton of Cadboll is now found, from the southern part of the medieval parish of Tarbat, dates to 1628 (Thomson (ed) 1892, 433; *contra* Carver 2005, 26 who states that all the Pictish monuments on the Tarbat peninsula were in Tarbat parish until 1626).

89 Cowan 1967, 157, 195; Adam (ed) 1991, 28. New Fearn operated in a triangular relationship with St Duthac's Shrine in Tain and Balngown, the seat of the local Ross magnate (Dilworth 2000, 43).

90 RCAHMS 1979, nos 208, 210, 227, 243–5; Stell 1986, 126.

91 OPS II, 2, 434; ONB Book 11, Fearn Parish, 28.

92 OPS II, 2, 454; Stell 1986, 110–11.

93 RCAHMS 1979, no 210; NGR: NH 883 791; OPS II, 2, 434, 437.
94 The following discussion derives predominantly from information in OPS (II, 2, 441–3) and Adam (ed) 1991.
95 Eg Adam (ed) 1991, 37, 186–7.
96 Watson 1904, 41. A map of the late 1500s (National Library of Scotland, Gordon MS 20), attributed to Pont, names 'Cattbo Cast' and an inland 'Hiltoun', but no Catboll settlements, probably because they are very small.
97 Macdonald & Gordon (1971, 6) point out that parish records treat Hilltown and Hilton as if they were separate villages. The Cadboll Estate papers of 1813 refer to 'Fishertown and Lands of Hilltown'.
98 Carver 1998, 16–17.
99 Petley (1857, 347) refers to the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab as Bardvour (Watson 1904, 44: Bàrd Mhoire, Mary's meadow or enclosure, in sense of Our Lady's Park).
100 OPS II, 2, 442–3. Only a small part of Cadboll Castle survives within the grounds of the seventh-century laird's house that replaced it.
101 Stell 1986, 127.
102 Dilworth 2000, 43, 53. Cowan & Easson 1976, 102.
103 Miller 1835 [1994], 40–1, our emphasis.
104 Campbell-Kease 2002. Subsequent research has uncovered further information, which will be discussed later in this section.
105 For example, Fraser 2005. This was also assumed at the time of excavation, and in the interim reports that arose from this.
106 Sutherland, 1892, 189, stated that 'there can be no doubt from the analogy of its congeners that it was originally a cross-bearing monument, but having fallen into unappreciative hands and on evil days, the cross that adorned its obverse side has been sacrilegiously hewn away to give place to a ridiculous epitaph of 1676'.
107 The burial inscription must date to sometime in and around 1676, but a 16th-century OSL date has been obtained for the layer containing the fragments (007).
108 See James, Chapter 3, for detailed discussion of the stratigraphy.
109 The fracture survives on the upper surface of the lower portion, but not on the bottom edge of the upper portion which was modified for mounting at Invergordon Castle.
110 SMF discovered a copy of the letter reprinted in Mitchell & Clark (eds) 1908, 17–19. The original manuscript is held in the archives of the Royal Society, London (EL/M1/72).
111 Letter from Sir George MacKenzie to Mr James Gregory, 16th January 1675, Royal Society, EL/M1/72. It is notable that both the Nigg and Shandwick Stones are also reported to have blown down in strong winds, in 1725 (OSA III, 20) and 1840s (Stuart 1856, 10) respectively.
112 The dimensions of 3.65m high, by 1.52m wide by 0.6m thick compare with 2.4m by 1.41m by 0.21m for the surviving upper portion. MacKenzie's dimensions are therefore greater, particularly with respect to height and thickness. Given that the wind rather than the obelisk is the main focus of concern for MacKenzie, they are likely to have been based on a rough estimation longer than an accurate measurement. At this stage the untrimmed upper portion would also still be slightly higher than its present measurements. The height quoted almost matches the estimated original height of the cross-slab of *c*3.35m, but there is no suggestion from the archaeology that there was any exploration of the surviving lower portion at this date. We believe this to be the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, and not one at Portmahomack or Nigg, because these are active parish churches at this time. The Shandwick Stone allegedly stood by a chapel, but there is no evidence for it having fallen down before the 1840s (Stuart 1856, 10).
113 It is acknowledged by the present authors that this dating technique is in early phase of development and there is some debate about its accuracy. However, the dates produced by OSL for samples taken during this excavation are very much in keeping with the relative stratigraphic sequence as well as dating by ^{14}C and ceramic typology lending the dates some credence. Further discussion of OSL dating is provided by James, Chapter 3, and Sanderson and Murray, Chapter 7.3.2.
114 See Collinson 1997; Duffy 1992.
115 Exodus 20:4.
116 Moreland 1999, 199–201. It should be noted that whilst the Reformation marked a distinct phase of intensive iconoclasm, the problem of the appropriate use of religious imagery was a source of debate within the church throughout the Middle Ages (ibid, 194–5). Indeed, some examples of discrete and precise removal of small areas of carving on some examples of early medieval sculpture (eg St Orland's Stone and Meigle 11) may relate to careful editing of the iconography well before the Reformation (Fraser 2005), or alternatively, as Henderson (1994, 91–2) suggests, they may be evidence of early medieval fitting of inserts in other media.
117 Information about material destruction during the Scottish Reformation is mostly derived from McRoberts (1959) detailed review. In addition Spicer (2003) provides an analysis of the physical adaptation of pre-Reformation buildings for post-Reformation worship in Scotland.
118 McRoberts 1959, 171.
119 See McRoberts 1958; Tarlow 1999.
120 Tarlow 1998. Cowan 1978 emphasises just how diverse local attitudes to the Reformation could be.
121 Gilchrist 2003; Spicer 2003; Tarlow 1998; 2003.
122 See Budd 2000.
123 See Moreland 1999.
124 An act was passed ordaining that these monuments 'be taken down, demolished and destroyed, and that with all convenient diligence' (cited in Hewison 1914, 13).
125 Cassidy 1992, 4. Cassidy goes on to suggest that the singling out of the Ruthwell cross in this manner in the Act of 1642 may be a result of its celebrity but also an indication of a reluctance on behalf of Ruthwell's parish

minister, the Rev Gavin Young, to comply with the previous order of the Aberdeen Assembly in 1640.

126 Cassidy 1992; Hewison 1914.

127 Also known as Woodwray. Fraser 2005, although subsequently questioned by Henderson (pers comm).

128 Ibid.

129 Henderson & Henderson 2004, 218.

130 A point which Fraser (2005) acknowledges.

131 Some of St Vigeans stones were built into the fabric of the medieval church suggesting earlier phases of re-use as well.

132 The extent of loss relating to the early medieval art of the Picts, including sculpture, is emphasised by Henderson & Henderson (2004) in their recent book.

133 See Tarlow 2003 for a similar argument.

134 Tarlow 2003; and see other contributions to Gaimster and Gilchrist (eds) 2003.

135 Alston 1999, 52; Willsher 2005.

136 Alston 1999, 52; Gilchrist 2003. The Rosses of Balnagown did this at Fearn Abbey, creating a north burial aisle in the early 1600s and a century later appropriating the east end of the church as a burial place.

137 Alston 1999, 52; Spicer 2000; Tarlow 1999, 90; Willsher 2005, 19.

138 Willsher 2005, 19–21.

139 Tarlow 1999, 84–6.

140 Allen & Anderson 1903 [1993], Vol 2, 462–72; Ritchie 1999; Stirling Maxwell 1899.

141 Allen & Anderson 1903 [1993], Vol 2, 491.

142 See RCAHMS 1992 and Fisher 2001, where occasional examples can also be found of re-use of post-Reformation grave-slabs too.

143 Allen & Anderson 1903 [1993], Vol 2, 36. McKay's name was chiselled off in the 1990s (Blackie & Macaulay 1998, 14).

144 Ibid, 48–50; see also Forsyth 1996, 299.

145 Ibid. The stone is illustrated in Allen & Anderson 1903 [1993], Vol 2, 49, and Close-Brooks 1989, 9.

146 Thomson 2006, 3.

147 Allen & Anderson 1903 [1993], Vol 2, 462–71; Ritchie 1999, 14–15.

148 For more detailed discussions of the role of burial memorials in the negotiation of identity and status at this time see Finch (1991 and 2003) and Tarlow (2003).

