

# A Fragmented Masterpiece

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

Heather F James, Isabel Henderson, Sally M Foster and Siân Jones

ISBN: 978-0-903903-42-4 (hardback) • 978-1-908332-22-6 (PDF)

The text in this work is published under a <u>Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommerical 4.0 International licence (CC BY-NC 4.0)</u>. This licence allows you to share, copy, distribute and transmit the work and to adapt the work for non-commercial purposes, providing attribution is made to the authors (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work). Attribution should include the following information:

James, H F, Henderson, I, Foster, S and Jones, S, 2008 A Fragmented Masterpiece: Recovering the Biography of the Hilton of Cadboll Pictish Cross-Slab. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. https://doi.org/10.9750/9781908332226

**Important:** The illustrations and figures in this work are not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence. Permissions must be obtained from third-party copyright holders to reproduce any of the illustrations.





Every effort has been made to obtain permissions from the copyright holders of third-party material reproduced in this work. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland would be grateful to hear of any errors or omissions.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a registered Scottish charity number SC 010440. Visit our website at <a href="https://www.socantscot.org">www.socantscot.org</a> or find us on Twitter <a href="https://www.socantscot.org">wscot.org</a> or find us or find us

# **Bibliography**

#### Abbreviations

Cadboll Estate Contents and Estimate of the Estate of Papers 1813 Cadboll belonging to R B Aeneas Mcleod

Esquire made out from a survey by Geo:Brown. Vol I containing the parishes of Fearn, Tain, Eddertown, Kincardine and

Creech. MS in Tain Museum.

Cadboll Estate Particulars and Plans of the Estates of

Papers 1918 Cadboll.

ECMS Allen & Anderson 1903.

ONB Ordnance Survey Object Name Books.
OPS Origines Parochiales Scotiae: the Antiquities

Ecclesiastical and Territorial of the Parishes of Scotland. Innes, C, Anderson, W, Robertson, J, Brichan, J and McNab, D

(eds) 1850–5, vol III. Glasgow.

OS Ordnance Survey.

NLS National Library of Scotland.

NMS National Museums of Scotland (formerly

National Museums of Scotland, Museum of

Scotland).

Stat Acct First Statistical Account of Scotland, Sinclair, J

(ed) 1791–9. Accessed through Edina online 'Statistical Accounts of Scotland', http://

edina.ac.uk/statacc/.

New Stat Acct New Statistical Account of Scotland, 1845.

Edinburgh.

Third Stat Acct The Third Statistical Account of Scotland.

The County of Ross and Cromarty, 1951–85. Glasgow. (1987, Edinburgh: Scottish

Academic Press)

Adam, R J 1991 The Calendar of Fearn: text and additions, 1471–1667. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.

Alberti, S J M M 2005 'Objects and the Museum', *Isis* 96, 559–71.

Alcock, L 2003 Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550–850. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Alcock, L 1998 'From realism to caricature: reflections on insular depictions of animals and people', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 129, 515–36.

Alexander, J J G 1978 Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century.

Allen, J R 1891 'Report on the Sculptured Stones older than AD 1100, with Symbols and Celtic Ornament, in the District

of Scotland, North of the River Dee, obtained under the Victoria Jubilee Gift of His Excellency Dr. R. H. Gunning, F.S.A. Scot', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 25 (1890–1), 422–31.

Allen, J R & Anderson, J 1903 [1993 facsimile reprint] The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland. Balgavies: The Pinkfoot Press.

Alston, D 1996 'The fallen meteor: Hugh Miller and local tradition', in Shortland, M (ed) Hugh Miller and the Controversies of Victorian Science. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Alston, D 1999. Ross and Cromarty: a historical guide. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

Anderson, B 1983 Imagined Communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism. London: Verso.

Amit, V (ed) 2002 Realizing Community: concepts, social relationships and sentiments. London: Routledge.

Anderson, J 1881 Scotland in Early Christian Times. The Rhind Lectures in Archaeology for 1880. First and Second Series. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

Anson, P F 1930 Fishing Boats and Fisher Folk on the East Coast of Scotland. London: J M Dent & Sons.

Anson, P F 1950 Scots Fisherfolk. Banff: Banffshire Journal Ltd.

Appadurai, A 1986 The Social Life of Things. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ascherson, N 2000 'The Museum of Scotland', *Public Archaeology* 1(1), 82–4.

Ascherson, N 2003 Stone Voices: the search for Scotland. London: Granta Books (Revised Edition).

Ash, M 1981 'A fine, genial, hearty band': David Laing, Daniel Wilson and Scottish Archaeology', in Bell, A S (ed) The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition: essays to mark the bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and its Museum, 1780–1980, 86–113. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers.

Ash, M 1991 *This Noble Harbour: a history of the Cromarty Firth* (edited by J Macaulay & M A Mackay). Invergordon: Cromarty Firth Port Authority and John Donald Publishers.

Bailey, R N 1989 'St Cuthbert's Relics: Some Neglected Evidence', *in* Bonner *et al* (eds) 231–46.

Bailey, R. N 1996 England's Earliest Sculptors, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

Bailey, R. N 2000 'The Gandersheim Casket and Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture', in Marth, R. (ed) 43–51.

Bailey, R N & Cramp R 1988 Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands, Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture 2. Oxford.

- Bakka, E 1963 'Some English decorated metal objects found in Norwegian graves', *Arbok for Universitetet i Bergen, Humanistik* serie 1, 3–66.
- Baldwin, J R (ed) 1986 Firthlands of Ross and Sutherland. Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies.
- Bann, S 2000 'Preface', in Peltz & Myrone (eds) 2000.
- Barkan, E and Bush, R, 2002 'Introduction', in Barkan, E and Bush, R (eds) Claiming the Stones, Naming the Bones: cultural property and the negotiation of national and ethnic identity, 1–15. Getty Publications, Los Angeles.
- Barr, A 1996 Learning for Change: community education and community development. London: Community Development Foundation in association with the Scottish Community Development Centre.
- Bates, D L & Durham, J 1996 'Dowsing Report', in Carver, M 1998, Annex F.
- Bell, A S (ed) 1981 The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition: essays to mark the bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and its Museum, 1780–1980. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers.
- Bender, B 1999 Stonehenge: making space. Oxford: Berg.
- Bending, S 2002 'Every man is naturally an antiquarian: Francis Grose and the polite antiquities', *Art History* 25(4), 520–30.
- Bennett, T 1995 *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics.* London: Routledge.
- Bernard, H R (ed) 1998 Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology. London: AltaMira Press.
- Bettenson, H (trans) 1984 St Augustine. City of God. London.
- Biddle, M & Kjølbye-Biddle, B 1985 'The Repton Stone', Anglo-Saxon England 14, 233–92.
- Black, C 1993 'Hilton of Cadboll: a mysterious woman', Pictish Arts Soc J 4 (Autumn), 37–40.
- Blackie, T & Macaulay, C 1998 *The Sculptured Stones of Caithness: a Survey.* Balgavies: The Pinkfoot Press.
- Boardman, J (ed) 1993 The Oxford History of Classical Art. Oxford.
- Bonner, G, Rollason, D & Stancliffe, C (eds) 1989 St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200. Woodbridge.
- Bourke, C 1993 Patrick. The Archaeology of a Saint. Belfast: HMSO.
- Bourke, C (ed) 1995 From the Isles of the North. Early Medieval Art in Ireland and Britain. Belfast.
- Bradley, R 2002 The Past in Prehistoric Societies. London: Routledge.
- Brewer, J 1997 The Pleasures of the Imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century. London: HarperCollins.
- Brøndsted, J 1924 Early English Ornament (trans Major A F). London and Copenhagen.
- Brown, M 1994 'Echoes: The Book of Kells and Southern English manuscript production', in O'Mahony, F (ed) The Book of Kells. Proceedings of a conference at Trinity College Dublin 6-9 September 1992, 333–43. Aldershot.
- Buchan, 11th Earl of (D S Erskine) 1778 Discourse delivered at a meeting for the purpose of promoting the institution of a Society for the investigation of the History of Scotland and its Antiquities. Edinburgh (delivered 14 November 1780).

