



Society of Antiquaries
of **Scotland**

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

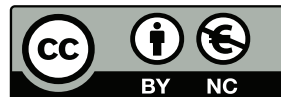
ISBN: 978-0-903903-42-4 (hardback) • 978-1-908332-22-6 (PDF)

The text in this work is published under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International licence \(CC BY-NC 4.0\)](#). 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.

OPEN  ACCESS



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 www.socantscot.org or find us on Twitter [@socantscot](https://twitter.com/socantscot).

Index

Notes

1. Sub-entries are in alphabetical order, except where chronological order is more logical.
2. Page numbers for **chapters** and **glossary** definitions are in **bold**; those for illustrations are in *italic*.

- Abbotsford (Roxburghshire) 233
Abbotshaven (Ross & Cromarty) 215
Aberdeen 218
 Spalding Club 15
Aberlemno (Angus) cross-slabs 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 89, 90, 129, 131, 133,
 147, 148, 149, 150, 160, 170, 174–5, 182, 183, 184, 201, 202
Adair, John (map 1683) 68
Adams, R J 327, 333
Adomnán of Iona 141, 272n
Agassac (France) 184
agricultural improvement 232
Ahenny (County Tipperary) 21
Aitken, M J 345, 352
Alba, kings of 212
Alexander II, king of Scots 212
Alexander, J J G 193
aliquot 354, **401**
Allen, J Romilly
 as art-historian 15–16, 21, 22, 23, 133, 160, 177, 185
 on Cordiner 116, 392
 cross-slab vine-scroll 17–18, 19, 116, 121–2, 123, 279n
 Early Christian Monuments of Scotland 14, 16, 147, 231, 233, 234, 235, 246,
 276n, 393
 rubblings of slab details 16, 119, 120
 on spiral panel 175
Alness (Ross & Cromarty) 221
Alston, D 274n, 275n, 276n, 277n
Amay nunnery (France) 187
American Gardens at Invergordon Gardens, cross-slab in 205, 206, 228,
 233, 234, 235, 242, 246, 248, 267, 268
Amiens *see* Corbie Psalter
Ancient Monuments Act (1882) 210, 234, 239, 242
 Bill (1870s) 250
Ancient Monuments Board, Scottish 239, 242, 249, 250
Anderson, Joseph 15–17, 22, 247
 on Cordiner 116, 392
 on vine-scroll 17–18, 19, 279n
 Early Christian Monuments of Scotland 16, 181, 231, 246, 276n, 393
 Rhind Lectures 16, 17, 246, 249
Anglo-Saxon art 16
 see Gandersheim Casket
Anglo-Saxon coins 161
Angus 127, 135, 140, 174
 Rossie Priory 148, 171, 175
 see also Aberlemno; Cossans; Kirriemuir; St Vigean
Anson, P F 237, 278n
Antiquaries *see* Society of Antiquaries
Antonine Wall 179, 185
Apostles' Stone *see* Portmahomack cross-slab
archaeobotany 49, 51, 52, 59, 63, 64, 357–9
Ardchattan Priory (Argyll) 161
Ardjachie (Ross & Cromarty) 178
artefacts
 architectural fragment 31, 33, 55–6, 63, 69, 72, 367
 bone toggle 60, 377–8
 clay pipe 33, 62
 copper alloy 52, 61, 63, 375–7
 cross-incised stone 57, 366–7, 366
 glass 33, 60, 62, 63, 379, 381
 iron and ironworking 31, 35, 41, 43, 49–50, 52, 57, 59, 61, 63, 71, 72,
 369–73, 376, 377
 medieval pottery 29, 31, 40, 41, 49, 52, 53, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 69, 71,
 373–5, 357, 375
 post-medieval pottery 31, 33, 35, 61, 62, 63, 71, 375
 relief cross 35, 61, 365–6, 366
 stone 49, 57, 60, 61, 63, 378–9, 378
artefact and environmental studies **285–384**
 analysis of fragments 285–9
 database-driven methodologies for reconstruction 318–22
 epigraphy of inscription for Duff memorial 322–6
 toolmarks 292, 295–300, 295–306, 303, 304
 see also petrology; soil analysis
art-historical context of Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab **127–204**
 literature (up to 1998) **13–25**
 description and early theories 13–15
 early descriptions and chronologies 18–24
 early visitors 15–18
 ‘obelisk’ at Hilton 13–15
Asby Winderwath Common (Cumbria) bronze plaque 176, 177
Ash, M 236, 278n, 281n
assessment and project design 391–8
Atholl, Duke of 243, 244, 245, 248, 250–1, 280n, 282n, 384
Aufderheide, A C 363
Augustine, Saint 142

Bachul Mor 213
Bailey, Richard 23, 138, 157, 160, 161, 199, 200
Bain, George 281n
Bakka, Egil: on Norwegian grave-finds 22–3
Balintore (Ross & Cromarty) 2, 9, 75, 206, 236, 251, 393
 population and fishing statistics 237–8
Balnagown family, Ross of 220, 226
Balnakeil (Sutherland) 323
Barberini (Rome) Gospels 159, 196
Bardvour/Bàrd Mhoire (Our Lady's Park/Field/Mary's Meadow) 13, 225,
 392, 394
Barochan Cross (Renfrewshire) 68
Barr, A 282n
Bass, W 362
Bates, D L (dowser) 11n, 392, 394