149 Cutmore 1996, 9–10; Ritchie 1999, 14. The absence of trade emblems may also be an indication of the status of the individuals who chose to use such monuments.

150 The Golspie and Reay cross-slabs from Sutherland and Caithness provide examples where relatively ornate crosses (decorated with key-pattern and knot- and interlace-work) are clearly respected by the later inscriptions suggesting that the iconography was at least acceptable and perhaps of particular significance to the individuals involved. A number of the Govan recumbent cross-slabs also respect the framework offered by the cross, the modern inscriptions being carved within the top arm (No 38) or across the horizontal axis of the cross-head (Nos 7 (second inscription to Will^{m} Bogle), 8, 34). It is notable, however, that many of these make use of the cross-slabs where the cross itself is plain and undecorated, which may have made them more acceptable in a post-Reformation context.

151 Examples include, Govan Nos 7 (first memorial to RD), 15, 25–8, 37, and of course Hilton of Cadboll itself which will be discussed in detail below.

152 Govan cross-slab (No 5) and recumbent cross-slab (No 9) are the sole examples where the inscriptions are carved the opposite way up to the earlier iconography producing an inversion of the monument. They provide an interesting contrast with the use of the plain recumbent cross-slabs.

153 Such modification is discussed by Tarlow (2003) in relation to other examples.

154 Eg see Cowan 1982.

155 Kirk 1986, 1–3.

156 See Kirk 1986 for a detailed discussion. Strikingly it was Patrick Hamilton, once a commendator of Fearn Abbey, who became one of the first to be executed for his Protestant teachings in 1528. However, Hamilton had resigned the abbacy in 1526 and had no real connection with the area, it being unlikely that he even visited (Alston 1999, 50; Dilworth 2000, 46).

157 Ibid.

158 McRoberts 1958, 140.

159 Kirk 1986, 19.

160 Ibid, 10–11. Henry Sinclair was Bishop of Ross in the early 1560s (replaced by John Leslie in 1566). Despite being a Catholic, he was, according to Kirk, flexible in his approach to Reform, declining to reply to the papal envoy and upholding the act forbidding the celebration of mass.

161 Ibid, 10.

162 Cowan & Easson 1976, 101–2; Dilworth 2000, 53.

163 McInnes 1940, 73–4; Adam 1991, 221–2. Perhaps Duff commissioned the monument in advance of his death, maybe at a time when he was very ill. In this respect it is worth noting that the Reay cross-slab inscription simply has '17' after the name, and there appears to be a space which may have been left for completion of an appropriate date on the death of Robert MacKay.

164 Adam 1991, 221–2. The reference to being buried at Fearn presumably refers to the abbey which became the parish church in 1628.

165 McInnes 1940, 73–4; Tayler 1946, 267.

166 Tayler 1946, 267.

167 Helen's relationship, if any, to Duff's previous wife Christian Urquhart is not known, although it is clear that they were not sisters, Helen's father being Thomas Urquhart of Kinbeachie (Tayler 1946, 267) and Christian's being Alexander Urquhart of St Martins (Adam 1991, 221–2).

168 Campbell-Kease 2002. In relation to Duff's first wife KS, Campbell-Kease points out that the hand holding a banner is a relatively uncommon charge and the only time it appears regularly is the Arms of Bannerman.

169 Pers comm. Alex Maxwell Findlater and David Eaton. Findlater also notes that the arms of Bannerman of Elsick, a north-eastern family, also contains a banner (Stodart 1881, I, 110; II, 396).

170 Pers comm.
171 McInnes 1940, 73–4; Macgill 1909, 38–9. In 1665 a warrant of apprehension was issued for 'Dam Elizabeth Leslay, The Laird of May, Alexr. Duf, chamberlaine to the Ladie Mey' for non-payment of certain dues (MacGill 1909, 38–9). Sir James Sinclair of Mey was the great grandson of George Sinclair, 4th Earl of Caithness. He married Elizabeth Leslay *c*1628 and died in 1662. He was also known as Sir James Sinclair of Canisbay (from 1631).
172 Kirk 1986, 8. However, he was brought before the General Assembly in 1574 for non-residence at Rogart. He was absolved but appears to have had the charge for the income leading to questions about the strength of his protestant faith. David Alston pers comm.
173 Adam 1991, 227–8. Richard Oram (pers comm) has not come across the Duff family when researching Tain and Lochslin material.
174 George Sinclair of Mey, father of Sir William Sinclair (d1616), bought Cadboll, Plaids and the bailary of St Duthac from the Innes family in 1585, and in 1601 bought half of the Barony of Geanies from Sir Patrick Murray, thus creating the Barony of Cadboll. (Adam 1991, 186–7)
175 Tarlow 2003, 86–89.
176 David Alston pers comm. The St Regulus stones are for burials of burgess families who had moved in and taken over the laird's burial ground, as the Urquhart's affairs fell into disorder in the 1670s, and they seemingly deliberately flaunt their symbols of status (armorial bearings).
177 Given the Sinclair family connections with Sutherland and Caithness he may well have been aware of them. Robert Gordon who is commemorated on the Golspie cross-slab was almost certainly one of the Gordon's of Sutherland.
178 Thomson 2006, 4. Although Thomson acknowledges that the attempt to vary line thickness suggests that the mason was aware of the written execution of roman script with a broad-edged pen.
179 Ibid, 97.
180 As noted above there is a possibility that his family had a connection with Cadboll Castle dating back to 1565.
181 Early medieval carvings potentially lurk on the backside of other post-Reformation grave-slabs throughout Scotland; we only know of Hilton of Cadboll because the grave-slab was turned over, it being assumed that it had not been used.
182 Where it was encountered by the antiquarian Charles Cordiner in the late 18th century (Cordiner 1780, 66).
183 See note 171 above.
184 One young male inhumation burial was discovered during excavations at Hilton of Cadboll dating to the period of Duff (Skeleton 1 produced a radiocarbon date of the mid-16th to mid-20th centuries), but Duff lived to an older age.
185 Allen & Anderson 1903 [1993], Vol 2, 62; Campbell-Kease 2002; Petley 1857, 348; Tayler & Tayler 1914 ii, 586.
186 Adam 1991, 221–2.
187 As suggested by, amongst others, Petley (1857, 348), although it seems unlikely given Duff's status that he could not arrange to have it relocated.
188 Given that it lay on his employer's land it is possible hat Duff didn't gain permission or approval for the re-use of the monument.
189 Cordiner 1780, 65–6.
190 Ibid, 66.
191 Eg Gordon 1726; Pennant 1771.
192 *Stat Acct of Scotland,* 1791–99, Vol 13, 19–20.
193 Following Petley's death on 25 August 1830, his widow donated his manuscripts, etchings and etching plates to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (see the letter from Ellen Petley which is reproduced at the end of Petley's article; also Stevenson 1981a, 71–2). Petley's paper was then read to the Society in 1831 in advance of its publication in *Archaeologia Scotica,* Vol IV, part 3. However, although the first two parts appeared in 1831 and 1833, misfortunes which the Society experienced delayed publication of the third part until 1857 (Graham 1969–70, 241). Unfortunately, we have been unable to locate Petley's original manuscripts, etchings, or etching plates in the archives of the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the collection of the National Museums of Scotland, or the RCAHMS.
194 Petley 1857, 347. The fact that the upper portion had been returned to the position in which Cordiner encountered it (with the surviving early medieval sculpture facing downwards) perhaps suggests a desire to protect the original carving. It is not clear, however, who might have been responsible for this action: Cordiner, Macleod and/or local residents.
195 Petley states that 'the large circle is copied correctly from a cast I had made in wax' (ibid, 348 and see Plates XXI and XXII).
196 Watson 1904, 44; Watson pers comm.
197 *New Stat Acct* , Vol 14, 28. Petley (1857, 346) records the name of the Shandwick cross-slab in the shortened form '*Clachcarra*'.
198 Ibid, 346. Petley also records other variants, such as the account which cites the sculptured stones as memorials to the three sons of a King of Denmark 'who were shipwrecked on a rock about a mile from the shore, and which is to this day called the Three King's Sons'.
199 Miller 1835 [1994], 39; cf Petley 1857, 347. Ironically, although describing the tradition as 'doubtful and imperfect', Miller reaches the same erroneous conclusion proposing a Scandinavian origin for the sculptured stones of Easter Ross on the basis of his own stylistic analysis.
200 Petley, 1857, 345–6; Miller 1994 [1835], 2–3.
201 The church appears to have successfully eradicated much of the traditional folk lore in the area of Easter Ross (Seosamh Watson pers comm). Furthermore, whilst the villages of Hilton of Cadboll, Balintore and Shandwick had medieval antecedents, their modern form is largely a product of the Clearances inland (see 6.6). Indeed, the *New Stat Acct* (1845, 27) for Nigg parish states that 'there are few, if any, individuals in the parish whose progenitors were in it, two hundred years ago'. Thus the components