- Budd, J 2000 'Rethinking iconoclasm in early modern England: the case of the Cheapside Cross', *Journal of Early Modern History* 4(3–4), 379–404.
- Burt, J R F, Bowman, E O & Robertson, N M (eds) 1994 Stones, Symbols & Stories. Aspects of Pictish Studies. Proceedings from the Conferences of the Pictish Arts Society, 1992, Edinburgh.
- Campbell-Kease, J 2002 'An heraldic mystery from Easter Ross, the Double Tressure', J Heraldry Soc Scot 25, 96–9.
- Cant, R G 1981 'David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan: founder of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland', *in* Bell (ed) 1981, 1–30.
- Cant, R G 1986 'The medieval church in the north: contrasting influences in the dioceses of Ross and Caithness', in Baldwin (ed) 1986, 47–58.
- Cardonnel 1788 Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland. London.
- Carver, M 1998 Hilton of Cadboll. Archaeological Assessment and Project Design. Unpublished report, University of York.
- Carver, M 2004 'An Iona of the East: the Early Medieval Monastery at Portmahomack, Tarbat Ness', Medieval Archaeol 48, 1–30.
- Carver, M 2005 'Sculpture in action: contexts for stone carving on the Tarbat peninsula, Easter Ross', *in* Foster & Cross (eds) 2005, 13–36.
- Carver, M 1999 Surviving in Symbols: a visit to the Pictish nation. Edinburgh: Canongate Books and Historic Scotland.
- Cassidy, B (ed) 1992 *The Ruthwell Cross*. Princeton: Index of Christian Art, Princeton University.
- Cassidy, B 1992 'The later life of the Ruthwell Cross: from the seventeenth century to the present', *in* Cassidy (ed) 1992, 3–34.
- Cessford, C 1993 'The Hilton of Cadboll torc', *Pictish Arts Society J* 4 (Autumn), 41–2.
- Chalmers, P 1848 The Ancient Sculptured Monuments of the County of Angus. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.
- Chambers 1996 The Concise Scots Dictionary.
- Chippindale, C 1983 'The making of the first Ancient Monuments Act, 1882, and its administration under General Pitt-Rivers', *J British Archaeol Association* 136, 1–55.
- Clancy, T O 1995 'Annat in Scotland and the origins of the parish', *Innes Rev* 46.2, 91–115.
- Clarke, D 1996 'Presenting a national perspective of prehistory and early history in the Museum of Scotland', in Atkinson, J, Banks, I & O'Sullivan, J (eds) 1996 Nationalism and Archaeology. Glasgow: Cruithne Press.
- Clarke, D 2000a 'Creating the Museum of Scotland: a reply to Neal Ascherson', *Public Archaeology* 1, 220–1.
- Clarke, D 2000b 'Building collections: constraints of changing contexts', in Fladmark, J M (ed) *Heritage and Museums:* shaping national identity, 77–90. Aberdeen: Donhead.
- Close-Brooks, J & Stevenson, R B K 1982 Dark Age Sculpture. Edinburgh.
- Close-Brooks, J 1989 Pictish Stones in Dunrobin Castle Museum. Derby: Pilgrim Press.

- Clough, M 1986 'The Cromartie Estate, 1660–1784: aspects of trade and organization', *in* Baldwin (ed) 1986, 89–97.
- Cohen, A P 1980 'Oil and the cultural account: reflections on a Shetland community', *in* Parsler & Shapiro (eds) 1980, 164–76.
- Colgrave, B & Mynors, R A B (eds) 1969 Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People. Oxford.
- Collinson, P 1997 'From iconoclasm to iconophobia: the cultural impact of the Reformation', in Marshall, P (ed) The Impact of the English Reformation 1500–1640, 278–308. London: Arnold.
- Connolly, S J, Houston, R A & Morris, R J (eds) 1995 Conflict, Identity and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland 1600–1939. Preston: Carnegie.
- Cooke, S & McLean, F 2001 'Our common inheritance? Narratives of self and other in the Museum of Scotland', in Harvey, D, Jones, R, McInroy, N & Milligan, C (eds) Celtic Geographies: landscape, culture and identity, 109–22. London: Routledge.
- Cordiner, C 1780 Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland, in a series of letters to Thomas Pennant Esq. London.
- Cordiner, C 1788 Remarkable Ruins and Romantic Prospects of North Britain. With ancient monuments and singular subjects of natural history. London: I & J Taylor.
- Coull, J R 1996 The Sea Fisheries of Scotland: a historical geography. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Coull, J R 1969 'Fisheries in the North-East of Scotland before 1800', *Scottish Studies* 13, 17–32.
- Cowan, I B 1967 *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*. Scottish Record Society 93. Edinburgh.
- Cowan, I B 1978 Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation. London: Historical Association.
- Cowan, I B 1982 The Scottish Reformation. New York: St
- Cowan, I B 1996 (J Kirk ed) *The Medieval Church In Scotland*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- Cowan, I B & Easson, D E 1976 Medieval Religious Houses Scotland. London: Longman.
- Cramp, R 1984 County Durham and Northumberland. Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture 1. Oxford.
- Cramp, R 1994 'The Govan recumbent cross-slabs', in Ritchie, A (ed) Govan and its Early Medieval Sculpture, 54–61. Stroud: Alan Sutton.
- Crawford, O G S 1937 'The Vine-Scroll in Scotland', *Antiquity* 11, 469–73.
- Crawford, B E 1995 Earl and Mormaer: Norse-Pictish relationships in Northern Scotland. Rosemarkie: Groam House Museum.
- Cronyn, J M & Horie, C V 1989 'The Anglo-Saxon Coffin: Further Investigations', in Bonner et al (eds) 1989, 247–56.
- Crooke, E 2000 Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of the National Museum of Ireland: an expression of national life. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.
- Curle, C L 1940 'The chronology of the early Christian monuments of Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 74, 60–116.
- Curle, C L & Henry, F 1943 'Early Christian art in Scotland', Gazette des Beaux-Arts 6th ser 24, 257–72.

