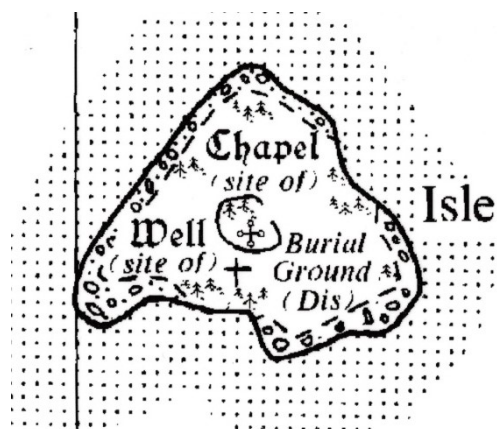


Isle Maree, Ross and Cromarty

An Archaeological Survey



by

North of Scotland Archaeology Society

July 2000
(report compiled 2022)

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1 Introduction

'The stones that mark the graves are rough and unhewn, none of them have any description, and all trace of who the sleepers are lost. These stones are scattered about in a very irregular manner; some are little better than pieces of rock stuck endways into the ground, while others are long slabs, and all are green and moss-covered and overgrown with rank grass and ferns' (Muddock 1878, 437).



Raised central area of the burial enclosure looking west (copyright KB)

Isle Maree is one of about 40 variously sized islands, situated in Loch Maree, Wester Ross. The loch, itself, is 12 miles long and forms part of a Scottish Natural Heritage nature reserve and protected area. Isle Maree is one of the smaller islands, being just over 6 acres in area. The island has a long and romantic history and seems always to have been regarded as a sacred place. Both island and loch take their name from St. Maolrubha, the founder of the monastery at Applecross, who apparently used Isle Maree as a place of retreat. The archaeological remains on the island today comprise those of a burial ground, chapel, cross slab and holy well, (*current Canmore ID: 12049 and HC HER: MHG 42222, 42224, 7938 and 13217*), also a mound thought to be the remains of a the tower (*Canmore ID: 12050, HC HER MHG 7937*) The entire island, including the burial ground, the now 'lost' holy well and votive tree has been legally protected as a Scheduled Monument since 1975 (SM 3752). The vegetation is mixed woodland, mainly deciduous with some later, possibly Victorian, conifer planting. The owner of the island, the Conon and Gairloch Estate, has recently been carrying out thinning operations and clearance of the central area.

The recorded history of Isle Maree revolves around the superstitious practices meant to effect a cure for lunacy and the infamous bull sacrifices, clouding attempts to recover the earlier religious past of the island. Archaeologically, there has been no modern prospection, recording, or excavation on Isle

Maree. Those noted antiquarians who did visit have provided detailed and interesting accounts, but have not left behind a comprehensive record of the built structures on the island, while in the twentieth century Maolrubha has attracted relatively little scholarly attention. Therefore, with the support of Historic Scotland (now Historic Environment Scotland), the objectives of this project were to provide a greater understanding of religious activity on Isle Maree and to produce a comprehensive record of all features of archaeological significance on the island before natural processes finally erase the fragile traces of its remarkable history.

The survey was undertaken by members of NoSAS (North of Scotland Archaeology Society) over two days in April 2000.



NOSAS members enjoying a well-deserved lunch break

2 Aims and Objectives

The project intended to produce an accurate plan of the central enclosure and gravemarkers and to identify and record any other visible features elsewhere on the island. A greater understanding of the remains on Isle Maree could then be contextualised within the wider religious history of Wester Ross.

The objectives of this study were as follows:

to collate any known archaeological and historical information on Isle Maree and surrounding area

to take details of the grave markers and any inscriptions, also to photograph them. (*Note; the original photographs were negatives, both coloured and black and white. The black and white films have been digitised and thumbnails of them appear in Appendix 9.7 of this report). We are grateful to Karen Buchanan of Gairloch Museum for allowing us to use some of her coloured photographs in this report – AC and MM Nov 2022.*)

to produce a scale plan of the graveyard, including the location of all the gravemarkers and features contained within the central enclosure

to produce a scale drawing of the three remaining elements of the votive tree and its immediate vicinity, on which the approximate position of the main depositions of coins will be indicated

to identify any previously unrecorded features of possible archaeological significance on the island

to prospect for traces of landing places, etc. on the north and south shores opposite Isle Maree. *(This objective was unfinished; the incomplete findings will be entered on the two databases (AC and MM, Nov 2022))*

to produce a report copies of which will be lodged on the HC HER, Canmore and the NOSAS websites; a limited number of printed reports will be distributed to the NOSAS library in Dingwall, Gairloch Museum, and the Family History Society collection, Inverness Archives. The original collection of material will be deposited in the Inverness Archive Centre.

NOTE: At the end of the two days it was recognised that some of the details were incomplete and it was always the intention to make a return visit but sadly this never happened. Some information therefore, notably on a small group of grave markers in the south part of the burial enclosure, is incomplete. This report is based on a draft written by JH in 2016, it was compiled in 2022 by AC and MM.

3 Methodology

An initial desk-top study involved consultation of the National Monument Record for Scotland (NMRS), *(now Canmore held by HES)* held by The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), and the local Sites and Monuments record *(now HC Historic Environment Record (HER))*. Secondary material for the parish of Gairloch and the surrounding area was also consulted and an attempt has been made to locate this more localised history into a wider discussion of the ecclesiastical history of Wester Ross.

Within the burial ground, every marker, slab, or other feature was identified with a unique number and located on a sketch plan. Working anti-clockwise, each was then plotted to scale by plane table *(see Appendix 9.1)*. Every feature was then measured, described, photographed and sketched, where appropriate, on recording forms through non-intrusive means. The votive tree was drawn from the WSW at a scale of 1:10 *(see Appendix 3)* and the dates of all visible and identifiable coins protruding from the tree and lying on the ground surface, were recorded *(Appendix 9.4)*. The entire surface of the island, excluding the central enclosure, was walked over



Taking details of the gravestones, in this case IM04

4 Historical and Archaeological Background.

These matters were researched and compiled by Janet Hooper, they are included here in their entirety. We are very grateful to Janet and also to Roy Wentworth who supplied much of the information (*MM and AC Nov 2022*).

Primary sources with direct relevance to this part of Wester Ross are scanty, making any discussion of the ecclesiastical structures of the area in the early historic period both patchy and impressionistic. Equally, there are few recorded archaeological features in the parish and most of the known sites are the result of antiquarian research, in particular the detailed study of the parish of Gairloch published by J. H. Dixon in 1886. Only in the seventeenth century do the Presbytery records for Dingwall, to which the parish of Gairloch belonged, provide a first-hand glimpse - and undoubtedly a very biased one - of religious life in the parish. These are complemented, in the eighteenth century, by the records of the presbytery of Gairloch, later known as Lochcarron, which incorporated all the parishes of Wester Ross (Murchison 1965; 1969). However, these records also highlight perhaps the most significant problem in dealing with the ecclesiastical history of this part of Wester Ross. As with much more recent discussions, such as that of Cant (1986), Wester Ross becomes a mere appendage to more comprehensive accounts of religious developments in Easter Ross. Even St. Maolrubha, after whom both the island and the loch are named and the patron saint of the parish of Gairloch, has generated relatively little discussion in comparison to much more popular figures such as St. Columba. Nonetheless, an attempt is made below to explore the developing social and political conditions within which Isle Maree became one of the most significant places of pilgrimage in the Highlands.

The available evidence suggests that the evangelisation of the north-west coast of Scotland cannot be attributed to Columba. The distribution of dedications in this area, while they neither act as precise dating evidence nor as definitive indications of the presence or absence of a particular saint, imply this role was undertaken first by Columba's contemporary, St. Donan of Eigg who died in c. 617 and, in the later seventh century, by St. Maolrubha of Applecross. Donan is likely to have begun the process of conversion in the north, although following his death - traditionally the result of difference between the saint and the local lay aristocracy - the process appears to have stagnated (Watson 1899, 5-6, 8; Macquarrie 1997, 166). This situation was compounded, again according to local tradition, because of Columba's diffidence in associating himself with Donan and his followers. Columba, although he did visit Skye, does not seem to have had much of a presence on the adjacent mainland (*ibid.*, 165-6; Watson 1899, 4), so that it took the arrival of St. Maolrubha in Scotland in 671 to revive the cause of Christianity in these north-western areas. According to the Annals of Ulster, Maolrubha, born on 3rd January 642, was a monk of Bangor in Northern Ireland, who founded a monastery at Applecross in 673 and died in 722 at the age of 80 (*OPS*, 402; Reeves 1862, 260ff; Mitchell 1863, 254ff; Watson 1899, 8-9; Watson 1926, 287; Macquarrie 1997, 166; NMRS/SMR no. NG74NW1, NG 7135 4583). Although there are few documentary references to Maolrubha, his connections with the monastery of Applecross and with the hermitage on Isle Maree are still well known locally. He is the titular saint of the parish of Gairloch, within which Isle Maree lies, and also of the parish of Lochcarron, south of Applecross and, as will be seen below, it is this area of Wester Ross which appears to have formed the focus of Maolrubha's activities.

There are various derivations of Maolrubha's name. It has been taken to mean 'servant of the cape or point' or 'of the copse', although here the original notion of 'servitude' is probably in abeyance (Reeves 1862, 260; Watson 1926, 288). Scott, however, translates it as 'the tonsured-one with the Red-hair or ruddy complexion', thus associating Maolrubha with the tradition of 'the red priest' common throughout much of northern Scotland (1909, 261). As at Lairg and at Skail in Strathnaver, Maolrubha was often known by the title of the 'red priest', although there was also a St. Ruffus. Maolrubha seems to have been confounded with Ruffus in Scotland (Reeves 1862, 264ff; *OPS*, 402; Scott 1909, 260-1, 272) and this may account for why both saints were commemorated on the same day (27th August) in Scotland, although in Ireland St. Maolrubha's Day was the 12th April (Reeves 1862, 262, 270; Watson 1926, 287). Isle Maree is shown on Pont's map of the 1590's as *Isle Mulruy*

and, in the seventeenth century, the island is named as ‘St. Ruffus’ island, commonly called Ellan Moury’ (Mitchell 1863, 258). At around the same time, the name of the loch seems equally interchangeable, being referred to either as *Loch Ew*, possibly a p-Celtic or even earlier word (Roy Wentworth, pers. comm.; it is still the name of the river draining the loch and of the sea loch into which the river empties), or as various spellings of Maree - *Loch of Mourie*, *Lochmaroy*, *Loch Mairray* and *Loch Marie* (Pont nd, 539-40; Reeves 1862, 286; Mitchell 1863, 258). The dedication of the island is occasionally attributed to the Virgin Mary (e.g. Russell 1836, 91; Swan 1836, 160; Hogg 1888, 84-5); however, even though the written form can be similar, the local pronunciation of the name makes very clear its different origin (Reeves 1862, 271; Mitchell 1863, 254). The name Maree has also been seen as a corruption of *Eilean nan Righ*, ‘island of the kings’ (Russell 1836, 91) or, by a local informant who met Mitchell thirty years later, as *Eilean-Mo-Righ*, ‘island of my king’, or *Eilean-a-Mor-Righ*, ‘island of the great king’; this king was later described to Mitchell as a god (1863, 254).

The date of the foundation of Maolrubha’s oratory on Isle Maree is not known, but it is likely that Reeves’ suggestion that the hermitage on Isle Maree was founded during the fifty-one years of his abbacy of Applecross is correct (1862, 262; NMRS/SMR no. NG97SW1, NG 9310 7236). [The altar stone for Applecross may have been transported from the island when the church was founded there in 673 (Thomas, 1971, 41) Barnett (1930, 113) only says that Maolrubha found an altar stone when he arrived on Isle Maree, but not which one]. Traditionally, Isle Maree is associated with the Druids of pre-Christian times, who are said to have introduced the oak to the island (Pennant 1774, 331; Dixon 1886, 7, 97; Barnett 1930, 113). Maolrubha is thought to have planted the now prolific holly as a Christian foil to the pagan oak (Anderson and Anderson 1863, 638; Dixon 1886, 7; Polson 1920, 25). The apparent stress placed on Maolrubha’s take-over of a site of pre-existing significance by such authors is perhaps an attempt to, at least partially, account for the later transformation of Maolrubha into the pagan god, Mourie, whose rather awkward associations with practices such as bull sacrifice required some explanation (Mitchell 1863, 255, 259; Dixon 1886, 150-1; see below). No archaeological traces of Maolrubha’s hermitage were noted by early visitors to the island, although it is probable that it would have been located within the burial enclosure, where (perhaps apart from the chapel) any remains would have been easily obliterated by later graves.

The aged hermit, who inherited his office from Maolrubha’s successor in 737, and who held extraordinary influence over the surrounding population, among Norse and native alike (Swan 1836, 160; Dixon 1886, 7), is associated with the earliest archaeological features on the island. It is this hermit who is supposed to have advised Olaf, a Norse prince in love with a local girl, to build a tower ‘to the west of the enclosure where stood the monk’s cell’ as a home for her while he went raiding (Dixon 1886, 7-10; NMR/SMR no. NG97SW2, NG 9305 7234). The lovers, however, met a tragic end and it is alleged to be their gravestones, adorned with incised crosses, which lie at the heart of the burial ground underneath the sacred hollies (Swan 1836, 161; Anderson and Anderson 1863, 639; Dixon 1886, 10). While the details of this romance are derived from the common motif of the ‘Romeo and Juliet’ story, adapted to incorporate local details (Wentworth 1999b, name 35, page 4), it is nonetheless interesting for the way in which it contrasts an apparently more friendly Norse presence in Loch Maree with the contemporary devastating raid on Maolrubha’s monastery at Applecross (see below). The precise location of the tower is now unknown, although Dixon describes a considerable heap of stones as representing its remains and a mound of earth close by this heap is mentioned by Barnett (Dixon 1886, 10; Barnett 1930, 116). It is maybe this tower (rather than the chapel) which the author of the first Statistical Account believed was a ‘Druidical temple’ (McIntosh 1792, 90).

The first documented account of a visit - by Thomas Pennant - to Isle Maree dates from the latter half of the eighteenth century. Pennant describes a well-wooded island, dominated by enormous hollies and in its midst a ‘circular dike of stones, with a regular narrow entrance; the inner part has been used for ages as a burial place, and is still in use’ (1774, 331). A tree stump was pointed out to him as an altar, ‘probably the memorial of one of stone’ (ibid.); it may be this altar which is noted by Dixon as being involved in the cure for insanity (see below), but which was no longer identifiable when the latter compiled his guide to Gairloch a century later (1886, 151). Shortly before James Hogg’s visit to

the island in 1803, many of these trees - as on the other islands in Loch Maree - had clearly been cut down; the reason is not given (1888, 85), but it may have been related to the extensive iron workings on the north shore of Loch Maree (see below). In 1836 the island is again described as ‘beautifully wooded with every variety of timber’ (Swan 1836, 159). The very ruined remains of a small chapel in the centre of the enclosure are mentioned by Mitchell (1863, 251) and Dixon (1886, 10), but no additional detail about this structure is given. In 1803, Hogg noted the gravestones ‘of which no name nor epitaph is to be seen, saving one or two rude figures and some initials’ (1888, 78), an observation echoed by Russell’s record of a number of tombstones on the island with inscriptions and hieroglyphical figures (1836, 91). However, Mitchell in the 1860’s could only find two incised slabs

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Details of the rituals and superstitions surrounding the well and votive tree on Isle Maree are recorded from the seventeenth century onwards. The curative properties of the holy well, in particular, were held in high regard. This was a built well with a cover slab, only the size of a bucket, which was almost dry in 1877 at the time of Queen Victoria’s visit (Mitchell 1863, 253, 259, 262; Duff 1980, 203). It is now completely dry and its location has been lost, although it was marked on the OS First edition map and is said to have been located at the foot of the votive tree (Muddock 1878, 437-8). The well was reputed to cure madness:

‘The patient is brought into the sacred island, is made to kneel before the altar, where his attendances leave an offering in money: he is then brought to the well, and sips some of the holy water: a second offering is made; that done, he is thrice dipped in the lake; and the same operation is repeated every day for some weeks: and it often happens, by natural causes, the patient receives relief, of which the saint receives the credit. I must add that the visitants draw from the state of the well an omen of the disposition of St Maree: if his well is full, they suppose he will be propitious; if not, they proceed in their operations with fears and doubts, but let the event be what it will, he is held in high esteem’ (Pennant 1774, 331).

In one version of the legend surrounding the death of the two lovers whose graves reputedly lie at the heart of the graveyard, it is the grief-induced madness of the princess on seeing the black flag raised by her returning prince (as a test of his love), which led to the association of the well with the cure of lunacy (Mitchell 1863, 253-4). In other renditions, it is the prince who loses his sanity. All these forms of the story appear to be relatively late attempts to link together all the beliefs surrounding Isle Maree (Dixon 1886, 151). Dixon, himself, derived his version from the Andersons' Guide to the Highlands (their sources are not known), before going on to embellish it somewhat, presumably on the basis of local folklore. The additional details (including personal names; Macrow gives the princess's name as Deora, the prince's name as Olaf) present in stories collected in the early part of the twentieth century (Macrow 1953, 87; Bee Jay 1969, 103-4) attest to the continuing importance of this story locally.

As late as the mid nineteenth century, the practices described by Pennant still continued;

'The lunatic is taken there without consideration of consent. As he nears the island, he is suddenly jerked out of the boat into the loch; a rope having been made fast to him, by this he is drawn into the boat again, to be a second, third or fourth time unexpectedly thrown overboard during the boat's course round the island. He is then landed, made to drink of the waters, and an offering is attached to the tree. Sometimes a second and third circumnavigation of the island is thought necessary, with a repetition of the immersions, and of the visit to the well' (Mitchell 1863, 262).

and:

'In the centre of this island there is a deep well, which is popularly said to have been consecrated by the Saint for the use of the insane. On Friday last, confident in the virtuous properties of the fountain, a woman, accompanied by a young lad and an idiot daughter, were conveyed down Loch Maree in a boat, in order to put to the test the restorative powers of the well We must premise that, in the district, it has been maintained that the well lost its efficacy on account of some profane unbeliever having put a mad dog into it; to the sore vexation of the presiding genie, who forthwith revoked his blessing. On this occasion, however, the poor idiot was rowed over to the island, the mother having obtained assistance from several persons. On reaching the spot, the unfortunate creature was dragged to the well, and having been compelled to drink of its water, was put through the ceremonial of ducking, after which she was towed round the island after the boat, and after midnight bathed in the loch. The result of all this, it is lamentable to add, has been, that the hitherto quiet imbecile has become a raving maniac. That persons should have been got to give their countenance and assistance to such a proceeding is truly sad, and we trust that the melancholy result of this attempt will act as a warning to the district, and destroy the belief in so gross a superstition' (Inverness Courier, 4.11.1852, quoted by Reeves 1862, 288-9).

Around the same time, however, a 'furious madman' went home 'in a state of happy tranquility' (Mitchell 1863, 263). The dog was apparently owned by John Macmillan from Letterewe and had been flung headlong into the well; it died the next day, John Macmillan a week later (Dixon 1886, 157). Although it is not clear whether this had to be the case, Muddock describes hair rope being used to drag the victim along (1878, 438). Mitchell could discover no form of words which accompanied these practices and found that St. Maolrubha's Day was not believed to be any more auspicious than any other for the efficacy of a cure (1863, 263). At the end of the nineteenth century, although rituals at the well continued, they were only undertaken in secret (Dixon 1886, 151). By this date Dixon records that simply drinking from the waters of Loch Maree itself was believed to cure any disease; this usually took place at Fox Point, on the south side of the point where the River Ewe leaves Loch Maree and coins could be found in its vicinity when the water was low (1886, 159). Bottled Loch Maree water was sent to those invalids who could not reach the loch (ibid.). Both these practices seem to reflect the transferral of beliefs from the Isle to a more general belief in the efficacy of the whole loch.

The votive tree today comprises only three thin spars and is in grave danger of crumbling into dust. It appears to be an oak, although Swan (1836, 160) and Macrow (1953, 88) believed it to have been a holly. It was apparently nearly dead when seen by Dixon (1886, 150), but must still have been a single trunk in the early part of the twentieth century:

'(1) The bare trunk is still there. It is evidently dead, and it has been fixed into the filled-up holy well, which latter is represented by merely a dip in the ground. The trunk leans against a neighbouring tree (which also appears to have died) for support, is grey white, has no bark, twigs or leaves and it stands I should think about fifteen feet high and is rather rugged and worn away at the top. (2) No nails are visible ; but it is studded with pennies driven in edge on. Either from being driven in obliquely, or from the exposed part being turned down by the blow of the stone or iron or other weapon used to hammer them into the tree, the effect is that the tree for about eight of nine feet up from the ground is covered with metallic scales. The scaly covering forms armour something like what is depicted on a dragon (Colonel Edington, writing from the Loch Maree Hotel, 27th August, 1927, quoted in McPherson 1929, 75).

and:

'This the sacred tree which grew beside the sacred well of wishing. The tree is now lifeless [and] it now stands, like some gaunt skeleton of the past. In its furrowed wood, without bark and bleached by summer sun and winter storm, are hundreds of coins. Most of them have been driven so far into the wood that they are likely to remain until the tree crumbles away. But other coins which were less securely fixed have fallen to the foot of the tree. Here scores of them lie amongst the dead leaves and earth' (Seton Gordon 1935, 43-4).

The tree was apparently taken away from the island during the First World War, and - although Seton Gordon does not record the date - seems to have been fairly soon returned to the island (*ibid.*, 43); it is this which perhaps explains why it was said by Edington to have been put back where the well used to be. By the 1950's, the tree was propped up by a stake (possibly Edington's second dead tree?) and coins were being hammered into the stake, as well as the adjacent trees (Macrow 1953, 88-9).

As noted in these descriptions, offerings - at least in recent centuries - consisted of coins pressed into the trunk of the tree, a practice which still continues (*cf.* Macrow 1953, 88). The majority of the coins were pennies and halfpennies, mainly copper, although gold and silver coins were also quite frequently inserted (Mitchell 1863, 253; Polson 1920, 31); according to the rather romantic view of Muddock, all the coins were believed to be sacred by the inhabitants and were never removed from the island (1878, 437). One 'hardened Sassenach' who did so found that his hand soon withered, a disability apparently handed on to generations of his descendants (*ibid.*). The more usual misfortune was the burning down of the violator's house (Dixon 1886, 150), although, in general, any person taking away an offering contracted the disease of the individual who had left it behind (Banks 1939, 142-3). In 1836, the tree was covered in 'pieces of rags, and threads, which had been left as gifts upon its branches, by those who had not more to give' (Swan 1836, 160). Thirty years later, Mitchell noted that the tree was studded with hundreds of nails, to one of which was attached a faded ribbon, plus two bone buttons and two buckles (1863, 253); however, Edington noted, as far back as 1929, that no nails were then visible in the remaining spars (McPherson 1929, 75). Queen Victoria herself hammered a coin into the tree and observed the rags tied to it during her visit to the island on a Sunday afternoon in September 1877 (Dixon 1886, 151; Duff 1980, 203). According to Barnett (1930, 114), a piece of rag was taken from the clothes of those brought to the well to be cured and an offering of money left by their attendants. Queen Victoria's reasons may have been rather more mundane, since Dixon comments that it was 'common report that a wish silently formed when any metal article is attached to the tree will certainly be realised' (1886, 150). With the exception of the votive tree, all the trees around the well were apparently covered in initials (Mitchell 1863, 253; Polson 1920, 31), although none of these are now observable and most probably reflected nothing more than the presence of nineteenth century tourists. A small fragment of stone with a roughly incised cross on each face is now in the NMS and may have been a charmstone of sixteenth or seventeenth century date (information on SCRAN). Similar traditions surrounding the trees (and

stones) associated with holy wells are well recorded; where Isle Maree is slightly unusual is in the strength with which the beliefs focused on the votive tree have been maintained (in some form at least) into modern times. In most cases, belief in such linked features seems to have declined much more rapidly than in the wells themselves; in consequence, offerings were thrown directly into the water (Banks 1939, 126); the silting up of the well on Isle Maree may go some way to explaining this difference.

