Landscape Changes Around Bennachie and the Garioch During the Mediaeval and Post-Mediaeval Periods, c.1100 - 1800

Colin Shepherd for
The Bailies of Bennachie

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Summary

This preliminary landscape assessment of the area of Bennachie and its hinterlands demonstrates that enough cartographic and historical evidence survives to create a reasonable expectation that, with an extensive programme of multidisciplinary fieldwork, a good understanding of the biocultural development of the area from, at least, late prehistoric to modern times can be achieved.

This study has recognised a range of archaeological targets covering the timespan noted above and which should be capable of supplying artefactual and structural evidence to complement the documentary data. Such targets include core late prehistoric/early mediaeval settlement areas and at least one higher status site providing an administrative focus for its estate during the 12th/13th centuries. The recognition of such sites is important as documentary detail for this period is poor and our major access to knowledge of it is likely to be by archaeological fieldwork. After this period, the historical documents become more informative and appear to attest a number of different tenurial arrangements which might be related to the wide range of land-use regimes also recognised in the study. Of particular importance to the study area is the management of the different portions of landscape surrounding Bennachie belonging to the Bishops of Aberdeen.

Suggestions relating to the earlier history of the Church in the North-east are also considered. The study has noted the possibility of reaching a greater understanding of the development of the 12th century church with reference to the annexation of the lands of Mortlach and a proposed link between that ecclesiastical centre and the church lands of Clatt, Terpersie and the *monasterium* of Clova. Also, within this context of church development, the site of a probable early Mother church, or *Annat*, has been noted. These developments might now enable the development of a clearer understanding of the connection of the *Celi De* cell at Egilsmenytok/Monymusk within this wider ecclesiastical environment. The importance of Balquhain and Fetternear as a joint focus for the counter-reformation is also noted and reveals the area as a rich source for the final days of the formative church in Scotland. Personal details within the historical archive also illuminate relations between the lordly and lower classes, especially at the beginning of the 18th century.

In concert with the cartographic evidence, aerial photography has shown an earlier range of field remains pre-dating the estate plans and, possibly, relating to 12th and 13th century land-use. The combination of documents and plans has also demonstrated the development of 16th century expansion in the west of the study area. Intriguingly, a study of the estate plans has demonstrated that much of the present fieldscape, though very modern in form, in very many cases reaffirms the mediaeval layout with the boundaries merely straightened up. Survival is also attested in the apparent respect shown to prehistoric monuments, at least until the industrialisation of the landscape in the 19th century. Legal testimonies show that traditional ways of settling boundary disputes also survived to this time and attest a longevity to how the landscape was perceived locally.

In sum, this study shows that the area considered is capable of rigorous study which could revolutionise our understanding of almost all aspects of social and ecological development in the North-east during the last thousand years. Such a thorough understanding is also critical to contextualising the final phases of periods antecedent to the developments discussed here. Such insights are vital in helping to understand the effects of those earlier periods on the major themes discussed in this paper.

Introduction: Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study is to provide a start-point for further investigation of an area of landscape, rich in archaeological, historical, anthropological and palaeo-environmental detail. It is hoped that it will supply a framework that can be tested and built upon by researchers from a wide range of backgrounds - especially those from the community with energy, enthusiasm and questions about the landscape within which they live.

The objectives are concerned with inspecting the evidence for accessibility and content. The landscape stands as an obvious testament to thousands of years of development. But, is that development susceptible to disentanglement and resolution? This question, therefore, defines the objectives: to test that landscape and the historical documents associated with it to see whether, together, they can resolve that process of biocultural formation. And if the answer is yes, and the objectives are defined as practical, then the aim, also, can be achieved. For, by confirming the potential of the evidence, this brief study will, as a matter of course, provide the first range of hypotheses to be tested and modified in libraries, in living rooms and in the field by all willing to participate.

The results of the study are, of necessity, a bit of a 'hotch-potch', consisting of a range of evidence suggesting possible avenues for community study. Two short case studies have been included to give an idea of how some aspects of the evidence might be used. Obviously, many other methods can be applied to the large range of data available from the area and these will be touched on in the final, short discussion. These are briefly discussed in the concluding section.