of the King's Sons folk tradition may have been derived from other areas and reinvented in respect to the local monuments of Easter Ross.

202 See Tarlow 1999 for a general discussion of changing forms of memorialisation.

203 Petley 1857, 345.

204 1845.

205 *New Stat Acct*, 1845, Vol 14, 28–30. The account of the latter draws heavily on the work of Hugh Miller and the same version of King's Sons folk lore is cited in summary form.

206 Allen & Anderson (1993 [1903], Vol 2, 61) note the rapid deterioration but attribute this to weathering at Invergordon Castle. Whilst this undoubtedly continued at the Castle due to the exposed location it is clear from A Gibb's drawing that some of the erosion had taken place at the Hilton of Cadboll chapel site (see above).

207 Thomson 2006, 4.

208 Bann 1999 xviii. Sweet 2001, 199 and 2004, 345–6.

209 See Piggott 1976; Sweet 2004; Withers 1995a.

210 Sweet 2004, 12; see also Withers 1995a.

211 Buchan 1778, 28–30. For discussion of the founding of the Society see Smellie 1782; see also Cant 1981.

212 See Graham 1974–5; Withers 1995a. There were five questions specifically addressing antiquities referring respectively to: crosses and obelisks; monastic ruins; Roman, Saxon, Danish or Pictish remains and associated local traditions; coins; and tumuli (Graham 1974–5, 184). The resulting coverage by individual ministers was, however, very uneven.

213 Newman 1987, 111–12, cited in Bending 2002, 521.

214 Peltz & Myrone 1999, 8.

215 Ibid.

216 Peltz & Myrone 1999, 3; see also Brewer 1997, Piggott 1976.

217 Bending 2002, 520.

218 See Bending 2002 and Sweet 2001.

219 There were some notably earlier accounts such as Gordon who published his *Itinerarium Septentrionale, or A Journey over the Greatest Part of Scotland*, in 1726. Gordon discusses many of the early Christian sculptured monuments south of the Moray Firth in the context of an account of the 'invafions of the Danes upon the Kingdom of Scotland'.

220 The improved communications and political stability following the suppression of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 paved the way for the development of tourism in the Highlands (Nenadic 1995, 149).

221 Pennant 1771; Grose 1789–91; Cardonnel 1788. Cordiner depended upon Pennant's patronage. The two men were engaged in regular correspondence, Cordiner following Pennant's direction and queries and Pennant promoting Cordiner's publications as well as utilising his notes and drawings for his own publications. Indeed, the first of Cordiner's publications, *Antiquities and Scenery* (1780), is structured as a series of deferential letters to Pennant apparently written during the course of his journey.

222 Ibid, 2–3. In his opening letter Cordiner tells Pennant that 'in these drawings I shall deliver over to you as their preserver, the most venerable and ancient monuments of the nation's former grandeur'; a claim which is also common amongst similar writers (Bending 2002, 522).

223 He notes for instance, 'the variety of pleasant scenery exhibited in the surrounding fields, formed to a vast distance, into one continued garden' and the 'sumptuous prospects which the castle yields from almost every point of view' (ibid, 56).

224 Ibid, 61. An integral component of this romantic discourse is the portrayal of ruins and antiquities as timeless and unchanging despite their obvious state of decay. Thus Cordiner informs his readers erroneously that the Hilton of Cadboll slab has lain unnoticed on its face 'from time immemorial' despite the Duff memorial dating to 1676 (ibid, 66).

225 Ibid, 76–7. Cordiner's illustrations reinforce these aesthetic ideals. His illustration of Gordon Castle for instance emphasise its picturesque prospects, and the inclusion of people strolling in the gardens serves to highlight the pleasures to be gained from viewing such scenery. In contrast, the illustrations of Elgin Cathedral and Beaulieu Abbey provide a strong impression of darkness and decay, their ruinous states reinforced by the piles of headstones, carved architectural fragments and rubble heaped up in the foreground. Whereas the sublime scenery of the Cascade near Carril is wild and dark, lit only by moonlight, which reveals shadowy figures in the background and the bard seated in the foreground.

226 See the discussion of Sueno's Stone (ibid, 54).

227 Ibid, 1788.

228 Ibid, 1780, 54.

229 Ibid, 1780, 66–8.

230 Ibid, 68.

231 Ibid.

232 On the significance of Miller's contribution as a folklorist see Alston 1996.

233 In the opening chapter he explains his regret that 'this oral knowledge of the past, which I deem so interesting, should be thus suffered to be lost' and that he therefore set himself the urgent task of 'storing them up' (Miller 1994 [1835], 2–3). Later though he makes the point that much depends on the manner in which the story is told, asserting his resolve not to be tedious or dull (ibid, 8).

234 Ibid, 40.

235 Ibid, 39–40.

236 It is likely that Miller's work reached a wider audience given his intellectual and political prominence. Furthermore, their impact would have varied geographically. Cordiner's work, being published in London, was better known south of the Border (Sweet 2004, 272), whereas Miller's would have been particularly popular in Scotland given his connections with the North East and Edinburgh.

237 Petley 1857, 346. In contrast, Petley argues that 'books will give us little, and what they do is taken from no better authority, for we have none published which mention these subjects of older date than fifty or sixty years ago' (ibid, 345).

238 Ibid, 345. Betraying his class prejudices, he goes on stress: 'particularly when it is considered such traditions are

for the most part found amongst the lower class, whose ancestors were a rude and uncivilised people'.

239 Ibid, 346.

240 See Sweet 2004, 18. The process whereby his work finally reached publication, following some degree of editorial synthesis and subject to the fluctuating fortunes of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (leading to a delay of about 25 years) was also commonplace.

241 For an overview of this empirical strand of antiquarianism see Sweet 2004, Chapter 1.

242 Henry & Trench-Jellicoe 2005, 236.

243 Vol 1 was published in 1856 and Vol 2 in 1867.

244 Chalmers 1848; Muir 1855.

245 Stuart 1856, xvii.

246 Ibid, xvi. Stuart contrasted Gibb's drawings with those of Mr Jastresbski who had been entrusted with the illustration in the first instance. In some instances, the latter's drawings had been found to be deficient and had been drawn again by Mr Gibbs (Ritchie 1997, 123–4).

247 Ibid, 10.

248 Henderson 1993, 14.

249 Allen & Anderson 1993 [1903], Vol 1, iii.

250 Sweet 2004, 8–9, 15.

251 Ibid, 65–66.

252 Cordiner 1788, no page number.

253 Miller 1994 [1835], 40.

254 Bending 2002, 529; see also Stewart 1993 [1984].

255 Allen 1891, 431.

256 Nenadic 1995, 153.

257 Brewer 1997, 619.

258 Ibid, 621.

259 Ross-Shire, Vol II, Fearn Parish, no page.

260 These were collected during the local community research carried out between 2001 and 2003 by SJ.

261 Although see Haycock 1999 for examples of such relocated monuments and the construction of new 'Celtic' temples and gothic ruins.