A FRAGMENTED MASTERPIECE

- Bayne, Duncan 222
 Beaulieu Priory (Inverness) 229
 Beckley (Oxon) sword pommel 144, 146, 202
 Bede of Jarrow 141, 193
 bell shrine 213
 Bending, S 232
 Bennett, Peter 383
 Bernician School of Jarrow 191
 Bewcastle Cross 19, 23, 199
 biography of Hilton cross-slab 8, **205–84**, 385, 388
 early medieval ‘birth’ of 206–13
 from 9th to 12th century 209–13
 church in Pictland 207–8
 creation of monument 210–12
 re-erection in 12th century 213
 Tarbat peninsula 208–9
 later medieval 213–15
 active reverence 213–14
 ecclesiastical and settlement context 214–15
 defacement and re-use in 16th and 17th centuries 217–23, 267
 storm in 1674 27, 71, 217–18, 388
 ‘remarkable ruin’ in modern era 223–32
 appropriation and displacement 232–8
 as ‘tangible expression of national soul’ 238–51, 267
 marginalisation and regeneration 251–7
 symbolic construction of community 257–66
 see also modern era
 boar symbol at Dunadd (Argyll) 400
 Bogle, William 219
 Book of Armagh 17
 book cover, 5th-century ivory 140
 Book of Deer 213
 Book of Durrow 15, 17, 136, 175
 Book of Kells 15, 17, 18, 21, 23, 127, 138, 139, 143, 151, 175, 192
 Chi-Rho 141
 Christ portrait 176
 Christi autem initial 138
 decorated Luke 24 text 195
 ‘Hell scene’ 170, 173
 inhabited vine-scroll 20, 167, 168, 193, 195, 196, 200, 202–3
 lettering 138
 Virgin and Child with angels 138
 Braco (Perthshire) 222
 Bradbourne cross (Derbyshire) 206, 218
 Bradley, R. 270n
 Brandon (Suffolk) pin 163
 Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leicestershire) Church 22, 158, 170, 191
 inhabited scroll 194, 196–7, 200, 203
 Brend, Amanda: fragment analysis 28, 285–9
 Brewer, J 232
 Bridei son of Mailcon, king of tribes of Tay 207
 Bridgeness slab 179
 Bridgland, N 11n, 391
 British Museum, cross-slab in 9, 114, 205, 206, 238, 239, 243, 244–5, 247, 248, 250, 392
 brooches 188–9
 Brooks, C M 375
 Brora (Sutherland) 229
 Brøndsted, J 18, 22
 Brothwell, D 363
 Browne, Rev 384
 Brunswick *see* Gandersheim Casket
 Buchan, 11th Earl of 228
 Buikstra, J 362
 Bullock, P 327
 Burghead (Moray)
 bull carvings 400
 shrine panel fragment 178–9, 179, 183
 Byzantine art 191
 Cadboll/Catboll 236, 396
 –abbot 236
 Cadbollmount: St Mary’s Chapel 2, 215
 Castle 2, 209, 215, 222, 233, 393
 Estate 391
 Farm 392
 –fisher (Fisher town of Hilltown) 215, 236, 393
 Wester 236, 393
 see also Hilton of Cadboll
 Cadboll, Cordiner at 224, 227, 228–30, 229
 Caithness 135, 175, 236
 Caldwell, J 376
Calendar of Fearn 223
 Callander, Graham 243, 244, 247, 248
 Campbell-Kease, J 85, 86, 87, 274n, 322, 325
 Canna cross 67, 68
 Cardonnel, Adam de 228, 276n
 Carmichael, Lord 245, 248, 251
 Carver, Martin 5–6, 11n, 31, 201, 209, 215, 254, 255, 270n, 271n, 388, 390
 assessment and project design **391–8**
 cataloguing process 28–9, 73, **75–126**
 aims and processes 75–6
 entries 76–80, 84–7
 terminology 75
 Catboll *see* Cadboll/Catboll
 Cathach (Irish Psalter) 176
 Celtic Library of North 250
 Cenél Loairn dynasty 212, 213
 Cenél nGabráin 272
 Chalmer, Patrick 231
 chapel *see* Hilton Chapel
 Cheape, H 375
 Cheapside Cross (London) 218
 Chrodoara (Oda), Saint 187
 chronology and stratigraphy 40–63
 Phase 1 (Pictish) 20, **40–9**, 64–8, 66, 67
 Phase 2 (mid-12th century to 13th century) 40, 41, 48, **49–55**, 50, 51, 54
 Phase 3 (13th–15th centuries) 40, 41, **54–7**, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59
 Phase 4 (late medieval/post-medieval) 40, 41, **58–63**, 58, 59, 62
 Phase 5 (modern) 40, 41, **63** *see* modern
Clach a Charridh *see* Shandwick
 Clarke, David V 10, 260, 283n
 on project **1–11**
 Clearances, Highland 238, 267, 269
 Clement, VII, Pope 215
 Clonmacnois (County Offaly) 17
 Clunie (Perthshire) 104
 Clyne (Sutherland) 17
Codex Aureus 16, 17, 202
 collar-stones 44, 46, 45, 47, **401**
 Collingwood, W G 19
 Columba 213, 272
 common land enclosed 232, 236–7
 community, symbolic construction of 257–66
 Constantine the Great 200, 385