The cult of Isle Maree's patron saint emerges after the Reformation with strong pagan overtones. Maolrubha re-appears as the god, Mourie, to whom bull sacrifices were made in the seventeenth century (Russell 1836, 91; Mitchell 1863, 255; Mackinlay 1914, 173-5; *FES*, vol. vii, 160). Pilgrims apparently came to the island in large numbers to see the saint's relics, although what these were is not specified (*FES*, vol. vii, 146). At one particular meeting of the Presbytery of Dingwall held on the 5th September 1656 at Applecross, the minister of Lochcarron (also at that time in charge of Applecross parish (Mackay 1896, 279)) was ordered to summon some of his parishioners for being:

'accustomed to sacrifice bulls at a certain tyme upon the 25 of August, which day is dedicate, as they conceive, to S^t Mourie as they call him ; and that there were frequent approaches to some ruinous chappels and circulateing of them ; and that future events in reference especiallie to lyfe and death, in takeing of Journeyis was exspect to be manifested by a holl of a round stone quherein they tried entering of their heade, which (if they) could doe, to witt be able to put in thair heade, they exspect thair returning to that place, and failing the considered it ominous ; and withall their adoring of wells, and uther superstitious monuments and stones tedious to rehearse' (Mitchell 1863, 256; Mackay 1896, 280).

St. Maolrubha's day was the 27th August in Scotland, but the date given in the Dingwall minutes may, as Mitchell suggests, represent popular belief (Mitchell 1863, 254). Eleven men from Achnashellach were specifically singled out as idolaters (*ibid.*, 256; Mackay 1896, 279-80). The punishment for any parishioner found guilty was to wear sackcloth and be publicly rebuked on 'six several Lord's dayis in six several churches, viz.: Lochcarron, Appilcross, Contane, Fottertie [Fodderty], Dingwall, and last in Garloch paroch church'; if they did not show remorse, they were to be excommunicated (Mitchell 1863, 256-7; Mackay 1896, 280-1). It seems significant that these people were also demanded to appear in the eastern parishes of Contin, Fodderty and Dingwall; it would seem to suggest that the cult of Mourie was as prevalent in these areas as on the west coast, a fact confirmed in a later report to the presbytery, when 'monuments and remembrances' of Mourie are described as existing in Lochcarron, Lochalsh, Kintail, Contin, Fodderty and Lochbroom - and presumably also Gairloch and Applecross (Mitchell 1863, 258; Mackay 1896, 281). None of the accused ever seem to have undergone this punishment, while the fact that the minister was also ordered to 'labour to convince the people of their former error' may suggest where the Presbytery thought some of the blame should lie (Mitchell 1863, 257; Mackay 1896, 281). Four days later (9th September) at Kinlochewe, the parishioners of Gairloch were summoned for sacrificeing of beasts upon ye 25 August, as also in poureing of milk upon hills as oblationes' (Mitchell 1863, 257; Mackay 1896, 281-2). These men were referred to as 'Mourie his derilans', taken to mean Mourie's possessed or afflicted ones, and they were the recipients of the 'sacrifices and offerings' (Dixon 1886, 411; Mackay 1896, 282; Scott 1909, 271). In 1678, the minister of Gairloch reported that he had summoned:

'Hector Mackenzie in Mellan in the parish of Gerloch, as also Johnie Murdoch, and Duncan Mackenzies, sons to the said Hector—as also Kenneth M^cKenzie his grandson, for sacrificing a bull in ane heathenish manner, in the iland of S^t Ruffus, commonly called Ellan Moury in Lochew, for the recovereing of the health of Cirstane Mackenzie, spouse to the said Hector Mackenzie, who was formerlie sicke and valetudinarie' (Mitchell 1863, 258; Mackay 1896, 338).

This is the only recorded instance of sacrifices described specifically as taking place on Isle Maree, as well as being the only one which gives a reason for this action. The latter is interesting in itself, since it is not related to the health of cattle (cf. Mitchell 1863, 260), a constant problem in an economy so reliant on this animal as a source of wealth, but rather appears to be an attempt to secure the benevolence of the god towards the health of a particular individual. Dixon states that the sacrifice of

a bull became a preliminary to the cure for insanity in the seventeenth century, although prior to this it had been entirely independent of it. While it is possible that this is essentially a circular argument based on the evidence of the presbytery minutes, it is equally probable that - just as with the developments to the legend of the prince and princess already described - a similar adaptation occurred in this case, in order to link together all the ritualistic elements of pilgrimages to Isle Maree (1886, 151).

The traditional description of Maolrubha, recorded by Polson, suggests the saintly figure was still overlain by the god Mourie even in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth century; Maolrubha was thought of as a fearful-looking person, carrying a pastoral staff and wearing a tight-fitting hooded cloak, from underneath which his long red hair flowed, while 'from beneath his deep and shaggy eyebrows a pair of eyes like two balls of living fire gleamed, the glance of which no human being could bear. In short, his dress and aspect gave him the appearance of one who held converse with scenes and beings of another world, and whose business with this was only to pronounce irrevocable and unalterable decrees. Revelations of things to come passed vividly before his mind, and he told them in words of fire' (1920, 58). These prophecies seem to have become confused with those of the Brahan Seer (ibid.).

There are various stories surrounding the death of Maolrubha and these are useful in providing a glimpse into the perceptions and extent of the saint's influence in Ross-shire. Maolrubha's death is variously placed at Applecross, on the Black Isle or at Skail in Strathnaver (for which see Scott 1909, 274ff). The most widely accepted story, derived from the late Aberdeen Breviary, is that Maolrubha - wounded by Viking raiders in AD. 721 - died some days later at Urquhart, near Conon Bridge (Reeves 1862, 267; *OPS*, 402; Macrae 1923, 274; Watson 1926, 287; Macquarrie 1987, 166). Alternatively, he caught an illness there of which he soon died (Seton Gordon 1935, 48). A wooden church was erected on this site, later replaced by the parish church of Urquhart, formerly called Ferintosh (Reeves 1862, 267). The Norsemen supposedly exposed the body to be eaten by wolves (Polson 1920, 58), but, ignoring the saint's instructions to return his body to Applecross, the people of the Black Isle tried to bury his body in their own churchyard. However, their united efforts could not lift the body and realising their task was futile and in accordance with the saint's original wish, four 'red men' of Applecross were summoned. The four managed to lift and carry the coffin with such ease that they only halted twice between the Black Isle and Applecross (Reeves 1862, 279; Earl of Cromertie 1979, 35; Seton Gordon 1935, 48-9).

The question of where Maolrubha's grave is located in the burial ground at Applecross will be discussed in more detail later, but it is the places where the saint's body rested and the traditions which surround them which are of present concern. The first of these resting places is *Preas Maree*, 'the cosp of Maolrubha' at Contin, relatively close to Conon Bridge and now the private burial-place of the Mackenzies of Coul (Macrae 1923, 274; Watson 1926, 288, 420). Contin accords well with a journey from Urquhart to the west coast; however, the candidates for the role of the second resting place are far more numerous. Reeves notes one at Kinlochewe, at a place called *Suidhe*, with another between Shieldaig and Applecross at *Bealach an t-Suidhe* (1862, 279). Similarly Scott mentions two sites, one between Torridon and Kinlochewe and one near Loch Chroisg (1909, 272). It has proved possible to locate only one of these sites precisely; however a number of suggested locations can be put forward. Tracks crossing the hills to the head of the Applecross river are shown on the OS First Edition maps, with *bealach* names noted in *Loch a'Bhealaich* (NGR centred NG 750 547; OS First Edition, Sheet XCI 1875 (1880)) and at *Bealach nan Arr* (NGR centred NG 788 447; OS First Edition, Sheet XCI 1875 (1880)), just to the north of *Bealach na Bà*, the present road linking Kishorn with Applecross. Although *Loch a'Bhealaich* lies immediately to the west of a track leading to Kenmore, on the south shore of Loch Torridon, the track leading from Inverbain, some distance to the south-east of Kenmore on the shore of Loch Shieldaig, as well as more accurately fitting in with Reeve's description would have provided the most direct route to Applecross; this route is shown on Thomson's map of Ross and Cromarty (1830). The *Suidh Ma-Ruibh* near Loch Chroisg was located at *Bad a' Mhanaich*, the monk's thicket (ibid.; Watson 1904, lxii), close to which was a cross-marked slab, known as *Clach an t'Shagart*, 'the stone of the priest' (Dixon 1886, 302; NMRS/SMR no.

NH15NW1, NH 1021 5862). Badavanich is a farm on the north shore of Loch Croisg, near its west end and close to the Achnasheen-Kinlochewe road, as well as the boundary of the parishes of Gairloch and Contin (NH 104 587; OS First Edition, Sheet LXXXIV 1875 (1881)). Croisg or Crask in Ross-shire appears to mean a cross, rather than a crossing place (Roy Wentworth, pers. comm.). In local tradition, *Càrn an t-Suidhe*, the ‘cairn of the sitting’, on the south side of Loch Torridon, is also said to have been a resting-place; the low, rocky hill to which this name applies lies about half a mile west of Ben Damph Lodge (Watson 1904, 217; SMR no. NG85SE0004, NG 877 543). All these sites were marked by obelisks sunk deep into the ground (information given by Rev. Norman Morrison to Applecross History Society, noted under SMR no. NG74NW0016).

There are a number of ‘seats’ which do not fit in with the geography of his final journey, although the traditions associating them with Maolrubha are equally strong. South of Loch Clair, on the line of the Coulin Pass, is a ‘seat’ used by Maolrubha when travelling between Applecross and Isle Maree and from where he is supposed to have preached (Dixon 1886, 322, 415; Wentworth 1999a, Name 24). Another *Suidhe Maree* lay about two miles south-east of the church at Applecross and there is a further one near the church at Lochcarron (Reeves 1862, 281, 286; see below). Much closer to Loch Maree, the name *Suidhe Maree* is applied to a large cairn on top of *Creag Thairbh*, ‘the bull rock’, between Letterewe and Ardlair (Wentworth 1991; NG 929 739). This cairn lies at the highest point on the path running along this part of the north side of Loch Maree and is situated roughly in the centre of *Creag Thairbh*, at the head of a burn (ibid.). It is the only ‘seat’ to be recorded on the OS First Edition map (Sheet LVIII 1875 (1881)). Clearly this multiplicity of ‘seats’ is likely to include sites where the saint is believed to have rested on his travels around the country - in addition to that at Loch Clair, many are associated with traditions of preaching, Gospel reading, and delivering judgement. These are perhaps more logical explanations than that each was a place at which his corpse rested (Scott 1909, 268, 276). According to Pennant, any traveller passing one of Maolrubha’s resting places would not neglect to leave an offering, whether it be ‘a stone, stick, a bit of rag’ or, presumably, something more materially valuable (Pennant 1774, 331). Above and beyond the interest inherent in these sites, the strength of these stories even into recent times is testament to the importance of Maolrubha in Ross-shire and the religious coherence of the area. Further evidence for this is found in the fact that his name was still invoked as an oath in Pennant’s time (1774, 331) and that ‘Many of his generous and benevolent deeds are, to this day, recounted by people of this [Gairloch] and the surrounding parishes’ (Russell 1836, 92).

Closely linked, both in terms of physical proximity and conceptually, to the idea of the saint’s ‘resting place’, are the coffin stands and cairns which line the long established funeral routes to traditional family burial grounds. While the stories surrounding these come primarily from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and it is not always clear which graveyard formed the destination, they seem to represent the end of an age-old tradition and one which reflects the significance of Isle Maree as a burial place in the post-medieval period. “There is or was one of those heaps of stones formed by funeral parties” by the road from Poolewe to Gairloch (Dixon 1886, 313). From the description, this cairn appears to lie at the east end of a high valley, just over a mile north of Gairloch and beyond Lochan nan Breac (centred NG 814 783). The burn which runs down this valley is called the *Abhainn Achadh a’ Chairn* on the OS map. From Gairloch, the route must have again followed the line of the modern road to Loch Maree, embarking for the burial isle at either Slatadale or Talladale. A rock just to the west of *Port an Aoil*, on the north shore of Loch Maree and opposite Isle Maree, is called the ‘funeral point’ by ghillies at the Loch Maree Hotel, although it is perhaps just as likely that funeral parties embarked from Letterewe (Roy Wentworth, pers. comm.). South of Loch Clair and the ‘seat’ used by Maolrubha when travelling between Applecross and Isle Maree (Dixon 1886, 322), “are seen heaps of stones made by passing funeral parties” (Polson 1920, 8). This route, linking Glen Carron and Kinlochewe, is known as the Coulin Pass and was also a drove route. It was clearly of some antiquity, since its line was marked on Roy’s map of the mid eighteenth century (Sheet 24.5), as running along the east side of Loch Coulin and then heading directly north-east to Kinlochewe. Accounts of funeral parties crossing the pass were reported to A. E. Robertson in the 1930’s (Ian Mitchell, Ross-shire Journal, 19.11.1999). By the side of the road from Torridon to Kinlochewe and close to Carn Anthony (a resting cairn erected on the edge of MacKenzie land for the son of one of

the proprietors of Torridon, on his way to St. Maolrubha's at Contin), just to the west of Loch Clair, are 'some remains of smaller heaps of stones by the side of the Torridon road formed by funeral processions at places where they halted to rest' (Dixon 1886, 322-3). It is probable that the sites of many of the resting-places associated with Maolrubha may have continued in use for later coffin processions, if only in the sense that - as in the case of the Coulin Pass - the routes on which they lay remained in use for this purpose. It is equally possible that the resting places came to be thought of as coffin stands on the way to a place connected with the saint (Roy Wentworth, pers. comm.).

Returning to the Early Medieval period, any attempt to contextualise the religious activity on Isle Maree must begin with the history of the parish - Gairloch - in which it lies. Gairloch parish church is dedicated to Maolrubha and, like the hermitage on Isle Maree, is also believed to have been founded personally by the saint (Dixon 1886, 99; NMRS/SMR no. NG87NW2, NG 8063 7572). The presence of the Pictish symbol stone (with an incised eagle above a salmon; NMRS/SMR no. NG87NW9, NG 8075 7565), which was found, along with some human bones, close to a number of long cist burials, in the 'field of the cairn', to the north of the present church (Fisher 2001, 91; NMRS/SMR no. NG77NE1, NG 7997 7721), suggests the pre-Christian importance of the fertile coastal strip at Gairloch continued into the historic era. It also provides tantalising evidence for the incorporation of the west coast into the mainstream of Pictish culture, so dramatically illustrated by the sculpture of Easter Ross. Little is known of the history of Gairloch church; it was rebuilt in the middle of the seventeenth century, probably on the site of the earlier church, and rebuilt again in 1751 and 1791 (Dixon 1886, 63, 69-70). The vast numbers of people who attended the communion services in the *Leabaidh na Ba Bàine*, the Bed of the White Cow, a hollow, now part of the golf course, which lies almost opposite the parish church (Byam Shaw 1988, 320-1; SMR no. NG87NW0015, NG 8068 7558), attest to the continuing importance of the parish church in the life of the community, a role that survived the creation of the Free Church. Most of the Mackenzie lairds of Gairloch are buried in the churchyard (Dixon 1886, 101), suggesting that - in the post-medieval period at least - this was the most important place of burial for the elite of the parish.

While its early origins are less certain - Dixon describes the extant building remains as reminiscent of the architectural style of the seventeenth century (1886, 71, 99-100) - the presence of another Pictish symbol stone (bearing the crescent and V-rod symbol) re-used as a graveslab within the churchyard at Londubh, Poolewe, suggests that this too may have been an early foundation, again perhaps on a site of earlier significance (Fisher 2001, 91; NMRS/SMR no. NG88SE10, SMR no. NG88SE16 (symbol stone); NG 8603 8096). A stone font lay in the burial ground (Dixon 1886, 100), although this can no longer be found. The old name for Londubh was apparently *Baile na h'Eaglais*, 'town of the church' and the name Kirkton still applied to the house of the Mackenzie proprietors of Kernsary in Dixon's time (1886, 99); no trace of the church's dedication has, however, survived. The church seems to have fallen out of use after 1689 - the ruins being converted into two family lairs. A petition was made by the Kirk Session of Gairloch asking to have the chapel of Pollew enlarged to accommodate the people in 1732, but it is not clear whether this is a building at Londubh or perhaps one on the site of the Parliamentary church constructed in 1828, located on the other side of the river Ewe and within the village itself (Murchison 1965, 137). The repairs were agreed to and 200 merks were taken from the stipends of the vacant parish for the purpose. Poolewe, comprising the west side of Loch Ewe and extending along the north-east side of Loch Maree as far as Letterewe and Furnace, was erected into a separate *quoad sacra* parish in 1838 (Russell 1836, 98; Dixon 1886, 100, 294; Beaton 1994, 132). This area north of Loch Maree seems to have always been somewhat detached from the rest of the parish; it appears to have belonged to Lochbroom immediately after the Reformation (Dixon 1886, 64-5), complementing its secular position as part of the barony of Lochbroom (Bangor-Jones 1994, 79, 81). If this was the case, it would effectively divide the population of Gairloch parish in half (Munro 1994, 132; cf. Bangor-Jones 1994, 81, fig. 5.1), while ensuring that Lochbroom became by far the largest parish on the west coast (Munro 1994, 122). Its position close to the boundary of these two areas might have leant Isle Maree additional significance.

In seeming opposition to the perceived importance of Maolrubha in Wester Ross, the chapel at Sand of Udrigil is traditionally believed to have been erected by Columba or one of his followers (Dixon

1886, 70, 100; NMRS/SMR no. NG99SW1, NG 9020 9201). While there is no comparable physical evidence for an early medieval date, elements of the fabric of the present unroofed building, which was apparently in use, at least periodically, until the end of the eighteenth century, are clearly medieval (McIntosh 1792, 92; Dixon 1886, 70). These include the traces of a mullioned window in the east wall, with a further two in the south wall, either side of a moulded central doorway. The several different building phases noted by Dixon probably reflect nothing more than the vagaries of rubble construction (1886, 100). The chapel stands within a crowded graveyard extending down to the sea, on the west side of which are the eroded remains of a probably circular ditch with a double bank. Between First Coast and Sand Of Udrigil is a preaching cave, which Dixon believed - along with the Cave at Cove, on the south-side of Loch Ewe - to be 'meeting-places of great antiquity ; they are still used for public worship' (1886, 105). While the stories surrounding both these caves suggest that they are associated primarily with the Free Church, it is possible that they do predate the Disruption of 1843. There was also a burial ground - *Cladh Phris*, 'burial place of the copse' (Watson 1904, 244) - near the landing-place on the south-east side of Gruinard Island. The burial ground at Gruinard House which, since Laide was the burial place of the Mackenzie of Gruinard family, appears to be more recent in date. Even though the historical documentation is not present to support this hypothesis, the implication here is that an ecclesiastical foundation has been located at Sand for the majority of the Christian era; like Poolewe, it seems to once have been part of Lochbroom parish.

Heglis Loch Ew is marked at the head of Loch Maree on Blaeu's map (1654) and is mentioned in Pont's notes (nd, 539); a church is also mentioned as existing there at the end of the eighteenth century (McIntosh 1792, 92). In 1711, Thomas Chisholm, while trying to read the edict announcing the appointment of the new minister to the parish, was turned away from the church at Gairloch; however, after being carried back to Kinlochewe, he was able 'to read the edict before six or seven persons in a house there, Kinlochewe being one of the preaching places of the parish' (*FES*, vol. vii, 146). The fact that in the late seventeenth century there was, at least nominally, a presbytery at Kinlochewe, suggests this church may have been of some importance (Dixon 1886, 69). Outside the burial ground of Culinellan (NMRS/SMR no. NH06SW2, NH 0353 6270), on the opposite side of the river to the present settlement of Kinlochewe, is a pile of stone rubble which is meant to be the remains of a house called 'the chapel' (Dixon 1886, 324). At some point prior to the nineteenth century, the river ran on the other side of the graveyard to its present line, its course altering in a 'great flood', during which 'some bodies' were washed away (*ibid.*). As there is also locally reputed to have been a prayer house here, these stories point to Culinellan as the location of the church of *Heglis Loch Ew*. However, some of Dixon's informants believed the church to have been situated closer to *Tobar Mhoire*, Mourie's well (*ibid.*, 324-5, 415; NMRS/SMR no. NH06SW4, NH 0339 6288; alternatively, the dedication is given as the well of the Virgin Mary). A burial isle, known as *Eilean A' Ghobhainn*, 'the smith's isle' (Watson 1904, 232; NMRS/SMR no. NH06SW1, NH 0298 6260) lies close by Culinellan. It is probable that *Cladh-nam-Sasganach*, just along the lochside to the west, was - as its name suggests - a single use burial ground, which grew up in association with the nearby ironworkings at Fasagh and Furnace. Dixon believed, after examining two graves in which he found no remains, organic or otherwise, that it was of much earlier date than the seventeenth century; however, more recent excavation did discover a wooden coffin within one of the graves (*ref?* Atkinson et. al. 1997; NMRS/SMR no. NH06NW 1, NH 0115 6542). It seems possible that, as Dixon (1886, 63) implies, the church of *Heglis Loch Ew* had more ancient origins than is indicated by the surviving evidence; it, too, may have been an early medieval foundation serving the relatively large population at the east end of Loch Maree.