262 Allen & Anderson 1993 [1903], Vol 1, 15–21.

263 Ibid, 243; Cheape *et al* 2003, 67–8.

264 See Close-Brooks 1989.

265 Allen & Anderson 1993 [1903], Vol 1, 21. Allen was extremely disapproving commenting that 'it is exposed to the wild fury of the winter storms on top of a high mound close to the sea-shore' (ibid, Vol 2, 35).

266 Groome 1882–5, reproduced in the Gazetteer for Scotland 2002–4; see also *Third Stat Acct* 1987, 159.

267 It was clearly established by the time the *Ordnance Survey Original Object Name Book* was produced, as it is described therein. Furthermore, the *Third Stat Acct* (1987, 159) notes that the Gardens were created some years prior to 1872, when work started on rebuilding the Elizabethan-style Castle.

268 We are grateful to David Alston for pointing out the fashion for 'American Gardens' in 19th-century Britain. Examples of American gardens were, for instance, summarised in Louden's influential *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (1822), and generally involve the cultivation of naturalistic wooded settings and the aesthetic characteristics of rhododendrons and azaleas.

269 Ross-Shire, Vol II, 1872, Rosskeen Parish, no page.

270 1987, 159.

271 2001.

272 For further discussion see Foster 2001.

273 For instance, the correspondence surrounding the removal of the Hilton of Cadboll Stone from Invergordon Castle to the British Museum in 1921 provided the forum for extensive debate about the intentions of the Macleods. One correspondent in the *Highland News* (26 February 1921, p 5, our emphasis) remarked that 'the stone, which was lying in a neglected state, was taken to the American Gardens, Invergordon, many years ago by the late R.S.[*sic*]A. Macleod, father of Captain Macleod, *solely for protection*'. Similar views were expressed in the *Highland News* on 12 February 1921, p 7, and in the *Ross-Shire Journal* on 8 April 1921, p 3. Other correspondents, however, argued that its location at Hilton of Cadboll Chapel was sheltered, and that at Invergordon in contrast the cross-slab had been erected in a very exposed position that had led to considerable damage through weathering (eg *The Scotsman*, 11 February 1921; *Glasgow Herald,* 8 February 1921).

274 See Chaper 1, although as pointed out above an analysis of the deterioration in the carving between the production of Petley's drawings in 1811/12 and Gibb's drawings for Stuart in 1853, suggests that considerable weathering had taken place prior to its removal to Invergordon Castle.

275 Allen & Anderson 1993 [1903], Vol 2, 290.

276 Many people from Allen (ibid, 42–3) onwards have distinguished the Dunrobin collection, highlighting its importance and the curatorial/scholarly influence of the Rev J M Joass, LL.D, during the late 19th century. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the desire of one of the most powerful landholding families in north-east Scotland to amass such a collection of antiquities and natural history specimens was nevertheless embedded in the negotiation and display of status.

277 Ibid, 21.

278 Letter from General Pitt Rivers to W D Geddes reproduced in Foster 2001.

279 These oral historical accounts derived from residents of Hilton of Cadboll whose families have been associated with the village for four to five generations. These suggest that the men of the village protested against the removal of the stone by marching behind it as far as they could (whether or not this was only as far as the smack in Our Lady's Haven, or some distance along the road to Invergordon is unclear). Such accounts can be subject to embellishment and invention as they are retold over time and obviously have a particular resonance in light of recent local protests surrounding the excavation of the lower portion. However, it is not unfeasible that there was some sort of protest even if only of a limited nature; as will be discussed below there was a strong tradition of protest with regard to land and resources during the later 19th century in the Easter Ross fishing villages, and in the Scottish Highlands more generally (see Withers 1995b), and this protest often focused on the actions of landowners.

280 Cited in Brewer 1997, 629.
281 See Nadel-Klein 2003, 23–30; see also Coull 1969.
282 Ibid; see also Ash 1991.
283 For a more detailed discussion see Dalglish 2003; Devine 1999; Phillipson & Mitchison 1970; Smout 1969.
284 See Smout 1969; Dalglish 2003.
285 It is difficult to identify the precise date by which Hilton of Cadboll Chapel and the surrounding land became incorporated into the Cadboll estate. However, by 1643 the same lands were part of the 'barony of Ganyes or Cadboll' held by Sir James Sinclair of Cannesbye (*Origines Parochiales Scotiae* 1855, 443), and the *Contents and Estimate of the Estate of Cadboll* produced in 1813 detail 'Fishertown of Hilltown' as part of the estate along with the land on which 'St Mary Chapel' was located. At this date the rental from the village amounted to £24 and 2s.
286 Geophysical survey carried out by the University of York suggests that the medieval village lay to the north-east of Hilton of Cadboll Chapel whereas the modern village of Hilton of Cadboll lies to the South (see Carver 1997).
287 The connotation of feudal ownership implied in the name Hilton *of* Cadboll undoubtedly has historical foundations and the proprietorial relationship was maintained until the sale of the Cadboll Estate in 1918 (see the description of the lots for auction of the estate: *Particulars and Plans of the Estates of Cadboll*). However, this is vehemently disputed today by some Hilton residents who emphasise that the name simply means Hilton *by* Cadboll, and stress the independence of the village from the Estate. This active (re)presentation of the history of the village is significant in terms of the continuing negotiation of relationships of power and authority between the residents of the fishing villages and landowners or farmers, which is manifest in a variety of contexts and will be discussed in more detail in 6.9.
288 Manuscript in the papers of Ross of Pitcalnie, cited in Ash 1991, 160.
289 See Nadel-Klein 2003, 35.
290 The *Stat Acct* (1791–9, Vol 4, 292–3) documents that Hilton and Balintore have three fishing boats each, with six men per boat, suggesting perhaps eight to 12 families (given that there would undoubtedly be more than one man from the same family in the boat, brothers often working together along with their sons).
291 In some of the more infamous cases, such as Glencalvie and Strathnaver, this involved violent, forced evictions and outright expulsion of tenants by lairds and their factors (estate managers). In other cases the poverty resulting from loss of land for grazing cattle and growing crops, alongside increased population and rising rents, led to voluntary migration to Scottish cities and emigration (see Richards 2000).
292 Nadel-Klein 2003, 36.
293 There may have been significantly more, as it was common for closely related families to inhabit different rooms of the same house. Anson (1950, 15) states that in Footdee a contemporary observer noted the prevalence of multiple occupancy during the 1860s, there being 36 married couples and 19 widows in 28 houses, with 54 distinct families. Oral historical accounts and the census data also attest to multiple occupancy during the 19th century in Hilton of Cadboll.
294 Macdonald & Gordon 1971, 18.
295 Ibid, 18.
296 For further detail see Jones 2004.
297 One late 19th-century commentator emphasised that 'The inhabitants of these three villages are at the present moment the most poverty-stricken and the most destitute class of fishermen in all the Highlands' (Ross 1889–90, 166). Newspaper reports provide further testimony to the poverty of the Easter Ross fishing communities for instance the *Ross-Shire Journal* carried an article entitled 'The destitution of the Easter Ross fishing villages' on 6 March 1885. In this article the Inspector of the Poor of the parish assured the readership: 'that it was impossible to exaggerate the poverty he witnessed. They had nothing to live upon, and [...] it would fall upon the Poor Law Board to see that none died of starvation'.
298 For a local account see *New Stat Acct* 1834–45, Vol 18, 35.
299 Ross 1889–90, 167.
300 A small pier of insubstantial character had been built in Hilton in 1850s with financial support from the laird, Macleod of Cadboll and the Fisheries Board, but this suffered from silting (*Ross-Shire Journal* 20 February 1885, 4), and proposals for a harbour at Balintore in the early 19th century failed to reach fruition until 1896 (Alston 1999, 75; Ash 1991, 167–8).
301 See Ash 1991, 166; Macdonald & Gordon 1971, 53. This militancy took the form of meetings and petitions, for instance to the Napier Commission, but also direct action against the trawler fishermen who were perceived to be threatening the livelihood of the Easter Ross fishermen by trawling in the shallow waters of the Moray Firth. See, for instance, 'Invergordon – disturbance between fishermen and the crew of a trawler' in *Ross-Shire Journal*, 30 January 1885, 3.
302 *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1884, 355.
303 For instance, see 'Mr Munro Ferguson of Novar, M.P. on Trawling' *Ross-Shire Journal*, 23 January 1885, 3; 'Gloomy outlook for Easter Ross fishermen', *Ross-Shire Journal*, 20 February 1885, 4; 'Novar and the distressed fishermen' *Inverness Advertiser*, 23 January 1885, 4; 'Morayshire fishermen and the trawling question' *Inverness Advertiser* 6 February 1885, 5.
304 Nadel-Klein 2003, 48.
305 On the marginality of fishing communities see Nadel-Klein 2003, 24.
306 *The Scotsman*, 14 February 1921.
307 Minutes of the Standing Committee 12 February 1921, British Museum Central Archives, CE1.
308 Tarbat N°. 1, Allen & Anderson 1993 [1903], Vol 2.
309 *The Scotsman*, 22 February 1921.
310 *The Inverness Courier*, 11 March 1921.