- Cutmore, C 1996 Memorial Stones in the Churchyard of Govan. University of Glasgow, unpublished MA Dissertation.
- Dalglish, C 2003 Rural Society in the Age of Reason: an archaeology of the emergence of modern life in the Southern Scottish Highlands. London: Klewer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- de Paor, L 1987 'The High Crosses of Tech Theille (Tihilly), Kinnitty, and related sculpture', in Rynne, E (ed) Figures from the Past. Studies on Figurative Art in Christian Ireland, in honour of Helen M Roe, 131–58. Dublin.
- de Paor, L 1993 Saint Patrick's World. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Devine, T M 1999 The Scottish Nation 1700-2000. London: Penguin.
- Diamond, J 1999 Practical Evaluation Guide: tools for museums and other informal education settings. Oxford: Altamira Press.
- Dilworth, M 2000 'Fearn Abbey as a monastic institution', *Innes Review* 51:1, 40–54.
- Dorian, N C 1970 'East Sutherland by-naming', *Scottish Studies* 14, 59–65.
- Driscoll, S T 1988 'Power and authority in Early Historic Scotland: Pictish symbol stones and other documents', in Gledhill, J, Bender, B & Larget, M T (eds) State and Society. The Emergence and Development of Socoal Hierarchy and Political Centralisation, 215–35. London.
- Driscoll, S T 1998a 'Christian monumental sculpture and ethnic expression in early Scotland', in Frazer, W & Tyrell, A (eds) Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland, 233–52. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Driscoll, S T 1998b 'Political discourse and the growth of Christian ceremonialism in Pictland: the place of the St Andrews Sarcophagus', *in* Foster (ed) 1998, 168–78.
- Driscoll, S T 1998c 'Picts and prehistory: cultural resource management in early medieval Scotland', World Archaeology 30(1), 142–58.
- Duffy, E 1992 *The Stripping of the Altars.* New Haven CT: Yale University Press.
- Duncan, C 1991 'Art museums and the ritual of citizenship', in Karp, I & Levine, S D (eds) Exhibiting Cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display, 88–103. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Earle, L 1935 Turn over the Page. London: Hutchinson & Co.
- Easson, D E 1957 Medieval Religious Houses Scotland. London: Longman.
- Edwards, N 1983 'An early group of crosses from the kingdom of Ossory', J Roy Soc Antiq Ir 113, 5–46.
- Edwards, N 1986 'The South Cross, Clonmacnois (with an appendix on the incidence of vine-scroll on Irish sculpture)', *in* Higgitt, J (ed) *Early Medieval Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, 23–36. Oxford: BAR Brit Ser 152.
- Ewart, G, Gallagher, D & Ritchie, A forthcoming 'The Dupplin Cross: recent investigations', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*.
- Epona. wwwEpona.net: a scholarly resource©2004-2005 Nantonos & Ceffyl.

- Everson, P & Stocker, D 1999 Lincolnshire. Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture 5. Oxford.
- Fawcett, R 2002 Scottish Medieval Churches: architecture and furnishings. Stroud: Tempus.
- Fernandez, J & Herzfeld, M 1998 'In search of meaningful methods', in Bernard, H R (ed) Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology, 89–130. London: AltaMira Press.
- Field Archaeology Specialists Ltd 1998 'Geophysical and Topographical Survey Hilton of Cadboll', in Carver, M 1998, Annex C.
- Finch, J 1991 "According to the qualities and degree of the person deceased": funeral monuments and the construction of social identities 1400–1750', Scot Archaeol Review 8, 105–14
- Finch, J 2003 'A reformation of meaning: commemoration and remembering the dead in the parish church, 1450–1640', *in* Gaimster & Gilchrist (eds) 2003, 437–49.
- Fisher, I 2001 Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland/
- Fisher, I 2005 'Christ's Cross down into the earth: some cross-bases and their problems', in Foster & Cross (eds) 2005, 85–94.
- Fisher, I 2007 'Edderton cross-slab', in Muckhart, G W M (ed) *Edderton Old Parish Church*, 32–5. Edderton Old Parish Church Preservation Trust.
- Fladmark, J M (ed) 2000 Heritage and Museums: shaping national identity. Aberdeen: Donhead.
- Folkard, H C 1863 The Sailing Boat. London (3rd Edition).
- Forsyth, K 1995 'The inscriptions on the Dupplin Cross', in Bourke (ed) 1995, 237-44.
- Forsyth, K 1997 'Some thoughts on Pictish symbols as a formal writing system', *in* Henry (ed) 1997, 85–98.
- Forsyth, K 1996 The Ogham inscriptions of Scotland: an edited corpus. DPhil thesis, University of Harvard, Ann Arbor.
- Foster, S M 1996 Picts, Gaels and Scots. Early Historic Scotland (rev ed 2004). London: Batsford/Historic Scotland.
- Foster, S M 1997 'The strength of belief: the impact of Christianity on early historic Scotland', in Boe, G de & Verhaege, F (eds) Religion and Belief in Medieval Europe. Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference Volume 4, 229–40. Zellik: Institute for Archaeological Heritage.
- Foster, S M 1998 'Discovery, recovery, context and display', in Foster (ed) 36–62.
- Foster, S M (ed) 1998 The St Andrews Sarcophagus. A Pictish Masterpiece and its International Connections. Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Foster, S M 2001 Place, Space and Odyssey. Exploring the future of early medieval sculpture. Rosemarkie: Groam House Museum.
- Foster, S M & Cross, M (eds) 2005 Able Minds and Practised Hands: Scotland's Early Medieval Sculpture in the 21st Century. Leeds: Society for Medieval Archaeology.
- Foulis of Colinton, J 1972 'An inquiry into the origin of the name of the Scottish Nation, presented to the Society of