However, even the presence of these chapels barely impacts on the still immense distances which people had to travel to church, even if journeys by sea are taken into account; Queen Victoria recorded people passing the Loch Maree Hotel at 7.30 in the morning on their way to the church at Gairloch (Duff 1980, 203). This is perhaps the context within which the use of the croft of Tollie at the foot of Loch Maree for public worship (McIntosh 1792, 92; Tollie is there misspelt as Jolly) should be seen, as well as the 'the minister's rock' at Ardlair on the north side of Loch Maree, where Farquhar MacRae was accustomed to preach in the early seventeenth century (Dixon 1886, 81). At Tollie, there appear to have been two successive turf buildings, one nearer to the beach than the other,

although neither were probably of any great antiquity (Dixon 1886, 70-1, 99, 315). At a slightly later date, this would also explain the well-known preaching caves at Cove and Sand (Jolly, quoted in Dixon 1886, 357; Barnett 1930, 143-5; Chadwick 1992, 1, 13), while - in addition to these and the churches at Aultbea and Poolewe - the Reverend Dingwall of the Free Church also used a room in the old schoolhouse at Inverasdale and rooms at Mellon Udrigil and Slaggan (Dixon 1886, 71, 294). In the south-western part of the parish, the Free Church had a mission church at Opinan and a meeting house at North Erradale, in addition to the larger church at Gairloch (ibid., 71, 295). The huge distances involved reinforce the importance of the summer communion season, when as many as 4,000 people from various parishes might gather for a week of services (Byam-Shaw 1988, 320-1). That individual ministers felt they should travel around their parishes and preach in various locations is clear, but this - along with the number of burial grounds at which they might be expected to officiate - proved a considerable drain on their resources; the minister of Applecross had to preach once a quarter in the district of Lochs and Torridon and once a month at Kishorn, while there were seven burial grounds in the parish (Munro 1994, 131). In Gairloch parish, in addition to the sites already discussed, Dixon mentions a burial ground on Isle Ewe, recounting a story told to him of a possibly murdered sea captain buried in an 'old churchyard' on Isle Ewe, which was enclosed by a dyke in his time and in which the headstone of the sea captain could still be seen (1886, 213). The burial ground is shown on the OS First Edition map, located at the south-eastern corner of the island close to the pier, which forms the main landing place for the island (Sheet XXXII 1875 (1881)), again suggesting it might still have been in use. In Gairloch the known places of worship in the Medieval period correlate well with the predominantly coastal distribution of settlement. The latter is perhaps most clearly reflected in the Norse place-names; these appear to be focused on fertile bays around the coast, only extending inland along the shores of Loch Maree to encompass Kinlochewe (e.g. Watson 1904, 204, *passim*; Roy Wentworth, pers. comm.). While the apparent lack of clergy in the western parishes following the Reformation may be largely illusory (Munro 1994, 122), this is no indication of the situation during the Medieval period and it seems likely that the influence of the Church in these areas would be entirely dependent on the charisma and energy of individuals (whether ordained or not).

The comprehensive network of early chapels so visible in other areas of the highlands and islands, is hard to identify in Gairloch and adjacent parishes. However, other authors (cf. Cant 1986, 54-7) seem to have been rather dismissive of the situation; as the evidence presented above indicates, traces of these chapels do exist, while there also seem to be a number of rather more *ad hoc* solutions, the use of which may considerably predate the first reference to them. Nonetheless, the fact that very few chapel sites seem to have survived the Reformation has affected their prominence in the historical and archaeological record and does set these areas of the west coast apart from the more densely populated areas of eastern Ross-shire. The three *annat* names found in Wester Ross perhaps provide the clearest examples, particularly as two appear to have Maolrubha associations. At the head of Loch Torridon, the *annat* name has been transferred from the burial ground at the east end of the village to the settlement in which it lies. While there is no knowledge of the original dedication of the ruined chapel, visible in the burial ground in 1840 (MacDonald 1997, 132-3; NMRS/SMR no. NG85SE1, NG 8982 5469), St. Maolrubha's well lies at the opposite end of the village. The latter is reputed to have been a holy well blessed by the saint himself and possessing miraculous powers of healing, but is now dried up and all but forgotten (Macrow 1953, 181-2; NMRS/SMR no. NG85SE3, NG 8950 5450). To the south-east of Annat, *Beinn na h'Eaglais* is the 'hill of the church' (Dixon 1886, 323; Watson 1904, lxx; NG 908 524). *Lochan Neimhe*, a small loch, also to the south-east, which is the source of the *Abhainn Tràill* (itself possessing a probably early name) may derive from *nemed*, sacred grove, though it is perhaps more likely that it comes from *neimh*, brightness (Watson 1904, 210; MacDonald 1996, 17). There was later a mission church at Annat, while, on the opposite side of the bay, a spectacular open air preaching site is located under the crags of Am Ploc (MacDonald 1997, 136). The second *annat* name is located on the largest of the three Crowlin islands, at the southern tip of the Applecross peninsula. No structural traces remain and it survives simply as the place-name, *Port na h-Annaide* or *Camus na h-Amait*. Confusingly, it is Crowlin Beg which is named as St. Rufus's island, 'the red priest's island', on Thomson's maps (Reeves 1862, 281-2; *OPS*, 402; Watson 1926, 253; OS First Edition Sheet CIX^A 1875 (1880); NMRS/SMR no. NG63SE1, NG 6964 3472).

Finally, on *Eilean Shildeig*, lying in the bay opposite the village of Shildaig itself, is *Clach na h-Annaid*, ‘stone of the mother church’ (Watson 1904, 208; it is not shown on the OS First Edition XCII 1875 (1880)). Unusually, there seems to be no accompanying ecclesiastical traditions associated with this name, since the first church to be built in Shildaig is generally assumed to be the parliamentary church of 1825. Although the phrasing of Watson’s sentence is unclear, it would seem to be the stone to which the name is attached which is meant to have come from a ‘modern’ rockfall, rather than that the name itself is recent (*ibid.*); if this is the case, this is a rather intriguing reference.

Maolrubha’s influence stretched widely through this part of Wester Ross; Russell (1836, 92) states that belief in the saint’s powers was more unquestioning the further from Loch Maree you travelled! To the north of Loch Maree, his influence is hard to discern; although people in Lochbroom did observe St. Maolrubha’s Day, there are no physical remains associated with the saint (Scott 1909, 270). To the south, the situation is somewhat different. In addition to the two *annat* names and all the ‘resting places’ described above, the parish church of Lochcarron (NMRS/SMR no. NG94SW2, NG 9140 4123), often referred to in earlier sources as *Clachan Mulrui*, is dedicated to Maolrubha. The church is also called *Chombrich Mulry*, implying the girth or sanctuary of Maolrubha (*OPS*, 399), and it is likely that - as at Gairloch - the site of the later parish church at Lochcarron was contemporary with Maolrubha himself. One of the hills within view of the church was apparently called *Suidhe Maree*, the seat of Maolrubha (Reeves 1862, 286; Mackinlay 1914, 174; it is not named on the modern maps or on the First Edition). There is also a suggestion of a St. Maolrubha’s chapel on the opposite side of the strath at *Eas an Teampuill*, ‘the waterfall of the temple’ (Watson 1904, 195). Although much closer to Achintee, this is probably the pre-Reformation or pagan burial place near Attadale referred to in the first Statistical Account (Mackenzie 1793, 558), which was thought to have been destroyed when the railway was constructed (Vicky Stonebridge, pers. comm.). There are traces of building footings close to the waterfall, although these may represent a much later building, but no indication of a graveyard (NMRS/SMR no. NG94SE1, NG 9580 4181). However, just to the west of the River Taodail on which the waterfall lies is the *Alltan an t-sagairt*, the burn of the priest. Whilst they could represent vague memories of a pre-Reformation chapel, these traditions may simply represent confusion with the site of the parish church and it is perhaps more likely that they are much later in date, reflecting a location used for occasional services when people could not cross the Carron to *Clachan Mulrui*.

Maolrubha’s influence is, of course, most clearly visible at Applecross itself. In earlier sources, Applecross is given as *Aporcrossan*, from the p-Celtic *aber*, ‘mouth of a river’, linked with Crossan, the name of a burn flowing into the bay a little to the west of the church, which is now called *Abhuin Maree*, ‘Maolrubha’s river’ (Reeves 1862, 272-3). While this demonstrates an interesting Pictish survival amongst the Gaelic/Norse place-names of the west coast, it is perhaps more significant in this context that the whole of Applecross parish was still commonly known as *A’Chomraich*, ‘the sanctuary’, even at the beginning of the twentieth century (McQueen 1790-1, 369; M’Rae 1836, 99; *OPS*, 403; Watson 1899, 9; Scott 1909, 265; Mackinlay 1914, 172; Fraser 1984, 221). Similarly, the Mackenzie proprietor of the parish was known as *Fer-na-Comaraich*, ‘laird of the sanctuary’ (Anderson and Anderson 1863, 644). In 1602, Alister McGorrie (MacDonald), against the opinion of all his friends and in spite of the fact that it ‘was spared by all his name as a sanctuarie’, made a raid on Applecross, in which he killed two Kintail men who had taken refuge there (Anon nd, 42-3). According to the Aberdeen Breviary, this right of sanctuary extended for six miles around the monastery and was defined by a series of crosses (Reeves 1862, 267; Watson 1899, 9; Watson 1926, 125). The last of these was demolished at Camusterrach around 1870 by the mason repairing the Free Church; it was apparently a ‘rude monolith’ 8ft. 3ins. high with traces of a cross on its west face (Muir 1855, 32; Reeves 1862, 281; Fisher 2001, 87, note 3; NMRS no. NG74SW4, SMR no. NG74SW0005, the stump may still survive at NG 7096 4160). The burn which runs into the sea, just north of Camusterrach, is called the *Allt na Criche*, ‘burn of the boundary’ (OS First Edition, Sheet CIX 1875 (1880)).

The present L-shaped graveyard at Applecross appears to be contained within a much larger oval enclosure, reminiscent of the vallum at Iona, although this was afforested in the 1960’s and cannot

now be traced on the ground (Fisher 2001, 87), even though the trees have been recently cut down. Within the graveyard, a low mound known as *Claodh Maree*, just to the south of the roofless chapel close to its north eastern boundary, is alleged to contain the grave of Maolrubha (Reeves 1862, 279; NMRS/SMR no. NG74NW1, etc.). Reeves also mentions a number of red granite fragments, some lying around the churchyard and others built into the manse, which he believed had comprised Maolrubha's tomb (ibid.). The stone was apparently the gift of a daughter of a King of Norway, broken up when the manse was built (Reeves 1862, 279; Earl of Cromertie 1979, 35). During this operation, the master-mason was warned in a dream not to touch the stone; the warning seems to have come too late as a short time later, he fell off the scaffolding erected around the new manse, fracturing his skull on a fragment of the grave (Reeves 1862, 279). People who took earth from Maolrubha's grave were assured of a safe return to Applecross from wherever in the world they had travelled to (ibid.; Watson 1926, 287), while no-one could commit suicide or injure themselves when within sight of the grave (Reeves 1862, 279). A low embankment in the south west corner of the modern graveyard, and once extending outside it to form a circular enclosure, was said to be venerated and to contain human remains (ibid., 280). Although it had not been used for burial within living memory, it was considered to be the special property of the gentry. There is now one (recent) gravestone in this area. A more recent informant has disagreed with this interpretation, believing a suicide to have been buried in the enclosure (information given by K. MacRae to OS, 1974, contained in NMRS/SMR nos. NG74NW1). MacRae believed that *Claodh Maree* referred rather to the whole of the area between the east gable of the chapel and the graveyard wall, where no recent burials had taken place. Two small pillar stones stand within this area and these are stated by Watson and Polson to mark Maolrubha's grave (Watson 1904, 202; Polson 1920, 58). These stones are positioned on a NW-SE alignment and are more than a grave-length apart. A low mound to the north-east of the east boundary of the churchyard was said to have been used as an altar (Reeves 1862, 281); in fact, the churchyard wall appears to rise up over an east-west aligned mound at this point.

The three original walls of what is said to have been an oratory founded in the fifteenth century stand in the area MacRae refers to as *Claodh Maree*. These walls could correspond to 'the remains of an old religious house, where the standard and soles of crucifixes are still to be seen' which were noted by McQueen as situated close to the parish church (1790-1, 379). It is not quite clear from MacRae's description whether the oratory is the same as the present chapel, which, in 1859, was in use as the vault of the Applecross family, or whether it underlay it (information given by K. MacRae to OS, 1974 and contained in NMRS/SMR nos. NG74NW1 and 3, NG 7139 4588). The present chapel was roofless by the middle of the twentieth century, although the walls have been heightened and the west wall is modern; MacRae apparently identified the original west gable, which would have extended the chapel from 5.5m in length to 12m, while digging graves. In 1934, while digging at the east end of the supposed oratory, to the right of where he estimated the altar to be, MacRae found a well-constructed long cist containing a ring brooch and calcined bones, which he believed to be the grave of Maolrubha himself. In the area immediately to the south-west of *Claodh Maree*, a number of less finely constructed long cists have been discovered over the years (e.g. Watson 1904, 202), along with five sculptural fragments. A larger carved slab, found built into the wall of the 'chapel', plus the two fragments which can still be located, have been reconstructed into a single cross slab; the panelled treatment of the face of the cross and some of its motifs can be paralleled on some of the finest Pictish cross slabs, such as those from Nigg and Farr, although in combination with the pierced ring headed cross, the Applecross slab is a distinctive blend of Pictish and Irish elements of probably early ninth century date (Fisher 2001, 88, nos. 1-3). Since the fragments are of Torridonian sandstone, it is possible they are the red granite fragments thought by Reeves to be part of Maolrubha's tomb (ibid.).

Little is known of the history of Applecross monastery as it did not survive into the Medieval period (Cant 1986, 57); after Maolrubha, the names of only two of its abbots are known. Maolrubha's immediate successor was Failbhe, who was drowned at sea in 737, with twenty-two of his monks (Reeves 1862, 274), a fact which may explain the lack of knowledge surrounding the early history of the monastery and of the saint himself (Scott 1909, 278). MacOigi of Applecross, who died in 801 and who is identified by Reeves with the *Ruaidhri mor MacCaoigan*, later became abbot of Bangor; traditionally, it is he who was commemorated by the tall cross-slab, which prior to 1800 stood close to

the mouth of the *Amhain Maree* and now stands just inside the entrance of the burial ground (Reeves 1862, 274-5, 279-80; Muir 1855, 32; Fisher 2001, 89; Muir refers to this wheel-headed cross as *Clach Mhor Mac-Cuagain*; NMRS/SMR no. NG74NW2, NG 7133 4580). The slab bears an outline of a wheel-headed cross and appears to be only partly finished (Fisher 2001, 89). According to folklore, Ruaidhri's removal to Bangor was on account of a Viking raid on Applecross which resulted in the destruction of all the monastery's records; he died shortly afterwards, his body floating back to Applecross and coming ashore in the bay, on the stone which now commemorates him (Mackenzie 1999, 11). This raid may well be the same as that referred to in a presumably largely apocryphal story contained in the Aberdeen Breviary. This describes an undated raid by the Danes, in which the entire area of sanctuary was violated and the monks insulted and robbed. On their departure, the raiders and all their ships were sunk 'in sight of land without any storm' (Reeves 1862, 267; *OPS*, 402-3). The hypothesis that Farquhar MacTaggart, made Earl of Ross after a rebellion of 1215, was a hereditary lay abbot of Applecross, has now been discounted (Grant 2000, 117ff), allowing the medieval history of Applecross to sink back into obscurity. A chaplainry, dedicated to St. Maolrubha, is mentioned in 1515 when James V 'presented Sir Alexander Makcloid to the two chaplainries within the parish church of *Abilcors*, when they should be vacated by the decease or inability of Sir Murdo and Sir Cristin the chaplains' (*OPS*, 403). Throughout the rest of the sixteenth century, chaplains of Applecross are named on numerous occasions (*ibid.*, 403-4). In 1569, James VI confirmed a grant made by Sir William Stewart, chaplain of Applecross, with the consent of the bishop and canons of Ross, to Rory Makkangze (Mackenzie) and his heirs male, of the lands which formed the patrimony of the chaplainry; not all of these can be identified, but it is clear that they extended as far north as Shildaig and Diabaig (*ibid.*, 404). The church was apparently richly endowed with landed property, which was given by the last Catholic priest, Gilpatrick Roy, known as the Red Priest of Applecross, to his daughter (McQueen 1790-1, 379; Reeves 1862, 275); both the Mackenzies and the Rosses apparently claim descent from this figure, his grandfather, 'the Green Abbot', having been a son of the Earl of Ross (Reeves 1862, 275-8; Watson 1899, 13; Scott 1909, 261, 265-6). Locally it is sometimes the body of Gilpatrick Roy which is believed to have been carried back to Applecross, after his death at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, by four red-headed men (Mackenzie 1999, 14). A sacred 'mass buik', recorded in 1508, apparently remained in the hands of the hereditary keepers of Applecross for many years (Craven 1886, 59).

There are a number of names in the vicinity of Applecross which seem to attest to the pervasive power of Maolrubha's sanctuary. *Lagan na Comraich*, 'the little hollow of the sanctuary', by the roadside on the south side of Applecross Bay, is the reputed site of the saint's cell (Watson 1904, 203), close to the place where the saint landed (Polson 1920, 58). The footings of a small building, 4m square, with a tree stump at each corner, survives at NG 7167 4495 (NMRS/SMR no. NG74SW1). The stumps may be the remains of four of the five apple trees in the form of a cross, erected by one of Applecross's proprietors to commemorate what he believed to be the correct derivation of the parish's name (McQueen 1790-1, 369; M'Rae 1836, 100). This subsequently gave rise to the legend that every apple on a particular tree in the monk's orchard grew with a cross marked on its surface (Polson 1920, 58). A holy well, with steps leading down into it and an iron drinking ladle attached to the adjacent wall, but which has no recorded dedication, lies close by (Watson 1904, 203; NMRS no. NG74SW5, SMR no. NG74SW0011, NG 7170 4499). The well is locally known as Stroupan a'Bhile, 'the small spout of the lips' (SMR no. NG74NW0016). Macrae (1923?) recorded that, as at Isle Maree, the sacrifice of bulls was practised at Applecross in the seventeenth century¹. The sacrifices took place at stone circles, which were destroyed once the clergy managed to stamp out the custom; a stone circle recorded by Vernon in 1911 apparently contained a stone with a hole in the middle of it, but there is now no trace of the stone or the circle (quoted in NMRS no. NG74NW6, SMR no. NG74NW0004).

Nearby are *Loch-an-tagart*, 'the priest's loch' (NG 745 380), and *Loch-na-nuag*, 'the holy loch', are located on Thomson's maps of Inverness-shire and Ross and Cromarty shires. The OS First Edition map shows a number of lochs east of Camusterrach, in the vicinity of *Loch-na-Nuag*, none of which can be easily correlated with Thomson's depiction; however, it does indicate that the burn shown by Thomson as leaving the loch could have been the *Allt nan Corp*, 'burn of the bodies' (Sheet CIX 1875 (1880); the burn runs into the sea at NG 713 407). Another Loch Maree is reputedly located two miles

to the south-west of the church (Reeves 1862, 281; it seems more likely that this is actually Loch a'Mhuilinn, 'the loch of the mill', OS First Edition, Sheets CII/CIX 1875 (1880), centred NG 706 436). *Island-na-nuagh*, 'island of the saints', on Thomson's map lying opposite Camusterrach, was apparently known as Rugg's Island in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Reeves 1862, 281; on the OS First Edition map it is again *Eilean nan Naomh*, 'the isle of the saints', Sheet CIX^A 1875 (1880)); SMR no. NG74SW0012, NG 702 412). This was apparently Maolrubha's first landfall (Mackenzie 1999, 9). In contrast, *Caoill Mhourie*, now Hartfield, lying half a mile to the north-east of Applecross, probably did not derive its name from Maolrubha (Watson 1904, 204, *contra* Reeves 1862, 281). *Calnakil*, 'the harbour of the cell', now Callakil, a coastal settlement to the north of Applecross, seems also to be a church name (Watson 1904, 206; NG 693 545), while *An Uaimh Shianta*, 'the sacred cave', lies to the north of Cuaig, along the coast from Calnakil (Seton Gordon 1935, 58). This is probably the unnamed cave, located west of Fearnmore, on an inlet known as *Òb na h-Uamha*, 'bay of the cave' (OS First Edition, Sheet LXXX 1875 (1881), NG 717 609). The derivation behind both these names is not known.

While the evidence above would seem to confirm the heartland of Maolrubha's influence was in Wester Ross, dedications to him are widely distributed across Ross-shire, through Argyll from Kintyre northwards through the Inner Hebrides, via Morar and Skye, to the Western Isles, extending north-eastwards into Sutherland and south-eastwards into Banff, Perth and Fife (Reeves 1862, 290-6; Watson 1899, 9; Scott 1909, 262ff; Watson 1926, 288-9). Macquarrie has put forward a case for the belief that Maolrubha was initially invited to Skye by the Christianised sons of Gartnait, exiled from Ireland through conflict with their cousins. Although both sets of cousins were descendants of Aedan mac Gabráin of the ruling Dál Riata family in Argyll (1987, 167-70), this does not seem to have precluded Gartnait's sons from settling in a part of western Scotland which was at least loosely associated with Argyll proper at this period. Certainly, the pattern of Maolrubha's dedications suggests he had connections with the whole of Argyll, including Dál Riata, although - if his dedications are taken literally and, as with St. Donan, the importance of gaining local aristocratic support is seen as crucial to the spread of Christianity - this could just as easily apply to the whole of northern Scotland. Argyll translates as the 'coastline of the Gael' and originally seems to have referred to the entire western coast (Skene 1890, 47-9; Watson 1926, 120-1). Nevertheless, that there might have been a real distinction between the northern and southern parts of this western coast, is indicated throughout the medieval period. Perhaps of most significance in this context is a charter, issued during the reign of William I (1165-1214), in which a distinction is made between the part of Argyll which belongs to Scotia and that which formed the western parts of Moray (*APS*, vol. i, 372; Skene 1890, 47-8; on the basis of the twelfth century, *De Situ Albanie*, the two provinces of Ross and Moray are assumed to have been linked (cf. Munro 1984, 127; Munro 1986, 59); certainly the first mention of an earl of Ross in 1157, refers to Malcolm Macheth receiving the 'earldom of Ross, part of the earldom of Moray', on his reconciliation with Malcolm IV (Anderson 1922, vol. ii, 232-3; Grant 2000, 106)). This appears to be the first mention of the area which become known as North Argyll, a secular and ecclesiastical unit, which once extended as far south as Ardnamurchan (Watson 1926, 121), but by the medieval period had come to refer exclusively to the area of Wester Ross, along with Kintail and Lochalsh, which has formed the focus of the preceding discussion.