- Cooke, S 258, 259
 Coppergate helmet (York) 159, 164, 200
 Corbie Psalter (Amiens) 166, 167, 168
 Cordiner, Rev Charles
 Anderson on 116, 392
 on cross-slab 5, 85, 125–6, 225, 235, 246, 272n, 275n
 drawings 116, 224, 231, 276n
 on location of Cadboll 224, 227, 228–30, 229
 Cossans (Angus) cross-slab 135, 202, 213
 Courty, M A 327
 Cox, Adrian: non-sculptured finds 375–9
 Cramp, Rosemary 23, 191, 200
 Crawford, O G S 18–19, 22, 23
 Crieff (Perthshire) 18, 148, 161, 200
 Croft on Tees (Yorkshire) Church of St Peter 23, 194, 197–9, 198, 202–3
 Cromarty 2, 222
 Cronyn, J M 138
 Crooke, E 281n
 cross-slab, Hilton of Cadboll, *see under* Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab
 cross-slabs, role in Pictland 208
 Cumbria: Asby Winderwath bronze plaque 176, 177
 Curadán (Curetán, later Moluag), bishop (later Saint) 207, 209
 Curle, C L
 as Cecil Mowbray 18, 158, 376
 on chronology of Early Christian Monuments of Scotland 19–20, 21, 22, 131
 Cuthbert, Saint, coffin of 136, 137–8, 147
 Cutmore, C 274n
 Cynethryth (wife of Offa of Mercia) 187, 187
- database-driven methodologies for reconstruction 318–22
 dating *see* radiocarbon; luminescence
 David, J C E 296
 David iconography 21, 22, 168, 183, 201
 Davidson, John 221, 326
 deer 'heads' on St Andrews Sarcophagus 158, 162, 167, 168
 Denoon, Andrew 209
 Dewar, Donald 258–9
 Diamond, J 283n
 Dickson, J and C 359
 Dilworth, M 274n
 Dominicans 220
 Doo Cave (East Wemyss, Fife) 400
 Dornoch (Sutherland) 323
 Firth and Dornoch Sands 2, 395–6
 'Drosten stone' (St Vigean, Angus) 16
 Douglas, James 230
 'Dragon Stone', Portmahomack 155
 Driscoll, S T 270n
 Duff family 125, 222, 223
 Duff, Alexander: and Cadboll slab 27, 71, 72–3, 75, 85–7, 126, 228, 232
 as memorial (to himself and three wives) 1, 85, 86, 217–18, 221–3, 267, 268, 269, 274n, 275n, 388, 392
 inscription and coat of arms 216, 217, 221, 322–6, 322–3
 Duff, Donald 222
 Duller, G A T 346
 Dunadd (Argyll) boar symbol 400
 Duncan, John 326
 Duncan, M M 346
 Dunnet (Caithness) 323
 Dunfallandy (Perthshire) 20, 142, 148
 Dunrobin Castle (Sutherland) 16, 178, 235
 Dupplin cross (Perthshire) 67–8, 135, 148, 182, 194, 200
- Durham, Jane 6, 9, 11n, 253, 254, 282n
 Durrow Cross (Ireland) 151, 188
 Book of Durrow 15, 17, 136, 175
 Duthac, Saint 212, 220
- Earle, Sir Lionel 240–1, 242, 244, 245, 248, 279n
 Eassie (Angus) 174
 Easson, Richard 254, 391
 East Wemyss (Fife) 400
 Easter Ross 13, 15, 19, 23, 24, 201, 221, 387
 fishing 236
 quarry 127, 133, 141, 177–8
 see also Cadboll
 Eaton, David 274n
 ecofacts and artefact and environmental studies 357–63
 archaeobotany 357–9
 faunal remains 359–62
 human remains 362–5
 Edderton (Ross & Cromarty) cross-slab 87, 136–7, 137, 141, 143, 145, 147, 148, 175, 181, 182, 201, 225, 385, 396
 Edwards, Nancy 23
 Elgin Cathedral (Moray) 135, 215, 219, 323
 emigration 236
 enclosure of common land 232, 236–7
 England
 and art-historical context 194, 196–7, 197–8, 198, 199, 200, 202
 Bradbourne cross (Derbyshire) 206, 218
 Leicestershire *see* Breedon-on-the-hill
 see also Lincolnshire; Yorkshire
 epigraphy of Hilton of Cadboll inscription 85, 86–7, 216, 322–6
 archaic form of numeral 6 324–5, 325
 capital K from left side of shield 323, 323
 capital R, forms of 324, 324
 capital Y formed of two strokes 324, 325
 inscribed lettering on banner in shield 322, 322
 ligature VF 325, 326
 marks between words resembling point separators 322, 323
 roman capitals 323–5, 324
 veracular character 325
 Epona (goddess) 184, 185, 186, 189
 Esher, Viscount 244, 248, 250, 279n, 280n, 383
 Everson, Paul 164
 excavations at Hilton of Cadboll chapel 27–74
 burials 29, 31, 40, 41, 56, 57–8, 62–3, 69, 70, 71, 74, 388, 390
 chapel 29–31, 30, 35, 55–6, 63, 69, 72, 73
 chronology and phasing of site 32–3
 cross-slab, lower portion 50–1, 64–7, 74
 enclosure bank 29, 41, 49, 57
 features summarised 30
 GUARD 8, 9, 10, 35
 hard standing around setting 2 67
 Kirkdale Archaeology 31–2, 33–5
 location of carved fragments 28, 29, 33, 35, 52, 57, 59, 60–1, 62, 63, 68, 69, 70–1, 73, 388
 methodology 37–40, 38, 39, 385, 388
 midden 63, 64, 68, 73
 Pictish chapel 64, 67, 68, 388
 pit 59, 60, 70
 re-use of carved fragment 62
 sandstone surface around setting 52, 55
 settings for cross-slab 29, 31, 35, 36–8, 41, 42, 44–55, 64–7, 68, 390
 sequence reconstruction for cross-slab 64–7, 66, 387–8
 shed 29, 33, 41, 61–2, 70, 71, 73
 stone structure 29, 64

A FRAGMENTED MASTERPIECE

- Farr, Carol 157
faunal remains 41, 359–62
 amphibian 359, 360–1
 bird 63, 359, 360–1
 cat 63, 359, 360–1
 cattle 41, 49, 52, 57, 60, 61, 63, 71, 359, 360–1
 dog 57, 359, 360–1
 fish 41, 49, 63, 359, 360–1
 horse 49, 60, 61, 63, 71, 358, 359, 360–1
 pig 60, 359, 360–1
 sheep/goat 49, 52, 57, 60, 61, 63, 71, 236, 359, 360–1
 vole 63, 359, 360–1
Fawcett, Richard 74, 367
Fearn Abbey and Hill (Ross & Cromarty) 2, 208, 214, 215, 217, 220, 221, 222, 393
 burial at *see* memorial *under* Duff
 Calendar of Fearn 223
 Rev John Urquhart of 224–5
Fernandez, J 284n
Finch, J 274n
Findhorn (Moray) 229
Findlater, Alex Maxwell 222, 274n
Findlay, S and D 400
Fisher, Ian 137, 181, 270n, 367
Fishertown of Hilltown/Hilton/Catboll-Fisher (Ross & Cromarty) 215, 236, 393, 394
fishing, controlled 236
Fitzpatrick, E 327
Fladmark, J M 283n
Fletton 161, 170
Focillon, Henri 18
Fojut, Noel 10
folk narrative and myths 231
Folk, R 20
Forres (Moray): Sueno's Stone 134, 229
Fortriu 207
Fortrose (Ross & Cromarty) 214
Foster, John 399, 400
Foster, Sally M 10, 27
 project **1–11**
 recovering biography of Hilton cross-slab **205–51**
Fowler, Lady Alice 384
Fowlis Wester (Perthshire) cross-slab 145, 147, 148, 151, 171, 180
fragments from Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab
 analysis methodology 285–9
 distribution analysis 306–14
 fracture process 309, 315–18
 reconstruction 318–22
 fragments not from Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab 367–8
France 179, 184, 200
 see also Corbie Psalter
Fraser, James 270n, 273n
frontispiece, Cordiner (1780) 229

