

THE INTEGRATION OF THE ELITE AND WIDER
COMMUNITIES OF THE NORTHERN HIGHLANDS, 1500–1700:
EVIDENCE FROM VISUAL CULTURE¹

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Introduction

The integration of the Scottish northern Highlands into wider Scottish and British society did not occur within a vacuum.² Rather, it took place in a specific cultural context. This cultural dimension served at the same time as both source and receptacle of the reforming policies and measures of the crown. Governmental actions were explained away and validated by a so-called ‘civilising’ leitmotif. Conversely, the clans and families of the region were not mere passive objects of study to be reformed by the various institutional authorities. Within the field of visual culture, they projected themselves as actors for their own culture.³ Furthermore, the cultural perspective cannot be restricted to an opposition between the central powers and northern Highland society. One needs to consider a transversal culture, that is, cultural elements coming from the community at large or from abroad and not solely from the centre. These in turn created a hybrid culture with its mixture of all these cultural aspects originating in both the centre and periphery and from external sources.

First, this article will examine the pictorial framework within which the concepts of the northern Highlands and of northern Highlanders developed. This will establish the intellectual background to their culture, as conceived and imposed primarily from outside and from above, with correlated relevance to that of Highlanders in general.⁴ In the second and main part of this paper, various cultural elements, as produced and consumed both in the area and outside, will be examined in order to unravel the relationships between that intellectual framework and the visual culture *in situ*, in which women took an active role. The premise is to set a perceived ‘barbarism’ against actual cultural achievements and consumption on the ground. The methodology adopted for this approach is to look into various visual elements of that culture, namely architecture, heraldry,

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and paintings. These will be shown to reveal cultural facets in which these people had a significant input/control of output to a degree. This local/internal measure certainly emphasises a cultural and, by extension, integrative model from below then in operation and valid for the northern Highlands, defined in the present case as the shires of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, and the Outer Isles, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but with variations in terms of people, location, and time.

The articulation of northern Highland culture: the visual rhetoric of an identity

In a parallel to contemporary Irish and European cases, the terminology of savagery and barbarity contributed, in Scotland, to the formulation of a ‘segregation policy’ so as to establish a clear distinction between civility and wilderness within wider civic discourse.⁵ This rhetoric constituted a trenchant rejection of the aristocratic politics of violence with a view to the ‘civilising’ regimentation of the elite. As a propagandist tool, it further justified and eased the passing of repressive legislation against ‘uncivil’ subjects. It was also integral to the wider discourse of the *via negativa* of cultural denigration, this marking a constant and common feature of the European articulation of civility as gradually accreted from classical Antiquity. But the commonplace of the ‘wild man’ combined multiple and indeed contradictory historical and cumulative nuances in its manifold depictions and representations. In the constitution of Western identity, the wild man indicated the separation between nature and culture that characterised the notion of civility. This conception accorded with Scottish/British identity with the Highlander/Islander cast as the wild man.⁶ Language was also a powerful tool of governance and was integral to the panoply of governmental containment of the *Gàidhealtachd*.⁷ Needless to say, Gaelic views jarred with such a representation.⁸

Turning to the visual, the projection of an image could be calibrated to send desired signals of status and identity at the expense of the local population as the key point lay in the control of these visual productions. Interestingly, the *topoi* of northern Highlanders, and of Highlanders in general, were not confined to a literary or secular context. Medieval and early-modern topography and visual arts made full use of the readily available template.⁹ The full force of the articulation of ‘mountaineers’ as ‘beasts’, grounded upon an Aristotelian ‘civilising’ model of the city, comes to the fore in late-medieval Tuscan accounts and in cartographic representations showing terrifying sea monsters off the coasts of Ireland and northern Scotland on William Bowyer’s map of the British Isles of 1567, reminiscent of Olaus Magnus’ 1539 ‘Carta marina’ of Scandinavia. The northern part of Eddrachillis did not fare any better, being shown as an ‘Extream wilderness’ with ‘verie great plentie of wolfes too haunt in this desert places’.¹⁰ The 1595 map of the Jesuit priest William Crichton attested

too to the religious and indeed pan-confessional propaganda at work *vis-à-vis* the more remote parts of Scotland, as could further be found in Ireland, the contemporary Mezzogiorno, and late-medieval Tuscany.¹¹ Crichton linked the men under the earl of Sutherland with those under the Hebridean chiefs as, together, ‘barbarorum et semiinermium’ (savage and semi-clad), whereas the earl of Caithness’s men, though still ‘semiinermium’, were ‘semibarbarorum’. Perhaps, this was an allowance of Caithness’ better Catholic receptiveness. Crichton might also well have felt that Gaelic speakers were worthy recipients of the Irish mission as things then stood.¹²

This axis of barbarism extended to other pictorial representations, in itself a long-established European tradition, both at home and abroad. At the Bayonne tournament of 1565, organised for Catherine de’ Medici and Charles IX, knights clothed as wild Scotsmen, demons, Turks, and nymphs, glorified monarchical rule over the savage, the mythic and the demonic. The baptismal celebrations at Stirling in December 1566 indirectly borrowed from the Bayonne fête, but with goatskin-clad ‘wild Highland men’ in charge of the fireworks in the Scottish royal burgh as opposed to moors in the Basque locality.¹³ Alternatively, the Stewart monarchs and courts accoutred *à la* aboriginal but not necessarily within a context of tensions inherent in mock battles and tournaments.¹⁴ In 1633, King Charles I recognised the identity of the Gaels during his visit to Edinburgh.¹⁵ This society, in the process of being integrated into a wider Scottish/British entity, was thus perceived in mixed ways, but was still distinctive enough to command a certain specificity, as was similarly projected in Languedoc or England’s north-east at the time.¹⁶ Even though this was not the sole means at the disposal of the crown for the recognition of Highland and Hebridean identities, the 1617 and 1633 royal visits underlined a distinct regal perspective too on that particular topic, if not a different attitude altogether. As in Elizabethan England, the tradition of the wild man was instrumental in courtly discourse and, via a wider dimension, in the artistic imagery of the time.¹⁷

The visual culture of the northern Highlands

The study of local visual culture in the region assumes an importance in that it was an area in which northern Highlanders themselves had a direct influence on the projection of an image, identity, and status to the family, the clan, and the wider world. Unduly underrepresented in early-modern Scottish history, this visual anatomy or grammar of the northern Highlands provides evidence of these communities gradually immersing into the broader ambient late-Renaissance and Baroque culture.¹⁸ In this respect, the triptych of architecture, heraldry, and painting will be examined. It is well worth emphasising that the progress was only a gradual one and was by no means universal both in its geographical and societal coverage.

Architecture

such houses [fitt for nothing else but as a place of refuge in the time of trouble, wherin a man might make himselfe a prisoner] truly are worn quyt out of fashione, as feuds are, which is a great happiness.¹⁹

Art historians have recently rejuvenated the traditional historiography of Scottish architecture of the late medieval period and the Renaissance. The revised perspective on country seats has moved away from a perception solely of their preparedness for war to a focus on status, display, and symbol, and the notion of lifestyle and comfort that came with the expansion of domestication. Overall, the so-called castles of that period were not purely functionally defensive but also, rather, metaphorically so. They amalgamated the appearance and substance of martial nobility but also combined manifold cultural and socio-economic considerations. Noble estates would have been surrounded by the wherewithal to survive, expressed architecturally in the form of walled gardens and enclosures often on a very extensive scale.²⁰ The relatively dynamic and sustained period of construction of châteaux in Easter Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, in particular, attested to the comparative wealth of the landlords and their engagement with the wider Scottish and European Renaissance.²¹

The few extant building contracts within the Sinclairs' sphere of influence, for example, demonstrated the landlords' vision, at least in part, for contemplation and a more pleasurable lifestyle.²² George, fifth earl of Caithness, and probably Jean Gordon, the countess, were themselves amateur architects who stipulated directions to follow complete with technical terms as they undertook, in 1616, the repair of the 'new wark' at Castle Sinclair. They notably outlined the installation of a platform and the conspicuous use of ashlar – a dressed stone that was then expensive. As a regional cynosure, the structure emulated the wider Renaissance architectural designs in vogue in contemporary Scotland with some finely carved corbels to support angle turrets and windows. It further signalled the participation of women in the management of the estates and buildings as elsewhere in Scotland.²³

The multiple fields of application affected by Renaissance architectural influences in these lands testified to its wide-ranging effect. Contemporary maps of Ross certainly reveal the impressiveness of the multiple-structured country seats of Cadboll and Tarbat/Ballone and the five- to six-storey high Milntown Castle, which embraced the Renaissance avidity for verticality.²⁴ Visual grandeur was *de rigueur* as a reflection of status and as a statement of one's sphere of influence over the landed estate. Architecture visually encapsulated the sensitivity of the elite towards status, hierarchy, and especially precedence.²⁵ This architectural panache also demonstrated the smaller lairds emulation of the great houses of Scottish magnates.²⁶ Their patronage crossed architectural fields too, as regards secular benefactions for chapels and ecclesiastical sites. In 1616, George Munro of Milton and his second wife, Margaret Dunbar, erected the easterly chapel at Kilmuir