Gairloch and Applecross churches first come on record as common kirks of the Canons of Ross, shortly after 1255/6, alongside the other churches of North Argyll, including Kintail, Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom (*RSS* (1556-1567), no. 3173; Theiner 1864, 69-70, no. 182; Cowan 1967, 135). This group of parishes appear to remain a consistent entity throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods. While it is clear that North Argyll had connections with the main part of Argyll, it is, as has already been hinted, the connection with the wider province of Ross which appears to be of most significance in the understanding of the development of Christianity, at least subsequent to the period of the initial conversion (Munro 1994, 119). Prior to the period of Scandinavian influence, the presence of the Pictish symbol stones from Gairloch and Poolewe and the various p-Celtic place-names, surviving particularly in the southern parishes of this area (Watson 1904, *passim*), suggest that North Argyll derived its influences from the east, rather than the areas to the south. Even though the boundaries of the kingdom of Moray and Ross are unclear in the twelfth century *De Situ Albanie*, it is

probable that, from its inception in the mid eleventh century, the bishopric of Ross was coterminous with the earldom (Watson 1904, xxvi) and that, by the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries, the lands, as well as the parishes, of North Argyll were firmly associated with Ross, even though they maintained a certain degree of separateness (cf. *APS*, vol. i, 447; Skene 1890, 88; Munro 1986, 59; Grant 2000, 90). The early medieval evidence would seem to imply that this was simply continuing a long held orientation. Skene's belief that the area of Wester Ross (i.e. North Argyll), during the reign of Alexander, had formed the territory of the monastery of Applecross (Skene 1890, 78) may account for its integrity. The attempts to link Earl Farquhar of Ross with Applecross can perhaps also be seen as an attempted explanation for this integrity in face of the dearth of medieval records for the monastery. The North Argyll parishes were part of the presbytery of Dingwall throughout the seventeenth century - linked with those eastern parishes (Contin, Fodderty and Dingwall) in which the superstitious practices associated with St. Maolrubha were very strong - only being elected as a separate presbytery in 1724, known at first as Gairloch and (from 1775) as Lochcarron (*FES*, vol. vii, 144; Murchison 1965; Murchison 1969). This implies that the situation pertaining in the thirteenth century (and probably earlier) had changed little over the subsequent four centuries; as nearly all of the revenues of the thirty-six parishes were appropriated to the cathedral during the medieval period, this must merely have acted as a drain on the resources of the dispersed western parishes in particular (Cant 1986, 55-7). That this was still the case for the six parishes of North Argyll in 1567, is confirmed by the fact that they were granted by Mary to the new bishop of Ross, John Leslie, in this year (*RSS* (1556-1567), no. 3173). If the dedications to Maolrubha and Donan are taken to indicate that it was these two saints - independent of Iona - who had the greatest role to play in the evangelisation of the western areas of Ross (and probably most of the northern highlands), it is interesting that these east-west connections in the later medieval period appear to confirm the integrity of Ross at a much earlier date (cf. Grant 2000, 93-5). It is in this context that the enduring influence of Maolrubha begins to find its place.

5 Analysis of archaeological features

5.1 Burial ground (See Appendix 9.1 for plan and Appendix 9.2 for record of gravestones)



The raised central part of the burial ground looking north (copyright KB)

The graveyard lies at the physical, as well as the conceptual, heart of Isle Maree. This focal position seems to be reinforced by the fact that the core of the graveyard, within which the two earliest cross-slabs (IM100; IM102) are situated, lies on the highest ground at the centre of the island; the rest of the graveyard therefore extends to the east and south of the ridge sloping down considerably but especially on the south side. The cross-slabs are located in the north-east corner of a shallow depression on the crest of the ridge and more or less in the centre of the graveyard. This hollow has no particular form to it and it is possible that it is a result of the fact that more recent burials over succeeding centuries have raised the level around the cross-slabs. The cross-slabs are themselves on a NE-SW alignment in striking contrast to the lines of much later headstones arrayed in the more normal E-W lines. Immediately to the north of them are what appear to be a matching pair of recumbent slabs (IM101; IM103), although neither have any visible inscription and IM101 is, in fact,



Left, cross-slab IM 100 and Right, cross-slab IM 102 (copyright KB)

a far more substantial slab than any of the other three. All four appear to have head and footstones. Neither IM101 or IM103 are mentioned in any of the earlier descriptions which mention the cross-slabs, so their significance is hard to assess. The assumption here is that they are contemporary with the cross-slabs. Although many of the early medieval sculptured stones from the west Highlands were clearly intended to mark graves, large recumbent slabs, which are common in Ireland are rare outside Iona and Kingarth (Fisher 2001, 9). The two carved stones are both very different from each other, although both are incised. The larger of the two (IM100a) has a Latin cross, with semi-circular arm-pits and a second transom, which may be a later addition, while the smaller one, now broken, has a cross-of-arcs supported on a T-shaped transom, separated from the main part of the cross stem (Fisher 2001, 90).

The edge of the break of slope on the south side of the central ridge is defined by what seems to be the remnants of a drystone wall, made of fairly small, rounded boulders. Although it delimits the main concentration of burials on this side, this is perhaps the remains of the very ruined chapel noted by

Mitchell (1863, 251). Given its position, this seems more likely than that it is an earlier enclosure wall. All the inscribed headstones (bar IM4 and IM10) are concentrated on the east side of the central area, implying that this was perceived to be the most sacred part of the graveyard and seeming to corroborate the suggestion that the chapel was located here. It may not be stretching the evidence too far to postulate that these memorials were concentrated in the chancel of a former chapel, with an earlier (but still distinct) line of gravemarkers running from IM35 to IM45, marking the western wall of a two compartment building. If this was the case, however, it would mean the cross-slabs - and many of the other memorials - were located on the unfavourable north side of the building, although potentially close to its east end. Although the majority of the burials appear to be located close to the cross-slabs, a few stones extend beyond the central part of the graveyard to the north, but more especially to the south. It is possible that the very peripheral location of the Hornsby children's grave can be accounted for by the fact that the burial of unbaptized children only became common in graveyards in the later nineteenth century (Gordon 1984, 144). Similarly it is possible that the English ironworkers might be buried in a slightly separated and unfavourable location, just as they were in *Cladh-nam-Sasganach*. It is possible, in light of its associations with pagan practices and superstitions, that Isle Maree, as a whole, was considered as a place apart - particularly if it is assumed that the elite of the parish were buried at the parish church. However, since it apparently acted as the traditional burial place of the inhabitants of the north shore of Loch Maree (McIntosh 1792, 90; Reeves 1862, 287; Anderson and Anderson 1863, 638-9) and, like many other islands, may have been chosen as place of burial in order to avoid wolves (MacCulloch 1824, 301), too much weight should perhaps not be placed on this hypothesis, in the absence of clearer evidence to the contrary. Apart from the two memorials to people connected with the Loch Maree Hotel, which do feel like intruders since they are both very much peripheral to the main concentration of memorials, all the inscriptions commemorate the Maclean family from Letterewe. Since all bar one post-date the observation that the inhabitants of the north shore were buried on the island by some considerable time, it does imply that this could have been a long standing practice.

Beyond the memorials already mentioned, the central area of the burial ground is a confusing and complicated mass of upright and recumbent stones, ranging from shaped headstones to rounded boulders which could have acted as gravemarkers. Beyond the area in which these markers are concentrated, the graveyard is almost entirely clear of stone, suggesting that any stone in the central part of the burial ground does have some significance and reinforcing the impression that the graves they seem to mark have - for some reason - been squashed into a comparatively small part of its total area. The obvious lines of E-W graves appear to lie head to toe, with virtually no space between each row. Although most are clearly associated with more recent burials, this is not always the case and it appears that the later burials maintained the earlier layout. As with the cross-slabs, the majority of the earlier burials seem to have a head and footstone (see "notes" in table of gravestones ([Appendix 2](#)), also plan ([Appendix 1](#)) while a number also appear to have recumbent slabs covering the body. In some cases, as with the relatively modern grave to the Hornsby children (IM10), the lairs appear to be edged with stone. According to Willsher, the use of head- and foot-stones was a post-Reformation development to distinguish the newly acquired lairs of ordinary parishioners, out of which the idea of carved headstones later grew (1990, 11). There are only seven inscribed headstones in the entire graveyard, spanning a date range from 1858 (IM126) to 1925 (IM4); since in the early nineteenth century, Hogg (1880, 78) and Russell (1836, 91) noted a number of tombstones on the island with initials and hieroglyphical figures, it suggests the graveyard may have undergone considerable change through the nineteenth century. It does seem surprising, particularly in light of Hogg's observation, that no simple headstones of the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries are recognisable, until the much more elaborate memorials of the second half of the century appear. It has been assumed here that, since Mitchell, at the beginning of the second half of the century, only notes the presence of two inscribed slabs, presumably the two cross-slabs, he was only concerned with such early stones (1863, 251).

Perhaps the most interesting monuments in the burial ground are the probable cairns, of which there are five (IM21, IM46, IM99, IM120 and IM182); the mound clearly associated with the grave of Alexander Robertson (IM4) is excluded here, as of rather different character. It seems unlikely that

these can be explained away as the mounds of stone left behind after the digging of nearby graves. The association between headstone IM10, dated 1878, and IM21 is however hard to understand, since it seems natural to assume that the cairns would be considerably earlier in date. None of the cairns is particularly regular in form; most are sub-circular and, except for IM21, certainly not grave-shaped. The most rectangular in form, IM21, is much the largest of the cairns and, perhaps significantly, is located on the highest part of the graveyard. This cairn, with its central spine, seems to mimic the dominant ridge of the island along which it is oriented. Cairn IM120, lying on the east side of the four large cross-slabs, is also on one of the highest parts of the graveyard, a position reinforced by IM146, immediately to the east. IM99 also seems to be in a dominant position; although it lies within the main concentration of graves, it is relatively islanded as if set deliberately apart. Apart from IM21, the other cairns are low, almost level; in the main they are made up of small, rounded cobbles, although the sandstone boulders of IM120 are more comparable in size to those in enclosure wall. IM46, in particular, is predominantly composed of (sandstone) beach stones, although a few of the larger ones are quartzite (and there is one sandstone boulder). It seems to have a rough kerb of stones surrounding it; this may be a feature of other cairns, but is less easy to be confirm because of their state of preservation.

The graveyard wall encloses a sub-circular area, with an entrance in the south-west corner, above the votive tree and well and probably the main landing place. A second entrance lies towards the south-eastern corner. The wall is 0.5m high and made up of loose sub-rounded boulders; these are all roughly equal in size, ranging from 0.3m to 0.4m. Most of the stones are moss-covered and numerous hollies (some now cut down to stumps) grow out of it. The wall is somewhat tumbled on the south side, but there is not enough stone around it to suggest that it was once much more substantial, nor to account for the irregularities of its form. It appears to run in straight stretches, except on the north-east side where it is more uneven, giving the overall of a rounded area. The south-western entrance appears to have slightly expanded terminals, although it is possible that it is just tumble. On the south-east side, a single, small standing slab may have acted as a retaining stone for the entrance, while one long block forms an edging for the external face of the wall, and there are additional facing stones further to the south-east. The form of the north-west side of the entrance is less easy to determine, partly because of the holly tree in the middle of it. The second entrance has a single facing slab defining its south-eastern side and appears to splay outwards, although this appearance might be at least partly the result of the state of preservation of the entrance. On the south-east side the drop from the top to the bottom of the wall is 1.10m, this difference in height giving the impression that there is a ramp leading away from it. On the north side of the graveyard, there is a very clear section of facing, where a path appears to lead down to the enclosure wall from the central area of the graveyard. This path crosses a worn down part of the wall, continuing to the beach on the north side of the island which may have formed the main landing place for boats coming from Letterewe and the north side of the loch.



The east part of the surrounding bank of the burial enclosure looking north (copyright KB)

5.2 Votive tree and holy well by Annette Jack (See Appendix 9.3 for scale drawing of tree and Appendix 9.4 for record of coins with legible dates)

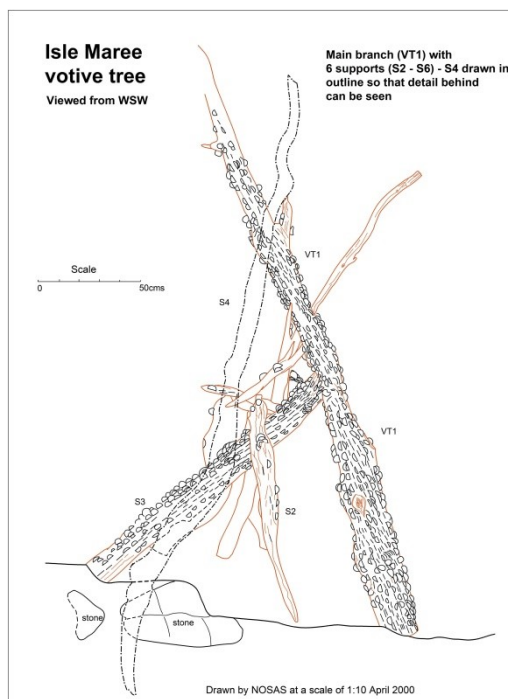
'The celebrated well is near the shore. We found it dry and full of last years leaves. It is a built well and the flat stone which serves for a cover we found lying on the bank. Near it stands an oak tree, which is studded with nails.' Mitchell, Arthur, 1863

'The sacred tree grew beside the sacred well of wishing -- It now stands like a gaunt skeleton -- In its furrowed wood without bark are hundreds of coins,—scores of coins have fallen and lie amongst the dead leaves' Barnett, T. Radcliffe, 1930

The votive tree is situated at the south end of Isle Maree and lies 10m south of the entrance to the main enclosure. The largest remaining spar (VT1) sits in a damp hollow, thought to be the site of the well, and therefore close to its original location. No signs of construction or the flat stone cover noted by Mitchell (1863, 253) were visible.

What is left of the main trunk of the votive tree (VT1) is 4.5m in length and lies at an angle, leaning against another tree. It was recorded at a scale of 1:10 (Appendix 9.3) and divided up into sections A to E by J Heath for ease of recording the coins. The trunk is covered all around with hundreds of verdigreased coins, hammered in edgewise, some clearly bent in the process. Others had simply been piled up where they could be lodged in hollows or against other coins. Most of the coins were of twentieth century date, although a few from the nineteenth century were identified, as well as some foreign coins (a full list is given as Appendix 9.4).

The foot of the tree is supported by six props. These also have coins hammered into the top and sides, but none underneath, suggesting that the coins had been added after the propping up of the main trunk. The longer of the props have been given numbers 2, 3 and 4 on the plan. No. 2, a piece of wood leaning against No. 3, has a few coins hammered into it and some piled up in hollows in its surface.



Above, Scale drawing of the votive tree, see Appendix 3 for larger version, and Right, close up of spar V1

No. 3 is a reused pine strainer post, with a cut on the underside (identified by Mike the boatman). This had a large concentration of coins on the uppermost side, although there were none underneath. No. 4 was a long pine branch, with a large collection of coins in two long splits on the upperside (this is indicated on the plan as a dotted line, as it would have blocked out a large part of the main trunk).

In addition to noting the coins pressed into the tree, the area underneath the tree was quartered, so that the natural stone outcrop below the bank and the fallen coins could be recorded and planned (by Mark the hotelier). Only three of these coins were identifiable: an 1877 penny, 1945 half penny and a 1965 two shilling coin.

There are two subsidiary parts of the votive tree, now some distance from the main trunk. VT2 lies 4m south east of VT1 and is propped up by another tree. The largest concentration of coins is visible on the uppermost surface; some coins have been hammered into the trunk, but most have been placed on top. Since some of the latter were bent, it is possible that they had fallen and had been picked up and placed there. This trunk still retains some of its bark, while its lower end lies beside a tree stump. VT3 lies 4.3m east of VT1 and also leans against another tree. Coins were found in lines from ground level to a height of 1.4m. VT2 and VT3 were sketched onto the plan and not drawn to scale, except for length and height.

5.3 Rest of island

In addition to the burial ground, a number of features are known to have existed at one time on Isle Maree. These include the tower occupied by the Norse princess and the cell - and possibly other structures - associated with the hermitage on the island. Although no direct evidence for these was observed, a number of features of possible archaeological significance were recorded.

On the north-west side of the island, the ground level is higher on the outside of the graveyard than it is on the inside and extends to the edge of the beach as a level platform. It is likely that this originated naturally, as a raised beach. In contrast to the rest of the island, there is a marked division in the height of the platform and the beach, marked by a vertical face just over 1m in height. The boundary wall of the graveyard extends to the edge of the platform on the north side; to the east, the ground slopes much more gently down towards the loch. In the south-west corner of the platform, burnt bone and charcoal is apparent in the root plate of a fallen oak. However, the fragments are too small for identification. The platform provides a large area suitable for building and occupation and as it lies on the side of the island with uninterrupted views down Loch Maree, it could well have been the location of any defensive structure on the island (Dixon 1886, 8, 10; Barnet 1930, 116).

The south side of the island, where the well and the votive tree are located, has a much more uneven surface and is very overgrown. There are several features on this side of the island which may display evidence of human activity. One of these is what appears to be a sandstone outcrop (or built platform). It has very straight edges and stands proud of the ground surface. Even though it is probably natural in origin, it may have been utilised in some way. In the south-east corner of the island is a distinct hollow which may have been a sandstone quarry; there is one large block of sandstone at one side. On the south-west side is a large gravelly mound, which - although it may be upcast from a fallen tree - could be spoil from a quarry. The hollow appears to be filled, to a depth of at least 0.4m, with very soft earth. On the east side of the island, the ground slopes gently down towards the shore, interrupted by what seems to be a shingle bank. This is again probably of natural origin, but forms a distinct feature in the landscape.

6 Discussion

The archaeological and historical background of the Isle and its importance has been comprehensively covered by Janet Hooper's report above. According to her notes she intended to add several possible anomalies and questions which could be considered. These are summarised below. It is not intended to expand or discuss these in this report but using the questions as a basis for further research would be worthwhile. The 'folk tales' surrounding the 'Norse prince and princess', the

sacrifice of bulls and the votive tree can be easily found in documents and on the internet but the other questions posed have not been tackled as far as we are aware. (*AC and MM Nov 2022*)

The area of Gairloch parish now includes Loch Maree but the area north of Loch Maree and Loch Ewe was considered to be part of Lochbroom parish, immediately after the Ref. (Dixon 1886, 64-5) cf. barony of Lochbroom incorporates this area (Bangor-Jones 1994, 79, 81)

In the Early Medieval period where was the majority of the population – along the coast? Flowerdale, Inverewe, castle of Gairloch, Tollie (hut-circles/crannog), Eilean Ghruidh, Uamh nam Freiceadain, Tournaig, Naast, etc (cf Dixon 1886, 97-9, 101ff) suggest this was the case.

Strange stories surrounding the Tigh Dige, etc (1886, 97) – extending in towards Loch Maree. Wentworth makes the point that only along Loch Maree do Norse placenames extend inland along the axis of the loch (also Watson 1904, xvii)]

Many of the stories and practices associated with Isle Maree especially surrounding the well and votive tree are found elsewhere (cf. Banks) - apart maybe from the sacrificing of bulls.

The fact that Isle Maree develops all this paraphernalia seems to indicate that it had a role to play in the evangelisation of the area around it, rather than simply being a place of retreat.

If the Norse presence simply comprised the elite, then popular tradition might have survived their arrival, even if the written documentation to confirm this did not.

James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, in a letter to Sir Walter Scot in 1803 writes:

'We landed on St. Mary's Isle [Isle Maree], and I had the superstition to go and drink of the holy well so renowned in that country among the vulgar and superstitious, like me, for the cure of insanity in all its stages, and so well authenticated are the facts, the most stubborn of all proofs, that even people of the most polite and modern ways of thinking, are obliged to allow of its efficacy in some instances. But as mine was only an attack of poetical hydrophobia, including my tendency to knight errantry, which however ridiculous to some, I take pleasure in. I omitted, however, the appendage of the ceremony, which in all probability is the most necessary and efficacious branch of it, namely, that of being plunged over head and ears three times in the lake. But although I write thus lightly to you of the subject, I acknowledge that I felt a kind of awe on my mind on wandering over the burying-ground and ruins of the Virgin's chapel, held in such veneration by the devout, though illiterate fathers of the present generation. This I mentioned to Mr. Mackenzie [of Ardlair], who assured me that had I visited it before the wood was cut down, such was the effect, that it would have been impossible not to be struck with religious awe' (James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, in a letter to Sir Walter Scot in 1803 (Hogg 1888, 84-5)).