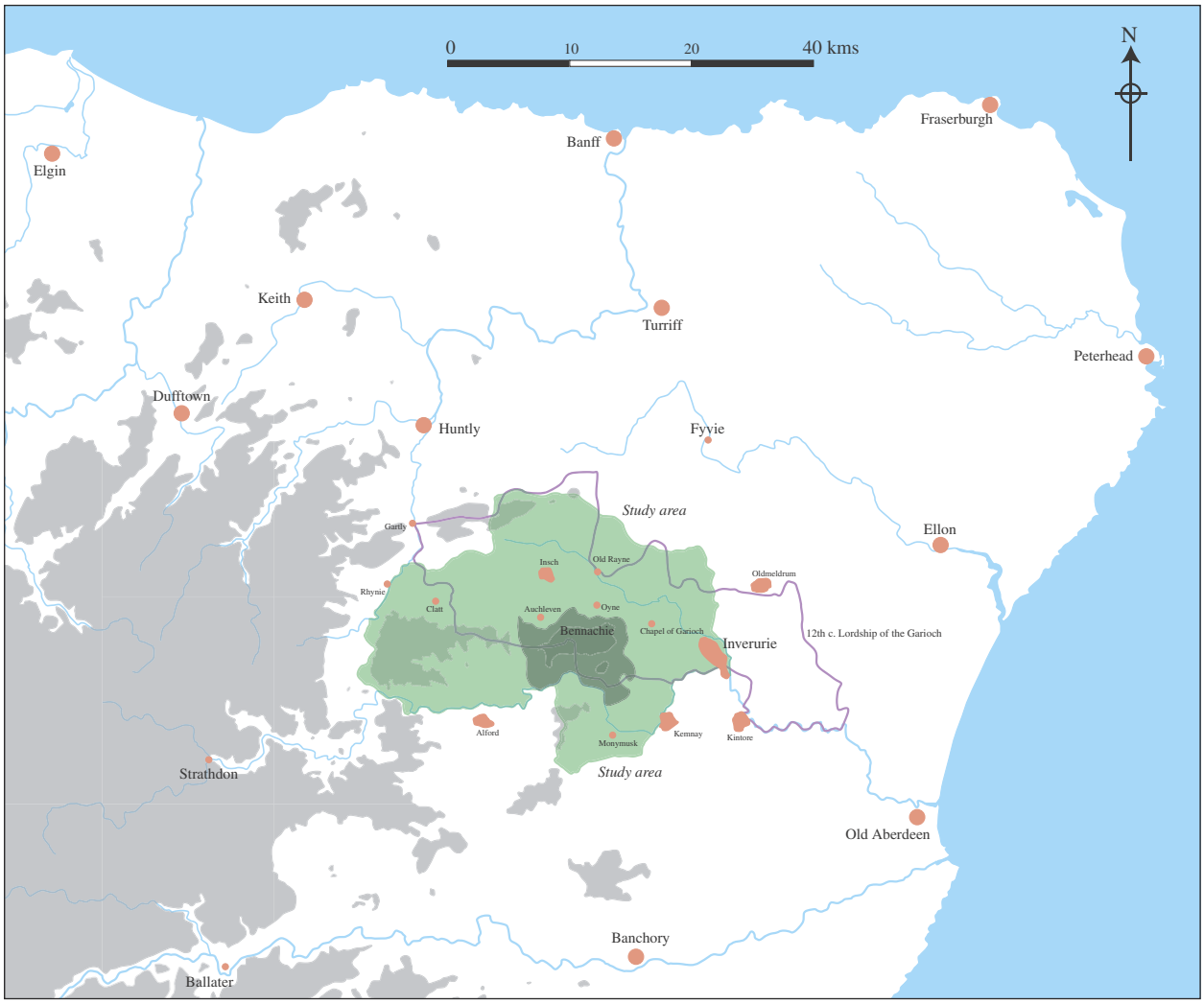

Figure 1. Location Plan of Bennachie and the North-east showing upland areas.

Note 1. I use the term 'biocultural' as representing the totality of those interactive and competing forces which create the ever-developing ecological 'web' from which humankind (contrary to some expectations) cannot escape. It includes geological and topographic determinants, climate, flora and fauna, social and psychological predilections as well as the vagaries of chance. All play their parts, to varying degrees and at different times, to the developments and stresses affecting all of the other parts.

Landscape and Methodology

Study Area

Boundaries are inevitably contrived as no one place is ever unrelated to its adjoining area. Consequently, wherever the border for an area of study is drawn, there will inevitably be a range of perfectly good arguments why it should not be there. I have no doubt that this project will not disappoint those expectations! However, some geographical limits are required and I have drawn them as illustrated in Figures 1 to 3. Figure 2 shows the approximate areas covered by the 17th century parishes, including a stab at the area covered by the now-defunct parish of Rathmuriel. The bounds of the 12th century Lordship of the Garioch (following Stringer, 1985) are shown on Figures 1 and 2.