Easter with a country seat-style circular bell-tower capped by a conical roof. These secular elements expressed the worldly status of the patrons.²⁷

Engaged with the Renaissance enthusiasm for carved wood panels and as a testimony to foreign influences, largely in the form of continental pattern-books, Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty showcased a series of thematic politico-religious panels which illustrated the theological and cardinal virtues, the four evangelists, the so-called nine worthies, Scottish monarchs, Samson, and the Albanian nationalist, Skanderbeg. These bear comparison with, among others, those at Crathes (Aberdeenshire) and Earlshall (Fife).²⁸ Taken together, the renovation and extension work of Sir Rory Macleod, in 1622–1623, and of his grandson, Iain Breac, from 1664 to 1666, at Dunvegan Castle, similarly underlined their embrace of contemporary designs and materials with a southern rural and urban influence.²⁹ This stood in marked contrast to the general state of the built environment in the Isles. Traditional historiography depicts its overall basic nature in terms of stonework and masonry, alongside the additional smallness of the windows and other openings as well as the prevalent absence of vaults and mural fireplaces.³⁰ Against this background, though, the addition of a crow-stepped gable complete with a chimney to the hall at Caisteal Chiosmuil (Kisimul Castle) in the seventeenth century, reflects the appreciation of Renaissance design, albeit belatedly, and the appeal of greater comfort.³¹ Feasting halls too were modified to accommodate domestic apartments and illustrate the expansion of domestication. Ameliorations to domestic accommodation, storage, and services were likewise the order of the day for those that could make them. In essence, local landlords were trying to emulate Lowland patterns through additions to their feasting halls, initially with a tower and, later, with other embellishments.³² Indeed, at least in the case of Caisteal Ormacleit on South Uist, local tradition assigned to a woman, Penelope Mackenzie, suggests that the incomplete earlier structure, erected by Allan, captain of Clanranald, at the close of the sixteenth century, had failed to meet her required standards.³³ Thus, overall, there is a sense that the castellar renovation and remodelling in the Isles did not reach the full potential of Renaissance architecture with its more refined elements, as seen in the Lowlands, until a later period from the 1650s and 1660s onwards. Despite its gradual nature this qualified the categorical view prevalent among the literati of a mythified barbarity which irretrievably grounded Irish and Highland communities in a culture of apathy towards Renaissance comfort and refinement.³⁴

Local materials, like the flagstones of Orkney and Caithness, contributed to the individuality of the northern Scottish townscape. Equally significant for building materials along the northern coasts and on the islands were materials from Norway and Scandinavia. Additionally, what made the area even more dynamic in terms of architecture were the flows and counter-flows between these northern lands and the Lowlands in terms of building material and personnel. Works on royal castles and ships in the Lowlands produced a demand, at times, for Caithness slate and Ross timber respectively.³⁵ Wood resources on the west coast were

used for internal consumption to help local building projects and shipbuilding developments.³⁶ Private architectural projects outside the region further relied on the import of Caithness slate which was used on the very best buildings.³⁷ Likewise, nobles had access to, and hired, qualified craftsmen of national stature, albeit presumably in a limited way as the vast majority of the work-force tended to be of a local/regional origin. Perhaps the most outstanding example is the employment of the English carver, Ralph Rawlinson, by George, first marquess of Huntly, in 1633, who was recalled from his work at the Chanonry (Fortrose) to dedicate his services to Holyroodhouse.³⁸ Renaissance architectural designs were gradually and innovatively incorporated into the buildings of the area. However, this was an ongoing process which should be viewed over the long term.³⁹ The overall balance between the necessity for the Scottish nobility and gentry to adhere to an interpretation of feudal tradition, to establish, stabilise, or reinforce their landed rights, alongside a quest to embrace wider contemporary fashion, was present in the region too. Thus, with the creative tension between tradition and innovation, a dynamic of architectural hybridity or multiculturalism characterised the built environment in the region.⁴⁰

Heraldry

Northern Highlanders adopted the foreign system of heraldry, which originated in north-eastern France in the twelfth century, to display their identity and status. This was relatively rapidly used within the sphere of the kingdom of the Isles.⁴¹ Heraldry was a dynamic process and an outlet to cast in marble, in a sense, family relationships and tensions, an ostentatious statement of a person's views.⁴² The Mackays of Farr under Hugh and Sir Donald Mackay, lord Reay, experienced frictions in their relations with the earls of Sutherland. Their armorial achievements illustrated no connection with the comital family whereas, in 1503, the arms of this Strathnaver landlord bore the trademark three stars of the Sutherland earl.⁴³ Yet, one should not underplay the propagandist nature and *raison d'être* of some of these armorials.⁴⁴

Satellite families associated themselves with more powerful regional clans, a move reflected in the adoption of heraldic charges to their coats of arms.⁴⁵ Moreover, minor and cadet families only managed to have their heraldic achievements come to official prominence later on, in the 1660s and 1670s, as was the case for the Baynes of Tulloch and of Logie or the Munros of Balconie. This indicated an aspiration to the recording of one's escutcheon as a mark of gentility.⁴⁶ However, this should not distract from the fact that, on the ground, these cadet families, and even less wealthy members of this society, had long joined their clan peers in a visual bonding and sense of belonging epitomised by carved heraldry on various monuments, particularly those of a sepulchral nature.⁴⁷ Elsewhere on the European periphery, noble families on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, mainly Croatians and Bosnians, had their faked medieval arms confirmed by the Italian

and Austrian authorities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁸ Moreover, the relative paucity of heraldry documented for the Gaelic Irish should not be extrapolated to the Scottish northern Highlanders in general.⁴⁹ Significantly, there is a scantiness of records in contemporary armorials concerning the heraldry of the Macneils of Barra, which has been compounded by a sustained misattribution of their arms.⁵⁰

Heraldic arms permitted the visual re-enactment and actualisation of one's pedigree and, to some extent, mythic ancestry. These were the pictorial match to written genealogies.⁵¹ Interconnections between visual, aural, and written/oral media need to be highlighted, albeit not being *sui generis*.⁵² Elsewhere, Serbian and Croatian epics seemingly influenced the way in which some family crests were depicted.⁵³ Clans from the Western Isles and Highlands shared in a pan-Gaelic symbolism with Irish Gaels and so the late seventeenth-century Ulster/Scottish heraldic controversy over the legitimate claim to the symbol of the red hand unfolded within a poetic context.⁵⁴ This heraldic affinity between Gaelic Scotland and Ireland supported cultural bridges beyond their much-commented sharing of rich poetry and professional orders, but with elements of a distinctive far-northern identity still present.⁵⁵

Heraldic achievements displayed the northern nobility and gentry as part of a wider genteel society.⁵⁶ This was perhaps most conspicuous in the depiction of savages as supporters, a common European theme which drew from the codification and extension of the myth of the wild man of ancient traditions that was extant from the twelfth century onwards.⁵⁷ While in certain circumstances the crown held Highlanders and Islanders as barbarians, then, a number of clan leaders dissociated themselves from such association and stressed civility over savageness. This represented another marker of their distancing from their fellow clansmen.⁵⁸ As heraldic supporters, these savages were protectors of the nobility, thus transformed by heraldic semiotics into 'domesticated guardian[s]' or conventionally perceived attendants.⁵⁹

Clan chiefs projected a personal pride in their own sense of accomplishments and genteel status in much the same manner as warriors on the frontier in early-modern western Hungary. On the carved sandstone overmantel which he erected at Cromarty Castle, Sir Thomas Urquhart extended and crystallised the cryptic genealogy and learned but sometimes whimsical literary style of his written works.⁶⁰ More pragmatically, Sir Donald Mackay, first lord Reay, exuded his martial feats in the Thirty Years War by bearing a pikeman and a musketeer as dexter and sinister supporters respectively.⁶¹ The first and second earls of Seaforth gloried in their clan's earlier conquest of Lewis and proudly featured the Macleods of Lewis' characteristic charge of Or (yellow), a rock/mountain azure (blue) in flames proper both as their second and third quarters and/or in their crest.⁶² Rather like the two dozen native chieftains who assisted in the Spanish colonisation of Mexico and were granted armorial bearings by the Spanish crown, Seaforth's heraldic achievement, with its reference to the pacification of Lewis,

as promoted by the crown, was officialised too.⁶³ Away from the turbulence associated with the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan (1649–64) cultivated the vision of an educated chief with a unique seal described as bearing ‘a classical-looking head of a Roman type’.⁶⁴ Commensurate with it was John Mackenzie of Gairloch’s visual political statement. In the aftermath of the Union of the Crowns, he displayed a thistle between two roses embossed on his 1606 seal at the top of his shield and, at each side, both a thistle and a rose.⁶⁵ This shows that a number of leading chiefs and gentry, besides the Campbell and Seaforth heads, accepted aspects of the British ‘civilising’ agenda post-1603 and its underlying notion of civility, while underlining also the adaptability and variability of the process.⁶⁶

The phenomenon of a powerful clan heritage is most conspicuous in the case of the Macleods of Lewis. Even after the demise of this Lewis sept, their arms continued to be recorded, retaining a mythic medieval power status, albeit at times with the qualification of being ‘sometyme of ye Lewis’.⁶⁷ The coat of the clan and associated lineage hence survived and developed into either a trophy or an ancestry to be proud of, with all the power and status this entailed.⁶⁸

Painting

In terms of portraiture, as with contemporary clothing, the elite aspired to be paragons of propriety and aesthetic sensibility through a cultural medium invested with its own codification and readability. On the one hand, portraits of the Renaissance sought to be accurate records of a person’s features and even physiognomical ‘mirrors of the mind’. Nonetheless, they were also constructed works of ‘visual poetry’ decoded as intangible assets, intellectual, symbolic, and social. Portraits ensured identification and invited interpretation.⁶⁹ Indeed, cultivated leaders in the northern Highlands were not necessarily severed from this pictorial culture but, instead, could embrace it as a further sign of their integration into the broader Scottish/British elite.