7 Acknowledgements

The knowledge and enthusiasm of the NoSAS members who attended made it possible to record the archaeological features on Isle Maree in such detail. Ronnie Scott, Allan Mackenzie and Meryl Marshall were responsible for the intricacies of the plane table survey. Annette Jack dealt ably with the votive tree, while Jenny Heath and Mark Vincent, proprietor of the Loch Maree Hotel, recorded the details of the coins. George Grant, Hugh Cochran and Hector Mackenzie Rogers undertook the survey of the rest of the island. Chris Neil and Pam and Laurie Draper were dispatched to record the north side of the loch, while Jim Bone and George Taylor dealt with the south shore. Linda Lamb used her expertise to produce the vegetation surveys of Isle Maree and neighbouring islands. Hilary Hanson and Anne Coombs took the majority of the photographs. The bulk of the gravemarkers were recorded by Jim Marshall, John Wombell, Trina Wombell and Jean Lawson, assisted (in addition to their other duties) by Jim Bone, Pam Draper, Laurie Draper, George Grant, Jenny Heath, Linda Lamb and Chris Neil - while Jim and John succeeded in the arduous task of keeping track of the myriad of monuments. Our thanks are extended to Mark, Mike and everyone at the Loch Maree Hotel, for everything they did to facilitate the survey, both on and off the island, particularly for the barbeque! Roy Wentworth gave an excellent talk and, by providing so freely of his extensive knowledge of the area, made the visit even more enjoyable. Subsequently, prior to his sudden death, he commented on drafts of the text and the final report owes much to him. Our thanks too to Karen Buchanan of Gairloch Museum for allowing us to use her colour photos in this report

8 References

Abbreviations:

<i>APS</i>	<i>Acts of Parliament of Scotland</i>
<i>FES</i>	<i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ</i>
<i>NB</i>	<i>Original Name Books of the Ordnance Survey</i>
<i>OPS</i>	<i>Origines Parochiales Scotiae</i>
<i>OS</i>	<i>Ordnance Survey</i>
<i>RSS</i>	<i>Register of the Privy Seal</i>

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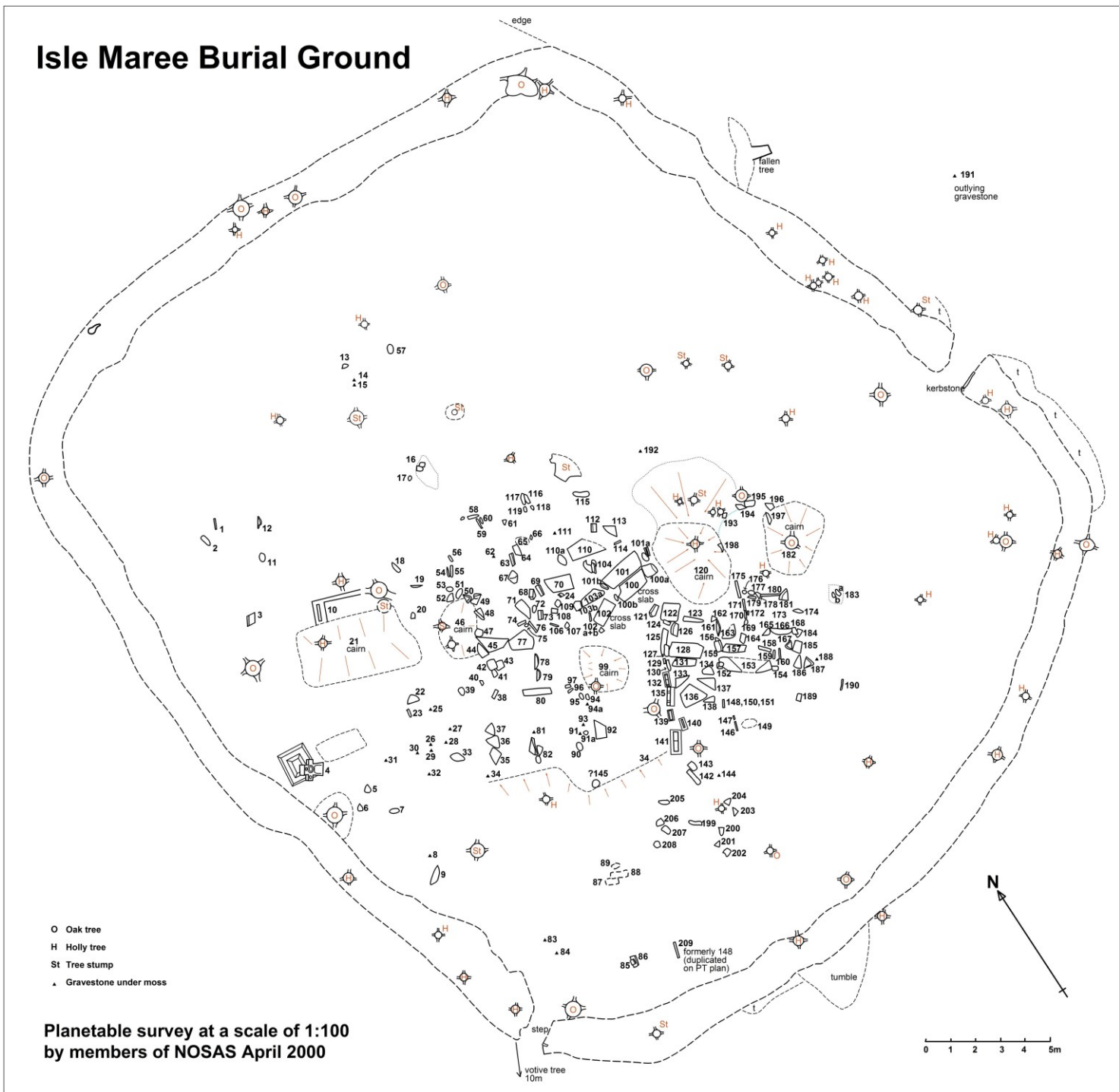
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¹ The reference made here to Macrae could not be found in 2022. It may be from Macrae, N., 1923. *The Romance of a Royal Burgh. Dingwall's Story of a Thousand Years*. Dingwall: "North Star" Proprietors. However, there is a detailed reference to the sacrifice of bulls, which may be where the Macrae reference comes from in Mitchell, A., 1863. 'On various superstitions in the North-west Highlands and Islands of Scotland, especially in relation to lunacy.' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* IV, 256

9 Appendices

Appendix 9.1 Planetable plan of burial ground



Appendix 9.2 Table of gravestones

No.	Type	Dimensions (in cms as h/l x w x t)	Description	Notes	Slide	B&W
IM01	Upright Slab	19.5 x 17 x 5	A thin, roughly-shaped, coarse grained sandstone slab with occasionally protruding quartz crystals. It lies on a NE-SW alignment and leans slightly eastwards. Both faces are smooth. The surface is encrusted with a number of different types of lichen.	Head/foot stone associated with IM12?	4.04	6.00
IM02	Unshaped stone	20 x 10 x 5.5	A natural red sandstone boulder, lying almost flat. Its rough, naturally grooved surface is completely covered in moss. It is aligned N-S.	Head/foot stone associated with IM11? A fairly distinct drop in level along the long (south) edge of the suggested grave. This would assume that the boulder had sunk.	4.05	6.01
IM03	Upright slab	45-48 x 25 x 4-6	A tall, thin slab of coarse red sandstone, with numerous prominent grey quartz crystals. Aligned NE-SW. Although this slab has clearly been worked and has very squared corners, both surfaces are very undulating. Only the east face is covered with moss and lichen.	Leaning to west. In line with IM11 and IM12?	3.37	
IM04	Inscribed cross slab Plinth	172 x 21-59 x ? 145 x 33-107 x 47-134 (for exact dimensions see form)	A grey granite Celtic cross, now fallen and leaning against its stepped plinth of coarse red, rusticated sandstone blocks. The sub-square plinth is bonded together with thick, rough mortar and is moss and lichen encrusted. The top element of the plinth is made of dressed grey granite (sides are only roughly hewn) and has a inscription formed from metal letters: "In Memory Of / Alexander Robertson / Of Lochmaree / And Kinlochewe Hotels / Who Died At Lochmaree / on 4 January 1925, Age 47 / And Is Buried Here / Amidst The Mountains He Loved So Well / Dearly Beloved By His / Friends, He Was Honoured And / Respected By Rich And Poor. / This Stone Is Erected By His Sister / And A Few Old Frequenters Of Loch Maree." The sculptor was Davidson of Inverness, visible on the NW corner of the plinth. The highly decorated wheel-headed Celtic cross which used to surmount the plinth is also made of grey granite; only the front face has been dressed. Its Gaelic inscription reads: "Fearnach Do Chuir Cul Ri Carad Nor I Namhaid".	The associated grave mound to the east of IM04 is covered by a moss-covered cairn of stones, measuring 2.3m long x 0.94m wide x 0.16m high. It is surmounted by an immortelle, a now broken glass dome covering china flowers and a dove; these are now quite rare (Willsher 1990, 23).	1.07 1.10 1.11	1.13
IM05	Unshaped stone	32 x 16 x 10	A red sandstone grave marker with occasional coarse quartz veins. The boulder has a prominent ridge running NE-SW, giving it a triangular profile. Half covered in moss.	Very close to IM06.	2.10	2.17
IM06	?Mortar	20 x 45 x 45	An amorphous lump of mortar, now largely moss-covered.	Probably a bucketful of mortar left over from the building of IM04.	2.09	2.16
IM07	Unshaped stone	60 x 30	An unshaped red sandstone boulder, covered in thick moss. It is slightly domed in form, but the overall impression is of a flat stone. The exposed surface is smooth. Its long axis is aligned E-W.	Along with 6, this stone lies just inside the graveyard wall, and may be left over from the construction of IM04.	2.08	2.15

IM08	Unshaped stone	7 x 18 x 18 (max)	An unshaped red sandstone boulder, almost triangular in shape. It has a smooth upper surface, although there are numerous very coarse quartz inclusions. Only at the south end does the stone stand proud of the ground, to a height of 7cm; this edge is almost vertical. Almost entirely moss-covered.		2.07	2.14
IM09	Unshaped stone	5 x 48 x 27	An unshaped, coarse red sandstone boulder, of pyramidal form, aligned NE-SW. Its SW and SE faces are almost vertical. Moss covers the NW face, while the other surfaces are encrusted with lichen.		2.06	2.13
IM10	Upstanding headstone	110 x 71 x 4	A red sandstone gravestone with a beautifully inscribed east face. Inscription reads: "In Memory Of / The two Infant Daughters / of B & M Hornsby Talladale / January 30 1878" above the inscription is a less deeply carved, but very carefully executed, flowering plant motif. The rounded head of the stone has a chamfered edge. The back of the stone has been left unfinished and is moss-covered at the base. To the east of the stone is a moss-covered kerb of coarse grey concrete, enclosing an area 1.94m long x 71(internally). A light grey quartzite stone, measuring 34 x 23 x 10cm, lies just behind the headstone.	South side of kerb obscured by cairn IM21.	1.06 + KB photo	
IM11	Unshaped stone	30 x 18 x 17	An apparently unshaped sandstone stone, aligned NE-SW. Its upper surface is flat, while on the west side, it is possible to reach right under the stone. This maybe a thick slab, now tipped over to such an extent that it is lying almost flat. The majority of the stone is moss-covered.	Possible head/foot stone associated with IM02	4.02	
IM12	Upright slab	40 x 12-32 x 5-7	A naturally fractured sandstone slab, tapering towards its top. Although it does not appear to have been worked, the sides are roughly squared and the east face is relatively smooth. The slab has tipped slightly towards the east. The west face is moss-covered at its base, while the rest of the stone is lichen encrusted.	Possible head/foot stone associated with IM01 A small holly bush lies just to the west.	4.03	
IM13	Unshaped stone	30 x 20 x 15	An almost entirely moss covered stone, possibly quartzite as the visible surfaces are predominantly grey quartz with only a small area of pink sandstone visible. The boulder is almost triangular in shape and has a flat upper surface. It is aligned E-W.	Possible head/foot stone associated with IM57	3.32	1b.01
IM14	Unshaped stone	16 x 11 x 7	A small triangular piece of sandstone/?grave marker, aligned E-W and now largely moss covered. It is loose and, apart from a prominent ridge along its long axis, has no distinguishing markings.	Close to IM15. Proximity to IM13 and IM57 may suggest they mark a lair or grave.	3.32	1b.01
IM15	Unshaped stone	21 x 8 x 2-5	An unshaped triangular boulder, only just protruding from the ground and aligned E-W. It is now largely moss-covered.	Possibly associated with IM14, 16 cm to the N. Their proximity to IM13/IM57 suggests they may demarcate the west end of another grave, parallel to IM13/IM57.	3.32	1b.01
IM16a	Unshaped stone	28 x 27 x 10	An unshaped, moss-covered, sandstone slab, flat but dipping into the ground on the W side. It overlaps IM16b, but seems to be facing the opposite direction - ?separate grave markers. As with IM16b, the top surface is rounded.	With IM17, IM16b and adjacent mossy patch may form a single grave possibly in line with IM54/IM55	3.33	1b.02

IM16b	Unshaped stone	30 x 31 x 12	An unshaped, moss-covered, sandstone boulder?, dipping into the ground on the E side. It is overlapped by IM16a, but both seem to be facing in opposite directions, as if they are separate grave markers. As with IM16a, its top surface is rounded.	With IM17, IM16a and adjacent mossy patch may form a single grave possibly in line with IM54/IM55	3.33	1b.02
IM17	Unshaped stone	20 x 11 x 2	An unworked, sandstone boulder, lying only 2cm proud of the ground. Its upper surface is largely moss-covered and has a slightly domed appearance. Its long axis is aligned E-W.	This stone, along with IM16, may form a single grave.	3.33	1b.02
IM18	Unshaped stone	20 x 13 x ?	A rounded red sandstone boulder, with its long axis aligned N-S. The exposed surface is dominated by a central ridge, while the surface is smooth and lichen covered.		3.30	4.20
IM19	Unshaped stone	57 x 9 x 5	A partially exposed stone, its southern edge covered by moss and tree roots. The straight northern edge displays a vertical face, 5cm high. The stone is aligned E-W.	Possible head/foot stone associated with IM54? Its alignment may suggest it is more likely to be a kerb stone.	3.29	4.19
IM20	Unshaped stone	25 x 15 x 10	A rounded boulder of grey quartzite, half covered in moss. Its upper surface has a vaguely pyramidal form. Its longest axis appears to be aligned NE-SW.		3.28	4.18
IM21	Cairn	50 x 500 x 250	A cairn comprising a number of small rounded and sub-rounded stones; the majority are sandstone, but there is one large quartzite boulder and a number of small grey beach stones. The cairn has a marked spine. The SE corner is defined by a large boulder. The cairn is moss-covered and surmounted by a tree.	The cairn overlies the S side of the lair associated with IM10.	3.34 3.35 3.36	1b.03
IM22	Upright slab	30 x 45 x 7	A coarse red sandstone slab aligned N-S and almost entirely covered in moss, the rest of the stone being lichen encrusted. The slab is triangular in shape, the result of natural breakage and the faces are very rough	Possible head/foot stone relating to IM39?	2.13	2.20
IM23	Upright slab	7 x 30 x 5	A neatly shaped, small slab of sub-rectangular shape with rounded corners. It is aligned N-S and is made of fine red sandstone. It only barely protrudes from the ground.	A number of rounded stones (grey quartzite and red sandstone) to the W of this slab could mark the edge of a grave.	2.12	2.19
IM24	Upright slab	20 x 14 x 5	A small, red sandstone slab, aligned N-S, but leaning heavily towards the W. It is encrusted with lichen and covered in moss. It seems to be unworked, although it has a flat top.	Immediately adjacent to IM70, but lies at an angle to it.	4.07	6.03
IM25	Unshaped stone	10 x 16 x 2	A triangular shaped stone, lying flat on the ground and only protruding 2cm above the ground surface. The stone is made of grey quartzite and only the W face is clear of moss.	Possibly associated with IM22 and IM39 – a grave?	2.14	2.21
IM26	Recumbent slab?	2 x 14 x ?	Although this stone is largely covered in moss and barely protrudes above the surface, it is bigger than it appears at present. The stone is dark grey in colour and seems to be unworked.	Part of a cluster of stones (IM26-29, IM32-3) which may form head/foot stones	2.15	2.22
IM27	Unshaped stone	12 x 14 x 6.5	A small, square-topped sandstone boulder with rounded corners, now covered in moss. The sides of the boulder slope gently away from the lichen-encrusted top on all sides.	Part of a cluster of stones (IM26-29, IM32-3) which may form head/foot stones or kerbing.	2.16	2.23

IM28a	Unshaped stone	30 x 25 x 9	A small, weathered and irregularly shaped, red sandstone boulder, lying partly underneath IM28b. It is almost obscured by moss.	Part of a cluster of stones (IM26-29, IM32-3) which may form head/foot stones or kerbing.	2.17	2.24
IM28b	Unshaped stone	16 x 16 x 2	A similarly irregularly shaped stone, lying on top of IM22a. It is of finer red sandstone than IM22a and has sharp vertical edges. It dips into the ground towards its western edge.	Part of a cluster of stones (IM26-29, IM32-3) which may form head/foot stones or kerbing.	2.17	2.24
IM29	Upright slab?	33 x 32 x 2	A red sandstone slab, roughly square in shape. It has fractured, curved edges and slopes slightly to the N. The degree of moss cover makes it impossible to define further.	Part of a cluster of stones (IM26-29, IM32-3) which may form head/foot stones or kerbing, although it is not clear to what grave it may relate.	2.18	3.01
IM30	Unshaped stone	15 x 20 x 2	An unshaped, red sandstone boulder, almost entirely covered in moss. It slopes steeply away from either side of a central spine. The stone barely protrudes from the ground surface.	Head/foot stone associated with IM31?	2.19	3.02
IM31	Unshaped stone	7 x 18 x 20	A lichen encrusted, small red sandstone boulder, naturally triangular in shape and with smooth edges.	Head/foot stone associated with IM30? (no blackboard number)	2.11	2.18
IM32	Unshaped stone	15 x 20 x 9	A naturally rounded, red sandstone boulder, almost completely obscured by moss. The boulder is sub-rectangular in shape. It appears to be lying close to the surface, as it is quite loose.	Part of a cluster of stones (IM26-29, IM32-3) which may form head/foot stones or kerbing. The area between IM32 and IM33 is clear of moss.	2.20	3.03
IM33	Upright slab?	35 x 35 x 20	A large, loose, thick, roughly triangular sandstone slab, resting on another stone. The slab slopes slightly towards the W. Any further details are obscured by moss. Its long axis is aligned NW-SE and the SE face is smooth. A square, entirely moss-covered, stone lies to the S.	Part of a cluster of stones (IM26-29, IM32-3) which may form head/foot stones or kerbing. The area between IM32 and IM33 is clear of moss.	2.21	3.04
IM34	Enclosure/ remains of wall?	720 x 140(max) x ?	The remnants of a low wall, comprising a linear arrangement of small, water-worn stones, averaging 20-30cm in diameter. It has been much disturbed by the later insertion of graves, so that only its outer edge (S) survives.	The wall seems to mark the edge of a break in slope, defining the higher central area of the graveyard on its N side (and the current limit of more recent lairs). A boulder IM145 seems to mark a corner	3.05 2.22	3.05 3.21 3.22
IM35	Upright slab?	40-52 x 42-47 x 20-30	A thin, angular, dark grey slab, encrusted in lichen and aligned NE-SW. The faces of the slab are smooth, but do not appear to have been worked. The SW side tapers more strongly than the NE side. A light grey, quartzite stone acts as a chock stone for the slab. In spite of this, the slab has fallen over towards the S and E.	May be associated with IM36 and IM37 the ground to the west is much lower. The footstones would be IM81, IM82a-d and adjacent stones.	2.23	3.06
IM36	Upright slab	22 x 30-50 x 20	A roughly rectangular red sandstone boulder, almost entirely covered in moss and lichen. It has rounded edges and its flat surfaces face SE and NW.	May be associated with IM35 and IM37 the ground to the west is lower. The footstones would be IM81, IM82a-d and adjacent stones.	2.24	3.07

IM37a	Unshaped stone	45 x 26 x 12	A roughly triangular boulder of red sandstone, the majority of which is obscured by moss. It has a long, straight, vertical edge along its SW side, suggesting that the stone is oriented SE-NW, in line with adjacent graves. The majority of the upper surface slopes away gently to the NW.	May be associated with IM35 and IM36, the ground to the west is much lower. The footstones would be IM81, IM82a-d and adjacent stones.	2.25	3.08
IM37b	Unshaped stone	15 x 21 x ?	Immediately to the W of IM37a is a coarse, red sandstone boulder, only the lichen encrusted central spine of which protrudes through moss.	If IM37a is a fallen headstone, this could be a chock stone or part of the gravecover.	2.25	3.08
IM38	Upright slab/group of stones	38 x 20 x 5	One of a small group of several moss-covered stones this small upright slab is thin and well-faced, although lichen encrusted	Associated with IM80?	2.26	3.09
IM39	Unshaped stone	28 x 30 x 20	A small, unshaped red sandstone boulder with a vertical face on its W side and curving east face. The long axis is aligned NE-SW and in profile appears arched. Although lichen encrusted, the exposed surfaces are smooth.	Head/foot stone relating to IM22?	2.27	3.10
IM40	Unshaped stone	17 x 20 x 8	A small, sub-rectangular, red sandstone boulder with a flat top. It is almost entirely covered in moss.		2.28	3.11
IM41	Grave marker	30 x 40 x 9	A sub-rectangular sandstone upright but leaning slab, with its long axis aligned N-S. Largely moss covered.	Alongside IM42 and 43, forms a group of 3 probable head/foot stones associated with IM78 and IM79.	2.29	3.12
IM42	Grave slab	36 x 40 x 7	An almost square-shaped stone, almost entirely covered in moss. Its long axis is aligned N-S and it leans heavily to the ?.	Alongside IM41 and 43, forms a group of 3 stones, probably head/foot stones associated with IM78 and IM79.	2.29	3.12
IM43	Grave slab	40 x 35 x 20	The west face of this prone sandstone slab is almost entirely covered in moss, the east face is clear. It is almost square in shape and leans heavily to the E	Alongside IM41 and 42, forms a group of 3 stones, probably head/foot stones associated with IM78 and IM79.	2.29	3.12
IM44	Unshaped stone	25 x 65 x 40	An almost entirely moss-covered red sandstone boulder of triangular shape, with rounded angles.	Situated at the SE corner of cairn IM46, next to IM45. IM44, IM45 and IM77 may have formed a single grave covering.	2.30	3.13
IM45	Recumbent slab?	137 x 40-50 x 15	A nearly recumbent, unshaped red sandstone slab aligned E-W and with a flat upper surface and long sides parallel to each other, The stone is partially encrusted with lichen and moss.	Situated at the SE corner of cairn IM46 next to IM44. Together with it and IM77 may form a single grave cover	3.25	4.16
IM46	Cairn	170cm in dia.	A roughly circular, low mound with long axis NE-SW. It is made up of small rounded cobbles and has two holly stumps on its W side.	This cairn is ringed by slabs on the E side - IM44-5, IM49-52.	3.27	
IM47	Upright slab?	30 x 30 x 2-10	A slab-like piece of sandstone, its west face almost entirely covered in moss. The stone is aligned N-S, but leans towards the E.	?kerbstone	3.26	4.17
IM48	Upright slab	34 x 40 x 50-90	An unshaped sandstone boulder, of roughly triangular shape with rounded edges. It is aligned N-S and leaning. The smooth east face is lichen covered and has small patches of moss.	Kerb stone associated with IM46?	3.24	4.15

IM49	Grave marker ?kerbstone	64 x 20 x 10	An unworked, tall, thin, slab-like piece of sandstone, aligned NE-SW. Its ? face is smooth and lichen encrusted, its N face has a protrusion near the top. It leans towards the N	Kerb stone associated with IM46?	3.23	4.14
IM50	Grave marker ?kerbstone	30 x 35 x 12	A coarse red sandstone slab, leaning towards the east. It is triangular in shape and its faces are unworked. Its long axis is aligned N-S. Half of the stone is lichen encrusted, with moss obscuring the rest of it.	Kerb stone associated with IM46?	3.22	4.13
IM51	Grave marker ?kerbstone	40 x 20 x 10	An entirely moss-covered sandstone boulder, of roughly oval shape aligned NE-SW.	Kerb stone associated with IM46?	3.21	4.12
IM52	Grave marker ?kerbstone	22 x 30 x 7	A sandstone slab leaning to NE. It is of triangular shape and is almost entirely moss covered.	Kerb stone associated with IM46?	3.21	4.14
IM53	Unshaped stone	12 x 26 x 14	A rounded sandstone boulder, aligned N-S. The less smooth face faces to the east and it is almost entirely moss covered.	Located close to IM51 and IM52	3.21	4.12
IM54	Upright slab?	25 x 45 x 4	An almost vertical sandstone slab of triangular shape, aligned NNE-SSW. Its proximity to IM55 means that only the west face is exposed. It is largely encrusted with moss and lichen.	One of two slabs, close together - perhaps a head/foot stone associated with IM19	3.20	4.11
IM55	Upright slab?	21 x 40 x 7	An almost vertical sandstone slab, aligned NNE-SSW. It lies at a slightly more pronounced angle than the adjacent stone, IM54. Its proximity to IM54 means that only the east face is exposed. It is almost entirely moss-covered.	One of two slabs, located very close together - perhaps a head/foot stone associated with IM63?	3.20	4.11
IM56	Recumbent slab?	30 x 20 x 9	A moss-covered flat sandstone slab, aligned NW-SE and roughly rectangular in shape.	A slab associated with IM54 and IM55.	3.20	4.11
IM57	Recumbent slab?	40 x 20 x 13	A partially embedded sandstone slab, aligned N-S and roughly rectangular in shape. It lies in the N part of the burial ground. It is entirely covered in moss.	Head/foot stone associated with IM13.	3.31	4.21
IM58	Upright slab?	50 x 8 x 5	A red sandstone slab, aligned ESE-WNW, largely moss-covered and lichen encrusted. Its upper surface is uneven.	Possibly an edging stone for a grave with IM59 or IM60 as the head or foot stone.	3.19	4.10
IM59	Upright slab	30 x 8 x ?	A thin, irregularly shaped, red sandstone slab on a N-S alignment. It is moss covered.		3.18	4.09
IM60	Unshaped stone	16 x 6 x ?	A small, lichen encrusted, sandstone gravemarker or perhaps more likely a chock stone for the larger IM59.	A head/foot stone associated with IM117?	3.18	4.09
IM61	Recumbent slab?	17 x 18 x ?	A flat sandstone slab of triangular shape, the apex pointing towards the S. It is entirely moss-covered.	An edging stone for a grave with IM60 and IM117/IM119 as the head and foot stones?	3.15	4.06
IM62	Recumbent slab?	8 x 4.5 x ?	A flat, moss-covered, sandstone boulder, embedded at an angle.	An edging stone for a grave with IM55 and IM63 as the head and foot stones?	3.14	4.05
IM63	Upright slab?	30 x 40 x 4	A thin red sandstone slab, with angular edges and leaning at 30 degrees from vertical. It is aligned N-S and appears to be facing W. It is lichen encrusted, with moss lapping its lower surfaces. Remains of a probable chock stone survive on the W side.	A head/foot stone associated with IM55?	3.13	
IM64	Unshaped boulder	45 x 30 x 18	An unshaped sandstone boulder, its long axis oriented NW-SE.	A head/foot stone associated with IM111	3.16	4.07
IM65	Grave marker?	60 x 30	Group of four stones lying on the ground surface and covering a roughly circular area with long axis E-W.		3.16	4.07