311 A copy of a letter to Sir Frederic G Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, from Mr Graham Callander, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh, dated 10 November 1921, acknowledges safe arrival of the Stone and includes settlement on the costs of transport, NMS archive ('Cadboll File').

312 *The Inverness Courier* 18 March 1921.

313 See Viscount Esher in *The Glasgow Herald*, 17 February 1921.

314 *The Inverness Courier* 18 March 1921, 5.

315 See *The Ross-Shire Journal* 11 February 1921 and *The Ross-Shire Journal* 20 May 1921.

316 *Third Stat Acct, Ross and Cromarty*, 1987, 157.

317 To our knowledge there is no surviving record of Macleod's original offer, but it probably took place in 1920. The fact that Macleod chose to donate the sculptured stones to the British Museum rather than include them in the sale of his property suggests that they were conceived as a significant aspect of the family's history as well as important pieces of national patrimony. Unfortunately there are no papers pertaining to the sale of the castle and the events surrounding the upper portion of the cross-slab in the Macleod family archives contained in the Highland region archive.

318 Newspaper reports suggest that Tarbat N°. 1 fragment was sent about a week later.

319 Report by Sir Hercules Read, 7 February 1921, for consideration by the Trustees at the meeting of the Standing Committee on 12 February 1921, BM Central Archives CE1. The inclusion of the monument within the artistic tradition of the pre-Roman Britons provides an interesting contrast with its long-standing classification in Scotland as an example of Christian art (see 6.5 above).

320 Letter from Mr Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland, to the Trustees of the British Museum, 10 February 1921, BM Central Archives CE4.

321 Letter from Glasgow Archaeological Society to the Trustees of the British Museum, 12 February 1921, BM Central Archives CE4.

322 Copy of circular letter, NMS archive ('Cadboll Stone', no number). It has not been possible to reconstruct a full list, but responses in the archives of the National Museums of Scotland reveal that the following Societies were certainly recipients of the letter: The Buchan Field Club; Glasgow Archaeological Society; Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society; Scottish Ecclesiological Society; Perthshire Society of Natural Science; The Institute of Scottish Architects; Buteshire Natural History Society; Falkirk Natural History and Archaeological Society; The Elgin and Morayshire Literary and Scientific Association; The Gaelic Society of Inverness.

323 'The Hilton Stone: an ancient Moray Firth monument. Possible loss to Scotland', *The Scotsman*, 3 February 1921.

324 'Famous sculptured stone: threatened removal to London'. *The Glasgow Herald*, 3 February 1921.

325 Citing the Ancient Monuments Act was a deliberate attempt to bring the ethos behind the Ancient Monuments Act to bear on the outcome. This often led to confusion about the status of the monument which a number of people, including The Office of Works and Viscount Esher tried to clarify. In a statement to *The Glasgow Herald*, 12 February 1821, it was noted that 'the monument is not a "scheduled" one, and the Department therefore, can have no effective voice in the matter of its disposal. Any action which The Office of Works may take will be limited to "moral persuasion"'.

326 An article in *The Glasgow Herald*, 5 February 1921, suggests that Munro was also asked to receive a deputation, led by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Correspondence with The Office of Works is a product of the attempt to invoke the Ancient Monuments Act despite the fact that the monument was unscheduled (see the previous footnote and discussion in the main body of the text).

327 Letter from Moncrieff to the President of the Society, Lord Carmichael, asking him to sign and post the two letters, NMS archive ('Cadboll Stone').

328 Copies of both letters are in the NMS archive. A copy was also forwarded by Sir Lionel Earle to Sir Frederick Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, BM Central Archives CE4. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland wrote to a number of individuals to this effect, and may well have been the source of information for a number of erroneous newspaper articles. However, it was subsequently clarified that the British Museum only had the upper portion of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab and the vine-scroll fragment from Tarbat (No 1, Allen & Anderson 1993 [1903], Vol 2, 73–4), which had stood beside the former alongside the carriageway at Invergordon Castle. See the Letter from Viscount Esher, one of the Trustees of the British Museum, to the editor of the *Glasgow Herald*, 17 February 1921. Confusion reigned about the other nine Tarbat fragments (Nos 2, 2a, 2b, 2c, 4, 5, 8, 9, & 10, ibid, 88–95) with a number of newspaper articles suggesting that these too had been transferred to the British Museum, eg *The Ross-Shire Journal* 18 February 1921.

329 For example, letter from the Institute of Scottish Architects to the Trustees of the British Museum, 25 February 1921, BM Central Archives CE4, and letter from the Paisley Philosophical Institution to HM Office of Works, 10 March 1921, BM Central Archives CE4.

330 See Foster (2001) for a discussion of the views of Joseph Anderson, Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities, and General Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Inspector for Ancient Monuments.

331 Letter from The Glasgow Archaeological Society to The Trustees of the British Museum, 10 February 1921, NMS archive (file: 'Cadboll Stone').

332 Letter from the Perthshire Society of Natural History to Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland, 22 February 1921, BM Central Archives CE4.

333 Letter from R Scott Moncrieff to the Earl of Rosebery, 8 February 1921, NMS archive ('Cadboll Stone').

334 Letter from Lord Rosebery's secretary to R Scott Moncrieff, 10 February 1921, NMS archive ('Cadboll Stone').

335 Letter from W Douglas Simpson to T Graham Callander, 8 February 1921, in reply to Callander's of 4 February, NMS archive ('Cadboll Stone').

336 Letter from the Gaelic Society of Inverness to R Scott Moncrieff, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, NMS ('Cadboll Stone'). Replies from T B Morison and Ian Macpherson to the Gaelic Society were publicised in *The Glasgow Herald*, 17 February 1921. The Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society also reported that they had written to three unnamed MPs, NMS ('Cadboll Stone').

337 *Hansard Commons*, 1921, Vol 138, 2038. Also reported in: *The Ross-Shire Journal*, 11 March 1921; *The Scotsman* 4 February 1921.

338 *Hansard Commons*, 1921, Vol 139, 1226–7. Also reported in: *The Scotsman*, 16 March 1921; *Highland News*, 19 February 1921.

339 We have drawn upon the archives of the National Museums of Scotland, the Royal Commission of Scotland, and undertaken extensive searches of the local press in the Highland Regional archives. The original source and date of three of the newspaper articles derived from archival sources had not been recorded.

340 For example in *The Scotsman*: 'The Hilton Stone: an ancient Moray Firth monument. Possible loss to Scotland', 3 February 1921 (details initial reports about removal of the stone). 'Ancient Scottish Stones removed', 10 February 1921 (reports on the removal of the Tarbat stone fragments and infers, erroneously, their removal to the British Museum); untitled report, 10 March 1921 (reports that the Secretary for Scotland has met with Captain Macleod, and notes that communications are in progress between the Scottish Office and the British Museum); 'Cadboll stone', 16 March 1921 (reports the Secretary for Scotland's announcement to The House of Commons that the Hilton of Stone will be returned to Scotland).