Women assumed a central position in this culture in which the sumptuousness of their outfits radiated from the canvas. Status combined with elegance. Adopting the usual dress style of widowhood, Isabel Ogilvie, wife of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, wore a garment of black cloth with few trimmings and had her head covered.⁷⁰ In her old age, Jane Gordon, countess of Sutherland (died 1629), sat attired in a bonnet and with her deep dark veil of widowhood over her perfectly silvered hair, and her right hand delicately laid on her heart. A faithful Catholic, she wore a rosary suspended in the same hand, with an attached cross on its back.⁷¹ A portrait, probably of her granddaughter, Elizabeth Gordon, by the then leading Scottish portraitist, George Jamesone, also survives. It followed the evolution of feminine fashion, taking a cue from the French-born Queen Henrietta Maria. Elizabeth thereby adopted the trendier pale shades for her

dress and sported a wispy fringe of curls on the forehead. Her dress has a square *décolletage* edged with a spreading and particularly rich lace collar. Like the painting of Margaret, countess of Argyll, that of Elizabeth exudes a figure of lightness and restrained elegance.⁷² In what is a possible marriage portrait, Isabel, third countess of Seaforth (died 1715), sat for society portrait painter L. Schuneman, who counted other Scottish nobles as clients. She is clothed in a white satin dress and brown robes and is fashionably bejewelled.⁷³ Amongst all these feminine portraits there appears little by way of a regional identity marker. Instead, the issue revolves around status, social etiquette, and gender and pictorial conventions.

Despite their geographical remoteness from the court, the clan elite of the area participated in its late-Renaissance culture. Those northern Highlanders covered in this article adhered to the dictates of courtly fashion and style and so had their portraits painted. This identification was reinforced by the chiefs' patronage of either leading contemporary artists or painters with a broad-based clientele.⁷⁴ Besides, a number of them were actually avid art collectors.⁷⁵ This artistic activity introduced another family tradition in the form of the visual recording of a clan/family chief for posterity, as shown by the Mackenzies of Cromarty and the earls of Sutherland.⁷⁶ Both Sir Rory Mackenzie of Coigach (died 1626) and Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat posed with a relatively plain outfit compared to the then *à la mode* sophisticated court dress. Their sober black coats were relieved only by bib-style collars with tasselled band-strings, the last two being decorated in the case of Tarbat. The sobriety of the costume—as with the Presbyterian garments of choice subsequently adopted by Archibald, first marquess of Argyll, during the Covenanting period—points perhaps to a greater anxiety to emphasise their religious affiliation than, restrictively, a display of status. However, this should be qualified to an extent since Cromwellian portraiture embraced a plain-style aesthetic devoid of redolent opulence to depict and match a new mode of piety and power.⁷⁷ Throughout the seventeenth century, the portraiture of the Sutherland magnates characterised this admixture of courtly status and contemporary fashion having also politico-religious undertones.⁷⁸ However, the Restoration cut loose the stifling of the previous Puritan period as demonstrated in curls, ribbons, puff, flounces, and feathers. Men developed a *penchant* for wigs and cravats with a certain stiffness and smart elegance adopted for the canvass. In keeping with these contemporary fashion, status, and conventions of portraiture, Kenneth, third earl of Seaforth (died 1678), sat for the leading Baroque-style painter John Michael Wright wearing robes. His son, Kenneth, fourth earl (died 1701), was painted by the French-born court painter Henri Gascar dressed in a rich red coat and blue cloak and adorned with the blue sash and badge of the Order of the Thistle, with a talbot by his side.⁷⁹ The late seventeenth-century portraiture of politicians (George Mackenzie, first earl of Cromarty; Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh) and army commanders (General Hugh Mackay

of Scourie) equally follows the contemporary conventions of social class and paintings, dignified and noble poses in rich and sumptuous outfits being essential features.⁸⁰

In his appearance before a gathering of the High Court of Chivalry in Westminster in November 1631, Sir Donald Mackay was appareled ‘in black velvet trimmed with silver buttons, his sword in a silver imbroidered belt, in his order of a Scotish baronet, about his neck’. In other words, his image in front of an audience of British peers and courtiers was one of refined sobriety and martial dignity but with an acknowledgment of the state in the form of his baronet’s ribbon. The English commentators at his trial thus did not report on an ethnic or regional appearance.⁸¹ Armour portraits could be set pieces or re-engraved and used as copies. Nonetheless, they were an ostensible sign both of status and wealth and, with the decline of the use of armour on the battlefield, of the glory of ancestral status and timeless heroism, as found in the portrait *à la* Van Dyck of Colin, first earl of Seaforth, or the one of Sir William Gunn. These grounded their identity in military valour, crucially transposing the depiction of honour and status away from ostentatious display of wealth alone.⁸² Furthermore, two engravings by George Glover, a leading contemporary engraver, represented Sir Thomas Urquhart accoutred in a sartorial style as flamboyant and sophisticated as his literary *oeuvre*, including his highly allegorical portrait surrounded by the muses.⁸³ *In fine*, portraiture not only recorded but also crystallised social ascendancy and a sense of belonging.⁸⁴

A rare sketch, possibly of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, has survived, showing him in his full military regalia complete with a helmet. The Skye and North Uist chief sports a doublet richly decorated with Celtic motifs, a plaid worn below the belt like a plaited kilt, a sporran, and a dirk. Sleat proudly displays his claymore with the tip of the blade to the ground. As a result, the Gaelic/Celtic nature of the figure, imposing overall, stands out.⁸⁵ Within the context of the Jacobite campaign of 1689, Highland leaders formed a variegated group with their ‘tartan garb’ woven ‘in triple stripe’, ‘coloured’ and ‘girded’ plaids, ‘tartan hose’, ‘fur bonnets’, ‘broad belt’, and ‘ox hide’.⁸⁶ In contrast, the portraits of Sir Mungo Murray and of the Irish leader Sir Neil O’Neil by John Michael Wright in the late seventeenth century, and that of the earl of Denbigh in Indian dress by Van Dyck, underscored their decorative and exotic traits. Besides, in Wright’s portraits, the personalities of the sitters were subdued as a number of copies were made which betrayed a loss of identity and the prominence of the image over the individual. This shift was a correlate of the flowering of Restoration culture particularly under James, duke of York.⁸⁷ Yet, an alternative view has emerged which connects the portrayed figures with new fashions resulting not so much in exotic individuals as cosmopolitan ones. Tartans in red and associated tones were associated with conspicuous consumption and translated as a marker of fashion and wealth.⁸⁸ This idea was reinforced in Gaelic praise poetry which

dissociated the tartan garb of the Gaels from the black-coloured dress of the Lowlanders, again underscoring the interactions between the different fields of culture (pictorial, textual, etc.).⁸⁹ This repositioning should be seen in conjunction with the view of copying not as a ‘mania’ but as ‘a central element of the aesthetic of late Stuart portraiture’.⁹⁰ Interestingly, the subsequent pictorial representation of the Highland elite continues to document their ‘hybridising’ integration into wider Scottish and British noble and gentry society. What stood out was the elegance and refinement of the outfit typical of the higher orders of society, albeit blended with Highland cloths and/or motifs. Unlike the vestiges of the figure of the savage/barbarian present in the said alleged portrait of Sir Donald Macdonald – seen for instance in the fur of his boots and facial hair – the depiction of Iain Breac, chief of the Macleods (died 1693), and John Michael Wright’s *Sir Mungo Murray* (c. 1683) present a ‘civilised’ and gallant Gael.⁹¹ This is a far cry from the group paintings of the Highlanders in the first half of the eighteenth century, presumably outside their personal control, when paintbrushes generally applied colours to perceived traitors and primitive peoples.⁹²

Conclusion

Albeit expressed differently, the interplay between the Celtic and the classical continued into the late eighteenth century, in Macpherson’s *Ossian* and Runciman’s art, and is detectable through to the present day in artworks by Calum Colvin or the twenty-first-century project *An Leabhar Mòr/The Great Book of Gaelic*.⁹³ The early-modern pictorial discourse needs to be positioned within this historical continuum. Indeed, one could argue that the period from the late Middle Ages to the late eighteenth century set up an interface between political oppression and traditional culture which was fully exploited thenceforth by contemporary artists in a European dimension. In an echo to Saïd’s Orientalism, the Celts had to deal with Gaelicism. Yet, this view silences the nuances and mixed visual messages projected by Scottish and British authorities unto their subjects in outlying areas.