IM66	Unshaped stone		One of a group of small, slabby stones, lichen covered and just protruding from the moss.	These stones lie adjacent to IM65.	3.16	4.07
IM67	Upright slab	25 x 30 x 18	An upright slab, with a flat face on its E side and slightly tilted in this direction.	A head/foot stone - associated with 49 or 50 to the W and in line with IM63?	3.12	4.04
IM68	Upright slab	34 x 16 x 8	A well-faced sandstone slab, aligned N-S, with a slightly smaller stone in front of it. It is lichen encrusted, with small patches of moss in places.	This stone appears to act as a probable support stone for IM69, although the smaller one may also be a chock stone.	3.11	4.03
IM69	Upright slab	26 x 25 x 4	A red sandstone slab, aligned N-S and with lichen encrusted, uneven surfaces. It is almost square in shape.	A head/foot stone for a grave covered by IM70?	3.11	4.03
IM70	Recumbent slab?	106 x 62 x 4	A large, roughly rectangular, red sandstone slab, with its long axis aligned E-W The slab is largely obscured by moss and lichen.	A graveslab, with IM69 as a head/foot stone?	4.06	6.02
IM71	Recumbent slab	47 x 35 x ?	A roughly rectangular sandstone slab, its long axis aligned N-S.		3.10	4.02
IM72	Unshaped stone	25 x 10 x 2	An almost buried, unshaped sandstone boulder.		3.10	4.02
IM73	Upright slab	20 x 28 x 9	A thin sandstone slab on a N-S alignment. It is roughly square in shape, with rounded edges. It leans slightly towards the ?		3.10	4.02
IM74	Grave marker	20 x 35 x 4	A partially buried slab, aligned E-W and inclined slightly to the N.	An edging stone for a grave with IM76 as a head/foot stone and incorporating the flat slabs of IM77 and IM45?	3.10	4.02
IM75	Unshaped stone	35 x 30 x ?	A small sandstone boulder, acting as a chock stone for IM74 and IM76.		3.10	4.02
IM76	Upright slab	38 x 10 x 7	An upright sandstone slab on a N-S alignment.	A head/foot stone for a grave also incorporating IM74 as an edging stone and IM77 and IM45 as cover slabs?	3.10	4.02
IM77	Recumbent slab	100 x 70 x ?	A large, irregularly shaped recumbent red sandstone slab. The stone dips gently towards the S and W. It is largely free of moss and lichen.	A cover stone, along with IM45, for a grave with IM76 as its head/foot stone.	3.09	4.01
IM78	Upright slab	23 x 68 x 6	A roughly rectangular red sandstone slab, on a NE-SW alignment and leaning slightly towards the E. Its flat face points W. The surface is partly moss covered and encrusted with lichen.	A head/foot stone associated with the group of stones IM41-3.	3.07 3.08	3.24 4.00
IM79	Upright slab	43 x 35 x 8	An irregularly shaped, red sandstone slab, on a NE-SW alignment, with its smoother face facing W. It is almost entirely encrusted with lichen or moss.	A head/foot stone associated with the group of stones IM41-3.	3.06	3.23
IM80	Recumbent slab	123 x 29-17 x 6	A flat sandstone slab (possibly fallen) of almost rectangular shape. It is aligned WNW-SSE and is both partly lichen encrusted and covered in moss.		2.33	3.16
IM81	Unshaped stone	10 x 17 x 15	A moss-covered red sandstone boulder, with a possible face to the E and leaning slightly to the W.	A head/foot stone associated with IM35-37?	2.32	3.15
IM82a	Upright slab	30 x 33 x 10	A small, coarse red sandstone slab of irregular shape, aligned N-S. It has rounded edges and is partially moss covered. It lies immediately adjacent to IM82b, with a young holly tree growing in the gap.	The group of stones forming IM82 seem to be footstones for IM35 and IM36.	2.31	3.14

IM82b	Upright slab	16 x 20 x 4.5	A slightly smaller slab of almost square shape and aligned N-S. It is made of much finer red sandstone than IM82a and consequently has much more angular edges. It is lichen encrusted and is partially moss covered.	The group of stones forming IM82 seem to be footstones for IM35 and IM36.	2.31	3.14
IM82c	Unshaped stone	20 x 12 x 10	A rounded red sandstone boulder, partially moss covered and apparently lying on the ground surface.	A chock stone for IM82a and IM82b? This group, IM82, seem to be footstones for IM35 and IM36.	2.31	3.14
IM82d	Upright slab	26 x 40 x 2-15	A thick sandstone slab aligned NE-SW. it is lichen encrusted, with some moss on its upper surface. The W face is smooth and almost vertical.	IM82 could be footstones for IM35 and IM36.	2.31	3.14
IM83	Group of unshaped stones		A small mound, on a NE-SW line, formed by three moss-covered stones varying in size.		2.05	2.12
IM84	Group of stones	14 x 30 x 28	A group of two, moss-covered, adjacent stones which tend towards a NE-SW alignment. The SW stone measures 14 x 30 x 28cm, the NW stone 20 x 30 x 18.		2.05	2.12
IM85	Upright slab	17 x 9 x 4.5	A tall thin slab, with moss obscuring its edges. The slab is made of schist?	A chock stone for IM86?	2.02	2.09
IM86	Upright slab	34 x 49 x 5	A well-faced slab of sub-triangular shape. Some faceting on ? It is lichen encrusted.	Possible head/foot stone associated with IM209	2.02	2.09
IM87	Recumbent slab	55 x 42 x 15	A large, moss-covered sandstone slab aligned E-W. It appears to be overlain by IM88. The details are obscured by leaf litter.		4.08	26.04
IM88	Recumbent slab	94 x 63 x ?	A flat, moss-covered sandstone slab, partially overlying IM87. The details are obscured by leaf litter.		4.08	26.04
IM89	Unshaped stone	15 x 12 x ?	A largely moss-covered sub-circular sandstone boulder, partially buried.		4.08	26.04
IM90	Unshaped stone	26 x 16 x 9	An oval shaped boulder, its long axis aligned N-S. It is almost entirely covered in moss.		3.03 3.04	3.20 3.21
IM91	Unshaped stone	27 x 8 x ?	A small, partially buried, sub-rectangular sandstone boulder, aligned NE-SW. It is largely covered in moss.	Chock stone for IM92?	3.02	3.19
IM91a	Unshaped stone	16 x 14 x 8	A small, rounded, partially buried, sandstone boulder. It is largely covered in moss and lichen.	Chock stone for IM92?	3.02	3.19
IM92	Unshaped stone	78 x 58 x 10	An irregularly shaped sandstone slab, aligned NE-SW, with smooth surfaces.	It maybe a fallen head/foot stone, once supported by IM91, and 91a, associated with IM81-82?	3.02	3.19
IM93	Recumbent slab?	19 x 8	What appears to be the buried tip of a flat sandstone slab aligned N-S. Almost entirely covered in moss.	An edging stone for a grave incorporating IM81-2 and IM91-2?	3.02	3.19
IM94	Unshaped stone	30 x 15 x 5	A small sandstone boulder, aligned N-S, of sub-rectangular shape with rounded edges. It forms part of a group of three with IM94a and IM95		2.35	3.18
IM94a	Unshaped stone	16 x 14 x 4	A small rounded sandstone boulder, forming part of a group of three with IM94a and IM95. It is almost entirely obscured by moss.		2.35	3.18
IM95	Unshaped stone	28 x 10 x 16	A lichen encrusted sandstone slab, aligned N-S and with rounded edges. The smooth, vertical west face is moss-covered.		2.35	3.18

IM96	Unshaped stone	25 x 8 x 10	A thin, sub-rectangular red sandstone boulder, aligned NE-SW. It has rounded edges and barely protrudes above ground level. It is partly moss covered and lichen encrusted.	In close proximity to IM97.	2.34	3.17
IM97	Unshaped stone	17-30 x 17 x 3	A sub-rectangular, straight-edged red sandstone boulder, half-covered in moss and also lichen encrusted. Its long axis is aligned E-W.	In close proximity to IM96.	2.34	3.17
IM98			Number not allocated.			
IM99	Cairn?	300-400 x 200-600	A generally level, sub-circular cairn made up of small cobbles embedded in moss. Low mounds have formed around the trunks of two oak trees.		4.09	6.05
IM100	Recumbent slab	138 x 58 x ?	A large, recumbent slab, aligned NE-SW with a cross carved on its upper surface. The red sandstone slab is rectangular in shape, apart from a notch out of the SE corner. The deeply inscribed cross has cupped arms and a prominent foot.	Inscribed cross slab, traditionally thought to be one of the graves of the Norse prince or princess. IM100a&b are associated	1.04 1.05 + KB photo	
IM100a	Upright slab	48 x 42 x ?	A leaning red sandstone slab, almost entirely covered in moss. It is roughly rectangular in shape and lies over IM100 at its NE end.	Headstone for slab IM100	1.04	
IM100b	Unshaped stone	22 x 12 x 6	A small, unshaped stone, with a flat upper surface, only the tip of which protrudes from the ground surface. The stone is lichen covered.	Footstone for slab IM100	1.04 1.05	
IM101	Recumbent slab	189 x 76 x 10	The largest of the four recumbent slabs at the core of the graveyard. It is roughly rectangular and of red sandstone. This slab lies at a higher level from the other slabs in the vicinity.	Recumbent slab, with 3 headstone (IM101a) and a footstone (IM101b).	4.10	6.06
IM101a	Upright slabs	Varying largest 38 x 17 x 5	At the head of IM101 are 3 stones, all of roughly rectangular shape, lying on or close to the slab. The one closest to the slab is upright, the other two lean away from it. All are largely obscured by moss.	Three headstones, relating to IM101	4.10	6.06
IM101b	Unshaped stone	23 x 12 x 14	At the foot/SW of the slab IM101 is a small unshaped stone, placed upright. Its flat surface faces onto the slab. It is obscured by moss and lichen.	Small footstone for IM101	4.10	6.06
IM102	Recumbent slab	129 x 54 x ?	The smaller of the two cross-slabs it is of red sandstone, aligned NE-SW, but now split in two and dipping into the ground at its NE end, so that its full dimensions and shape were not assessed although it appears to be rectangular with very rounded edges. It lies with the cross facing IM100. The cross is of completely different form to IM100, having expanded terminals with a small foot.	Inscribed cross slab, traditionally thought to be one of the graves of the Norse prince or princess.	1.03 + KB photo	
IM102a	Upright slab	54 x 11 x ?	One of two smaller stones lying at the SW end of IM102. It is a smooth, rectangular slab, but with its upper surface only just protruding from the ground. It lies just to the NW of the end of IM102.	Somewhat offset head/footstone for IM102?	1.03 + KB photos	
IM102b	Slab	32 x 25 x 5	The second stone also lies to the SW. This one lies on the ground surface and may be of no significance.		1.03	
IM103a	Recumbent slab	110 x 43 x ?	An irregularly shaped, coarse-grained red sandstone slab, lying to the SW of IM101 and with its upper surface almost flush with the ground surface. It is aligned NE-SW.	One of a group of four recumbent slabs forming the core of the cemetery	4.11	6.07
IM103b	Upright slab	44 x 30 x 8	An irregularly shaped, coarse-grained red sandstone slab, lying at the SW end of IM103b. It is partly moss-covered	Headstone for slab IM103	4.11	6.07

IM104 a-c	Unshaped stones	(a) 33 x 25 x 7 (b) 40 x 26 x ? (c) 20 x 16 x 12	An amorphous group of three stones. Two (a and c) are upright unshaped stones, one is of red sandstone but the other is too moss-covered for identification. The third stone lies flat, partly under the surface and covered in moss.		4.13	6.09
IM105			Not allocated			
IM106	Upright slab?	?	The top of an upright sandstone slab, aligned NW-SE, just protruding from the ground.	One of a group of scattered stones lying between two more clearly defined lines of graves.	4.18	6.14
IM107	Unshaped stone	29 x 13 x 13	A roughly triangular shaped piece of sandstone, partially buried and also lichen covered.	One of a group of scattered stones lying between two more clearly defined lines of graves.	4.18	6.14
IM108	Recumbent slab	22 x 15 x 0	A roughly square sandstone slab, lying flush with the ground surface, although dipping away on its west side.	One of a group of scattered stones lying between two more clearly defined lines of graves.	4.18	6.14
IM109	Upright slab?	19 x 26 x 5	An unshaped piece of sandstone, aligned NE-SW and moss-covered.	One of a group of scattered stones lying between two more clearly defined lines of graves.	4.18	6.14
IM110	Recumbent slab	151 x 66 x ?	A large, roughly rectangular, red sandstone slab, partly moss-covered and partly buried. It is aligned NE-SW and is of a similar size to the two inscribed cross-slabs, which lie to the SW.	IM110a may be associated	4.12	6.08
IM110a	Unshaped stone	36 x 26 x 18	A rounded boulder, lying at the SW end of the slab IM110. It is largely obscured by moss.	This stone may be a pillow stone for slab, IM110.	4.12	6.08
IM111 a-b	Upright slabs?	(a) 10 x 4 x 5 (b) 16 x 6 x 5	The tops of two small, upright, red sandstone slabs of angular form. Stone (a) is aligned NE-SW, while (b) lies E-W; their western ends almost touch. Stone (a) is obscured by moss, stone (b) by lichen.	These stones possibly act as the headstones for a grave, which has IM112 as the footstone.	4.17	6.13
IM112	Upright slab	27 x 27 x 8	An angular, rectangular sandstone slab, now leaning towards the west. It is aligned NE-SW and partially moss-covered and lichen encrusted.	The footstone of a grave which has IM111 as the headstones.	4.15	6.11
IM113	Recumbent stone	38 x 42-56 x 4	An unshaped sandstone boulder of triangular shape, with a rough, but relatively flat, upper surface. It is now covered in moss and lichen. It appears to be aligned with IM112.	Associated with IM112?	4.14	6.10
IM114	Unshaped stone	32 x 10 x 5	The top of what could be a thin slab, just protruding from the ground surface.	Its alignment and relationship to adjacent stones suggest it is an edging stone for a grave which includes IM110?	4.14	6.10
IM115	Recumbent slab	60 x 25 x ?	An unshaped, angular red sandstone slab, aligned NW-SE and tapering towards the west end. It is half-covered in moss.	This stone seems to be isolated from the rest of the more clearly defined graves in this part of the graveyard and may indicate that they do extend farther in this direction.	4.16	6.12
IM116	Upright slab	38 x 29 x 10	An unshaped slab of sandstone, aligned N-S and located immediately adjacent to IM117. It is largely moss-covered.	Part of a group of 4 stones IM116, 117, 118 and 119, which may represent two adjacent graves.	3.17	4.08

IM117	Upright slab	42 x 22 x 7	An unshaped slab of sandstone, aligned N-S and located immediately adjacent to IM116. It is largely moss-covered.	Part of the group of 4 stones, which may represent two adjacent graves.	3.17	4.08
IM118	Unshaped stone	14 x 5 x ?	A small, apparently unshaped sandstone boulder, although it is now almost buried. It is aligned N-S, in a similar relationship to IM119, as IM116 and IM117 immediately to the north.	Part of a group of 4 stones, which may represent two adjacent graves.	3.17	4.08
IM119	Unshaped stone	20 x 11 x ?	A small, apparently unshaped sandstone boulder, although it is now almost buried. It is aligned N-S, in a similar relationship to IM119, as IM116 and IM117 immediately to the north.	Part of a group of 4 stones, which may represent two adjacent graves,	3.17	4.08
IM120	Cairn?	560 x 400 x 50	A roughly circular moss-covered cairn of mostly small stones both schist and sandstone. Four small holly trees and an oak tree are currently growing on it and it must have undergone considerable disturbance from tree roots.	This cairn lies at the north end of a distinct line of graves and immediately to the NE of two inscribed slabs, it may be a memorial cairn	4.19 4.20 4.21	6.15 6.16 6.17 6.20
IM121	Upright slab	35 x 38-45 x 4	An almost square, unshaped thin red sandstone slab, aligned N-S and leaning towards the W. It is encrusted with white lichen. The surface of the stone is splitting on both horizontal and vertical surfaces.	Headstone associated with a grave, incorporating IM122 and IM123?	5.07	5.03
IM122	Recumbent stone	75 x 68 x 8	A square-shaped red sandstone slab, largely obscured by moss and dipping into the ground on the SE side. The upper surface of the stone is very rough.	Either a fallen headstone or coverstone for a grave incorporating IM121 and IM123.	5.07	5.03
IM123	Unshaped stone	92 x 18 x ?	A long, thin ridged, red sandstone slab, aligned E-W and only just protruding from the surface. Some lichen encrustation at W end.	An edging stone or cover slab for a grave incorporating IM121 and IM122.	5.08	5.04
IM124	Unshaped stone	32 x 24 x 5	A small moss-covered stone, with a flat upper surface and aligned NW-SE.	Possibly a small edging stone or chock stone associated with IM122.	4.22	6.18
IM125	Recumbent slab	89 x 22 x 5	An irregularly shaped recumbent sandstone slab, aligned NE-SW and partly moss covered. It lies immediately adjacent to IM127.	Both it and IM127 seem to delimit the western end of a grave covered by slab IM128.	4.22	6.18
IM126	Inscribed headstone	57 x 94 x 9	An arched sandstone slab, aligned NE-SW and now leaning to the west. The inscription reads: "In Memory of / Alexander McLean / Late Farmer Coppachy Letterewe / Who Died on the 19th May 1858 / Aged 80 Years / Erected By His Family". The slab is of red sandstone and is partially encrusted with lichen and moss.	Headstone for a grave with IM161 as the footstone (unless IM161 is a headstone for a grave further east?).	5.09	5.05
IM127	Upright slab	45 x 30 x 8	A roughly rectangular upright sandstone slab, aligned NE-SW. There is a prominent notch out of the top of the slab at the NE end but this seems to be natural. The stone is entirely encrusted with lichen.	Headstone for a grave covered by slab IM128	4.23 5.11	5.06 6.19
IM128	Recumbent slab	58 x 98-140 x ?	A rectangular recumbent red sandstone slab, of a similar size to the cross-incised graveslabs. It is aligned NW-SE and is partially moss covered and lichen encrusted at the west end.	Gravecover for a grave with IM127 possibly associated with IM125 and IM161	5.11	5.06
IM129	Upright slab	19 x 20 x 10	A squat, roughly rectangular shaped upright slab, now leaning to the west. It is made of sandstone and is largely moss covered/lichen encrusted. It stands behind IM130.		5.12	5.07

IM130	Upright slab	37 x 40 x 7	An upright sandstone slab, of rectangular shape but with rough surfaces. It is aligned almost N-S and lies adjacent to IM129.	A headstone associated with a grave covered by slab IM131?	4.23 5.12	6.19 5.07
IM131	Recumbent slab	21 x 100 x ?	A partially buried recumbent red sandstone slab, lying immediately adjacent to IM128. Although smaller, it is also of a fairly regular rectangular shape. It is aligned NW-SE.	Cover for a grave with IM130 as its headstone.	5.12	5.07
IM132	Inscribed headstone	45 x 94 x 7.5	A decorated marble headstone, sitting on a plinth measuring 40 x ? x 12cm high. The inscription reads: "In Memory of / Jane Maclean / Letterewe Loch Mare / Died 28th May 1902 / Erected By Her Brother Donald". It is aligned N-S with the inscription on the east face. Above the inscription is a flower motif and framing the top of the stone an arc of floral decoration.		5.14	5.08
IM133	Recumbent slab	56 x 15 x 0	An unshaped recumbent red sandstone slab, with only its upper surface protruding. The rest of the exposed surface is moss-covered.	Along with IM136, IM137 and IM138 may have formed a single grave cover, subsequently broken	5.14	5.08
IM134	Recumbent slab	40 x 40 x 4	A flat red sandstone slab, now almost entirely moss-covered. The slab appears to be unshaped.	Possibly a fallen footstone associated with headstone IM132.	5.24	5.18
IM135	Inscribed headstone	63.5 x 11.9 x 11	A large, pink-tinged, marble headstone, aligned NE-SW. The inscription reads: "1885 / Erected by Roderick McLean, Coppachy / In Memory of His Beloved Mother / Catherine Morrison / Who Died 2nd July, 1883 / Aged 55 Years / Also Of His Brother / John, Who Died 9th September 1879 / Aged 21 Years" The sculptor was D Sutherland, Inverness.		5.16	5.09
IM136	Recumbent slab	97 x 55 x 4	A large irregularly shaped, red sandstone slab, largely free of moss. Towards the middle of the slab, a small flat stone extends underneath its S side, covering a void, 9cm deep.	Along with IM133, IM137 and IM138 may have formed a single grave cover, IM135 and IM148 would then be the head/footstones.	5.16	5.09
IM137	Recumbent slab	43.5 x 30 x 3.5	A small, partly buried, but still clearly triangularly shaped piece of red sandstone. Largely free of lichen and moss.	Along with IM133, IM136 and IM138 may have formed a single grave cover, subsequently broken.	5.23	5.17
IM138	Recumbent slab	39 x 32 x 6.5	A small, partly buried, but still clearly triangularly shaped piece of red sandstone. Largely free of lichen and moss.	Along with IM133, IM136 and IM137 may have formed a single grave cover, subsequently broken.	5.22	5.16
IM139	Upright headstone	38.5 x 98 x 7	A red granite headstone, with a triangular apex and scrollwork at the top. It is set into a concrete plinth, now covered in moss, and is aligned N-S. The inscription reads: "In / Loving Memory / of Murdo Maclean / who died at / Furnace Cottage, Letterewe / 5th September 1908 / Aged 89 Years".		5.17	5.10
IM140	Inscribed headstone	36 x 62 x 6.5	A small, plain grey marble headstone, set in a plinth measuring 49.5 x 31 cm. It is aligned N-S. The inscription reads: "In / Memory of / Mary Maclean / Died at Letterewe / 25 June 1910 / Aged 56 Years". The grave itself is marked by a raised mossy area.		5.18	5.11