- Antiquaries, at Edinburgh, December 1780', Archaeologia Scotica 1, 1–12.
- Fraser, A and Munro, F 1988 Tarbat Easter Ross: a Historical Sketch. Evanton: Ross and Cromarty Heritage Society.
- Fraser, I 2005 "Just an ald steen": reverence, reuse, revulsion and rediscovery, in Foster & Cross (eds) 2005, 56–68.
- Fraser, I A 1986 'The making of a frontier: the firthlands from the ninth to twelfth centuries', *in* Baldwin (ed) 1986, 23–32.
- Fraser, J 2003 'Ministry, Mission and Myth in Early Christian Fortriu'. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh.
- Fraser-Mackintosh, C 1865 Antiquarian Notes: a Series of Papers regarding Families and Places in the Highlands. Stirling.
- Gaimster, D & R Gilchrist (eds) 2003 The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480–1580. Leeds: Maney and Society for Medieval Archaeology.
- Gannon, A 2003 The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage. Sixth to Eighth Centuries. Oxford.
- Gilchrist, R 2003 "Dust to dust": revealing the Reformation dead', in Gaimster & Gilchrist (eds) 2003, 399–414.
- Glenn, V 2003 Romanesque & Gothic Decorative Metalwork and Ivory Carvings in the Museum of Scotland. Edinburgh: NMS Publishing.
- Gondek, M 2006 forthcoming 'Investing in sculpture: power in early-medieval Scotland', Medieval Archaeol 50 (2006).
- Gordon, A 1726 Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a Journey over the Greatest Part of Scotland. London.
- Gosden, C & Marshall, Y 1999 'The cultural biography of objects', World Archaeol 31(2), 169–78.
- Graham, A 1970 'Records and opinions: 1780–1930', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 102 (1969–70), 241–84.
- Graham, A 1975 'The development of Scottish antiquarian records: 1600–1800', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 106 (1974–5), 183–90
- Grant, A 2000 'The province of Ross and the kingdom of Alba', in Cowan, E J & McDonald, R A (eds) *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era*, 88–126. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.
- Gray, J 2002 'Community as place-making: ram auctions in the Scottish borderland', *in* Amit (ed) 2002, 38–59.
- Grigor, I 1980 'Local authority accommodation of oil-related developments in Easter Ross', *in* Parsler & Shapiro (eds) 1980, 70–86.
- Groome, F H 1882–5 Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A survey of Scottish topography, statistical, biographical and historical. Edinburgh: T C Jack, Grange Publishing Works.
- Grose, F 1789–91 *Antiquities of Scotland*. London: printed for S Hooper.
- Grove, B 2001 Hilton of Cadboll Pictish Stone. Seaboard Stone, http://www.pictishstone.freeuk.com/
- GUARD 2001 Hilton of Cadboll Chapel site excavation of Pictish sculpture. Unpublished excavation leaflet.
- Gupta, A & Ferguson, J 1997 'Beyond "culture": space, identity and the politics of difference', in Gupta, A & Ferguson, J

- (eds) Culture, Power, Place: explorations in critical anthropology. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hall, M, Forsyth, K, Henderson, I, Scott, I, Trench-Jellicoe, R & Watson, A 2000 'Of makings and meanings: towards a cultural biography of the Crieff Burgh Cross, Strathearn, Perthshire', Tayside Fife Archaeol J 6, 154–88.
- Hall, S & Jeppson, P 1989 'Culture and conservation', Eastern Cape Naturalist 15, 11–8.
- Hamilakis, Y 1999 'Stories from exile: fragments from the cultural biography of the Parthenon (or "Elgin") marbles', World Archaeol 31(2), 303–20.
- Hamlin, A 1987 'Crosses in early Ireland: the evidence from written sources', in Ryan, M (ed) Ireland and Insular Art AD 500-1200, 138-40. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- Handler, R. 1988 Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hansard Commons (The Parliamentary Debates: Official Report. House of Commons), 1921, Vol 138.
- Hansard Commons (The Parliamentary Debates: Official Report. House of Commons), 1921, Vol 139.
- Harbison, P 1992 The High Crosses of Ireland. An Iconographical and Photographic Survey, 3 vols. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Forschungsinstitut für Vor-und Frühgeschichte, Monographien 17. Bonn.
- Harden, J 1995 'A potential archaeological context for the Early Christian sculptured stones from Tarbat, Easter Ross', in Bourke (ed) 1995, 204–15.
- Haverfield, F J & Greenwell, W 1899 Catalogue of the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones in the Cathedral Library, Durham. Durham.
- Hawkes, J 1996 'The Rothbury Cross: an iconographic bricolage', Gesta 35.1, 77–94.
- Hawkes, J 1999 'Anglo-Saxon sculpture: questions of context', in Hawkes, J & Mills, S (eds) Northumbria's Golden Age, 204–15. Stroud: Alan Sutton.
- Hay Fleming, S 1931 *The St Andrews Cathedral Museum*. Edinburgh and London.
- Haycock, D 1999 "A small journey into the country": William Stukeley and the formal landscapes of Stonehenge and Avebury', *in* Peltz & Myrone (eds) 2000, 67–79.
- Helm, M W 1993 Craft and the Kingly Ideal. Art, Trade and Power. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Henderson, G 1987 From Durrow to Kells. The Insular Gospelbooks 650–800. London.
- Henderson, G 2007 'The representation of the Apostles in Insular Art, with special reference to the new Apostle frieze at Tarbat, Ross-shire', in Minnis, A & Roberts, J (eds) Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin, 473–94. Brepols Publishers.
- Henderson, G & Henderson, I 2004 The Art of the Picts: sculpture and metalwork in early medieval Scotland. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Henderson, I 1967 The Picts. London.
- Henderson, I 1978 'Sculpture north of the Forth after the takeover by the Scots', in Lang, J (ed) Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its Context, 47–73. Oxford: BAR Brit Ser 49.