Markers of ethnic or regional identity were hardly present at all in the architectural compositions and portraiture of men and women of the clan elite of the northern Highlands except, in the case of the latter, on the western seaboard.⁹⁴ These markers were most prominent in heraldic production instead. However pronounced or diluted they were, they coexisted with other markers of status, social etiquette, gender and visual conventions. Culturally speaking, the identity and integration of the northern Highlanders proceeded from these combined markers and aspirations. As a result, and as far as these visual aspects were concerned, these people demonstrated a rather mixed identity and culture that was at times hardly distinguishable from those of Lowlanders.⁹⁵ This evolutive socio-cultural process contained variations in terms of people, location, time, and pace, however.

An ongoing process of integration unravelled in the region, driven both from above and below, and the repercussions of which were felt across these clan communities. These cultural elements testified to their openness towards the outside world both in a forced way and through voluntary discovery and curiosity. Besides, women were fully active in this cultural dynamic. This exposition to a pre-existent albeit reinforced multiculturalism made, if not the alienation, at least the distancing between members of the elite and their clansmen even more acute to some degree. Socio-economic, legal, and political conditions further contributed to this phenomenon. This somewhat qualified the extent of the traditional communal culture on the ground. Indeed, the cultural opportunities available to these northern Highlanders fortified their kinship ties and, paradoxically, loosened them at the same time, as they created spaces for individual aspirations.

Notes

1. Gratitude is duly expressed to the late Professor Charles McKean, Mr David Sellar, and Professor Hugh Cheape for commenting on this article.
2. R. H. C. Teske and B. H. Nelson, ‘Acculturation and assimilation: a clarification’, *American Ethnologist* 1 (1974), 358–65; D. L. Sam, ‘Acculturation: conceptual background and core components’, in D. L. Sam and J. W. Berry (eds), *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology* (Cambridge, 2006), 17–18. For a logic-based critique of a four-fold paradigm of acculturation consult F. W. Rudmin, ‘Critical history of the acculturation psychology of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization’, *Review of General Psychology* 7 (2003), 3–9, 20–2, 25–9. In terms of definition, as far as assimilation is concerned, it denotes a dynamic process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups are incorporated with other persons and groups in a common cultural life by mental and physical acquisitions and the sharing of experience. In other words, a dominant culture is favoured, in this case, the ‘Lowland’/British one. But, because northern Highlanders possessed a number of basic features and cultural elements distinct from those of Lowlanders or other British people, the phenomenon can best be described as integration, i.e. the coexistence of two cultures, also known as partial assimilation. By setting the acculturation process of these communities within a pluralist perspective, it allows for the recognition of a cultural hybridity, namely the retention of one’s original culture to some degree and the acquisition of new cultural elements, again to some extent. As a result, one can see a distinction between a rationale of assimilation which underlined crown policy, and the actual integration of a number of northern Highlanders on the ground, but as a process towards assimilation over the *longue durée*.
3. J. E. Wilson, ‘Agency, narrative, and resistance’, in S. Stockwell (ed.), *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives* (Oxford, 2008), 245–68. For modern historians, agency represents ‘the free capacity people have to do things for themselves’. This statement does not concern other fields, such as language and literature.
4. Admittedly, this is just one view, current at the time and found in the subsequent historiographical literature. This in no way reflects the more composite spectrum of perception/conception of northern Highlanders. Yet, in a sense, the article contributes to the presentation of this composite picture.

5. A. Williamson, ‘Scotland and the rise of civic culture, 1550–1650’, *History Compass* 4 (2006), 108–14.
6. A. H. Williamson, ‘Scots, Indians and Empire: the Scottish politics of civilization, 1519–1609’, *Past and Present* 150 (1996), 46–83; J. Leerssen, ‘Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: medieval and early-modern patterns in the demarcation of civility’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56 (1995), 30–1, 33–4, 38; S. Pinet, ‘Walk on the Wild Side’, *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008), 368–89; E. J. Cowan, ‘The discovery of the Gàidhealtachd in sixteenth century Scotland’, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness [TGSI]* 60 (1997–8), 259–84; D. Chambre, *La Recherche des Singularityz plus Remarqables, Concernant l'Estat d'Escosse* (Paris, 1579), fos 1r–v, 24r–27r, 29v–30r. The origins of the myth of the ‘wild man’, relevant to that of the ‘barbarian’, are scintillatingly examined in R. Bartra, *Wild Men in the Looking Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness* (Ann Arbor MI, 1994).
7. T. Brochard, ‘The “Civilizing” of the Far North of Scotland, 1560–1640’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Aberdeen, 2011), ch. 6. The ‘uncivil’ Other was the foundation upon which the Aristotelian vision of society, Whig determinism, and the stadal theory of evolutionism were constructed.
8. J. MacInnes, ‘The Gaelic perception of the Lowlands’, in W. Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland: Alba agus A' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh, 1989), 89–100. A fuller exposition of both views, which limited space prevents in this article, can be found in Brochard, ‘Civilizing’, ch. 6.
9. R. G. Nicholson, ‘Domesticated Scots and Wild Scots: the relationship between Lowlanders and Highlanders in medieval Scotland’, in *Proceedings of the First Colloquium on Scottish Studies* (s.l., 1968), 3–4; D. G. Adams, ‘Some unrecognised depictions of the saffron shirt in Scotland’, *Northern Studies* 30 (1993), 63–70.
10. San Marino CA, Huntington Library, William Bowyer, *Heroica Eulogia*, HM160, fo. 141, available at http://dpgr.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/dsheh/heh_brf?Description=&CallNumber=HM+160 (accessed 8 May 2009); G. A. Hayes-McCoy (ed.), *Ulster and Other Irish Maps, c. 1600* (Dublin, 1964), pl. xxiii; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland [NLS], Robert and James Gordon’s Manuscript Maps of Scotland, c.1636–1652, Adv. MS 70.2.10, the draught of Edera Cheules, G11, available at <http://www.nls.uk/maps/counties/view/?id=3> (accessed 6 May 2009); S. K. Cohn, ‘Highlands and Lowlands in late medieval Tuscany’, in D. Broun and M. MacGregor (eds), *Miorun Mòr nan Gall, ‘The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander?’: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern* (Glasgow, 2009), 110–12; R. B. Hagen, ‘Seventeenth-century images of the true north, Lapland and the Sami’, in K. Andersson (ed.), *L'Image du Sápmi* (Örebro, 2009), 143. Professor Hagen is thanked for providing a copy of his article. This beastly model is further present in pro-Union tracts: B. R. Galloway and B. P. Levack (eds), *The Jacobean Union: Six Tracts of 1604* (Edinburgh, 1985), 22.
11. Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [ARSII], Anglia, vol. xlii, fos 5–8; printed in M. J. Yellowlees, ‘So Strange a Monster as a Jesuite’: *The Society of Jesus in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Isle of Colonsay, 2003), map between pp. 116 and 117 and transcript at pp. 182–3; M. J. Yellowlees, ‘Father William Crichton’s estimate of the Scottish nobility, 1595’, in J. Goodare and A. A. MacDonald (eds), *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, 2008), 295–310; D. Shuger, ‘Irishmen, aristocrats, and other white barbarians’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997), 503 n.32. Professor Peter Davidson deserves gratitude for this Jesuit reference.
12. For Professor Davidson, ‘barbarorum’ seems in some contexts to mean Gaelic-speaking and is not a value judgement. In this particular instance, the term’s association with