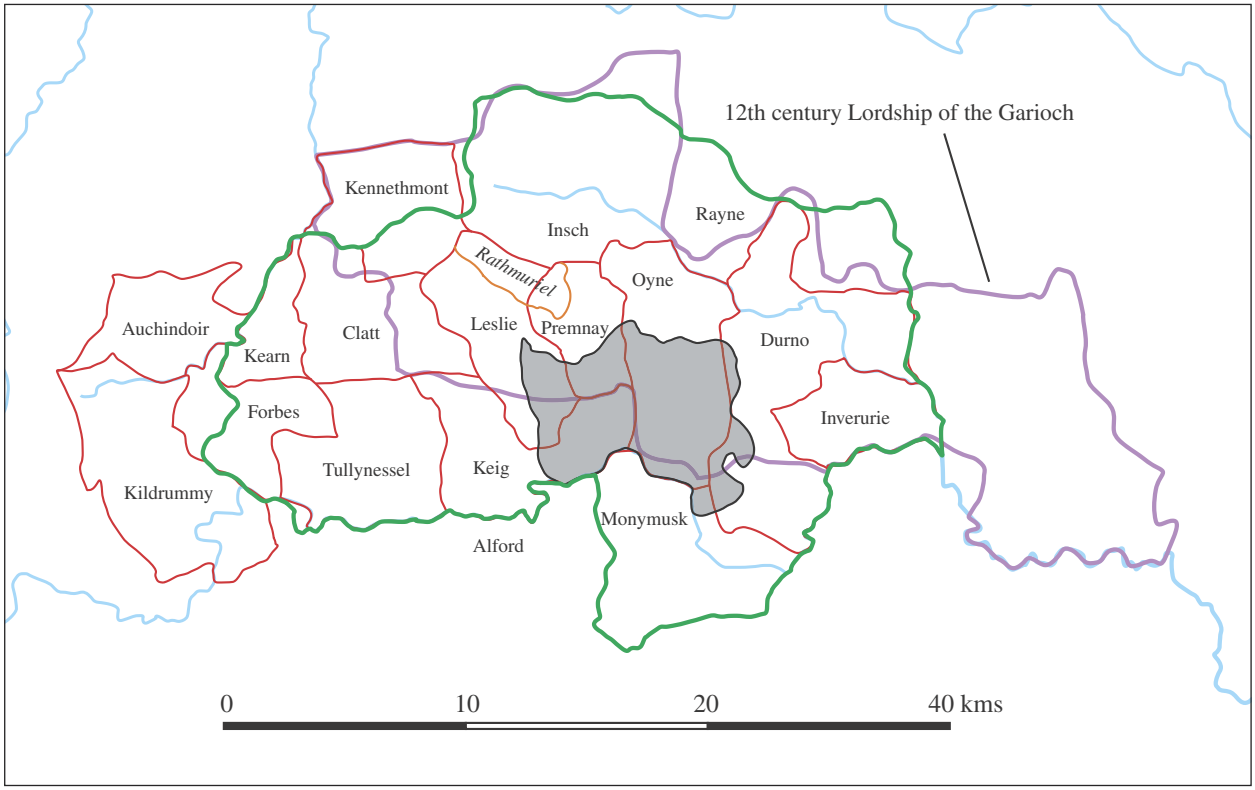

Figure 2. Plan showing area of Bennachie, the study area, 17th century parishes and the 12th century Lordship of the Garioch.

The area has been chosen as a compromise between considerations of topography, historical development and surviving evidence. The upland massif of Bennachie sits north of the River Don. This would have been the obvious southern boundary but for the fact of the historical connections with part of the Parish of Monymusk across the river. To underline this point, north of the Don within Monymusk parish is the probable early Christian foundation of Egilsmeneytok while, to the south, is the successor abbey sited at Monymusk. To divide those two artificially would not have made sense.

In order to understand Bennachie in its context requires a study of how it was used by the surrounding population. In the later 12th and 13th centuries it formed a part of the Lordship of Garioch, created in c.1179 and held by David, brother to King William. Awkwardly, the southern boundary of this Lordship appears to have cut through the middle of Bennachie. Consequently, the study areas is required to extend west from the Lordship. Topographically, Bennachie is an eastern extension of an area of upland bounded by the Kildrummy 'gap' on the west and this was, consequently, chosen as the western boundary for the study area. In other words, to include the parishes of Forbes and Clatt but to exclude Kildrummy and Auchindoir. Kildrummy has, however, furnished a useful set of rentals for comparison. The Lordship boundary has been used on the north side. However, at the point where it reaches Rayne on its north-east side, the study area was extended beyond the Lordship in order to include Rayne. It was felt that its proximity to Bennachie and its historical importance to the area - with respect to the Bishops' lands and 'palace' - meant that it should not be excluded. Durno was included as a parish