341 For example see: 'Removal of Cadboll Stone: Scottish antiquaries protest', *The Scotsman*, 9 February 1921; 'Cadboll stone: protest by Glasgow archaeologists', *The Scotsman*, 11 February 1921; 'Links with the past: the Cadboll stone. Protest by Perthshire Society', *The Perthshire Courier*, 15 February 1921; 'Hawick Archaeological Society and the Cadboll stone', *The Scotsman*, 24 February 1921. 'Removal of Hilton obelisk: protest by Society of Antiquaries', *Highland News*, 12 February 1921; 'Hilton of Cadboll stone: Ecclesiological Society's protest', *The Inverness Courier*, 15 February 1921.

342 For examples see: 'The Hilton Stone: an ancient Moray Firth monument. Possible loss to Scotland', *The Scotsman*, 3 February 1921; 'Famous sculptured stone: threatened removal to London'. *The Glasgow Herald*, 3 February 1921; 'Scottish sculptured stones: other removals to British Museum', *Glasgow Herald*, 10 February 1921; 'The Obelisk of Hilton: its removal from Invergordon to the British Museum. What Hugh Miller said about it', *The Highland News*, 5 February 1921; 'The stone described', *The Inverness Courier*, 4 February 1921.

343 Editorial, *The Scotsman*, 9 February 1921.

344 Editorial, *The Scotsman*, 22 February 1921.

345 For example see 'Famous sculptured stone: threatened removal to London. From a correspondent', *The Glasgow Herald*, 3 February 1921; 'Hilton of Cadboll stone: demand for restoration', *The Glasgow Herald*, 4 February 1921. However, these articles do take the form of reports on the opinions of antiquarian authorities rather than direct editorial comment, which appears to be the case with *The Scotsman*.

346 For example see 'Hilton of Cadboll stone: demand for restoration', 8 February 1921, which approvingly cites the view of 'one antiquary' that it is incredible that the British Museum should 'connive in smuggling out of the country so remarkable a stone'. There were also outspoken leader articles responding to Viscount Esher's letter to *The Glasgow Herald* (17 February 1921), 'Injured dignity' and 'The ethics of the case', *The Inverness Courier*, 18 February 1921 (these will be discussed in more detail later).

347 'The Cadboll stone: it's destination' *The Inverness Courier*, 18 March 1921.

348 *The Ross-Shire Journal*, 22 April 1921.

349 'Historic Scottish Stone, protests at removal to British Museum', *The Times*, 1 March 1921. No author is attributed but in his letter of reply, the Duke of Atholl suggests that Sir Hercules Read has a strong hand in its content, arguing that the article 'gave the point of view that one would naturally expect a custodian of an interested department of the British Museum to take', 'Cadboll Stone: Scotland's right to possession', Letter to the Editor from the Duke of Atholl, *The Times*, 8 March 1921.

350 For example: Letter signed simply 'F.S.A. (Scot)' to the Editor of *The Scotsman*, 5 February 1921, stated that 'It is incredible that they [the British Museum authorities] should act in a way contrary to the spirit of the Ancient Monuments Act, and connive at the smuggling out of the country of so remarkable a stone'. Other such letters came from: Charles Whitelaw, FSA(Scot) to the Editor of *The Glasgow Herald*, 5 February 1921; J S Donald FSA (Scot) to the Editor of *The Scotsman*, 8 February 192; Herbert Maxwell to the Editor of *The Glasgow Herald*, 10 February 1921; David Barnett to the Editor of *The Scotsman*, 11 February 1921.

351 For example, 'The Cadboll stone: Viscount Esher and the facts', *The Scotsman*, 17 February 1921; 'The Cadboll stone: Viscount Esher defends the British Museum' *The Inverness Courier*, 18 February 1921. Whilst desiring its return to Scotland, both Sir John Stirling Maxwell and the Duke of Atholl wrote conciliatory letters to *The Scotsman* (18 and 21 February) arguing that the neither the Officials and Trustees of the British Museum, nor Captain Macleod, should be blamed for actions which they felt was in the best interests of the Hilton stone itself.

352 For example, Letter from 'Old Mortality' to the Editor of *The Highland News* titled 'The Hilton obelisk: why was it

removed?, 26 February 1921; Letter from Ludovic M'L Mann, *The Glasgow Herald*, 4 February 1921; Letter from G M C of Carnoustie, to the Editor of *The Scotsman*, 11 February 1921.

353 Letter from David Barnett to the Editor of *The Scotsman*, 11 February 1921. One letter to the Editor of *The Highland News* compares the trouble and expense involved with the restoration of the Hilton stone to the impoverished social conditions prevailing in Hilton and the other seaboard villages, 2 April 1921.

354 For example, an article from a 'Hiltonian' correspondent in *The Highland News*, 19 February 1921, takes issue with another correspondent over the facts about its history at Invergordon. Another example is the debate which took place between two correspondents, Ludovic M'L Mann and an anonymous author 'Your Correspondent', in *The Glasgow Herald* over the details of the recent history of the monument (3, 4, 8, 10 February 1921)

355 'The Cadboll Stone: Viscount Esher and the facts', *The Glasgow Herald*, 17 February 1921, also reprinted in *The Inverness Courier*, 18 February 1921, which took exception to Esher's admonishments responding the same day in a hostile and mocking tone with two editorial commentaries titled 'Injured dignity' and 'The ethics of the case'.

356 To the Duke of Atholl, the Council expressed their appreciation of his efforts to secure the return of the stone noting that 'The Council have every reason to believe that it was largely due to your opportune intervention and to your influence with Captain Macleod of Cadboll that this happy result was brought about', letter from G P H Watson on behalf of the Council, 7 September 1921, NMS archive (file: 'Cadboll Stone'). To Robert Munro, they again expressed their sincere thanks and stated that 'The whole of Scotland is indebted to you for your active interest in this matter and more particularly the members of this Society as custodians of the National Museum of Antiquities, in which the stone is to find a resting place', letter from G P H Watson on behalf of the Council, 7 September 1921, NMS archive (file: 'Cadboll Stone'). The activities of both individuals were also heavily reported on and praised in the press.

357 Atholl's letter has not been preserved in the NMS and BM archives, but Macleod's reply to him on 24 February provides this information.

358 Letter from Captain Macleod to the Duke of Atholl, 24 February 1921, BM Central Archives CE4.

359 Earle pressed the latter point for some time having heard 'perhaps inaccurately, that the owner is not disposed to do so', see letters to Lord Carmichael 15 February 1921, 'The Secretary' of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 17 February 1921, and G P H Watson, 21 February 1921, all in NMS archive (file: 'Cadboll Stone'). Privately he did observe to Kenyon that 'in view of the howl that the whole question has caused, I think he would be glad to deposit it anywhere in Scotland', letter 2 March 1921, BM Central Archives CE4.

360 Letter from R Scott Moncrieff to Lord Carmichael, 24 February 1921, NMS archive (file: 'Cadboll Stone').

361 Letter from Robert Munro, Secretary for Scotland, to the Trustees, 7 March 1921, BM Central Archives CE4.

362 Minutes of the Standing Committee, 12 March 1921, BM Central Archives CE1.

363 Letter from Macleod to Kenyon, 15 March 1921, BM Central Archives CE4, emphasis in original.

364 Letter from Moncrieff to Macleod, 1 April 1921, NMS archive (file: 'Cadboll Stone').

365 Letter from Macleod to Moncrieff, 7 April 1921, NMS archive (file: 'Cadboll Stone).

366 Petley 1857, 352; Stevenson 1981a, 71–2. These drawings are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.5.

367 Anderson 1881. Anderson's conception of archaeology as a national pursuit of the highest order is explicit in these lectures (especially in Chapter 1).

368 Glasgow Archaeological Society cited in *The Scotsman*, 11 February 1921.

369 For instance, an advertisement for a rug designed by the artist George Bain and inspired by early Christian art described it as 'the only form of truly traditional art we have' (Quayle & Tranter 'Advertisement for a Hebridean rug', cited in Seright 1997, 20).