- 'semiinermium' appears to be value-loaded. For parallels, see J. D. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Aldershot, 2004), introduction and ch. 1. The denigration of people constitutive of the kingdom applied in the Swedish case against the Lapps: P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978; Farnham, 2009), 152. MacGregor claims this irreligious strain to be apparently a post-1560 construct: M. MacGregor, 'Gaelic barbarity and Scottish identity in the later middle ages', in Broun and MacGregor, *Perceptions*, 36.
13. M. Lynch, 'Queen Mary's triumph: the baptismal celebrations at Stirling in December 1566', *Scottish Historical Review* 69 (1990), 6–10; T. Dickson et al. (eds), *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland [TA]*, 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1877–1978), xii, 405–6; M. Wintrob, 'L'Ordre du rituel et l'ordre des choses: l'entrée royale d'Henri II à Rouen (1550)', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 56 (2001/2), 479–505; Williamson, 'Scots', 49–51, 53. The malleability of the model and its multi-polarity is evident in the connection not of Highlanders but of 'Scots and Irishmen ... Turks and Saracens' as the perceived backward and heathen races among European contemporaries: quoted in R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500–1800* (2nd edn, Harlow, 2002), 22.
 14. J. Dawson, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the emergence of the Scottish Highlands', in B. Bradshaw and P. Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 1998), 288–9.
 15. J. H. Burton et al. (eds), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland [RPC]*, 38 vols (Edinburgh, 1877–1970), 2nd ser., v, 33, 36–7. Compare with the 1617 royal visit: H. M. Paton et al. (eds), *Accounts of the Masters of Works for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1957–82), ii, xxi, 92.
 16. R. Monpays, 'L'image du Languedoc chez les historiens de cette province au XVIIe siècle', *Annales du Midi* 110 (1998), 25–40; D. Newton, 'Borders and Bishopric: regional identities in the pre-modern north east, 1559–1620', in A. Green and A. J. Pollard (eds), *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300–2000* (Woodbridge, 2007), 57–8.
 17. E. Ströbl, 'The figure of the wild man in the entertainments of Elizabeth I', in Z. Almási and M. Pincombe (eds), *Writing the Other: Humanism versus Barbarism in Tudor England* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2008), 59–78; G. von Bülow, 'Journey through England and Scotland made by Lupold von Wedel in the years 1584 and 1585', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new ser. 9 (1895), 258.
 18. J. Stevenson and P. Davidson, 'Ficino in Aberdeen: the continuing problem of the Scottish Renaissance', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 1 (2009), 64–87.
 19. *The Book of Record: A Diary Written by Patrick First Earl of Strathmore and Other Documents relating to Glamis Castle, 1684–1689*, ed. A. H. Millar (Edinburgh, 1890), 33. Thanks to Professor Hugh Cheape for this reference.
 20. C. McKean, *The Scottish Chateau: The Country House of Renaissance Scotland* (2001: Stroud, 2004); D. Howard, *Scottish Architecture: Reformation to Restoration, 1560–1660* (Edinburgh, 1995); M. Glendinning et al., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh, 1996), chs 1–2. A brief yet balanced overview can be found in A. MacKchnie, 'Renaissance Scotland's martial houses', *History Scotland* 10, no. 5 (Sep./Oct. 2010), 48–54; 10, no. 6 (Nov./Dec. 2010), 36–43. The earlier, late-medieval tradition is illuminated in H. Cheape, 'Caisteal Bharraich, Dun Varrich and the wider tradition', *Northern Studies* 30 (1993), 53–62. Compare Scandinavian architectural composition: M. Davis, 'Some northern European comparisons for Scottish Renaissance tall-houses', *Architectural Heritage* 18 (2007), 2–3, 9–12.
 21. McKean, *Chateau*, 17, 22, 81, 104, 122, 127, 195, 240.

22. Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland [NRS], Breadalbane Muniments, GD112/58/3/9; GD112/58/124/1; Howard, *Architecture*, 83–4. The location of other Caithness country seats was already *de facto* defensive: D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century*, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1887–92), iv, 297–8; W. Macfarlane (ed.), *Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland*, ed. A. Mitchell, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1906–8), i, 165. On building contracts see D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Scottish Mason and the Mason Word* (Manchester, 1939), 12–14.
23. NRS, GD112/58/4/1; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland [RCAHMS], *Third Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Caithness* (London, 1911), 142; M. H. B. Sanderson, *Mary Stewart's People: Life in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (Tuscaloosa AL, 1987), 48–9; Howard, *Architecture*, 49–50, 55, 110. The viewing platform that capped the octagonal six-storey tower at Foulis can be dated, almost undoubtedly, to the late seventeenth century. On the fifth storey was the library with an admirable view: McKean, *Chateau*, 37, 74. It is rather telling that the contract was entered by both the earl and countess of Caithness and that only her signature was exhibited to the document.
24. Howard, *Architecture*, 58–60; NLS, Adv. MS 70.2.10, part of Ros, G18; Rosse, G20; online at <http://www.nls.uk/maps/counties/view/?id=4> and <http://www.nls.uk/pont/specialist/gordon20.html> (accessed 5 May 2009). Building works on the hall at Milntown are on record for 1627: Floors Castle, National Register of Archives for Scotland [NRAS] 1100/1353, the account of the rents of Milton, 1627. A sense of verticality is conveyed at Fairburn Tower and Ardvreck Castle: M. Salter, *The Castles of Western and Northern Scotland* (Malvern, 1995), 11, 75, 94; NLS, Pont Manuscript Maps of Scotland, c.1583–1614, Adv. MS 70.2.9, Pont 4v [Loch Assynt], online at <http://maps.nls.uk/pont/specialist/pont04v.html> (accessed 6 May 2009). Ordnance Survey makes a distinction between 'Milntown' for the country seat and 'Milton' for the area.
25. McKean, *Chateau*, 10. The old Cromarty Castle greeted the visitors with a monumental entrance with an overhead heraldic tablet and with the munificence of a broad balustraded flight of stairs: H. Miller, *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland or the Traditional History of Cromarty*, ed. J. Robertson (Edinburgh, 1994), 77.
26. Howard, *Architecture*, 49–50.
27. H. M. Meldrum, *Kilmuir Easter: The History of a Highland Parish* (Inverness, 1935), 12, 106; J. Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Highland and Islands* (London, 1992), 430; G. Stell, 'Architecture and society in Easter Ross before 1707', in J. R. Baldwin (ed.), *Firthlands of Ross and Sutherland* (Edinburgh, 1986), 109. Architectural crossovers were also evident in the techniques of composition, such as was manifested for the renovations at Portmahomack church in the seventeenth century: M. Carver, *Portmahomack: Monastery of the Picts* (Edinburgh, 2008), 43–5.
28. H. G. Slade, 'Craigston Castle, Aberdeenshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland [PSAS]* 108 (1977), 274–5; H. G. Slade, 'The Gordons and the North-East, 1452–1640', in R. D. Oram and G. P. Stell (eds), *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), 269–70; Edinburgh, RCAHMS, Grampian, Banff and Buchan, Craigston Castle, e.g. AB/562-3, AB/565-6; M. Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2003), 7, 17, 21–3, 147, 151–3, 155, 166, 185–90, 198–200. According to Professor Davidson, these panels could possibly represent *ars memorativa* and relate to Urquhart's 'studie hous': personal communication, 17 April 2010; NRS, Commissariot of Edinburgh, Register of Testaments, CC8/8/20, p. 400.

29. R. Miket and D. L. Roberts, *The Mediaeval Castles of Skye and Lochalsh* (1990: Edinburgh, 2007), xxvii–viii; Dunvegan Castle, Dunvegan Muniments, 3/4/25, 28, 47; R. MacLeod (ed.), *The Book of Dunvegan*, 2 vols (Aberdeen, 1938–9), i, xxxi, xxxiv. The Urquhart laird of Cromarty indulged in this roof-top *bon-ton* with handsomely carved pediments as a statement of wealth and prestige as did the cadet Angus Mackay of Bighouse at his newly-built residence, probably a small country-seat, at Kirkton in 1630: Howard, *Architecture*, 53–7; Slade, ‘Craigston Castle’, 275; E. Beaton, ‘Bighouse and Strath Halladale, Sutherland’, in J. R. Baldwin (ed.), *The Province of Strathnaver* (Edinburgh, 2000), 149–51, 169. There was a long tradition of west Highland carving that mixed Celtic elements and style with various non-Celtic art styles and designs and which continued well into the seventeenth century if not later: K. A. Steer and J. W. M. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1977), 4–5, 81; I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods: The History of a Clan* (1959: Edinburgh, 1981), 628.
30. RCAHMS, *Ninth Report with Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles* (Edinburgh, 1928), xlvi, 100, 108, 126–7, 129, 187–8; RCAHMS, Canmore Database, available at <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/advanced/>, Eilean Donan Castle (accessed 14 and 26 May 2009); J. Dunbar, ‘The medieval architecture of the Scottish Highlands’, in L. Maclean (ed.), *The Middle Ages in the Highlands* (Inverness, 1981), 53.
31. RCAHMS, Inverness-shire, Kisimul Castle, IND/82/5/P; G95690 PO; RCAHMS, Canmore Database, available at <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/advanced/>, Castle Tioram and Dounreay (accessed 14 and 26 May 2009); *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* (1998), 59; J. MacLeod, *Official Guide, Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye, Scotland* (2003: Dunvegan Castle, [2009?]), 11; D. H. Caldwell and N. A. Ruckley, ‘Domestic architecture in the lordship of the Isles’, in Oram and Stell, *Lordship*, 116. Samson argues against the mutual exclusiveness of strength and comfort: R. Samson, ‘Tower-Houses in the Sixteenth Century’, in S. Foster et al. (eds), *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Glasgow, 1998), 135–6.
32. A. I. Macinnes, ‘Scottish Gaeldom from clanship to commercial landlordism, c.1600–c.1850’, in Foster, *Power Centres*, 165–6, 168–9; M. Bangor-Jones, *Historic Assynt* (Dundee, 2000), 4; G. Stell, ‘Castle Tioram: a statement of cultural significance’, unpublished statement prepared for Historic Scotland (2006), 52–3, 77. In 1573, within the master of Caithness’ Braal country seat were superimposed (from the bottom up) a ‘nedder hous’, a ‘lytill hall’, a ‘chalmer’, and a ‘galrie’: NRS, Sinclair of Mey Papers, GD96/124.
33. Edinburgh, University Library [EUL], Carmichael-Watson Collection, CW132A, fos 33v–34v. The ‘castle’ tag probably only referred to a martial parapet required for reasons of nobility. The late Professor McKean provided the author with a water-colour reconstruction of Ormacleit.
34. Shuger, ‘Irishmen’, 503, 511.
35. Howard, *Architecture*, 110; Paton et al. (eds), *Accounts*, i, 188 (slates, 1535), 201, 232–4 (timber, 1538), 333 (slates, 1611); ii, 388 (slates, 1633); L. B. Taylor (ed.), *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts, 1596–1670* (Aberdeen, 1972), 113, 115, 569–70, 572; A. Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney and Shetland* (Edinburgh, 1978), 111–2, 160. The Balnagown Rosses commercially exploited their timber for the crown, perhaps on an occasional basis yet over a long period of time, especially in terms of providing masts for the English navy from the 1650s and as regards buildings projects in the 1660s and 1670s: T. C. Smout et al., *A History of the Native Woodlands of Scotland, 1500–1920* (Edinburgh, 2007), ch.