IM141	Inscribed headstone	69 x 135 x 14	A very large, red granite headstone set in a plinth, measuring 80 x ? x 7 cm high. It is aligned NE-SW. The Inscription reads: "Erected by / Meyrick Mclean / In Loving Memory Of His Father / Charles Mclean / Gardener Who Died At Conon Bridge / 5th August 1883 Aged 64 Years / Also Of His Brother / Murdo Mclean / Who Died At Letterewe 7th April 1881 / Aged 15 Years". A dove of peace, encased in scrollwork, flies above the inscription.	The most southern of the modern headstones in this row.	5.19	5.12
IM142	Recumbent slab	26 x 69 x 4.5	A small, narrow and irregularly shaped recumbent sandstone slab, aligned N-S, lying immediately to the SW of IM143. The upper surface appears to be smooth and is only partly moss covered.	May not be in original position, both IM142 and 143 seem to lie in the middle of a row of graves		5.13
IM143	Recumbent slab	56 x 46 x 9	An irregularly shaped recumbent red sandstone slab, aligned N-S and partly moss covered. It lies on the surface, against the roots of a tree, immediately to the NE of IM142.	May not be in original position. Both IM143 and 142 seem to lie in the middle of a row of graves		5.13
IM144	Unshaped stone	18 x 22 x 10	A small unshaped red sandstone boulder, with its longest axis oriented N-S. The stone is partially moss-covered	Possibly associated with the same grave as IM142/3.	5.20	5.14
IM145			A large, moss covered, stone which appears to form the corner of linear feature IM34.	Possibly part of IM34	5.21	5.15
IM146	Upright slab	25 x 48 x 9.5	An upright slab of fairly rectangular shape. It is aligned N-S and has lichen on its east face.		5.25	5.19
IM147	Upright slab	18 x 15 x 5	Immediately adjacent to IM146 and on the same alignment, are two smaller upright slabs of very similar size. Both are of fairly regular square shape and covered in moss.		5.25	5.19
IM148	Upright slab	18 x 38.5 x 5	A thin red sandstone slab, aligned NE-SW and leaning slightly to the W. The stone has angular edges and is roughly square in shape. It is lichen encrusted on all sides, except the SE.	IM150 and IM151 are probably associated	5.22 5.26	5.16 5.20
IM149	Cairn?		A low moss covered pile of stones	May be associated with IM146 and IM147	5.27	5.21
IM150	Unshaped stone	31 x 12 x ?	A red sandstone boulder of rounded shape, lying almost flush with the ground surface lies between IM148 and IM151.	Packing stone for IM148 along with IM151	5.26	5.20
IM151	Unshaped stone	46 x 20 x 5	An unshaped recumbent slab, with a rounded southern end. It overlaps the smaller stone lying between it and IM150.	Packing stone for IM148?	5.26	5.20
IM152	Upright slab	40 x 16 x 12	A small, upright piece of sandstone, almost square in profile and with a very uneven upper surface. Its surfaces are largely lichen encrusted.	Headstone for IM153	5.28 5.29	5.22 5.23
IM153	Recumbent slab	84 x 55 x ?	A large, recumbent red sandstone slab, its shape partly obscured by soil and moss; the visible parts of the slab suggest it is rectangular in shape but broken in the centre.		5.28	5.22
IM154	Unshaped stone	30 x 20 x 20	A small, upright red sandstone boulder of rounded form and square shape. Its exposed surfaces are largely moss covered or lichen encrusted.	Footstone for slab IM153	5.30	5.24
IM155	Upright slab	55 x 37 x 5.5	An upright, very square-shaped red sandstone slab with smooth faces. It is aligned N-S.	Headstone for slab IM157	5.31	5.25
IM156	Eight unshaped stones	varying	A group of moss-covered stones, of varying shapes and forms, lying between IM155 and slab IM157. All, bar a single granite boulder, are made of sandstone. Immediately against IM155 is a thin slab with a rounded upper	Packing stones for headstone IM155	?5.31	5.25

			surface; this only just protrudes from the ground surface and must be packing for the larger slab.			
IM157	Recumbent slab	140 x 30 x ?	A long, narrow, roughly rectangular, red sandstone slab on an E-W alignment. Its smooth upper surface dips slightly towards the S. The western half of the slab is lichen and moss encrusted.	Gravecover for a grave which has IM155 as its headstone	5.31	5.25
IM158	Recumbent slab	50 x 20 x 6	A recumbent sandstone slab, on an E-W alignment. Entirely moss-covered.		5.32	5.26
IM159	Upright slab	37 x 20 x 5	A red sandstone slab of regular shape, aligned N-S. Both faces are quite smooth and are completely encrusted with lichen. The slab leans against IM160.	Both this stone and IM160 lie parallel to each other and in line with the footstone IM154 (of IM153). It is possible that if IM157 was originally of a similar size to IM153, IM159 could have acted as the footstone for it.	5.32	5.26
IM160	Upright slab	40 x 14 x 7	A leaning slab of regular shape, aligned N-S. Both faces are quite smooth and are completely covered in either moss or lichen.	Both this stone and IM159 lie parallel and in line with footstone IM154 (of slab IM153). If IM159 was a footstone for a grave associated with IM157, then IM160 may be the headstone for another row of E-W graves	5.32	5.26
IM161	Unshaped stone	58 x 46 x 4	Large, roughly triangular shaped, thin sandstone slab, standing upright and propped up by smaller stones at front and back. It is aligned N-S and is lichen encrusted.	Probably a footstone for a grave which included IM126 as its. Or else a headstone related to cover IM163?	5.33	5.27 5.28
IM162	Unshaped stone	25 x 38 x 8	Small triangular piece of sandstone, again standing upright and at right angles to IM161 (i.e. E-W). Unlike IM161, this stone is half covered in moss.	Part of the edging of a grave which included IM126 as the headstone and IM161 as the footstone?	5.33	5.27 5.28
IM163	Recumbent slab	69 x 56 x ?	A flat, irregularly shaped red sandstone slab, aligned E-W. A number of smaller stones, some rounded, lie on top of the slab close to IM161. These are all moss covered.	Cover for a grave which included IM161 and IM162 as headstones?	5.33	5.27 5.28
IM164	Unshaped stone	36 x 15 x 17	A thick red sandstone slab of square shape. It is largely moss-covered and aligned NE-SW.		5.33	5.27 5.28
IM165	Unshaped stone	21 x 18 x 3	A small, rounded stone, partly buried and partly overlapping IM166.	Fallen footstone for a grave incorporating IM166 and IM168.	5.34	5.29
IM166	Recumbent slab	25 x 88 x 6	A recumbent slab, aligned E-W and with its N side obscured. The slab is made of sandstone and partly moss-covered.	Cover for a grave incorporating IM165 and IM168.	5.34	5.29
IM167	Upright slab	31 x 31 x 4	A leaning sandstone slab, aligned E-W and leaning to the west.		5.34	5.29
IM168	Upright slab	38 x 27 x 4	A small, roughly triangular piece of sandstone, now leaning and dipping under IM166. It is aligned N-S, W face is very smooth & may have been dressed.	?Fallen headstone for a grave incorporating IM165 and IM166.	5.34	5.29

IM169	Upright slab?	53 x 18 x 19	A semi-vertical sandstone boulder, aligned N-S and of irregular shape. Packing stones lie to the N and SW of the stone.	On same alignment as IM170, IM171 and IM175, so maybe a footstone associated with IM161.	5.33 5.35	5.27 5.28
IM170	Unshaped stone	23 x 27 x 20	An irregular shaped sandstone boulder, aligned N-S.	On same alignment as IM169, IM171 and IM175, so maybe a footstone associated with IM161?	5.35	5.30
IM171	Upright slab	40 x 20 x 8	A leaning slab, aligned N-S with a dressed face to W.	On same alignment as IM169, IM170 and IM175, so maybe a foot/headstone, although it is not clear with which grave it could be associated?	5.35	5.30
IM172	Upright slab	20 x 30 x 4	A leaning slab, aligned N-S to east of IM171.		5.35	5.30
IM173	Recumbent slab	?	A buried sandstone slab	Little detail visible above ground.	5.36	5.31
IM174	Recumbent slab	20 x 35 x ?	Recumbent sandstone slab, with its upper surface barely protruding above the ground. It is of irregular shape.	It is somewhat isolated, but may be a displaced footstone related to IM170/IM171.		5.30
IM175	Upright slab	14 x 70 x 7	Thin, upright sandstone slab	Possibly a kerbstone for cairn, IM120, although equally it could be a headstone related to a grave, incorporating IM180 and IM181.	5.35	5.30
IM176	Unshaped stone	23 x 11 x 16	A small stone, lying to E of IM175	Appears to lie on top of a grave, including IM175 and IM180.	5.35	5.30
IM177	Unshaped stone	20 x 20 x 10	A rounded boulder	Appears to lie on top of a grave, including IM175 and IM180.	5.35	5.30
IM178	Unshaped stone	23 x 26 x 16	An irregularly shaped stone, with a vertical face on SW side.	Appears to lie on top of a grave, including IM175 and IM180.	5.35	5.30
IM179	Recumbent slab	50 x 40 x ?	A recumbent slab, barely protruding from the ground but appearing to be quite regular in shape. It is aligned NW-SE.	Appears to lie on top of a grave, including IM175 and IM180.	5.35	5.30
IM180	Recumbent slab?	100 x ? x 9.5	A long, thin slab, almost completely buried and dipping towards the S. It is aligned E-W.	Edging for a grave incorporating IM175 and IM181 as the head and footstones.	5.35	5.30
IM181	Upright slab	49 x 31 x 13	A tilted red sandstone slab, oriented N-S and leaning to the W.	Footstone for a grave incorporating IM175 as the headstone and IM180 as the edging.	5.36	5.31
IM182	Cairn	2m diameter	A moss-covered sub-circular cairn of stones, on a NE-SW axis, it has an oak tree in the centre.			
IM183a	Upright slab	40 x 40 x 10	A thick slab of whitish stone (unidentified), aligned N-S and leaning towards the W at 45 degrees from the vertical. Largely moss-covered.	Part of a memorial ?cairn of a headstone IM183a, a flat slab IM183b and packers IM183c	5.37	5.32
IM183b	Recumbent slab	40 x 50 x 5	An irregularly shaped, red sandstone slab lying on the surface and largely moss-covered. It lies to the W of IM183a.	Part of a memorial ?cairn of a headstone IM183a, a flat slab IM183b and packers IM183c	5.37	5.32

IM183c	Unshaped stones		A number of moss-covered stones.	Part of a memorial ?cairn of a headstone IM183a, a flat slab IM183b and packers IM183c	5.37	5.32
IM184	Unshaped stone	36 x 20 x 14	An irregularly shaped split, sandstone boulder, lying to the E of IM168. The long axis is N-S and the flat side is facing E. The stone is moss-covered and of fine grained red sandstone.	Packing stone for slab IM168?	5.34	5.29
IM185	Recumbent slab?	50 x 40 x 12.5	A roughly squared, moss-covered red sandstone slab, aligned N-S.	Packing stone for IM167? Or possibly a fallen headstone?	5.34	5.29
IM186	Recumbent slab?	70 x 40 x 5	A large flat, red sandstone slab, largely covered in moss and dipping into the ground at the ? end. The straight, apparently squared, edge at the E end, suggests the stone is aligned E-W.	Cover for a grave incorporating IM187 as footstone. The headstone seems to be missing, but if it did exist, would be in line with IM160 and backing onto IM154.		5.33
IM187	Upright slab	60 x 30 x 20	A thin red sandstone slab, aligned N-S and leaning to the east. It is markedly triangular in shape and, while predominantly free of moss, is lichen encrusted.	?Footstone for a grave incorporating IM186 as the cover.		5.33
IM188	Unshaped stone	40 x 15 x 7.5	A rounded, red sandstone boulder aligned E-W and lying directly underneath IM187. It appears to be firmly embedded in the ground surface and is largely moss covered.	Packing stone for IM187.		5.33
IM189	Unshaped stone	40 x 30 x 15	A rounded red sandstone boulder, partially moss covered and apparently lying on the ground surface.	An isolated stone which may be a continuation south of the line of graves running up to cairn IM120, if associated with IM190, this identification becomes stronger.		5.34
IM190	Unshaped stone	50 x 50 x 15	An angular, red sandstone boulder, well embedded in the ground. It is aligned N-S and is entirely moss-covered.	An isolated stone which may be a continuation south of the line of graves running up to cairn IM120, if associated with IM189, this identification becomes stronger.		5.35
IM191	Unshaped stone	27 x 29 x 16	A coarse red sandstone boulder, containing pebble inclusions and of conical shape.	This stone lies outside the graveyard and close to a shingle beach on the NE side of the island. This might be an isolated gravestone – since its shape is distinct and the rest of the island is clear of all but waterworn stones and boulders.		
IM192	Unshaped stone	c.23cm dia.	Almost completely moss covered stone, very deeply embedded so that few details are visible.			
IM193	Upright slab	28 x 21.7 x 10.6	Sandstone slab, oriented NE-SW and leaning to the SE. It is situated at the foot of a young holly.	A possible headstone associated with footstone IM197 and edging stones, IM194 and IM195.		
IM194	Upright slab	18 x 26 x 5	A broken sandstone slab lying at the base of a large oak tree. It is oriented NW-SE and leans to the E.	A possible edging stone for a grave with IM193 IM197 as the head and foot stones.		

IM195	Unshaped stone	30 x 20 x 12	A rounded sandstone boulder lying against the roots of a large oak tree and very close to IM194.	A possible edging stone for a grave with IM193 IM197 as the head and foot stones.		
IM196	Upright slab	28 x 38 x 5	A vertical sandstone slab, aligned NW-SE and leaning towards the NE.	An additional possible footstone associated with headstone IM193 and edging stones, IM194 and IM195.		
IM197	Upright slab	47 x 26 x 8	A triangularly shaped upright slab, aligned N-S and leaning towards the SE. It lies immediately to the S of IM196.	A possible footstone associated with headstone IM193 and edging stones, IM194 and IM195.		
IM198	Unshaped stones	69 x 23 x 8	A long thin slab, plus a jumble of three stones which perhaps act as chock stones for it.	Kerbing for cairn IM120?	4.24	6.20
IM199	Unshaped stone	27.5 x 21 x ?	A largely buried sandstone boulder dipping into the ground at its southern end. The long axis is aligned E-W.	Part of a cluster of stones which may be a continuation, to the S, of the line of graves running up to IM120. Details of all these stones, IM199 - IM208, are largely obscured.		
IM200	Unshaped stone	18 x 19 x ?	A small wedge-shaped, red sandstone, boulder, dipping towards the S.	Part of a cluster of stones which may be a continuation S, of the line of graves running up to IM120. Details of all these stones, IM199 - IM208, are largely obscured.		
IM201	Unshaped stone	25 x 20 x 5	An unshaped red sandstone boulder, largely buried.	Part of a cluster of stones which may be a continuation S, of the line of graves running up to IM120. Details of all these stones, IM199 - IM208, are largely obscured.		
IM202	Unshaped stone	24 x 17 x 4	A roughly squared, red sandstone boulder. It is largely buried but appears to lie flat on the ground. Its long axis is aligned E-W.	Part of a cluster of stones which may be a continuation S, of the line of graves running up to IM120. Details of all these stones, IM199 - IM208, are largely obscured.		
IM203	Unshaped stone	14.5 x 11 x ?	A broken red sandstone boulder, lying flat on the surface. It is roughly triangular in shape, with the long axis oriented N-S.	Part of a cluster of stones which may be a continuation S, of the line of graves running up to IM120. Details of all these stones, IM199 - IM208, are largely obscured.		
IM204	Unshaped stone	14 x 11 x ?	A largely buried schist boulder, lying flat on the ground.	Part of a cluster of stones which may be a continuation S, of the line of graves running up to IM120. Details of all these stones, IM199 - IM208, are largely obscured.		

IM205	Unshaped stone	24 x 11 x 6	A coarse red sandstone boulder, of almost rectangular form, although its precise shape is obscured by moss.	Part of a cluster of stones which may be a continuation S, of the line of graves running up to IM120. Details of all these stones, IM199 - IM208, are largely obscured.		
IM206	Unshaped stone	27 x 19 x ?	A red sandstone boulder, its shape obscured by the extent of moss cover. Its flat upper surface slopes slightly towards the west; a vertical face is visible on the E side. The long axis of the stone is aligned E-W and it lies immediately adjacent to IM207.	Part of a cluster of stones which may be a continuation S, of the line of graves running up to IM120. Details of all these stones, IM199 - IM208, are largely obscured.		
IM207	Unshaped stone	39 x 27 x 11	A red sandstone boulder with a very uneven upper surface and with its long axis oriented N-S; its lower surface also slants away on the N side. Part of the upper surface is distinguished by white quartz, suggesting that the stone has fractured naturally along a vein.	Part of a cluster of stones which may be a continuation S, of the line of graves running up to IM120. Details of all these stones, IM199 - IM208, are largely obscured.		
IM208	Unshaped stone	25 x 21 x 9	An unshaped red sandstone boulder, roughly square in shape and with a vertical face on the E side. On the W side, the stone slopes down into the ground.	Part of a cluster of stones which may be a continuation S, of the line of graves running to IM120. Details of these stones, IM199 - IM208, are largely obscured.		
IM209	Upright slab	c34-49 x c40 x 5	A thin red sandstone slab, aligned NE-SW and leaning slightly to the W. The stone has angular edges and is roughly square in shape. It is lichen encrusted on all sides, except the SE.	This stone was formerly IM148. May be head/foot stone associated with IM85/IM86.	2.03 2.04	2.10 2.11
IM209a (alias IM148a)	Unshaped stone		A red sandstone boulder of rounded shape abutting IM209 to the E, lying almost flush with the ground surface.	Chock stone for IM209	2.03 2.04	2.10 2.11

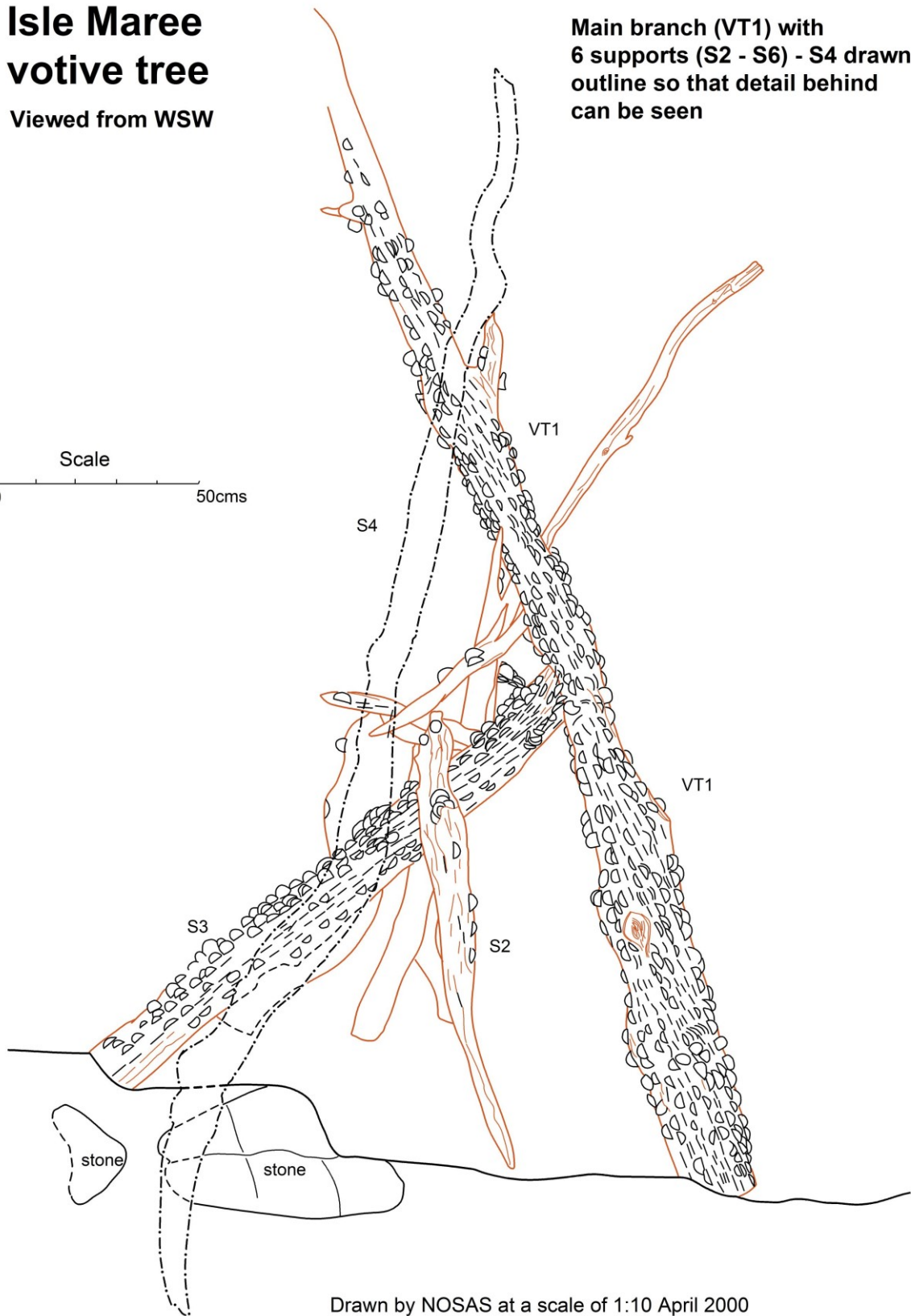
Appendix 9.3 Votive tree – scale drawing

**Isle Mareae
votive tree**

Viewed from WSW

Main branch (VT1) with
6 supports (S2 - S6) - S4 drawn in
outline so that detail behind
can be seen