- Henderson, I 1982 'Pictish Art and the Book of Kells', in Whitelock, D, McKitterick, R & Dumville, D (eds) Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes, 79–105. Cambridge.
- Henderson, I 1983 'Pictish vine-scroll ornament', in O'Connor, A & Clarke, D V (eds) From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five: Studies presented to R B K Stevenson, 243–68. Edinburgh.
- Henderson, I 1990 The Art and Function of Rosemarkie's Pictish Monuments. Rosemarkie: Groam House Museum.
- Henderson, I 1993 'The shape and decoration of the cross on Pictish cross slabs carved in relief', in Spearman & Higgitt (eds) 1993, 209–18.
- Henderson, I 1994 'The Picts: written records and pictorial images', in Burt et al (eds) 1994, 44-66.
- Henderson, I 1997a Pictish Monsters; Symbol, Text and Image. The Chadwick Lecture 7 (1996). Cambridge.
- Henderson, I 1997b 'Variations on an old theme. Panelled zoomorphic ornament on Pictish sculpture at Nigg, Easter Ross, and St Andrews, Fife, and in the Book of Kells', in Karkov, C E, Farrell, R T & Ryan, M (eds) The Insular Tradition, 143–66. New York.
- Henderson, I 1998 'Primus inter pares: the St Andrews Sarcophagus and Pictish sculpture', in Foster (ed) 1998, 97–167.
- Henderson, I 1999 'The Dupplin Cross: a Preliminary Consideration of its Art historical Context', in Hawkes & Mills (eds) 161–77.
- Henderson, I 2000 'Towards defining the function of sculpture in Alba: The evidence of St Andrews, Brechin and Rosemarkie', in Taylor, S (ed) Kings, clerics and chronicles in Scotland, 500–1297. Essays in honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, 35–46. Dublin.
- Henderson, I 2001 "This wonderful monument": the cross-slab at Nigg, Easter Ross, Scotland', in Binski, P & Noel, W (eds) New Offerings, Ancient Treasures. Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson, 115–47. Stroud: Sutton.
- Henderson, I 2007 'New animal ornament on the cross-slab from Hilton of Cadboll, Ross and Cromarty, Scotland', in Moss, R (ed) Making and Meaning in Insular Art; Proceedings of the fifth international conference on Insular art, Dublin 25–8 August 2005, 198–214. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Henry, D (ed) 1997 The Worm, the Germ and the Thorn. Pictish and Related Studies Presented to Isabel Henderson. Balgavies.
- Henry, F 1933 La sculpture irlandaise pendant les douze premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne. Paris.
- Henry, F 1965 Irish Art in the Early Christian Period (to 800 AD). London.
- Henry, F 1974 The Book of Kells. London.
- Henry, D & Trench-Jellicoe, R 2005 "A perfect accuracy of delineation": Charlotte Wilhelmina Hibbert's drawings of early medieval carved stones in Scotland', *in* Foster & Cross (eds) 2005, 221–42.
- Henry, F 1980 'Around an inscription: the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnois', J Roy Soc Antiq Ire 110, 36–46.
- Herzfeld, M 1991 A Place in History: social and monumental time in a Cretan town. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Hewison, J K 1914 The Runic Roods of Ruthwell and Bewcastle. Glasgow: John Smith & Sons.
- Higgitt, J 1982 'The Pictish Latin inscription at Tarbat in Rossshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 112, 300–21.
- Highland Council 2002 *Local Plan for 2002-2012*. Inverness: Highland Council.
- Hill, P R 2001 Abernethy, Dundee, Meigle and St. Vigeans: a limited technical assessment of some Pictish stones. Unpublished report to Historic Scotland.
- Hill, P R & David, J C E 1995 Practical Stone Masonry. Donhead St Mary.
- Hingley, R 1996 'Ancestors and identity in the later prehistory of Atlantic Scotland: the re-use and re-invention of Neolithic monuments and material culture', *World Archaeology* 28(2), 231–43.
- Holtorf, C J 1998 'The life-histories of megaliths in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Germany)', World Archaeol 30(1), 23–38.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E 1992 Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge. London: Routledge.
- Hoskins, J 1998 Biographical objects: how things tell the stories of people's lives. London: Routledge.
- Hudson, B T 1994 'Kings and Church in early Scotland', Scot Hist Rev 73:2, 145–70.
- Hunter, J & Roberts, C 1994 'Islands of Canna and Sanday, Hebrides', Univ Bradford Archaeol Sci Ann Rep 8 (1993–4), 16–18.
- Hunter, J 1976 The Making of the Crofting Community. Edinburgh: John Donald (rev edn, 2000).
- James, E 1998 'The Continental Context', in Foster (ed) 1998, 240–9
- James, H F 2005 'Pictish cross-slabs: an examination of their original archaeological context', in Foster & Cross (eds) 2005, 95–112.
- Jewell, R H I 1986 'The Anglo-Saxon Friezes at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire', *Archaeologia* 108, 95–115.
- Johnstone, G S & Mykura, W 1989 The Northern Highlands of Scotland, London: HMSO.
- Jones, A 2002 Archaeological Theory and Scientific Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, S 2004 Early Medieval Sculpture and the Production of Meaning, Value and Place: the Case of Hilton of Cadboll. Historic Scotland Research Report. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.
- Jones, S 2005a 'Making place, resisting displacement: conflicting national and local identities in Scotland', in Littler, J & Naidoo, R (eds) The Politics of Heritage: 'Race', identity and national stories. London: Routledge.
- Jones, S 2005b "That stone was born here and that's where it belongs": Hilton of Cadboll and the negotiation of identity, ownership and belonging, in Foster & Cross (eds) 2005, 37–54.
- Kempny, M 2002 'Cultural islands in the globalizing world: community-cum-locality of the Cieszyn Lutherans', *in* Amit (ed) 2002, 60–83.

- Kirk, J (ed) 1995 The Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices. Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation. Oxford.
- Kirk, J 1986 'The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation', *Northern Scotland* 7(1), 1–22.
- Kirkdale Archaeology 1998 Historic Scotland's Properties in Care. Minor Archaeological Works 1998. Hilton of Cadboll Chapel. Unpublished report for Historic Scotland.
- Kirkdale Archaeology 2000 Historic Scotland Properties in Care. Minor Archaeological Works 2000. Hilton of Cadboll Watching Brief. Unpublished report for Historic Scotland.
- Kirkdale Archaeology 2001 Historic Scotland Properties in Care. Minor Archaeological Works 2001. Hilton of Cadboll Chapel Site Archaeological Excavation. Unpublished report for Historic Scotland.
- Kitzinger, E 1936 'Anglo-Saxon vine-scroll ornament', Antiquity 10, 61–71.
- Kitzinger, E 1956 'The coffin-reliquary', in Battiscombe, C F (ed) *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, 202–304. Oxford.
- Kitzinger, E 1977 Byzantine Art in the Making. Main lines of stylistic development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century. London.
- Kopytoff, D 1986 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process', *in* Appadurai (ed) 1986, 64–94.
- Laing, L & Laing, J 1993 The Picts and Scots. Stroud.
- Lang, J 1991 York and Eastern Yorkshire. Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture 3. Oxford.
- Lang, J 2001 Northern Yorkshire. Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture 6. Oxford.
- Levi, L 1883 *The Economic Condition of Fishermen*. London: William Clowes & Sons.
- Lewis, S 1980 'A Byzantine "Virgo Militans" at Charlemagne's Court', *Viator* 11, 71–93.
- MacLean, D 1995a 'The status of the sculptor in Old-Irish law and the evidence of the crosses', *Peritia* 9, 125–55.
- MacLean, D 1995b 'Technique and contact: carpentry-constructed insular stone crosses', in Bourke (ed) 1995, 167–75.
- MacLean, D 1998 'The Northumbrian Perspective', in Foster (ed) 1998, 179–201.
- MacDonald, A 1992 Curadán, Boniface and the Early Church of Rosemarkie. Rosemarkie: Groam House Museum.
- Macdonald, D 2001 The future of the stump of the Hilton of Cadboll Stone. Unpublished local campaign leaflet.
- Macdonald, W R 1902 'Heraldry in churchyards between Tain and Inverness', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 36 (1901–2), 688–732.
- Macdonald, J & Gordon, A 1971 Down to the Sea: an account of life in the fishing villages of Hilton, Balintore and Shandwick. Fort William: Ross and Cromarty Heritage Society (3rd edn. nd).
- Macdonald, S 1997 Reimagining Culture: histories, identities and the Gaelic renaissance. Oxford: Berg.