- 12; K. Newland, 'James Baine, His Majesty's master wright, c. 1630–1704: 'an honest and ingenuous spirit...', *Review of Scottish Culture* 24 (2012), 52–3.
36. *West Highland Notes & Queries [WHN&Q]* (Isle of Coll, 1988–), ser. 3, vol. 1 (Aug. 2000), 10–11; H. Cheape, 'Woodlands on the Clanranald estates: a case study', in T. C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland since Prehistory: Natural Change and Human Impact* (Aberdeen, 1993), 56, 58; Stell, 'Castle Tioram', 47. From the late seventeenth century, the Coigach estate would initiate the development of its coniferous assets, these becoming fully commercially exploited from the early eighteenth century: M. Clough, 'Early fishery and forestry developments on the Cromartie estate of Coigach, 1660–1746', in J. R. Baldwin (ed.), *Peoples and Settlement in North-West Ross* (Edinburgh, 1994), 235–42.
37. In October 1630, George Seaton, third earl of Winton, imported 9,000 slates to roof his seat near Haddington (East Lothian) at the cost of £200: Historical Manuscripts Commission [HMC], *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscript* (London, 1871), App., 199.
38. Paton et al. (eds), *Accounts*, ii, 313, 318; P. J. M. McEwan (ed.), *Dictionary of Scottish Art & Architecture* (Woodbridge, 1994), 476. Huntly's very tall and imposing great villa in Inverness would have been a fashion template for the region. His Fortrose pendant possibly appears in Slezer's view of the Chanonry (on the left): <http://maps.nls.uk/slezer/view/?sl=43> (accessed 25 June 2013). The late Professor McKean provided these points and the reference.
39. For instance, the most impressive formula of staircases, that of the scale and platt stair, a Renaissance novelty with straight flight and landing, fashionable from the 1580s, can be found at Dounreay, Castle Leod (c. 1616), Redcastle (1640s), and at a 1679 house in Thurso: McKean, *Chateau*, 74; RCAHMS, *Third Report*, 116; Salter, *Castle*, 13, 85, 91, 108. Visual records do not seem to have survived for another Renaissance characteristic of interior decoration, namely lavish painted ceilings, as commissioned by David Ross of Balnagown (1644–1711) and his wife, Anne Stewart: RCAHMS, Ross and Cromarty, Balnagown Castle, RC/70, RC/71; M. R. Apted, *The Painted Ceilings of Scotland, 1550–1650* (Edinburgh, 1966), chs 4–5; Bath, *Decorative Painting*.
40. Howard, *Architecture*, 3–4, 106–7.
41. The last kings of Man and the Isles in the mid-thirteenth century were armigerous as, it would seem, were Ranald, son of Somerled (fl. c. 1200), ancestor of the Macdonalds and other families. The arms of Macleod of Dunvegan and of Macleod of Lewis, both of whom recognised the supremacy of the Macdonald lords of the Isles, appear in the fifteenth-century Armorial de Berry: David Sellar, personal communication, 4 July 2013.
42. A. W. Johnston and A. Johnston (eds), *Old Lore Miscellany of Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and Sutherland*, 10 vols (London, 1907–46), vii, 27.
43. NLS, Scottish Heraldry, Blazons of Scottish Arms by Sir James Balfour of Denmilne, 1630, Adv. MS 15.1.11, fo. 34v; *Scottish Genealogist* 26, no. 1 (1979), 20. Even during periods of dissent with the Sutherland House, the Mackays' idiosyncratic heraldic displays could likewise be interpreted as an emancipation from the comital family.
44. A. M. Findlater, *Scots Armorials from Earliest Times to the Start of the Eighteenth Century or Aspilogia Scoticana* (s.l., 2006), 18–19, 21, 23, 41, 45, 51–3, 64. With similar rolls, like the so-called Hamilton Armorials, a number of heraldic achievements were replicated more or less faithfully within these interconnected works.
45. In 1571 Thomas Dingwall of Kildun had the Mackenzies' stag's head cabossed which, *inter alia*, ornamented his seal. Indeed, a 1546 seal was probably identical: W. R. Macdonald (ed.), *Scottish Armorial Seals* (Edinburgh, 1904), p. 73 no. 647; J. H. Stevenson and M.

- Wood (eds), *Scottish Heraldic Seals: Royal, Official, Ecclesiastical, Collegiate, Burghal, Personal*, 3 vols (Glasgow, 1940), ii, 316; J. M. Munro and R. W. Munro, 'The Dingwalls of Kildun: a genealogy', *Clan Munro Magazine*, 11 (1969), 36–7.
46. Edinburgh, Lyon Office [LO], Porteus' Manuscript, MS33, p. 41, nos 33–4; Fraser's Funeral Escutcheons, MS6, fo. 79v, no. 1. The official register, begun in 1672, contained the coats of many cadet or minor families and individuals prior to 1700: R. Gayre and R. Gayre (eds), *Roll of Scottish Arms*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1964–9), i, 32–3, 53, 150, 216, 260–4, 290–1, 300, 302, 347–8, 366–9, 404.
47. In practice, individuals further down the social scale adopted the clan/family arms as recorded on carved tomb-slabs: NRS, Caithness Commissary Court Records, CC4/2/1, bundle '1628', testament of Margaret Crawford, 25 April 1628; A. Mackay, *The Book of Mackay* (Edinburgh, 1906), 279–82; W. R. Macdonald, 'The heraldry in some of the old churchyards between Tain and Inverness', *PSAS* 36 (1902), 689–90, 694, 702–6, 709–12. The graveyard of Kincardine parish possesses a number of flatstones incised with the heraldic Ross lion and the Munro eagle: A. S. Cowper et al. (eds), *Some Sutherland Burial Grounds, Pre-1855 Tombstone Inscriptions*, 15 vols (Edinburgh, 1979–87), xiii, nos 31, 45–6, 122, 149, and p. 22; xiv, nos 56, 191; xv, p. 2; A. S. Cowper et al. (eds), *Some Caithness Burial Grounds, Pre-1855 Tombstone Inscriptions*, 15 vols (Edinburgh, 1981–9), vii, 6 no. 2, 7 no. 4; viii, nos 153, 344; x, no. 65.
48. J. A. Goodall, 'An Illyrian armorial in the society's collection', *Antiquaries Journal* 75 (1995), 265–6; I. G. Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe* (Budapest, 2000), 158–9. In the 1630s, some forty native Irish families registered their pedigrees in the office of Ulster King at Arms, which underlined the accommodations between the central government's aspirations for social stability and the needs of the local elite for social recognition: R. Gillespie, 'Negotiating order in early seventeenth-century Ireland', in J. M. Braddick and J. Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), 195–6.
49. F. Gillespie, 'Heraldry in Ireland: an introduction', *Double TreASURE* 23 (2000), 9, 13–15.
50. The misidentification of the Macneil coat dates from at least the early eighteenth century. Their armorial bearings are wrongly recorded prior to 1720 in relation to an event of the second half of the sixteenth century. The quartering given was First, Azure a lion rampant argent; Second, a right hand or fesse-ways couped gules holding a cross-crosslet fitchy azure in pale; Third, Or a lymphad sable; Fourth, parted per fesse argent and azure 'that represent the sea' out of which issueth a rock gules; supporters, two fishes 'like Salmons'. Interestingly, these arms do not have the nine fetterlocks which refer to the claimed descent from Niall Noígiallach ('of the nine hostages'). Several printed works of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries replicated this error in that – unlike Sir David Lindsay's 1601 armorial and James Esplin's book of blazons of 1630 in which the (similar) achievement appears as 'Mackoneil Laird of Dunnivege & Glennes' and 'Lard of kentayre mak onil' – they mistook the arms of Macdonald of Dunivaig for those of Barra. Whereas this was a normal way to spell Macdonald at the time, this was not so for Macneil: London, British Library [BL], Histories of the Clan Mackenzie, Add. MS 40720(1), p. 341; LO, Seton Armorial, MS4A, no. 80; A. M. Findlater (ed.), *Lord Crawford's Armorial Formerly Known as the Armorial of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount Secundus* (s.l., 2008), 230–1; L. Hodgson (ed.), *The Dublin Armorial of Scottish Nobility* (s.l., 2006), 140–1; A. Nisbet, *A System of Heraldry*, 2 vols (new edn, Edinburgh, 1816), i, 415–16; *Scottish Genealogist* 6, no. 1 (1959), 14–15; 36, no. 4 (1989), 125–6.