Gaelic 13, 273
 names recorded by Petley 225–6
Gair, Alexander and wife 86
Gandersheim Casket (Brunswick) 157, 159, 162, 164, 173, 202
 animals 23, 163, 167–8, 387
 biped 163
 winged creatures 163, 194, 197, 199, 200
 back detail of 7-spiral roundel 160
 Gandersheim Casket (Brunswick) (*continued*)
 four elements 168
 spiral motif 160, 160–1
Garden of Eden 171, 172, 173
Gask House (Perthshire) and slab 148, 175, 235
Gerald of Wales 214
Gibb, A
 drawings for John Stuart 18, 227, 231, 276n, 277n
 lithograph of cross-slab 15, 16
Gilchrist, R 274n
Gillies, William 383
Glamis cross-slabs (Angus) 20, 127, 400
Glencalvie 238
Glenferness (Moray) 17
 cross-slab front 175, 176
Glenn, V 272n
Golgotha Crosses 139, 141, 142, 147, 151, 201, 385
Golspie (Sutherland) 17
 cross-slab 219–20, 274
Gondek, Meggen
 catalogue, digital 28, 80, 114
 fragment analysis 285–9
Goodman, A H 363
Gordon, A 224, 237, 238, 271n, 273n, 278n, 392, 393
Gordon, Robert 219, 222
Gosden, C 205, 206
Gospel-books 135, 142, 202
 Barberini 159, 196
 Lindisfarne 15, 17, 160, 202
 St Petersburg 159, 160, 162
 Trier 139
 see also Book of Kells, Book of Durrow
 Gough, Richard 228, 230
Gourlay, Robert 399, 400
Govan (Glasgow) 219, 220, 274
Graham, A 276n
Grandval Bible 171
 (London, British Library) Genesis frontispiece 172
Grant, A 270n
Grant, Sandy 213
Grauer, A 363
Greenwell, W 136
Gregory, James 217
griffin and significance of 184–5, 196
Grigor, I 282n
Grose, Francis 228, 276n
Grove, Barry 8, 72, 211, 391
 reconstruction project 254, 285
GUARD excavation (2001) 35, 36, 27–74
Guilford, C 327
Guthrie Bell Shrine 213

hachure survey of upstanding remains 4
Haddington (East Lothian): Roman capitals 324
Hall, Allan
 carved surface colouration 73
 fragment analysis 285–9
 fragment sorting 28
Hall, Derek: on pottery 373–5
Hamilakis, Y 206
Hamilton, Patrick 274n
Hanley, Robin 11n
harbours, lack of 238

- Haverfield, F J 136
- Hawkes, Jane 162, 271n
- Hawkshaw marble head 260
- Hay Fleming, S 87
- Heald, Andy 10
- Hedda Shrine (Peterborough) 162
- Hell depicted
 - in Book of Kells 170, 173
 - on Meigle cross-slab 170–1
 - on Rothbury Cross 161, 162, 168, 170
- Helm, M W 271n
- Helmsdale 229, 243
- Henderson, George 260, 270n, 284n, 366, 367
 - on incised horse's head (Jessie Port) **399–400**
- Henderson, Isabel 10, 24, 260, 270n, 271n, 273n, 284n, 392
 - on art-historical context **13–25**, 27, 35, **127–204**
 - on cataloguing 28, 52, 73, **75–126**
 - on fragment analysis 285–9, 365–7
 - on incised horse's head (Jessie Port) **399–400**
 - Picts, The* 22, 158
- Henry, Françoise 18, 19, 127, 141, 160, 167, 185
 - Early Christian Art of Scotland* 20, 131
 - Sculpture irlandaise* 18
- heraldry of Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab 86, 216, 217–23
- heritage politics 8–10
- Herzfeld, M 284n
- Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum (Brunswick) *see* Gandersheim Casket
- Hibbert, Charlotte 231
- Highland Council 391
- Highlands 236, 237
- Hill, Peter 27
 - on toolmarks 295–306
- 'Hilltown' of Cadbol *see* Cadboll/Catboll
- Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, illustrated *in pocket* dating on art-historical evidence 202–3
 - Face A 78, 83, 134, 165
 - catalogue entry 80–109
 - cross-shaft 143
 - figure with embroidered tunic 84–5, 96–7, 200
 - height of slab 110–11
 - message of original 173–4 reconstructions, partial 73, 78, 83, 174
 - schematic section through 318 shape of cross-head 87–8, 144–51
 - stepped cross-base 133–41, 200, 385
 - Face B 78, 83
 - catalogue entry 110–11
 - reconstructions, partial 83
 - Face C 79, 83, 113, 128, 165
 - animals: Allen's rubbings 115–21, 120
 - catalogue entry 111–23
 - cross-head within spiral panel 176–7, 175, 200, 385
 - graffiti 116 identity of female rider 184–9
 - inscription, letters from 322–6
 - numbered vine-scroll 116–21, 118
 - penannular brooch 184, 188–9, 201
 - reconstructions, partial 79, 83, 113
 - upper edge/lower portion photomontage 39
 - Face D 79, 83, 113
 - catalogue entry 123–4
 - reconstructions, partial 79, 83, 113
- Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab (*continued*)
 - Face E 79, 125
 - catalogue entry 124–6
 - fragments, analysis and environmental studies 289–326, 306–9, 307–8, 310, 312, 313
 - fragmentation 309–18
 - ayout of front and back 129–32
 - lithic source outcrop 291–3
 - lower portion *in situ* 50–5, 59
 - original location 31
 - projections 31, 44, 76, 110, 124, 125, 127, 129, 145, 200, **402**
 - red staining on 73, 293
 - replica of 211, 253, 253–7
 - style of carving 132–3
 - tenon 44–5, 46
 - toolmarks 110, 114, 132, 292, 295–300, 295–306, 303, 304, 309, 317
 - see also* petrology
 - see also under* art-historical context; art-historical literature; cataloguing; excavations at Hilton of Cadboll; Hilton Chapel; Insular art; project; biography
- Hilton of Cadboll village 237–8
 - cross-slab 2, 3, 12, 226, 236, 251
 - on Ordnance Survey, first edition 6
- Hilton chapel 2, 214–15, 221
 - features, University of York summary 7
 - hachure survey of upstanding remains 4
 - location 3
 - magnetometry and soil survey 7
 - OS map 1st edition, extract 6
 - see also* excavations at
- Historic Hilton Trust 9, 10, 256
- Historic Scotland 7, 8, 9, 10, 35, 37, 255–6, 391
- holy well 209
- Hopf, M 357
- Horie, C V 138
- horse
 - head, incised **399–400**, 399
 - and rider depicted 19, 21, 181, 181–5, 183–4, 187–9
 - see under* faunal remains
- Houses of Parliament 243
- Hudson, B T 270n
- Hulne Priory (Northumberland) 194
 - human figures, carved 76
- human remains 29, 31, 40, 41, 43, 49, 55, 56, 60, 61, 62–3, 64, 69, 70, 71, 358, 362–5
 - age and sex 362
 - diseases and trauma 363
 - stature 362–3
- Hunter, Fraser 10
- Hunter, J 272n
- Hunterston Brooch (Ayrshire) 168
- Hutton, J T 352
- iconography, Christian 22, 133, 168, 170–4, 181, 183, 191, 201–2, 385–7, 218, 220, 266, 385
- Improvers 232, 236
- incised linear stone cross 366
- Innes family 222
- Insular art (*c* AD 600 to AD 900) motifs 87, 113, 125, 127, 157, 177, 202–3, **401**
 - animal 81–2, 84, 85, 87, 88, 94–6, 106–7, 133, 143–4, 143–6, 151–68, 152, 194–200, 157–68, 387, **401**