- Macgill, W 1909 Old Ross-shire and Scotland as seen in the Tain and Balnagown Documents. Inverness.
- Macdonald, W R 1902 'Heraldry in churchyards between Tain and Inverness', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 36 (1901–2), 688–732.
- Mack, A 1997 Field Guide to the Pictish Symbol Stones. Balgavies, Angus: The Pinkfoot Press.
- MacKenzie, M A 1991 Androgynous Objects: string bags and gender in central New Guinea. Harwood Academic Press.
- Mackenzie, W C 1931 Scottish Place-Names. London.
- Marshall, J W & Rourke, G D 2000 An Irish Monastery in the Atlantic. Dublin: Town, House & Country House.
- Marth, R (ed) 2000 Das Gandersheimer Runenkästchen. Internationales Kolloquium, Braunschweig, 24.–26. März 1999. Braunschweig.
- Mather, J Y 1969 'Aspects of the linguistic geography of Scotland III: fishing communities of the East coast (Part 1)', Scottish Studies 13, 1–16.
- Maxwell, I 1994 'The Preservation of Dark Age Sculpture', in Burt et al 1994, 5–19.
- McCullagh, R P J 1995 'Excavations at Sueno's Stone, Forres, Moray', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 125, 697–718.
- McEnroe Williams, M 2001 'Constructing the Market Cross at Tuam: the role of cultural patriotism in the study of Irish High Crosses', in Hourihane, C (ed) From Ireland Coming: Irish art from the early Christian to the late Gothic period and its European context, 141–60. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- McInnes, C T (ed) 1940 Calendar of Writs of Munro of Foulis 1299–1823. Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society.
- McNeill, P G B & MacQueen, H L (eds) 1996 *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Medievalists and the Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh.
- McRoberts, D 1959 'Material destruction caused by the Reformation', *The Innes Review* 10(1), 126–72.
- Meehan, B 1994 The Book of Kells. London.
- Meehan, B 1998 'The Book of Kells and the Corbie Psalter (with a note on Harley 2788)', in Barnard, T, Croinin, D O & Simms, K (eds) 'A Miracle of Learning'. Studies in manuscripts and Irish learning. Essays in honour of William O'Sullivan, 29–39. Aldershot.
- Mewitt, PG 1986 'Boundaries and discourse in a Lewis crofting community', in Cohen, A P (ed) Symbolising Boundaries: identity and diversity in British cultures, 71–87. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Meyer, K 2005 'Bird, beast or fish? Problems of identification and interpretation of the iconography carved on the cross-slabs from Tarbat Old Church, Portmahomack', *in* Foster & Cross (eds) 2005, 243–57.
- Meyer, K forthcoming Reading the Stones: the Pictish monuments on the Tarbat Peninsula, Ross-shire, DPhil Thesis, University of York.
- Miller, H 1835 Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland. Edinburgh (2nd edn 1860, reprint 1994 Edinburgh: B & W Publishing.)

- Miller, H 1854 My Schools and Schoolmasters. Edinburgh. (Reprint 1993 Edinburgh: B & W Publishing.)
- Miller, H 1844 'Report by the Commissioners for the British Fisheries of their Proceedings 1842', (unsigned) *North British Review* 1, 326–65.
- Miller, H 1889 'Note on fragments of two sculptured stones of Celtic workmanship found in the churchyard of Tarbat, Easter Ross', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 11 (1888–9), 435–44.
- Miller, J 1999 Salt in the Blood: Scotland's fishing communities past and present. Edinburgh: Canongate.
- Mitchell, G & Clark, J T (eds) 1908 Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland made by Walter MacFarlane, Vol iii. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society.
- Moreland, J 1999 'The world(s) of the cross', World Archaeol 31(2), 194-213.
- Mowbray, C L 1936 'Eastern influence on carvings at St Andrews and Nigg, Scotland, *Antiquity* 10, 428–40.
- Muir, C 2001 Hilton of Cadboll Stone Lower Section. Conservation Report. Unpub report for Historic Scotland.
- Muir, T S (published anon) 1855 Notes of Remains of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Sculptured Memorials in the southern division of Scotland. Edinburgh.
- Mütherich, F & Gaehde, J E 1976 Carolingian Painting. New York
- Nadel, J 1984 'Stigma and separation: pariah status and community persistence in a Scottish fishing village', *Ethnology* 23 (2), 101–15.
- Nadel-Klein, J 1991 'Reweaving the fringe: localism, tradition and representation in British Ethnography', *American Ethnologist* 18(3), 500–17.
- Nadel-Klein, J 2003 Fishing for Heritage: modernity and loss along the Scottish coast. Oxford: Berg.
- National Museums of Scotland 1998 *The Museum of Scotland*. Edinburgh: NMS Publishing.
- Nenadic, S 1995 'Land, the landed and relationships with England: literature and perception 1760–1830', in Connolly et al (eds) 1995, 148–60.
- Nordenfalk, C 1968 'An illustrated Diatessaron', Art Bulletin 50, 119-40.
- Ó Carragáin, T 2003 'A landscape converted: archaeology and early church organisation on Iveragh and Dingle, Ireland', in Carver, M (ed) *The Cross Goes North. Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe*, AD 300–1300, 127–52. York: York Medieval Press.
- O' Dwyer, P 1988 Mary: a history of devotion in Ireland. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Ó Floinn, R 1989 'Secular metalwork in the eighth and ninth centuries', in Youngs (ed) 1989, 72–91.
- Ó Floinn, R 1995 'Clonmacnoise: art and patronage in the early medieval period', in Bourke (ed) 1995, 251–60.
- Ó Floinn, R 2001 'Patrons and politics: art, artefact and methodology', in Redknap, M, Edwards, N, Youngs, S, Lane, A & Knight, J (eds) Pattern and Purpose in Insular Art, 1–14. Oxford: Oxbow.

## A FRAGMENTED MASTERPIECE

- Ordnance Survey 1869–81. Ordnance Survey of Ross-Shire and Cromartyshire. Southampton: Ordnance Survey (1st Edition, County Series).
- Ordnance Survey 1872 Original Object Name Book, Ross-Shire, Volume II. Southampton: Ordnance Survey.
- Ordnance Survey 1938 Britain in the Dark Ages. North Sheet.
- Orton, F 1998 'Rethinking the Ruthwell monument: fragments and critique; tradition and history; tongues and sockets', *Art History* 21(1), 65–106.
- Pächt O, Dodwell, C R & Wormald, F 1960 The St Alban's Psalter (Albani Psalter). London.
- Park Primary School 1997 More Victorian and Edwardian Invergordon. Unpublished Report.
- Parsler, R & Shapiro, D (eds) 1980 The Social Impact of Oil in Scotland. Farnborough: Gower.
- Peltz , L & Myrone, M (eds) 1999 Producing the Past: aspects of antiquarian culture and practice 1700–1850. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Pennant, T 1771 A Tour in Scotland. Chester: J Mark.
- Petley, C C 1857 'A short account of some carved stones in Ross-shire, accompanied with a series of outline engravings', *Archaeologia Scotica* 4, 345–52.
- Phillipson, N & Mitchison, R (eds) 1970 Scotland in the Age of Improvement. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Piggott, S 1976 Ruins in a Landscape: essays in antiquarianism. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Pitt Rivers, A F 1889 'Letter to W.D. Geddes, Principal of the University of Aberdeen and member of the New Spaulding Club', reprinted in Foster 2001, 36–9.
- Plunkett, S J 1998 'The Mercian Perspective', in Foster (ed) 1998, 202-26.
- Pobé, M & Roubier, J 1961 The Art of Roman Gaul, a Thousand Years of Celtic Art and Culture. London.
- Radford, C A R 1942 'The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland', Antiquity 16, 1–18.
- RCAHMS 1979 The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Easter Ross, Ross and Cromarty District, Highland Region. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- RCAHMS 1982 Argyll. An Inventory of the Monuments. 4. Iona. Edinburgh.
- RCAHMS 1999 Pictish Symbol Stones: an illustrated gazeteer. Edinburgh: RCAHMS.
- Revill, B & Rowlands, H 1995 SEA 2000: a village renewal proposal based on natural and built environment resources in the Seaboard Villages. Unpublished report produced for Seaboard Community Development Group.
- Richards, C 2004 'A choreography of construction: monuments, mobilization and organization in Neolithic Orkney', in Cherry, J, Scarre, C & Shennan, S (eds) Explaining Social Change: Studies in Honour of Colin Renfrew, 103–13. Oxford: MacDonald Institute.
- Richards, E 2000 The Highland Clearances. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