370 Letter from Ludovic M'L Mann, *The Glasgow Herald*, 4 February 1921.

371 'The obelisk from Hilton: its removal from Invergordon to the British Museum. What Hugh Miller has said about it', *The Highland News* 5 February 1921.

372 Buchan 1778, 28.

373 Smellie 1782, 2–3; my emphasis.

374 Ash 1981, 91–4; cf Crooke 2000 on the Irish situation. New accommodation was found in the 'Building for the Societies' in 1926, and the museum collection was seen by growing numbers of people (Ash 1981; also Stevenson 1981a). At this point in time access was still restricted to a privileged nexus as the Society issued tickets to the Fellows to be distributed to non-members and which had to be signed to indicate approval of and responsibility for the visitors.

375 Anderson 1983 [1991].

376 See amongst others Bennett 1995; Crooke 2000; Duncan 1999; Hooper-Greenhill 1992.

377 Bennett 1995, 19.

378 Ibid, 28.

379 Wilson 1851–2, 2; see Ash 1981; Stevenson 1981a for further details.

380 Ash 1981, 105.

381 For example, in the circular letter sent to antiquarian societies requesting that they register a formal protest about the removal of the Hilton of Cadboll stone to the British Museum, 3 February 1921, NMS archive (file: 'Cadboll Stone').

382 British Museum Central Archives CE4.

383 Letter from Graham Callander, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities to Sir Frederick Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, 17 May 1921, British Museum Central Archives CE4.

384 Telegram sent 23 May 1921, 'Galloway mask Sotheby's tomorrow we will not compete until your limit is reached please tell me your limit or we may both lose it', British Museum Central Archives CE4.
385 Wilson 1852, cited in Ash 1981, 110–11.
386 Wilson 1863, xvii.
387 Anderson 1881, 13.
388 Ibid, 14–15.
389 On the portrayal of modern nations as organic homogeneous entities see Handler 1988.
390 *The Scotsman,* 9 February 1921.
391 *The Glasgow Herald*, 12 February 1921.
392 *The Scotsman*, 11 February 1921, my emphasis.
393 See Handler 1988.
394 For example, *The Highland News*, 12 March 1921.
395 For instance, the Chairman of the Ecclesiological Society is reported in *The Inverness Courier* saying that 'it seemed to him to be a rather shabby thing of the British Museum to take the stones without at least communicating with the Ancient Monuments Board in Edinburgh', 15 February 1921. For further examples see: *Glasgow Herald*, 10 and 11 February 1921; *Inverness Courier*, 8 and 18 February 1921; *The Scotsman*, 5 and 9 February 1921.
396 See Note 365 for examples.
397 When it appeared that the conflict would be resolved leading to the return of the monument, a *The Scotsman* editorial offered Macleod redemption stating that 'the timely intervention of the Duke of Atholl has enabled the Laird of Cadboll to make it clear, even from his sick bed, that he is as good a Scotsman as any of his compatriots', 22 February 1921.
398 See Chippindale 1983.
399 These included Sueno Stone, St Vigeans cross-slab, Kirkadrine carved stones, Newton in the Garioch, the Catstane, and Kirkmadrine.
400 Including Ruthwell cross, the Dyce stones, Glamis cross, Aberlemno symbol stones, Eassie, and Whithorn.
401 *The Scotsman,* 18 February 1921.
402 'The Cadboll Stone: Viscount Esher and the Facts', *The Glasgow Herald*, 17 February 1921. Reprinted in *The Inverness Courier*, 18 February 1921.
403 1 March 1921. In a personal response to this article, the Duke of Atholl suggests that Sir Hercules Read has a strong hand in its content, arguing that the article 'gave the point of view that one would naturally expect a custodian of an interested department of the British Museum to take'. 'Cadboll Stone: Scotland's right to possession', Letter to the Editor from the Duke of Atholl, *The Times*, 8 March 1921.
404 Letter from Atholl to the Editor of *The Scotsman*, 21 February 1921.
405 For example, untitled editorial in The Scotsman, 9 February 1921; 'A famous stone', *The Inverness Courier*, 4 February 1921; 'The ethics of the case', *The Inverness Courier*, 18 February 1921.
406 See Jones 2005b; and 6.9 below.
407 Letter signed 'Pro Bono Publico', *Highland News*, 2 April 1921, 8.
408 Ibid.
409 Letter, signed 'Hiltonian', to the Editor of the *Highland News*, 19 February 1921, 7. Furthermore, the local press (*Highland News*, *Inverness Courier*, *Ross-Shire Journal*) included regular articles, editorials and correspondence on the subject for at least three months, with correspondence indicating a considerable depth of knowledge, and frequently drawing on Hugh Miller's (1835 [1994]) *Scenes and Legends of Northern Scotland*.
410 Macdonald & Gordon 1971.
411 For a wider perspective see Cohen 1987; Nadel-Klein 2003; Watson 2003.
412 For example, Macdonald & Gordon 1971; Ross 2001; Watson 2003.
413 Macdonald & Gordon 1971, 156–7.
414 These were mostly women, there being a tendency for virilocal residence when the traditional pattern of endogamy was broken.
415 See Barr 1996; Grigor 1980.
416 Grigor 1980, 74.
417 Grigor (1980, 76) notes that in May 1973 it was estimated that 'of the expected new job opportunities (total 12,700), 9,100, or 75 per cent, would be taken up by incomers to the area', leading to a population increase of 21 per cent.
418 Barr 1996, 107; Grigor 1980, 77; Revill & Rowlands 1995, 3.
419 Barr 1996; Revill & Rowlands 1995; Seaboard Community Development 1991.
420 The 1991 census figures indicated that 16 per cent of the economically active population were unemployed (district mean 8 per cent), 39 per cent of the population of working age were non-earners (district mean 30 per cent), 35 per cent of the population had no access to a car (district mean 20 per cent), and 40 per cent of households with dependent children had no adult earners (second highest figure in Ross-Shire) (Revill & Rowlands 1995, 4; see also Barr 1996).
421 Community House provided a centre for various activities, including meetings, day and evening classes, and play-schemes, as well as a source of support. This initiative was initially supported by Ross and Cromarty District Council and the Highland Council. Subsequently funding was provided by Ross and Cromarty Enterprise.
422 Seaboard Community Development are concerned with many spheres including 'social, cultural, educational and environmental development' and major projects include coastal landscaping, car park and picnic facilities, provision of environmental display boards, as well as playing a prominent role in the construction of the new Seaboard Hall in conjunction with the Hall Committee.
423 The Learning Centre offers vocational training, free internet access and so forth.
424 See Jones 2004 for further details.
425 Oral historical accounts gathered in 2001 suggest that its absence was a source of comment, and something which was clearly passed down from generation to generation.

426 Macdonald & Gordon 1971, 15; various oral historical accounts of such activities were also collected in 2001.

427 The dowser's report is contained in an appendix to Carver 1998.

428 J Wood, Highland Council Senior Archaeologist, pers comm; also Highland Council Archaeology Service web site 'Latest News', 12/11/01. The request probably came from Mrs Jane Durham, who was Chair of Tain and Easter Ross Civic Trust, but under pressure from some of the more active Hilton residents. Oral accounts suggest that one or two Hilton residents had made verbal requests for the upper portion of the monument to be returned. It is likely though that the requests were addressed to front of house staff at the National Museum of Antiquities, and as far as we can ascertain the Museum has no record of them.

429 Martin Carver pers comm. Indeed, it was Jim Paterson who was the landowner when the Hilton of Cadboll chapel site was passed into state care.

430 Grove 2001.

431 Ibid.

432 The latter approach was advocated by Martin Carver.

433 By Mrs Dolly Macdonald in conjunction with Community House.

434 The meeting which took place of 28 August 2001 was attended by *c*120 people, including local residents, local and regional politicians, representatives of the landowners, Glenmorangie plc, and all the funding bodies: HS, NMS, Highland Council, and Ross and Cromarty Enterprise.