A FRAGMENTED MASTERPIECE

Insular art (*continued*)

- bosses 81, 90–2, 142–3, 148–9, 153, 157, 161, **401**
figurative 84, 85, 87, 88, 96–7, 108–9, 117, 125, 133, 168–73, 169, 200
horse and rider 19, 21, 122–3, 178–89, 181, 202
hunting scene 19, 21, 22, 23–4, 122–3, 147, 178–89, 202
trumpeters 180, 183
interlace 87, 88, 92–3, 102–3, 149–50, 177, 312, **401**, **402**
key pattern 81, 82, 87, 88–90, 91, 98–9, 144, 149, **401**
pelta pattern 176
plant 87, 88, 93–4, 104–5
spiral 21, 81, 87, 88, 90–2, 100–1, 114–15, 117, 123, 133, 141–2, 151, 154, 160–1, 174–6, **402**
Tree of Life 194
tree-scroll 191, 198
vine-scroll 17–18, 19, 21, 24, 94, 111–16, 117–22, 133, 167, 168, 189–200, 202–3, 190–198, 279n, 387, **402**
Invergordon Castle and gardens 2, 15–18, 27, 228, 232–3, 239
Hilton cross-slab in *see* American Gardens
Inverness 2, 129, 207, 229, 323
Inverurie (Aberdeenshire) horse symbol stone 400
Iona (Argyll) 18, 20, 21, 22, 141, 207
St John's Cross 127, 161, 200
St Martin's Cross 127, 139, 212
St Matthew's Cross 139
Ireland 19, 208, 214
Ahenny cross 21
Book of Armagh 17
Cathach (Irish Psalter) 176
Clonmacnois 17, 23
Kilree Cross 185
Moore Cross 185
Muiredach's Cross 141, 188
Tullylease 17, 132
see also Book of Kells; Durrow Cross
Iscan, MY 362
Islay
Kildalton Cross 129, 161
Kilnave Cross 68

James, Edward 187
James, Heather F 8, 10, 35, 271n, 389, 399
archaeological investigations **27–74**
conclusions **385–90**
fragment analysis 285–9
Jarrow, Bernician School of 191
Jastrzȳbski, P A 15, 277n
Jedburgh shrine (Roxburghshire) 23
Jeffrey, Stuart
cataloguing 80
fragment analysis 61, 285–9, 306–9
location analysis 28–9
Jerome, Saint 141, 201
Jessie Port 2, 28, 385
horse's head, incised **399–400**, 399
scroll, incised 400
Jewell, Richard 191, 194
Joass, Rev J M 16, 277n, 384
Jones of Larbert 239
Jones, Siân
community study 10
newspaper articles summarised 379–84
recovering biography of Hilton cross-slab **205–51**

Keiser, B P 160
Kells (Ireland) 188, 212
see also Book of Kells
Kenyon, Sir Frederick 240, 242, 244, 245, 247, 248, 382
Kildalton Cross (Islay) 129, 161
Kilnave Cross (Islay) 68
Kilree Cross (County Kilkenny) 185
Kincardine (Sutherland) 191, 201, 222
King's Sons folk narrative 226, 230, 267
Kinneddar (Moray) 179, 188
Kintradwell (Sutherland) 178
Kirk, J 220–1
Kirkdale Archaeology excavations
1998 7–8, 31, 33, 285
2001 8, 33, 34, 35
Kirriemuir (Angus) cross-slab 135, 144, 179, 179–80
Kitzinger, Ernst 18, 21, 137–8
Knocknagael (Inverness) symbol stone 129
Knox, John 222
Kostoglou, Maria: ironworking 369–73
Krogman, W 362

Lady's Well (Tobar na baintighearna) 209, 392, 394
Laing, L and J 302
Largo (Fife) 151
Larsen, N P 363
Last Judgement ivory 173
Lastingham (Yorkshire) 17
Latheron (Caithness) 323
Lazarus and Dives parable 171
Leningrad Bede 23, 193
Lepper, K 346
Leslay, Elizabeth 274n
Lilleby (Norway) mount 22–3
Lindisfarne Gospels 15, 17, 160, 202
linear cross incised on unshaped stone 366, 366–7
Lismore (Argyll) 213
London
Cheapside Cross 218
see also British Museum
Louden, John Claudius 277n
Lubbock, Sir John 234, 250
luminescence (OSL) dating 29, 31, 40, 41, 43, 49, 52, 53, 61, 68, 71, 73, 74, 339–57, 340–4, 385, 390
Luther, Martin 218