- Richardson, H 1995 'The Jewelled Cross and its Canopy', in Bourke (ed) 1995, 177–86.
- Richardson, H 1996 'Lozenge and Logos', Archaeol Ireland 10, 24-5
- Ritchie, A 1989 Picts: an introduction to the life of the Picts and the carved stones in the care of Historic Scotland. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.
- Ritchie, A 1994 Perceptions of the Picts: from Eumenius to John Buchan. Rosemarkie: Groam House Museum.
- Ritchie, A 1995 'Meigle and lay patronage in Tayside in the 9th and 10th centuries AD', *Tayside Fife Archaeol J* 1, 1–10.
- Ritchie, A 1999 Govan and its Carved Stones. Balgavies: The Pinkfoot Press.
- Ritchie, G & A 1981 Scotland. Archaeology and early History. London.
- Ritchie, J N G 1997 'Recording Early Christian Monuments in Scotland', in Henry (ed) 1997, 119–28.
- Ritchie, J N G 1998 Recording Early Christian Monuments in Scotland. Rosemarkie: Groam House Museum.
- Ritchie, G 2004 'Destructions, Re-erections and Re-creations', in Gibson, A & Sheridan, A (eds) From Sickles to Stone Circles: Britain and Ireland at the Time of Stonehenge, 40–63. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd.
- Robertson, N M 1991 'Reading the stones, I. Women in Pictish sculpture', *Pictish Arts Soc Newsletter* 8, 5–17.
- Robins, G 1996a 'Catalogue of human remains discovered in the vicinity of the seaboard villages (Shandwick, Balintore, Hilton of Cadboll)', *in* Carver 1998, Annex D.
- Robins, G 1996b 'Documentary study of the contexts for human burials', in Carver 1998, Annex E.
- Ross, A M 1890 'Social life among the Easter Ross fishermen', *The Highland Monthly* 1 (1889-90), 157-66.
- Ross, B 2001 Those Other Times. Edinburgh: Birlinn.
- Ruskin, J 1849 *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. London: Smith, Elder & Co.
- Ryan, M 1993 'The Menagerie of the Derrynaflan Chalice', in Spearman & Higgitt (eds) 151–61.
- Ryan, M 1989 'Church metalwork in the eighth and ninth centuries', in Youngs (ed) 1989, 125–30.
- Samson, R. 1992 'The reinterpretation of the Pictish symbols', I Brit Archaeol Assoc 145, 29-65.
- Schapiro, M 1958 'The decoration of the Leningrad manuscript of Bede', *Scriptorium* 12.2, 191–207, reprinted in Schapiro, M 1980 *Late Antique, Early Christian and Medieval Art, Selected Papers*, 199–224. London.
- Schutz, H 1985 The Romans in Central Europe. Yale, New Haven & London.
- Scott, D 2004 The Stones of the Pictish Peninsulas of Easter Ross and the Black Isle. Historic Hilton Trust.
- Scottish Executive 1999 Treasure Trove in Scotland: information on Treasure Trove procedures, criteria for allocation and the allocation process. Edinburgh.
- Scottish Executive 2005 Carved Stones: Scottish Executive Policy and Guidance. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland.

- Seaboard Community Development Group 1991. Seaboard Community Profile. Unpublished report.
- Sharpe, R (trans) 1995 Adomnán of Iona. Life of St Columba. London.
- Shucksmith, M et al 1994 Disadvantage in Rural Scotland: how is it experienced and how can it be tackled? Unpublished Report to Rural Forum (Scotland) and The Scottish Consumer Council
- Smellie, W 1782 A Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, Part 1. Edinburgh.
- Smellie, W 1792 'An historical account of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland', Archaeologia Scotica 1, i-xiii.
- Smout, T C 1969 A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830. London: Fontana Press, Reprint 1998.
- Smout, T C 1983 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries', *Northern Scotland* 5(2), 99–121.
- Spearman, R M & Higgitt, J (eds) 1993 The Age of Migrating Ideas. Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland. Edinburgh.
- Spicer, A 2000 "Defyle not Christs Kirk with your carrion": the development of burial aisles in post-Reformation Scotland', in Marshall, P & Gordon, B (eds) *The Place of the Dead in European Society*, 1400–1700, 149–69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spicer, A 2003 'Iconoclasm and adaptation: the Reformation of the churches in Scotland and the Netherlands', in Gaimster & Gilchrist (eds) 2003, 29–43.
- Spooner, B 1986 'Weavers and dealers: the authenticity of an oriental carpet', *in* Appadurai (ed) 1986, 195–235.
- Stalley, R forthcoming 'Artistic identity and the Irish scripture crosses', in Moss, R (ed) Making and Meaning in Insular Art. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- Steer, K A & Bannerman, J W M 1977 Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands. Edinburgh: HMSO.
- Stell, G 1986 'Architecture and Society in Easter Ross before 1707', in Baldwin (ed) 1986, 98–132.
- Stevenson, J H (ed) 1914 The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland AD 1660–1668, Edinburgh.
- Stevenson, R B K 1955 'Pictish Art', in Wainwright (ed) 97–128.
- Stevenson, R B K 1956 'The chronology and relationships of some Irish and Scottish crosses', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ir* 86, 84–96.
- Stevenson, R B K 1959 'The Inchyra stone and some other unpublished early Christian monuments', Proc Soc Antiq Scot 92 (1958–9), 33–55.
- Stevenson, R B K 1974 'The Hunterston Brooch and its significance', *Medieval Archaeol* 18, 16–42.
- Stevenson, R B K 1981a 'The Museum, its beginnings and its development: Part I: to 1858: the Society's own Museum', in Bell (ed) 1981, 31–85.
- Stevenson, R B K 1981b 'The Museum, its beginnings and its development: Part II: the National Museum to 1954', *in* Bell (ed) 1981, 142–211.