435 The legal details are outlined in the introduction to this volume, whereas the social and symbolic aspects are discussed in detail in Jones 2004 and 2005b.

436 Revill & Rowlands 1995, 18 and 21.

437 Seaboard Initiative 2001.

438 Grove 2001.

439 Robert, a heritage professional.

440 Clare, a resident of Hilton of Cadboll.

441 Fernandez & Herzfeld 1998, 90, and for an example of such research Herzfeld's *A Place in History: social and monumental time in a Cretan town*, 1999.

442 Even the absence of a visible monument in local contexts, prior to the production of the reconstruction and the excavation of the lower portion, provided a basis for the production of meanings, some of which have been discussed in Chapter 6.8.

443 Interviewing and visitor tracking are standard methodologies used in museum studies. The interviews were semi-structured and focused on the section of the 'Early People' exhibition where the upper section of the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab is located (opposite the lift shaft on Level 0). The questions were open-ended and visitors were encouraged to respond in their own words. The length of the interviews ranged from *c*15–45 minutes. Initially visitors' were asked about their general reactions to the exhibition and then specifically about the early medieval sculptured stones, and eventually Hilton of Cadboll. Visitor movements were also tracked through the same space, and their actions recorded, eg stopping, reading text panels, and talking. See Diamond 1999 for further discussion of the methodologies.

444 For full details see Jones 2004.

445 See contributions to Bernard (ed) 1998 for an overview of these methodologies.

446 The interviews were conducted according to a common structure and set of opening questions for each theme. Beyond this they were conversational in style and open-ended, thus allowing interviewees to explore, develop and clarify their thoughts and feelings. Such interviewing techniques provide greater depth of understanding and insights into meaning than highly structured surveys, especially those with closed response categories defined by the researcher.

447 Three months in 2001, two weeks in 2002 and two months in 2003.

448 This would also apply to other methodologies, such as including questionnaire surveys and highly structured interviews.

449 To some degree the length of participant observation is also designed to overcome the more pronounced observer effect that can be produced in the context of one-off questionnaires and interviews.

450 It is not possible to provide a full discussion of these processes here but see Jones 2004, chapter 7 for further details.

451 Clarke 2000a; also Ascherson 2000.

452 Cooke & Maclean 2001, 115; see also Clarke 1995 and 2000b for a personal view on the archaeological displays and the 'Early People' section.

453 See Fladmark *et al* 2000 for a discussion of the Museum's development. For discussions of the national narratives and interests surrounding it see Ascherson 2000, 2003; Clarke 1996, 2000a and 2000b; Cooke & Maclean 2001.

454 Dewar 2000, cited in Cooke & Maclean 2001.

455 Ibid, 114–20.

456 The exhibition contains relatively small amounts of information about specific objects in contrast with the huge academic body of knowledge that exists for most of them. Originally the aim had been to produce a multi-media database called Mosaics, where people could access this body of knowledge and explore other dimensions of objects which were not included in the exhibition. However, this idea was shelved in favour of SCRAN (D Clarke, interviewed, 28 August 2002).

457 For a detailed discussion of the problems and issues of working with a national framework with respect to the archaeology collections see Clarke 1996 and 2000b

458 There was also an attempt to achieve a reasonably even coverage of different parts of Scotland: 'we were conscious of the need to not have blanks' and 'we didn't want to have great chunks of the country that no object appeared from, we wanted people to come and feel as they walked round if they looked at the maps, oh that's my area' (D Clarke, interviewed, 28 August 2002). This has a political dimension in relation to the boundaries of the modern nation as D Clarke acknowledged. It also creates

the sense that the Museum collection is representative of the nation.

459 As the Keeper of Archaeology put it, the map 'keeps repeating implicitly that this is a display about Scotland [...] so the map never shrinks below the nation-state' (D Clarke, interviewed, 28 August 2002).

460 In the process of designing the exhibitions for the new Museum, there was a great deal of consultation with stakeholders as well as an Exhibition Review Committee (D Clarke, interviewed, 28 August 2002).

461 Text panel titled 'Gods of the Frontier, God of the Book' in the 'Early People' section, Museum of Scotland, emphasis added.

462 Paolozzi was commissioned to produce these sculptures, which are arranged in four groups, each group representing one the four themes of the archaeology galleries ('A Generous Land', 'Wider Horizons', 'Them and Us', and 'In Touch With the Gods'). Cases for the display of prehistoric artifacts are set within the modern sculptures.

463 The Woodwrae cross-slab, the other large Pictish class II cross-slab in the exhibition, is used to illustrate the adoption of Christianity, although its cross-face is also damaged.

464 This interpretation is disputed by Henderson in Chapter 5 of this volume.

465 Henderson & Henderson 2004, 226–7. Their critique privileges origins over and above other important aspects in the history of early medieval sculpture such as their re-use – an aspect that the Museum could also have drawn out.

466 The etched design was produced prior to the discovery of the lower section in 2001.

467 D Clarke, interviewed, 28 August 2002, Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh. Nevertheless, tracking showed that many visitors evade this intended route (see below).

468 These 'Most Treasured Objects' are identified by a code with a green background.

469 In contrast, other examples of early medieval, and indeed Roman, sculpture are displayed in more discrete sections of the gallery. The early Christian sculpture is mostly grouped together for comparative purposes at the end of 'In Search of the Gods', which runs along the back of the introductory 'People' section.

470 Henderson & Henderson (2004, 226) are particularly critical of the way in which the cross-slab is isolated from relevant *comparanda*.

471 Cooke & Maclean's (2001) research also demonstrates that in the perceptions of visitors the main function of the Museum is to tell the story of Scotland, although there was divergence of opinion about the nature of that story.

472 The tracking suggests that the issue of scale is an important factor in directing the gaze of the visitor. There was a close correlation for instance between visitors being drawn to the jewellery in the small display cases embedded in the Paolozzi sculptures and an almost complete lack of attention to the larger monumental pieces, such as the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab. Indeed, for some the latter could have been a mere architectural feature; they hardly seemed to see it.

473 This kind of conception of the monument was particularly prominent amongst those with long-term, often multi-generational, associations with the village; people who defined themselves and were defined by others as 'locals'.

474 See MacDonald 1997 for a discussion of the concept belonging in a Western Isles context.

475 Emphasis added.

476 Macdonald 1997, 131.

477 For other ethnographic case studies illustrating similar processes see Macdonald 1997; Mewitt 1986; Nadel 1984; Nadel-Klein 1991.

478 Gray 2002; Gupta & Fergusen 1997; Kempny 2002; Nadel-Klein 1991.

479 See Nadel-Klein (2003, Chapter 5) for an analysis of the ways in which fisherfolk's experience of crises in the fishing industry is conditioned by specific historical processes, particularly the social memory of injustice and stigma, and a continuing experience of marginality. As Nadel-Klein explains, the past as remembered and reconstructed becomes 'an interpretive guide for action and inaction (ibid, 161).

480 For instance, one man noted in passing, 'Aye, we'll sort our stone and then we'll sort that stone' referring to the controversial statue of the 1st Duke of Sutherland, on top of Ben Bhraggie hill overlooking the small town of Golspie in east Sutherland. The Duke of Sutherland is one of the most notorious and despised of the Clearance landlords, and his statue, which was erected in 1834, has been the focus of a campaign to knock it down, taking the form of formal requests through the Planning Office of the Highland Council from 1994 onwards (see Withers 1996).

481 The villages of Nigg and Portmahomack can be distinguished from the seaboard villages. Whilst they have similar social and economic histories in some respects, they are substantially more affluent and have a rather different socio-economic makeup.

482 Barkan & Bush 2002, 15.

483 See Anderson 1983 on the concept of the nation as an 'imagined community'.

484 See Jones 2005b for a detailed discussion.

485 Ruskin 1849, 233–34.

486 Duncan 1998.

487 Nadel-Klein's 2003, 24.

488 Fernandez & Herzfeld 1998, 90, and for an example of such research see Herzfeld's *A Place in History: social and monumental time in a Cretan town*, 1999.

489 See Foster 2000; Jones 2004, 2005b.