Macadam, Rev Alexander 224
Macadam, Stuart 363
Macangus family 238
MacAskill, N 375
McCarthy, M R 375
Macdonald, D 232
MacDonald, A 270n
Macdonald, J 237, 238, 271n, 273n, 278n, 392, 393
Macdonald (née Hilton), Dolly 400
MacDonald, W R 87
McInnes, C T 274n
Mack, A 306
MacKay families 238
MacKay, Robert 219, 274n
MacKenzie, Sir George 206, 217, 221, 273n, 388
McKenzie, Jo: soil micromorphology 326–39
Mackenzie, W S 327

- MacLean, Douglas 168, 271n
 McLean, F 258, 259
 McLean, Neil 28, 80
 photographs 97–109, 322–6
 Macleod of Cadboll, Laird 224, 227, 278n, 388
 Macleod, Robert Bruce Aeneas 205, 232–8 *passim*, 277n
 newspapers report controversy 382–4
 fishing villagers and 236–8
 slab in Invergordon Castle gardens 205, 232, 233, 234, 235–6, 267
 Macleod, Roderick Willoughby
 slab gifted to British Museum 9, 114
 slab moved to London 205
 protests follow removal 205, 242–50, 254, 265–8, 277n–80n, 282, 288
 slab returned to Scotland 281n–4n
 Macpherson, Ian, MP 241, 243
 MacRae, William 400
 MacTaggart, Farquhar, Earl of Ross 212
 Malcolm III, king of Scots 212
 Manchester, K 362
 Mann, Ludovic M'L 382
 maps 2–4, 6, 7
 marginalisation and regeneration of Hilton cross-slab 251–7
 Marianism/Virgin Mary 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 215, 385
 church dedications 196–7, 209, 213, 214, 224, 233, 272
 depicted 185, 185–6, 187
 and Gaelic 13, 273
 Mary's Meadow *see* Bardvour
 Saint Mary and Saint Hardulph frieze 196, 197
 see also Hilton Chapel
 Marshall, Y 205, 206
 Martin, T 363
 Martineau, Sir William 239
 Mary, Virgin *see* Marianism
 mason's mark 367, 367
 Maxwell, Sir John Stirling 249, 250, 280n
 Meehan, Bernard 167, 168
 Meffan Museum (Forfar) 24
 Meigle (Perthshire) cross-slab 17, 20, 129, 133, 145, 148, 151, 156, 173, 174, 180–5, 184, 213, 219
 Hell depicted 170–1
 No 1 (reverse) 180, 184, 400
 No 2 (front) 143, 150, 170–1, 200, 202
 Mejdahl, V 352
 Mercian art 22, 157–68, 194, 202–3
Mhuor (Our Lady's Chapel) 225
 Middlemass, T 162, 197, 198
 Milan Cathedral 139, 140
 Miller, Hugh 13–14, 217, 230, 231–2
 Scenes and Legends 13–14, 226–7, 253, 262, 267, 276n, 282n
 on slab-cross 280n, 281n
 on vine-scroll border 246
 Miller, Hugh, Jr 271n
 Miller, Jennifer: on archaeobotany 357–9
 Miller, Suzanne *see* petrology of slab
 modern era and cross-slab 40, 41, 63, 71, 72, 223–66
 appropriation and displacement 232–8
 protests against removal 238–51
 reaction of local villagers 251–7
 symbolic construction of local communities 257–66
 Moluag (Curádan), Saint 209
 monastery, Pictish 208
 Moncrieff, R Scott 242, 243, 245, 247
 Monifieth (Angus) plaque 400
 Monymusk Reliquary 17
 Moone Cross (County Kildare) 185
 Moray 241
 bishops of 215
 Burghead shrine panel fragment 178–9, 179, 183
 Firth 175
 Forres 134, 229
 Moreland, J 206, 273n
 Morison, Lord Advocate Robert 241, 243
 Morton, Douglas
 catalogue, digital 28, 77, 80
 cross-slab fragmentation 309–18
 database-driven methodology and reconstruction 318–22
 fragment analysis 28, 29, 285–9 not from cross-slab 367–9
 Mowbray, Cecil (C L Curle) 18, 158, 376
 Muir, Colin 389
 Muir, T S 231
 Muiredach's Cross (Monasterboice, Ireland) 141, 188
 Munro of Foulis, Robert 220
 Munro, Hector 222
 Munro, Robert, MP 239–45 *passim*, 249, 279n, 281n, 381–2
 Murdoch, Robin 379
 Murray, A S 345
 Murray, Lt-Colonel Arthur 243
 Murray, Dave 33
 Murray, Iona: on luminescence dating 339–57
 Murray of Genies, Patrick 221
 museums 194, 200
 England 9, 114, 194, 205, 206
 see also British Museum
 Herzog Anton Ulrich *see* Gandersheim Casket
 Inverness 400
 Meffan Institute (Forfar) 24
 National Museum of Antiquities 20, 242, 243, 245, 246, 247, 248, 258, 267, 268
 National Museum of Scotland (NMS) 1, 9, 18–24, 77, 80, 205, 206, 238–9, 243, 246, 258–62, 265, 268
 Myrone, M 228
 myths 231
 Nadel-Klein, J 284n
 names for slab in art-historical literature 13
 Napier Crofting Commission (1883) 238
 national and local tensions about removal of Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab 257–66
 'national soul', Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab as tangible expression of 238–51
 nationalistic behaviour 247–8
 Nechtan mac Dargarto, king of Picts 207, 208
 Nenadic, S 276n
 newspaper articles in 1921 243–6, 379–84
 Nigg cross-slab and animals on 2, 13, 20, 130, 157, 161–2, 207, 208–11, 213, 214, 219, 221, 224, 225, 226, 227, 230, 396
 art-historical context 131, 132, 133, 135, 141, 143, 144, 147, 148, 155–6, 161–2, 164, 170, 175, 177, 178, 191, 194, 200, 201, 202
 art-historical literature (up to 1998) 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22
 cross-head 156, 219
 cruciform stone 366
 non-sculptured finds, reports on 378, 378–9
 bone 376, 377–8
 metal 375–7, 376
 pottery 373–5
 stone 378, 378–9
 Norrie's Law (Fife) dog heads 400