51. Similarly, flags used in the Dalmatian cities bore the image of their patron saint: Goodall, ‘Armorial’, 268.
52. For instance, two of the charges found in the heraldic achievement of the captain of Clanranald, the lion and the lymphad, were picked up by clan poets and singers and used, for example, as signature device in a waulking song in which *Le siol Ailein nan long leòmhainn*, ‘Ship and lion rule Clanranald’ (literally, the seed of Alan of the ships and lions): J. L. Campbell and F. Collinson (eds), *Hebridean Folksongs*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1969–81), i, 62–3; R. W. Mitchell (ed.), *The Hague Roll* (Peebles, 1984), HR678; also A. Matheson, ‘Poems from a manuscript of Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh’, *Éigse* 11 (1964–6), 4, 6.
53. Goodall, ‘Armorial’, 267.
54. G. Ó Riain, ‘Quatrains relating to the controversy of the Red Hand’, *Ériu* 61 (2011), 171–8; R. F. Pye, ‘The armory of the western Highlands’, *Coat of Arms* 11 (1970), 3–8, 51–8; A. Campbell, ‘A closer look at west Highland heraldry’, *Double Tressure* 19 (1997), 46–67. For instance, the dexter hand appaumé gules found in the arms of the captain of Clanranald in the Hague Roll of 1592 ornamented the armorial achievements of the Lord of the Isles, Ulster families, and families across the northern half of Ireland: LO, MS33, p. 31; R. W. Mitchell (ed.), *Hector le Breton’s Armorial* (Peebles, 1984), HBA70; A. Maxwell (ed.), *The Slains Roll: A Photographic Facsimile of a 16th Century Scots Armorial Roll* (Edinburgh, 2006), fo. 97; Gillespie, ‘Heraldry’, 11–12. It would be worth investigating the heraldry and seals of the period of the civil wars, since the clan chiefs on the western seaboard initially shunned the recruitment of Irish troops, as Macinnes has highlighted: A. I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996), 99–100.
55. W. McLeod, *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland, c. 1200–c. 1650* (Oxford, 2004); D. S. Thomson, ‘Gaelic learned orders and literati in medieval Scotland’, *Scottish Studies* 12 (1968), 57–78.
56. The actual mechanics of the registration of these coats of arms are not known, whether it originated from the Lord Lyon and/or the heralds or from the persons who wanted these to be officially recognised: W. David H. Sellar, Lord Lyon King of Arms, personal communication, 7 April 2009. Nevertheless, the latter most probably were the originators of their heraldic achievements, if only for their choice of charges: NLS, Sutherland Papers, Dep. 313/491, no. 1778. The presence is evident of Lyon officials, such as James Law, Snawdoun herald, who is recorded in Cromarty in 1618: NRS, Particular Register of Sasines for Inverness, Ross, Sutherland and Cromarty, 1st ser., 1617–1660, RS37/1, fo. 66r.
57. Bartra, *Wild Men*, 2–3, 53–6, 63. For instance, the 1638 armorial known as Kings and Nobilities Arms II is the repository of 111 coats, twenty of which bore at least one savage (either as one or two supporters or in crest or both): LO, Kings and Nobilities Arms II, MS21. The heraldic use of savages is known in Scotland as early as the mid-fourteenth century in the seals of the earls of Dunbar: David Sellar, personal communication, 4 July 2013.
58. Brochard, ‘Civilizing’, ch. 6. This acerbic rhetoric varied in intensity, in its application, and with time.
59. LO, Pont’s Manuscript, MS1, p. 4 no. 6, p. 14 no. 34; G. Mackenzie, *The Families of Scotland*, eds J. Irvine and J. Munroe (Edinburgh, 2008), 79; Bartra, *Wild Men*, 104–6, 138–40, 179–82, 192, and fig. 3 p. 5. The display of two demi-savages as supporters on the arms of the Lord of Lewis in 1566 is noticeable in this respect: LO, Forman-Workman’s Roll, MS17, vol. 1, p. 37; vol. 5, p. 248; Kings and Nobilities Arms I, MS20, p. 67; J.

- Malden and E. Malden (eds), *The Dunvegan Armorial* (s.l., 2006), 132–3; Findlater, *Lord Crawford's Armorial*, 222–3.
60. Tóth, *Literacy*, 158; H. G. Slade, *Old Cromarty Castle* (Cromarty, 1993), 21; <http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-100-000-368-C&scache=6a7qpedkwv&searchdb=scran> (accessed 12 August 2009); H. Tayler, *History of the Family of Urquhart* (Aberdeen, 1946), 54. Urquhart had three bears' heads for his shield but his arms on the panel were actually three boars' heads erased with two collared greyhounds as supporters: LO, MS1, p. 165.
61. NRS, Reay Papers, GD84/2/246, frontispiece. It is significant that, prior to Reay's time, the Mackay hand was displayed appaumé rather than associated with these sharp weapons: A. Mackay, 'An account of the Aberach-Mackay banner', *PSAS* 38 (1903–4), 527–32. On his 1623 targe, the hand does not grasp the sword: University of Glasgow, The Hunterian Museum, GLAHM C.72, online at <http://www.huntsearch.gla.ac.uk/cgi-bin/foxweb/huntsearch/DetailedResults.fwx?collection=all&SearchTerm=C.72&mdaCode=GLAHM&reqMethod=Link> (accessed 30 April 2010). Aonghas MacCinnich is duly thanked for this reference.
62. NLS, James Workman's Armorial, Adv. MS 31.3.5, fo. 86r; and generally R. MacLeod, 'The Heraldry of Clan Macleod', *Double Tressure* 4 (1982), 22–3; *Clan Macleod Magazine* 9, no. 54 (1952), 6–10; NRS, Seaforth Muniments, GD46/14/22; W. D. H. Sellar and A. Maclean, *The Highland Clan MacNeacail (MacNicol)* (Lochbay, 1999), 8–11. David Sellar deserves gratitude for this last reference.
63. S. A. Nelson, '16th century Spanish grants of arms to Aztec and Tlaxcalan natives', *Double Tressure* 31 (2008), 2–6; Gayre and Gayre, *Roll of Scottish Arms*, i, 361. Seaforth used the Macleods of Lewis' mountain in flames in the crest and, as supporters, two savages whose batons and hair were also burning. Furthermore, the motto, *Luceo Non Uro*, 'I shine but do not burn', was reminiscent of the Macleods' 'I Burn While I See'.
64. Armadale, Clan Donald Centre Library, Lord McDonald Papers, GD221/5330/6/1; L. Macdonald, 'Gleanings from lord Macdonald's charter chest', *TGSI* 14 (1887–8), 78, and facsimile between pp. 74 and 75.
65. London, British Library, Seal of John Mackenzie of Gairloch, 1606, Seal, Detached, xlvi. 2317. The use of the thistle as a decorative architectural ornament is illustrated in Miller, *Scenes*, 77; Miket and Roberts, *Castles*, frontispiece. After 1603 the Tudor rose was another patriotic motif which further applied to architectural ornamentation. The emblems of the rose and the thistle manifested support for the Union and loyalty to the crown: Glendinning et al., *Architecture*, 30, 37, 40, 59.
66. The acceptance of the British 'civilising' agenda by some leading Highland chiefs can be found in A. I. Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629–1660* (Basingstoke, 2005), 49, 60–1; M. MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona: text and context', *Innes Review* 57 (2006), 159–61.
67. LO, MS1, p. 115; Gentlemen's Arms, MS22, fo. 72r, displays the arms of the Lewis Macleods according to the caption but actually bore the charge of the Harris clan, a castle argent.
68. The fact that Roderick Mackenzie of Coigach erected Castle Leod rather than Castle Kenneth is significant in the celebration of the Macleod ancestral heritage when compared to the Mackenzie one: MacLeod, 'Heraldry', 23. Oral tradition of the Sleat Macdonalds shared in that glorification of the ancestry of the Lewis Macleods: W. McLeod and M. Bateman (eds), *Duanaire na Srácaire Songbook of the Pillagers: Anthology of Scotland's Gaelic Verse to 1600* (Edinburgh, 2007), 456–7.