Scale
0 50cms



Drawn by NOSAS at a scale of 1:10 April 2000

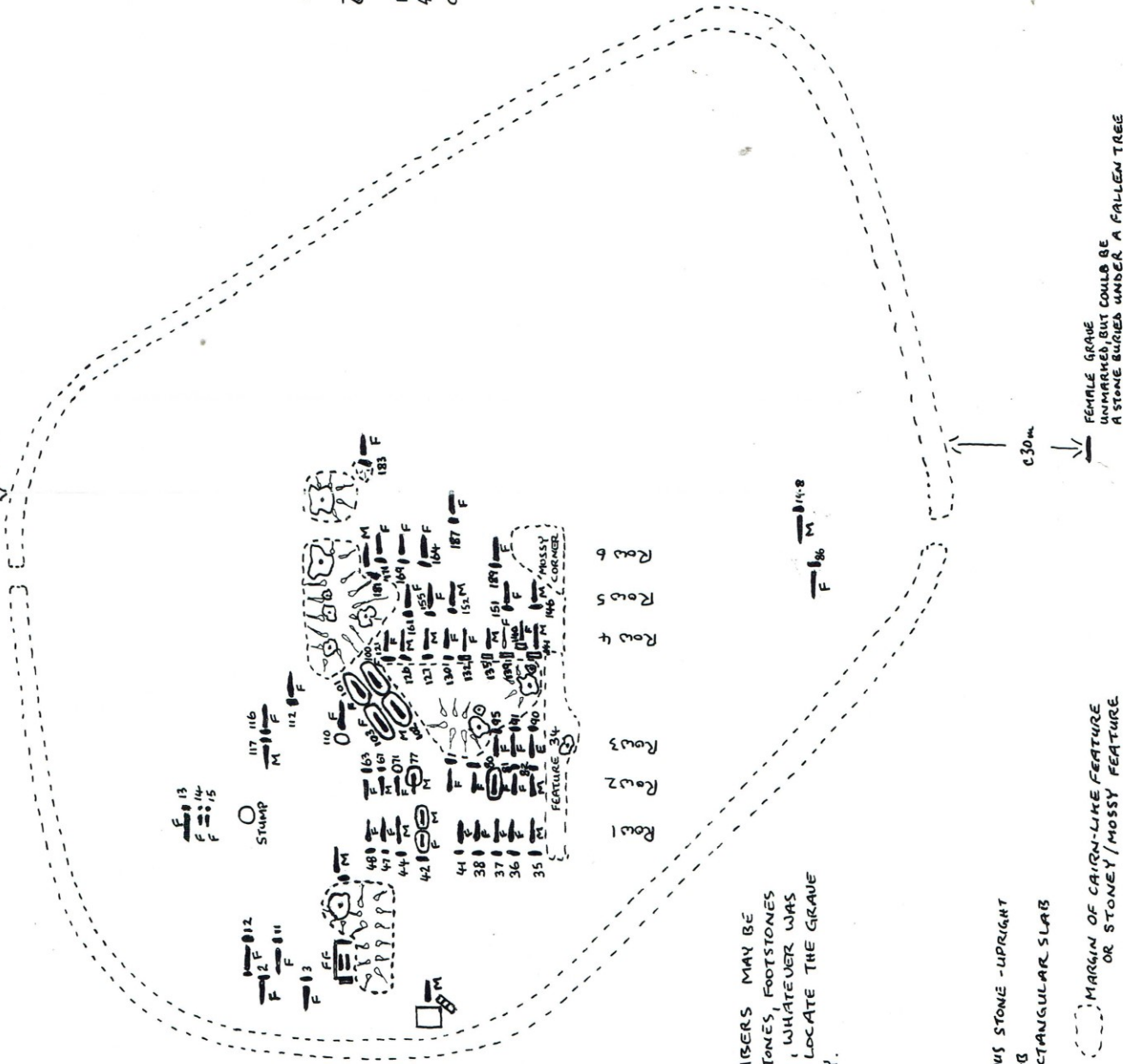
Appendix 9.4. Coins in Votive Tree

All coins which were possible to read and within reach have been dated. The tree had collapsed by the time of the visit and the coins in each section were recorded. Refer to the drawing of the tree for each section, Appendix 9.3

- 1
- 1a 1929, 1920
 - elb 1909, 1911, 1918, 1919, 1915, 1927 - 1d
 - 1982 - 1p, 1988 - 2p
- 1c 1907 - 1d
- 1e 1909, 1921, 1916, 1919, 1917 - Old, bent and corroded only surveyed up to approx. 5ft 8"
- 2 Coin dates unreadable.
- 3a 1916, 1917, 1919 (x3), 1938, 1937, 1939, 1940
1975, 1968, 1980, 1980, 1975, 1990, 1992, 1995 (S. African)
Approx. <200 coins in this section. Several in too deep to read date.
- 4 1909, 1902, 1907, 1915, 1916, 1921, 1958
- 5 (ground level under the tree)
1877 - oldest coin visible and datable
1899, 1898, 1920, 1936, 1942 (1ds), 1917, 1927, 1912
1978 (Canadian), 1965 (2 shilling piece), 1987, 1982, 1980 (Netherlands), 1987, 1992
- 6 1906, 1921, 1903 (1ds), 1980 (x2)

Appendix 9.5 Dousing plan of gravestones

FEMALE GRAVE NORTH-SOUTH ORIENTATED WITH HEAD AND FOOT MARKERS
 ↑ c.50m NORTH OF DYKE



64 GRAVES FOUND INSIDE THE DYKE
 2 GRAVES FOUND OUTSIDE THE DYKE
66 TOTAL

18 MALE
 48 FEMALE
 07 CHILDREN

ISLE MAREE CEMETERY
 SKETCH OF GRAVE POSITIONS
 AS FOUND BY DOWSING
 APRIL 2000

APPROX SCALE 1:200

NOTE:
 THE STONE NUMBERS MAY BE
 MARKERS, HEADSTONES, FOOTSTONES
 OR GRAVE SLABS; WHATEVER WAS
 CONVENIENT TO LOCATE THE GRAVE
 APPROXIMATELY.

LEGENDS

- MEMORIAL
- ▬ HEADSTONE
- ▬ MISCELLANEOUS STONE - UPRIGHT
- ROUND SLAB
- ◡ OVAL OR RECTANGULAR SLAB
- GRAVE
- ☐ TREE
- ⋯ MARGINAL OF CAIRN-LIKE FEATURE OR STONEY/MOSSY FEATURE

FEMALE GRAVE UNMARKED BUT COULD BE A STONE BURIED UNDER A FALLEN TREE

MARGINAL OF CAIRN-LIKE FEATURE OR STONEY/MOSSY FEATURE

c.30m

Row 1
Row 2
Row 3
Row 4
Row 5
Row 6

118 F
119 M

120 F

121 M

122 F

123 M

124 F

125 M

126 F

127 M

128 F

129 M

130 F

131 M

132 F

133 M

134 F

135 M

136 F

137 M

138 F

139 M

140 F

141 M

142 F

143 M

144 F

145 M

146 F

147 M

148 F

149 M

150 F

151 M

152 F

153 M

154 F

155 M

156 F

157 M

158 F

159 M

160 F

161 M

162 F

163 M

164 F

165 M

166 F

167 M

168 F

169 M

170 F

171 M

172 F

173 M

174 F

175 M

176 F

177 M

178 F

179 M

180 F

181 M

182 F

183 M

184 F

185 M

186 F

187 M

188 F

189 M

190 F

191 M

192 F

193 M

194 F

195 M

196 F

197 M

198 F

199 M

200 F

Appendix 9.6 Complete list of photos – black and white and coloured

Appendix 6 - IM Project 2000 List of Photographs

Colour Slide Film 1

No	Context	From
01-02	Wasted	
03	Cross slab 2/Grave 102	NE
04	Cross slab 1/Grave 100 + 100A & B	SW
05	Cross slab 1/Grave 100 + 100b	NE
06	Grave marker 10	-
07	Action shot - Recording Grave 4	-
08	Wasted	-
09	Action Shot - Measuring	E
10	Grave marker 4	E
11	Grave marker 4, detail of memorial ornament	S

Colour Slide Film 2

01	Wasted	
02	Grave marker 85/86	W
03	Grave marker 209 front	NW
04	Grave marker 209 rear with propstone (209A)	SSE
05	83/84 Grave markers (two small groups of stones)	SW
06	Grave marker 9 (not numbered on blackboard)	S
07	Grave marker 8	S
08	Grave marker 7	SSW
09	?Mortar 6 (not grave marker as on blackboard)	N
10	Grave marker 5	ESE
11	Grave marker 31 (not numbered on blackboard)	WNW
12	Grave marker 23	W
13	Grave marker 22	W
14	Grave marker 25	W
15	Grave marker 26	SSW
16	Grave marker 27	WNW
17	Grave marker 28	WNW
18	Grave marker 29	SW
19	Grave marker 30	W
20	Grave marker 32 (not numbered on blackboard)	W
21	Grave marker 33 (numbered 32 on blackboard)	WSW
22	End of linear feature 34 (not grave marker as on blackboard)	W
23	Grave marker 35	W
24	Grave marker 36	WNW
25	Grave marker 37a and b	WNW
26	Grave marker 38	WNW

27	Grave marker 39	WNW
28	Grave marker 40	WNW
29	Grave marker 41/42/43	W
30	Grave marker 44	WNW
31	Grave marker/group of stones 82	W
32	Grave marker 81	W
33	Grave marker 80	W
34	Grave marker 97/96	SW
35	Grave marker 94/94A/95	WSW

Colour Slide Film 3

01	Wasted	
02	?Grave marker/?kerb stones 91/91A/92/93	W
03	Grave marker 90	W
04	Grave marker 90 & 2 stones to S beside 34 wall (?)	W
05	Linear feature 34	WSW
06	Grave marker 79	WNW
07	Grave marker 78	NW
08	Grave marker 78	NNW
09	Grave marker 77	NW
10	Grave markers 71/72/73/74/75/76	SSW
11	Grave markers 68/69	NW
12	Grave marker 67	SSW
13	Grave marker 63	W
14	Grave marker 62	SW
15	Grave marker 61	SW
16	Grave markers 65/66 & 64 (label missing)	NE
17	Grave markers 116/117/118/119	W
18	Grave markers 59/60	WSW
19	Grave marker 58	S
20	Grave markers 54/55/56	SW
21	Grave markers 51/52/53	WSW
22	Grave marker 50	WSW
23	Grave marker 49	SSW
24	Grave marker 48	ESE
25	Grave marker 45	ESE
26	Grave marker 47	W
27	?Cairn 46	WSW
28	Grave marker 20	NNE
29	Grave marker 19	N
30	Grave marker 18	N
31	Grave marker 57	WNW
32	Grave markers 13/14/15	NW
33	Grave markers 16/17	SW
34	Cairn 21	S
35	Cairn 21	W
36	Cairn 21, N side	NW
37	Grave marker 3	SE

Colour Slide Film 4

01	Wasted	
02	Grave marker 11	WNW
03	Grave marker 12	W
04	Grave marker 1	WNW
05	Grave marker 2	NW
06	Grave marker 70	NE
07	Grave marker 24	WNW
08	Grave markers 87/88/89	W
09	Burial Cairn? 99	NNW
10	Grave slab 101 a+b	SW
11	Grave slab 103 a+b	E
12	Grave marker 110 +110A	W
13	Grave marker 104 (group of stones)	W
14	Grave markers 113/114	W
15	Grave marker 112	W
16	Grave marker 115	W
17	Grave marker 111	W
18	Grave markers 106/107/108/109	?
19	?Burial mound 120	S
20	?Burial mound 120	SSE
21	?Burial mound 120	N
22	Grave markers 124/125	NW
23	Grave markers 127/130	W
24	?Burial mound 120, Grave 198 (label not visible & not on blackboard)	NE

Colour Slide Film 5

01-06	Wasted	
07	Grave markers 121,122	E
08	Grave slab (tilted) 123	E
09	Inscribed stone 126	E
10	Wasted	
11	Headstone 127 & grave slab 128	E
12	Headstones 130,129 & graveslab 131	E
13	Wasted	
14	Headstone 132 & grave slab 133	E
15	Wasted	
16	Headstone 135 & grave slab 136	E
17	Headstone 139	E
18	Headstone 140	E
19	Headstone 141	E
20	Large stone 144	N
21	Mossy corner 145	N
22	Grave slab 138 and 148	W
23	Grave slab 137	W

24	Grave slab 134	W
25	Headstone & packer 146, 147	E
26	Grave markers 148,150, 151	E
27	Mossy bank/cairn 149	E
28	Grave slab(broken) 153 also 152	E
29	Grave marker 152	E
30	Grave marker 154	W
31	Grave marker & slab 155, 157	E
32	Grave marker & slab 158, 159, 160	W
33	Grave markers & slab 161, 162, 163, 164 also 169	E
34	Grave markers & slab 165, 166, 167, 168, 184, 185	NW
35	Grave markers & slab 170,171,172,175,176,177,178,179,180	SE
36	Grave marker & slab 173, 181(wrongly marked as 121 on blackboard)	E
37	Grave marker & cairn 183	SW

Black and White Film 1A

01	Votive tree, spar 1 lower	?
02	Votive tree spar 1 upper	?
03	Votive tree spar 1 upper	?
04	Votive tree spar 2 entire	?

Black and White Film 1B

01	Grave markers 13, 14, 15	
02	Grave markers 16, 17	
03	Cairn 21	

Black and White Film 2

09	Grave 85/86	W
10	Grave 209 (wrongly marked on board as 148)	NW
11	Grave 209 (wrongly marked on board as 148) - rear with propstone	SSE
12	Grave markers 83/84, small mound of stone	SW
13	Grave 9 (not numbered on blackboard)	S
14	Grave 8	S
15	Grave 7	SSW
16	Grave 6 (lump?)	N
17	Grave 5	ESE
18	Grave 31	WNW
19	Grave 23	W

20	Grave 22	W
21	Grave 25	W
22	Grave 26	SSW
23	Grave 27	WNW
24	Grave 28	WNW

Black and White Film 3

01	Grave marker 29	SW
02	Grave 30	W
03	Grave 32	W
04	Grave 33 (wrongly marked as 32 on board)	WSW
05	Grave 34	W
06	Grave 35	W
07	Grave 36	WNW
08	Grave 37	WNW
09	Grave 38	WNW
10	Grave 39	WNW
11	Grave 40	WNW
12	Grave 41/42/43	W
13	Grave 44	WNW
14	Grave 82	W
15	Grave 81	W
16	Grave 80	W
17	Grave 97/96	SW
18	Grave 94/94A/95	WSW
19	Grave 91/91A/92/93	W
20	Grave 90	W
21	Grave 90 & 2 stones to S beside 34 (?) wall	?
22	Linear feature 34	WSW
23	Grave 79	WNW
24	Grave 78	NW

Black and White Film 4

00	Grave marker 78	NNW
01	Grave 77	NW
02	Grave 71/72/73/74/75/76	SSW
03	Grave 68/69	SW
04	Grave 67	SSW
05	Grave 62	SW
06	Grave 61	SW
07	Grave 65/66 & 64 (label missing)	NE
08	Grave 116/117/118/119	W
09	Grave 59/60	WSW
10	Grave 58	S
11	Grave 54/55/56	SW
12	Grave 51/52/53	WSW

13	Grave 50	WSW
14	Grave 49	SSW
15	Grave 48	ESE
16	Grave 45	ESE
17	Grave 47	W
18	Grave 20	NNE
19	Grave 19	N
20	Grave 18	N
21	Grave 57	WNW

Black and White Film 5

01-02	Wasted	
03	Grave markers 121,122	E
04	Grave slab (tilted) 123	E
05	Inscribed stone 126	E
06	Headstone 127 & grave slab 128	E
07	Headstones 130,129 & graveslab 131	E
08	Headstone 132 & grave slab 133	E
09	Headstone 135 & grave slab 136	E
10	Headstone 139	E
11	Headstone 140	E
12	Headstone 141	E
13	Recumbent slabs 142 and 143	
14	Large stone 144	N
15	Mossy corner 145	N
16	Grave slab 138 and upright stone 148	W
17	Grave slab 137	W
18	Grave slab 134	W
19	Headstone & packer 146, 147	E
20	Grave markers 148,150, 151	E
21	Mossy bank/cairn 149	E
22	Grave slab(broken) 153 and 152	E
23	Grave marker 152	E
24	Grave marker 154	W
25	Grave marker & slab 155, 157	E
26	Grave marker & slab 158, 159, 160	W
27	Grave markers & slab 161, 162, 163, 164 also 169	E
29	Grave markers & slab 165, 166, 167, 168, 184, 185	NW
30	Grave markers & slab 170,171,172,175,176,177,178,179,180	SE
31	Grave marker & slab 173, 181(wrongly marked as 121 on blackboard)	E
32	Grave marker & cairn 183	SW
33	Grave/slabs 186, 187, 188	
34	Gravestone 189	
35	?Gravestone 190	

Black and White Film 6

00	Grave 1
01	Grave 2
02	Grave 70 ↙
03	Grave 24
04	Grave 87/88/89
05	Cairn 99
06	Grave 101 101a + b
07	Grave 103a + b
08	Grave slab 110 +110a
09	Grave slab 104 a+b
10	Grave slab 113 and 114
11	Grave 112
12	Grave 115
13	Grave 111
14	Grave 106/107/108/109 from W
15	Burial mound 120 from S
16	Burial mound 120 from SE
17	Burial mound 120 from N
18	Grave 124/125
19	Grave 127/130
20	Grave 120/198 from E

Appendix 9.7 – Black and white photos

Film 1 (A and B)



01 BW1A - VT1A



02 BW1A - VT1 upper



03 BW1A - VT1 upper



04 BW1A - VT2



01 BW1B - Nos13 14 15



02 BW1B - Nos16 17



03 BW1B - Cairn21

Film 2



09 BW2 - Nos85 86



10 BW2 - No209



11 BW2 - No209rear



12 BW2 - Nos83 84



13 BW2 - No9



14 BW2 - No8



15 BW2 - No7



16 BW2 - No6



17 BW2 - No5



18 BW2 - No31



19 BW2 - No23



20 BW2 - No22



21 BW2 - No25



22 BW2 - No26



23 BW2 - No27



24 BW2 - No28

Film 3



01 BW3 - No29



02 BW3 - No30



03 BW3 - No32



04 BW3 - No33



05 BW3 - No34



06 BW3 - No 35



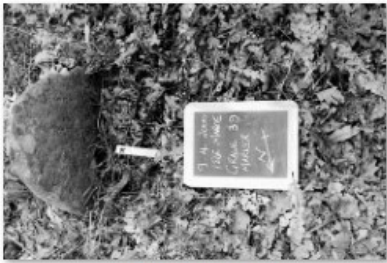
07 BW3 - No36



08 BW3 - No37



09 BW3 - No38



10 BW3 - No39



11 BW3 - No40



12 BW3 - Nos41 42 43



13 BW3 - No44



14 BW3 - No82



15 BW3 - No81



16 BW3 - No80



17 BW3 - Nos96 97



18 BW3 - Nos94 94a 95



19 BW3 - Nos91 91a 92 93



20 BW3 - No90



21 BW32 - No90+2 stones



22 BW3 - No34 linear feature



23 BW3 - No79



24 BW3 - No78

Film 4



00 BW4 - No78



01 BW4 - No77



02 BW4 - Nos71 72 73 74 75 76



03 BW4 - Nos68 69



04 BW4 - No67



05 BW4 - No62



06 BW4 - No61



07 BW4 - Nos65 66



08 BW4 - Nos116 117 118 119



09 BW4 - Nos59 60



10 BW4 - No58



11 BW4 - Nos54 55 56



12 BW4 - Nos51 52 53



13 BW4 - No50



14 BW4 - No49



15 BW4 - No48



16 BW4 - No45



17 BW4 - No47



18 BW4 - No20



19 BW4 - No19



20 BW4 - No18



21 BW4 - No57

Film 5



03 BW5 - Nos121 122



04 BW5 - No123



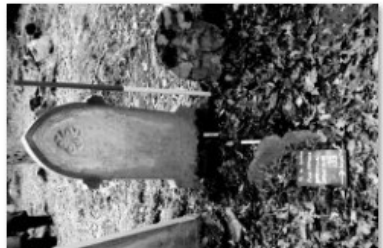
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06 BW5 - Nos127 128



07 BW5 - Nos129 130 131



08 BW5 - Nos132 133



09 BW5 - Nos135 136



10 BW5 - No139



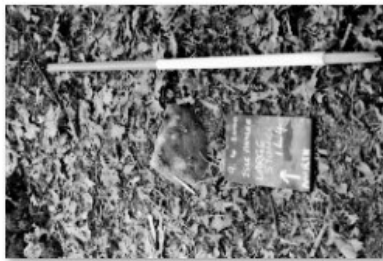
11 BW5 - No140



12 BW5 - No141



13 BW5 - No142 143



14 BW5 - No144



15 BW5 - No145



16 BW5 - No138 148



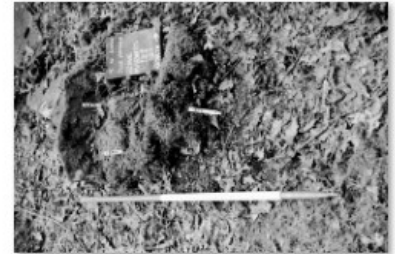
17 BW5 - No137



18 BW5 - No134



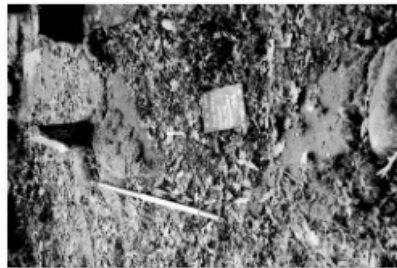
19 BW5 - Nos146 147



20 BW5 - Nos148 150 151



21 BW5 - No149



22 BW5 - Nos152 153



23 BW5 - No152



24 BW5 No154



25 BW5 - Nos155 157



26 BW5 - Nos158 159 160



27 BW5 - Nos161 162 163 164 169



29 BW5 - Nos165 166 167 168 184 185



30 BW5 - Nos170 171 172 175 176 177



31 BW5 - Nos181(not121) 173



32 BW5 - No183



33 BW5 - Nos186 187 188



34 BW5 - No189



35 BW5 - No190



36 BW5 - not sure

Film 6



00 BW6 - No01



01 BW6 - No02



02 BW6 - No70



03 BW6 - No24



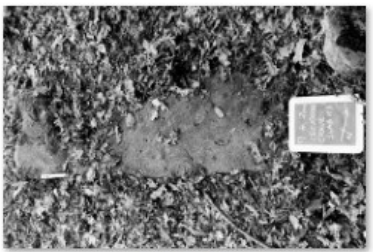
04 BW6 - Nos87 88 89



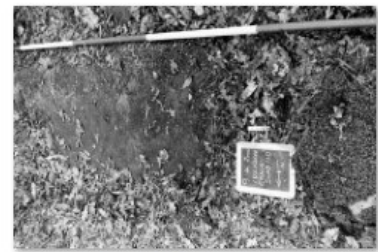
05 BW6 - Cairn 99



06 BW6 - Nos101 101a 101b



07 BW6 - Nos103a 103b



08 BW6 - Nos110 110a



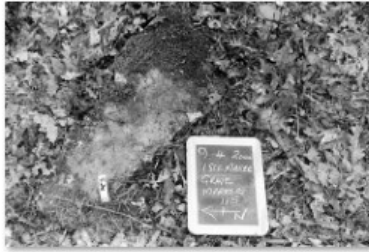
09 BW6 - Nos104a 104b



10 BW6 - Nos113 114



11 BW6 - No112



12 BW6 - No115



13 BW6 - No111



14 BW6 - Nos 106 107 108 109



15 BW6 - No120



16 BW6 - No120



17 BW6 - No120



18 BW6 - Nos124 125



19 BW6 - Nos127 130



20 BW6 - No120 198