A FRAGMENTED MASTERPIECE

- Norsemen 212, 393
Northern Arts Club 243
Northumbrian art 16, 18, 19, 23, 138, 141, 191, 207, 395
- 'obelisk' at Hilton 13–15
 see also Hilton of Cadboll
Oda (Chrodoara), Saint 187
O'Dwyer, P 272n
Offa of Mercia, wife of 187
Ó Carragáin, T 270n
Old Scots language 322
 Olley, J M 346
Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) *see* luminescence dating
oral tradition 230, 277
Ormside Bowl (England) 23, 194, 195
ornament *see* Insular art motifs
Ossian 229
- Paolozzi, Sir Eduardo 1, 260, 261, 284n
Paor, Liam de 160, 272n
Paterson, Hilary 286
Paterson, William 256
Patterson, Jim 254, 391
Peltz, L 228
Pennant, Thomas 224, 228, 276n
Penny of Cynethryth (wife of Offa of Mercia) 187
Perthshire
 Clunie 104
 Dunfallandy 20, 142, 148
 Dupplin cross 135, 148, 182, 194, 200
 Gask House and slab 148, 175, 235
 Society of Natural Science 240, 243
 see also Crieff; Fowlis Wester; Meigle
Petley, Charles Carter 230–1, 246, 262, 272n, 273n
 drawing (1811–12) 116, 125, 225, 225–7, 226
 Gaelic names recorded by 225–6
Petley, Ellen 230, 275n
petrology of slab 28, 289–94, 290, 291, 399
 analysis 290
 geological characteristics 290–1
 methodology 289–90
 outcrop geology 291, 291
 provenance 291–3
 source rock 291
- Pictish Phase 20, 40–9, 64–8, 66, 67, 207, 208, 212
 early medieval 'birth' of church 207–8
 Jessie Port horse's head possibly 399–400
 plan 42
 symbolism 121–2, 175, 176–8, 177, 178, 210–11, 400
 see also Portmahomack
- Pitt-Rivers, A F 235
place-names 270
plants remains (archaeobotany) 357–9
Plunkett, Steven 158–9, 160, 161, 197
politics, heritage 8–10
Portmahomack (Tarbat, Ross & Cromarty) cross-slab fragments 1, 2, 15,
 24, 155, 207–14, 366, 388
 art-historical context 132, 133, 141, 147, 148, 151, 156, 157, 168, 194,
 200, 201
 inhabited vine-scroll border 177–8, 190, 190–2
 see also Tarbat
- Prescott, J R 352
project, Hilton of Cadboll 1–11, 12
 chapel site and early history 5
 project, Hilton of Cadboll (*continued*)
 heritage politics 8–10
 location maps and photograph 2–4, 6, 7
 recent archaeological interest 5–8
 protest petitions for Hilton of Cadboll stone to be returned 240–1
 Protestantism, emergence of 218, 220
- quartz pebble 52
- Radford, C A R 20, 22
radiocarbon dating 40, 41, 43, 46, 49, 57, 60, 62, 64, 67, 69, 357, 358
Ramsay, Susan: on archaeobotany 357–9
Read, Sir Hercules 239, 245, 247, 248, 279n, 282n
Reay (Caithness) 323, 324
 cross-slab 219, 274
recumbent gravestones 68, 202
re-erection of Hilton cross-slab in 12th century 213
Reformation 218
regeneration of Hilton cross-slab 251–7
Repton, Humphrey 235
Repton (Derbyshire) 187
reverence for Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab 213–14
Revill, B 282n
Rhind Lectures by Joseph Anderson 17–18
Richards, E 278n
riders, women 19, 21, 183–5, 187–9
Ritchie, Anna 270n, 271n, 274n, 277n
Ritchie, Graham 53, 391
Robbins, Graham 391–2, 393, 394
Roberts, C 272n, 362
Roberts, Julie: on human remains 362–5
Rodriguez, C 363
Roe, Helen 160
Rogart (Sutherland) brooch 17
romanticism of ruins 232
Rome and Romans 184, 187, 191, 260
 Antonine Wall 179, 185
 Barberini Gospels 159, 196
 Bridgeness slab 179
 Temple of Antoninus and Faustina (Rome) 194
Rosebery, Earl of 243
Rosemarkie (Ross & Cromarty) cross-slabs 19, 136–7, 209, 213, 214, 366,
 385, 396
 art-historical context 139, 141, 147, 175, 177, 178, 182, 189, 201
 'Golgotha' incised 136
 tree-scroll 191
Ross, A M 278n
Ross, Nicholas 220, 221
Ross, Rev Hugh 227
Ross, Uisdean 400
Ross, William 14
Ross of Balnagown family 220, 226
Ross and Cromarty *see* Edderton; Nigg cross-slab; Portmahomack;
 Rosemarkie; Stittenham; Tarbat
Ross & Cromarty Enterprise 8, 10
 Ross of Glencalvie family 238
Ross/Ross-shire 221, 236, 243
 bishops of 214
Rossie Priory (Angus) 148, 171, 175
Rothbury Cross (Northumberland) 18, 159
 cross-shaft base 'Hell' fragment 161, 162, 168, 170
Rowlands, H 282n

- Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (RCAHMS)
7, 9, 20, 391
- Ruskin, John 266
- Ruthwell Cross (Dumfries) 185, 185
bird with fish tail 199
declared idolatrous and defaced 218–19, 222
- Ryan, M 194
- St Andrews Sarcophagus (Fife)
art-historical context 129, 131, 132, 148, 150, 156, 164, 181, 186, 187,
188, 211, 213, 218–19, 259, 387
connection with Hilton of Cadboll 133, 137, 141, 143
corner-slabs and animals 20, 159, 160, 161, 173, 200, 201, 202
'deer-heads' and 'lions'-manes' 158, 162, 167, 168
literature (up to 1998) 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24
- St Columba's Cathach 214
- St Cuthbert's Coffin 136, 137–8, 147
- St John's Cross (Iona) 127, 161, 200
- St Leonard's Place (York, formerly St Peter's) cross-shaft 19, 23, 197
- St Madoes cross-slab (Perthshire) 148, 151
- St Martin's Church (Thurso, Caithness) 233
- St Martin's Cross (Iona) 127, 139, 212
- St Mary and St Hardulph Church *see* Breedon-on-the-Hill
- St Mary's *see* Hilton Chapel
- St Matthew's Cross (Iona) 139
- St Moluag 213
- St Ninian's Isle Treasure (Shetland) 22, 143, 144, 146, 157, 159, 163, 200,
202,
- St Peter (Yorkshire) *see* Croft on Tees
- St Petersburg (Russia)
Bede 23, 193
Gospels 159, 160, 162
- St Regulus (Cromarty) 222
- St Vigeans (Angus) 16, 17, 135, 151, 177, 200, 219
- Sanderson, David: on luminescence dating 339–57
- Schweingruber, F H 357
- Scotland personified 249–50
- Scott, Rev Archibald B 243, 384
- Scott, Ian G 10, 27, 126, 165, 367
art-historical context 154, 156, 161, 175, 177, 188, 192
fragment analysis 285–9
reconstruction process 28, 35, 73, 77n, 80
- Scott, Sir Walter 233, 249
- Scottish Ancient Monuments Board 239, 242, 249
- Scrymgeour chief as Hereditary Bannerman 222
- sculptor's tool-kit 132, 303–4
- Sculptured Stones, Committee on 234
- seaboard area 262–5
Seaboard Initiative 256
see also Hilton; Nigg; Shandwick
- Seright, Susan 136
- Shandwick: population and fishing 237–8
- Shandwick cross-slab 2, 13, 14, 19, 21, 67, 68, 90, 153, 154, 207, 209, 210,
212, 213, 224, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 236, 251, 385, 396
art-historical context 132, 133, 141, 148, 151, 156, 175, 176–7, 200,
201
- Shapiro, Meyer 193
- Sharman, Paul 31, 33
- Shetland *see* St Ninian's Isle
- Simpson, W Douglas 243, 326
- Sinclair family 215, 223
George 222, 275n
Henry, bishop of Ross 221, 274n
- Sinclair family (*continued*)
Sir James and Lady 222, 278n
Sir John 228
- Skinnet (Caithness) 135, 175
- Smellie, William 246, 276n
- Smith, Catherine 377
on faunal remains 359–62
- Society of Antiquaries of London 248
- Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 15, 234, 238–40, 242–3, 244, 245, 248,
384
founded (1780) 228, 246
- soil analysis 44, 326–57
- Sommerville, A 345
- source rock petrology 291
- South Kyme (Lincolnshire): relief-sculptured panel fragments 21, 161, 162,
164, 200
- Spalding Club of Aberdeen 15
- Spencer, J 346
- Stace, C 357
- Steeple Bumpstead (Essex) 161
- Stevenson, Robert 132, 133, 151, 168, 176, 185, 188, 281n
on Pictish Art 20–3
- Stewart, Bishop Robert 220
- Stittenham (Ross-shire) dog's head 400
- Stocker, David 164
- Stoops, G 327
- Stuart, E 379
- Stuart, John 230, 277n, 392, 394
Gibb's drawing for 227
Sculptured Stones of Scotland 15, 16, 33, 71, 176, 227, 231, 232
- Sueno's Stone (Forres) 134, 229
- Sutherland 222, 236
Duke and Duchess of 233
family 238
- Sweet, R 228
- symbolism/symbolic
construction of community, Hilton cross-slab as 257–66
panel, art-historical context of 176–8
Pictish 121–2, 175, 176–8, 177, 178, 210–11, 266, 400
- Tain (Ross & Cromarty) 2, 212, 220, 222, 236
- Tarbat (Ross & Cromarty) 18, 19, 23, 208–9, 214, 221, 222, 235, 236, 242,
393
art-historical context 132, 133, 141, 192–3, 201, 202, 393
Hilton of Cadboll within parish of 214
Viking hoard 212
see also Portmahomack
- Tarlow, S 134, 274n
- Taylor, Alistair and Henrietta: *Book of the Duffs* 86, 87, 223
- Taylor, S 270n, 272n
- textile patterning in sculpture 133
Theodosius II, Eastern Roman Emperor 139
- Thomson, George 27
inscription epigraphy 85, 86, 87, 222, 275n, 322–6
- Thurso (Caithness) 175, 233
- Tobar na baintighearna (Lady's Well) 209, 392
- Tongue (Sutherland) 323
- toolmarks 38, 43, 110, 114, 132, 292, 295–300, 295–306, 303, 304, 309,
317, 368, 369
- tourism and travel literature, expansion of 228–9, 256
- Treasure Trove 9
- Trench-Jellicoe, Ross 188, 190
- Trier Gospel Book 139

A FRAGMENTED MASTERPIECE

- Triscott, John 31, 33
Trotter, M 362
trumpeters motif 183, 201
Tullylease (County Cork) 17, 132
Turner, John 52
Turner, S 270n
- Ubelaker, D 362
Ulster (Caithness) cross-slab 233
Urquhart families 86
Urquhart, Alexander 22, 274n
Urquhart, Christian 222, 223, 274n
Urquhart, Helen 222, 274n
Urquhart, Rev John of Fearn 224–5
Urquhart, Thomas 222, 274n
Utrecht Psalter 168
- Vespasian Psalter 22, 159, 183, 202
Virgin Mary *see* Marianism
- Wainwright, F T 20
Watson, G P H 281n
Watson, W J 13, 209, 273n
Watt, Seosamh 275n
Watt, Stephen 52
wax casts 230
Webster, Leslie 157, 160, 161, 163, 164, 167, 168
Wester Cadboll/Catboll 236, 393
- Wester Denoon (Angus) 24
Wester Ross 212
Westwood, J O 15
Whitfield, Niamh 188
Whithorn Priory (Wigtownshire) 219–20
Whyte, David 16, 119
Wilson, David M 22, 23, 163–4
Wilson, Daniel 247, 249
winged creatures 193, 194, 196–7
 Gandersheim Casket 163, 194, 197, 199, 200
Wintle, A G 345
Witham (Lincolnshire) pins 162, 163
Withers, C W J 276n, 284n
women riders 19, 21, 183–5, 187–9
Wood, J 282n
Woodrae (Angus) cross-slab 151, 218, 233, 235
Working Men's Natural History Society 243
- Yorkshire 17, 396
 Church of St Peter at Croft on Tees 23, 194, 197–9, 198, 202–3
 Coppergate helmet 159, 164, 200
 Ormside Bowl in Museum 194
 St Leonard's cross-shaft 19, 23, 197
- Young, J 232
Zimmerman, E L 352
Zohary, D 357
zoomorphic decoration **402**
 see also animal ornament