69. J. Woods-Marsden, 'The meaning of the European painted portrait, 1400–1650', in B. Bohn and J. M. Saslow (eds), *A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art* (Chichester, 2013), 442–62; L. Syson, 'Introduction', in N. Mann and L. Syson (eds), *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance* (London, 1998), 9–14; P. Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in J. G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York, 1986), 241–58; R. Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan & Jacobean Portraiture* (London, 1969); M. Glozier, 'Clothing and the fashion system in early modern Scotland', *Journal of the Sydney Society for Scottish History* 3 (1995), 39–44. Beyond the depiction of the self, it is important to bear in mind that the individual is set within the collective as there was no distinction between the particular self and that person's societal role.
70. The portrait can be seen at Bunchrew House Hotel: R. K. Marshall, *Women in Scotland, 1660–1780* (Edinburgh, 1979), 58–9. Lady Frances Herbert, fourth countess of Seaforth, is depicted in mourning before Brahan Castle: Seaforth portraits in Fortrose Town Hall. Thanks to Aonghas MacCinnich and Andrew McKenzie, personal communication, 26 June 2013.
71. J. L. Caw, *Scottish Portraits*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1903), i, 64–5, and pl. xxiv; attributed to George Jamesone in J. Bulloch, *George Jamesone: The Scottish Vandyck* (Edinburgh, 1885), 180–1; A. Pearson, 'Portraiture's Selves', in A. Pearson (ed.), *Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe: Gender, Agency, Identity* (Aldershot, 2008), 1–13. As the countess of Bothwell, her apparel resembled, though in a less elaborate style, that worn at the time by Agnes, countess of Moray: Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery [SNPG], Lady Jean Gordon, Countess of Bothwell, PG 870; R. K. Marshall, *Costume in Scottish Portraits, 1560–1830* ([Edinburgh], 1986), 8, 32.
72. Aberdeen University Library [AUL], Academic Portraits, undated, MS U591/2/1/16; D. Thomson, *The Life and Art of George Jamesone* (Oxford, 1974), 118. Jamesone's inflated reputation has been revised: D. Macmillan, *Scottish Art, 1460–2000* (Edinburgh, 2000), 58, 60–7. A pencil sketch of Elizabeth Gordon can be found in AUL, Papers of John Bulloch, MS 690, p. 49 inverted with p. 35. A portrait of Anna Mackenzie, daughter of Colin, first earl of Seaforth, and countess of Balcarres, shows her with curly hair, a pearl necklace and brooches, and a floral headband: private collection, courtesy of Andrew McKenzie; *Catalogue of the Inverness Exhibition of Art and Industry, Held in the Music Hall, September 1867* (Inverness, [1867]), p. 7, no. 10; NRS, GD46/15/6/38-9, transcript in GD46/15/6/40-3.
73. Seaforth portraits in Fortrose Town Hall. Andrew McKenzie, personal communication, 26 June 2013.
74. In October 1674, Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat recruited the service of the Aberdeen portraitist and heraldic painter Patrick Alexander, for eight months and for 200 merks Scots: NRS, Cromartie Muniments, GD305/1/147/16; M. R. Apted and E. Hannabuss (eds), *Painters in Scotland, 1301–1700: A Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1978), 22. The 'earle of cathnes', presumably George, sixth earl (ruled 1643–1676), commissioned the portraitist Isaac Visitella for four portraits worth £15 sterling and which were still with Visitella at the drawing up of his inventory in June 1657, prior to his death later that year. It suggests that these paintings were recently completed. The 'lord of mey', presumably Sir James Sinclair (died 1662), contracted him for one portrait worth £2 10s sterling: NRS, CC8/8/69, p. 163; Apted and Hannabuss, *Painters*, p. 99.
75. At the time of his death in 1651, George, second earl of Seaforth, possessed a collection of at least 64 portraits. But with a collective value of £64, the rationale behind such a collection could not have been financial but rather of a familial, social, and/or artistic

- nature: NRS, Smythe of Methven Papers, GD190/2/212. In December 1622, Sir John Sinclair of Greenland left in his will to his son Thomas ‘certane broades of emperioures pictoures’: NRS, CC4/8/1, fo. 4r.
76. NRS, GD305/1/147/16; W. Fraser (ed.), *The Earls of Cromartie*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1876), ii, 434; W. Fraser (ed.), *The Sutherland Book*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1892), i, v. Well-bred ladies bequeathed pictures in their will as heirlooms for the family: Fraser, *Sutherland Book*, i, 203, 278.
 77. Fraser, *Earls of Cromartie*, i, facing p. xlviii and facing p. liv; J. Holloway, *Patrons and Painters: Art in Scotland, 1650–1760* (Edinburgh, 1989), 14–15; D. Bentley-Cranch, ‘Effigy and portrait in sixteenth-century Scotland’, *Review of Scottish Culture [ROSC]* 4 (1988), 16–19; SNPG, Archibald Campbell, first marquess of Argyll, PG 1408; L. L. Knoppers, ‘The Politics of Portraiture: Oliver Cromwell and the plain style’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51 (1998), 1283–1319.
 78. Fraser, *Sutherland Book*, i, facing p. 171; facing p. 209; <http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-057-500&searchdb=scran> (accessed 27 August 2009); S. Maxwell and R. Hutchison, *Scottish Costume, 1550–1850* (London, 1958), 46–7. One can compare the costume of the thirteenth earl (died 1615) with those worn in the portraits of Sir Nathaniel Bacon and Sir Robert Bruce Cotton in London, National Portrait Gallery [NPG], NPG 2142; NPG 534. The thirteenth earl’s brother, Sir Robert Gordon, was painted in 1621, prior to his renewed appointment at court, by an unknown artist: SNPG, Sir Robert Gordon, PG 1513; and compare with the portrait of Henry de Vere, eighteenth earl of Oxford, in NPG, NPG 950.
 79. Portraits in Fortrose Town Hall; Andrew McKenzie, personal communication, 26 June 2013; E. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain, 1530 to 1790* (New Haven CT, 1994), ch. 6. Art sales websites further record Seaforth portraits by Nathaniel Hone the younger and Thomas van der Wilt as well as a portrait of Sir Robert Munro, sixth baronet (died 1746), by William Aikman: e.g. <http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/asi/search.action> (accessed 18 June 2013). This highlights the greater prevalence of portraiture in the area.
 80. SNPG, George Mackenzie, first earl of Cromarty, PG 304; Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, PG 834; London, National Army Museum [NAM], NAM 1961-06-9-1.
 81. T. B. Howell and T. J. Howell (eds), *Cobbett’s Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, 34 vols (London, 1809–28), iii, col. 486.
 82. Portrait in Fortrose Town Hall; D. G. Thompson, ‘In the Footsteps of Sir William Gunn’, *Gunn Herald* (Mar. 1999), 12; S. Stevenson, ‘Armour in seventeenth-century portraits’, in D. H. Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications, 1100–1800* (Edinburgh, 1981), 345–76. Andrew McKenzie is thanked for his suggestion that the portrait was possibly intended to represent George, second earl of Seaforth.
 83. NPG, Sir Thomas Urquhart, D27904; T. Maitland (ed.), *The Works of Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, Knight* (Edinburgh, 1834), xxiv, 297b.
 84. An engraving of Sir William Gunn, of humble origin and later imperial baron, has been recently traced to Germany: Thompson, ‘William Gunn’, 12–18.
 85. A. Macdonald and A. Macdonald, *The Clan Donald*, 3 vols (Inverness, 1900–4), iii, facing p. 54. The same martial ethos was present in monumental sculpture: R. A. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c.1493–1820* (Edinburgh, 1998), 92.
 86. J. Philip, *The Grameid: An Heroic Poem Descriptive of the Campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689 and Other Pieces*, ed. A. D. Murdoch (Edinburgh, 1888), 122–57.

87. SNPG, Lord Mungo Murray, PG 997; NPG, William Feilding, first earl of Denbigh, D28209; London, Tate Gallery, Sir Neil O'Neill, T00132; J. Fenlon, 'John Michael Wright's "Highland laird" identified', *The Burlington Magazine* 130, no. 1027 (Oct. 1988), 767–9; S. Stevenson et al., *John Michael Wright, the King's Painter* ([Edinburgh], 1982), ch. 2. An exotic Indian parallel directly modelled on Wright's is found in K. R. Muller, 'From palace to longhouse: portraits of the four Indian kings in a transatlantic context', *American Art* 22, no. 3 (Fall 2008), 26–49.
88. H. Cheape, 'A' lasadh le càrnaid: rhyme and reason in perceptions of tartan', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History [JSSAH]* 13 (2008–9), 33–8.
89. MacInnes, 'Gaelic perception', 94–5.
90. R. Nicholson, 'Patronage and portraiture of the exiled Stuarts', *JSSAH* 3 (1998), 2–7. Illustrative of this are the Mackenzie prints found in the Fitzwilliam Museum: <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/> (accessed 24 June 2013).
91. SNPG, PG 997; T. McCaughey, 'Bards, Beasts and Men', in D. Ó Corráin et al. (eds), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* (Maynooth, 1989), 105–6. In the same vein is the painting of Charles Campbell of the Glenorchy branch (died 1632/3) accoutred in the latest cosmopolitan fashion with no visible Highland element, his coat of arms notwithstanding: Skoklosters slott, Skokloster, inventarienummer 2263, online at <http://emuseumplus.lsh.se/eMuseumPlus>, s.v. 'Karl Kammel' (accessed 7 June 2013). Steve Murdoch is thanked for this reference. See also Marshall, *Costume*, 12.
92. The pictorial rehabilitation of the Highlanders came in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: M. Amblard, 'Du rebelle au héros: les highlanders vus par les portraitistes des Lowlands entre 1680 et 1827', *Études Écossaises* 11 (2008), 193–205.
93. M. Macdonald, 'Art as an expression of northerness: the Highlands of Scotland', *Visual Culture in Britain* 11 (2010), 355–71; <http://www.leabarmor.net/> (accessed 3 June 2013).
94. A larger body of portraiture from the area is necessary to establish firmer claims either way.
95. That commonality of culture can be found across many aspects of life, such as everyday clothing comparable in style and fashioning: M. Kane, 'Covered with such a cappe: the archaeology of Seneca clothing, 1615–1820', *Ethnohistory* 61 (2014), 1–25; A. S. Henshall and W. A. Seaby, 'The Dungiven Costume', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd ser., 24–25 (1961–2), 119–42.