- Stevenson, R B K 1993 'Further thoughts on some well known problems', *in* Spearman & Higgitt (eds) 1993, 16–26.
- Stirling Maxwell, J 1899 Sculptured Stones in the Kirkyard of Govan. Glasgow: private circulation.
- Stodart, R R 1881 Scottish Arms being a Collection of Armorial Bearings AD 1370–1678. Edinburgh: William Paterson.
- Stuart, J 1856 Sculptured Stones of Scotland, vol 1. Aberdeen: Spalding Club.
- Stuart, J 1867 *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol 2. Aberdeen: Spalding Club.
- Stuart, J (ed) 1869 The Book of Deer. Edinburgh.
- Sutherland, A 1892 'Some sculptured stones in Ross-shire', Trans Inverness Scientific Soc Field Club 4, 188–202.
- Sutherland, E 1994 In Search of the Picts. London.
- Sweet, R 2001 'Antiquaries and antiquities in eighteenth-century England', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34(2), 181–206.
- Sweet, R 2004 Antiquaries: the discovery of the past in eighteenth century Britain. London: Hambledon and London.
- Tarbat Discovery Programme, Bulletin No 3, 1997, Appendix 2: Illustrated catalogue of sculptural fragments found at Tarbat to April 1998.
- Tarbat Discovery Programme 2003. Sculpture Catalogue 2003 http://www.york.ac.uk/depts/arch/sites/tarbat/stonecat/ sculptureCatalogue.html
- Tarlow, S 1998 'Resisting the Reformation in secret', *British Archaeol* 32, http://www.britarch.ac.uk/ba/ba32/ba32feat.
- Tarlow, S 1999 Bereavement and Commemoration: an archaeology of mortality. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tarlow, S 2003 'Reformation and transformation: what happened to Catholic things in a Protestant world?', in Gaimster & Gilchrist (eds) 2003, 108–21.
- Tayler, A & Tayler, H 1914 The Book of the Duffs. 2 vols. Edinburgh.
- Tayler, H 1946 The History of the Family of Urquhart. Aberdeen.
- Taylor, S 1996 'Place names and the early church in eastern Scotland', in Crawford, B E (ed) Scotland in Dark Age Britain, 93–110. St Andrews: Scottish Cultural Press.
- Taylor, S 1999 'Seventh-century Iona abbots in Scottish place names', in Broun, D & Clancy, T O (eds) Spes Scotorum Hope of the Scots: St Columba, Iona and Scotland, 35–70.
  Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Thomas, C 1981 Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500. London.
- Thomson, G 2001 'Research in inscriptional palaeography (RIP). Scottish Tombstone lettering 1241–1855: methodology and preliminary analysis', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 131, 349–73.
- Thomson, J M (ed) 1892 The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland AD 1609–1620, Edinburgh.
- Toynbee, J M C 1973 Animals in Roman Life and Art. London.
- Trench-Jellicoe, R. 1994 'Hilton of Cadboll's female rider and her gear', *Pictish Arts Soc J* 5 (Spring), 1–7.

## A FRAGMENTED MASTERPIECE

- Trench-Jellicoe, R 1995 'Hilton of Cadboll's female rider, Part II', *Pictish Arts Society J* 7 (Spring), 1–7.
- Trench-Jellicoe, R 1999 'A missing figure on slab fragment no 2 from Monifieth, Angus, the a'Chill Cross, Canna, and some implications of the development of a variant form of the Virgin's hairstyle and dress in early medieval Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 129, 597–647.
- Turner, S 2003 'Making a Christian landscape: early medieval Cornwall', in Carver (ed) 2003, 171-94.
- Tweddle, D 1992 The Anglian Helmet from 16-22 Coppergate, The Archaeology of York: The Small Finds. 17/8. London: Council for British Archaeology, for the York Archaeological Trust.
- Wainwright, F T 1955 'The Picts and the problem', in Wainwright (ed) 1955, 1–53.
- Wainwright, F T (ed) 1955 *The Problem of the Picts*. Edinburgh: Nelson.
- Waterson, R 1990 The Living House: an anthropology of architecture in south-east Asia. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Watson, S 2003 'Saoghal Bana-Mharaiche: oral accounts of life in an Easter Ross fisher community, Part 1', *Béaloideas* 71, 75–215
- Watson, W J 1904 *Place Names of Ross and Cromarty*. Inverness: Highland Heritage Books.
- Watt, D E R (ed) 1969 Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638. Second Draft. Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office.
- Webster, L 2000 'Style and Function of the Gandersheim Casket', in Marth (ed) 2000, 63–71.
- Webster, L & Backhouse, J (eds) 1991 The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900. London: British Museum Press.
- Weitzmann, K (ed) 1979 Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and. Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Princeton University Press.
- Westwood, J O 1868 Facsimiles of the miniatures and ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish manuscripts. London.
- Whitfield, N 2004 'More thoughts on the wearing of brooches in Early Medieval Ireland', in Hourihane, C (ed) Irish

- Art-Historical Studies in Honour of Peter Harbison, 70–108. Princeton & Dublin.
- Willsher, B 1992 'Govan Old Parish Graveyard', Friends of Govan Old Second Annual Report, 16–23. Glasgow.
- Willsher, B 2005 *Understanding Scottish Graveyards*. Edinburgh: Council for Scottish Archaeology/NMS Publishing.
- Wilson, D M 1964 Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700–1100 in the British Museum, Catalogue of Antiquities of the later Saxon period, I. London.
- Wilson, D M 1973 'The treasure', in Small, A, Thomas, C & Wilson, D (eds) St Ninian's Isle and its Treasure. Vol 1, 45–148. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, D M 1984 Anglo-Saxon Art from the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest. London.
- Wilson, D 1852 'Anniversary Address', Proc Soc Antiq Scot 1 (1851-2), 2-7.
- Wilson, D 1851 *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*. London: Macmillan (2nd edn 1863).
- Withers, C W J 1995a 'How Scotland came to know itself: geography, national identity and the making of a nation, 1680–1790', J Historical Geography 21(4), 371–97.
- Withers, C W J 1995b 'Rural Protest in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland, 1850–1930', in Connolly et al (eds) 172–87.
- Withers, C W J 1996 'Place, memory, monument: memorializing the past in contemporary Highland Scotland', *Ecumene* 3(3), 325–44.
- Woolf, A 2000 'The "Moray Question" and the kingship of Alba in the tenth and eleventh centuries', *Scot Hist Rev* 79:2, 145–64.
- Woolf, A 2006 'Dun Nechtain, Fortriu and the geography of the Picts', Scot Hist Rev 85.2, 182-201.
- Woolf, A forthcoming 'The cult of Moluag, the See of Mortlach and Church organisation in northern Scotland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries'.
- Youngs, S (ed) 1989 'The Work of Angels': Masterpieces of Celtic Metalwork, 6th–9th Centuries AD. London.
- Youngs, S 1999 'A Northumbrian Plaque from Asby Winderwath, Cumbria', in Hawkes & Mills (eds) 281–95.