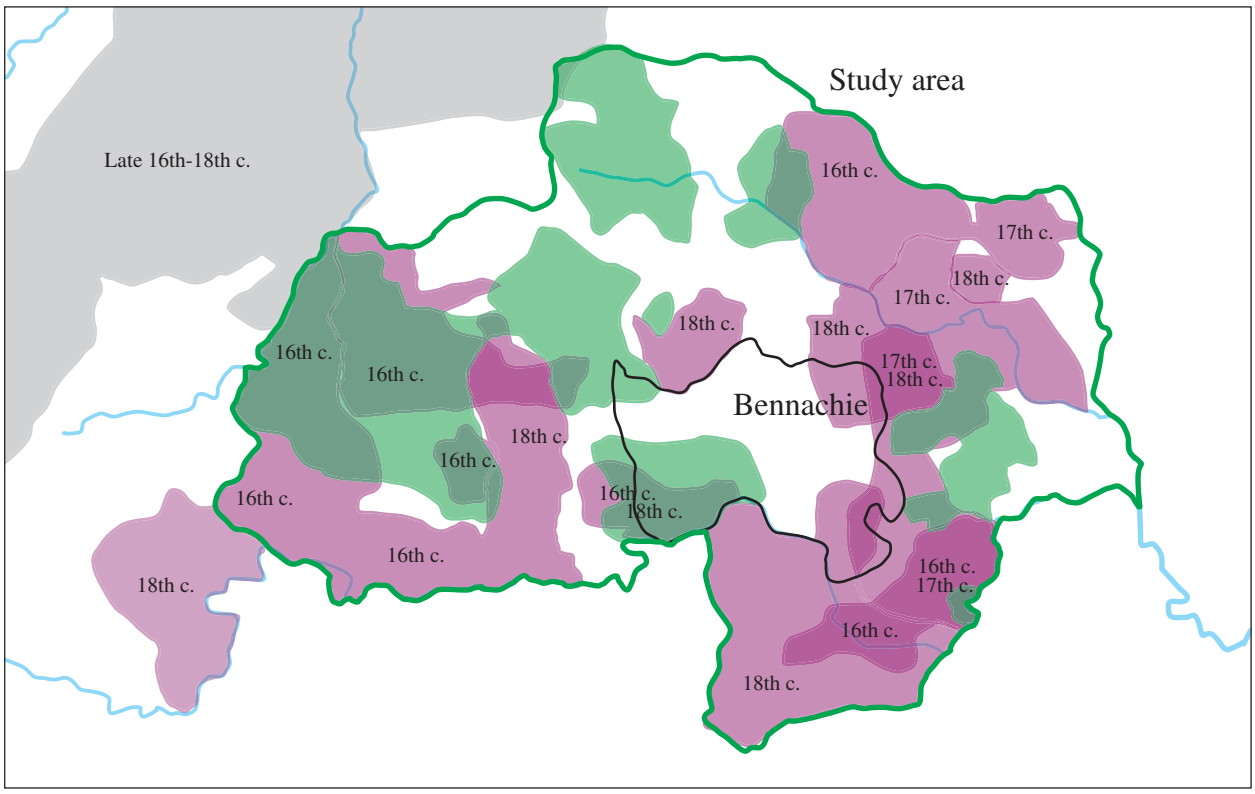

Figure 3. The study area as defined by surviving rentals and estate plans. Plans are shown in green and rentals in red. The grey area depicts the Lordship of Huntly which contains good, comparative local material.

abutting Bennachie and forms the eastern border of the study area with Inverurie parish and the River Urie. The Lordship to the east of the Rivers Don and Urie was felt to belong to a landscape relatively unrelated to Bennachie. However, the earlier importance of Kinkell as a possible 'Mother Church', overseeing a wide area extending west of the Don as well as to the east (Stringer, 1985, 65) must be considered during consideration of the earlier periods. Such a connection may be further underlined by the hospital site see below, page 40) and the royal hunting lodge of Hallforest, west of Kintore, and the latter's presumed association with the Forest of Fetternear granted along with Birse to the Bishops of Aberdeen in the 1240s (REA, I, 15).

According to Stringer (1985, 66) Garioch derives from Gaelic, *Gairbheach*, 'place of roughness' and he considers it most likely that the name originally applied to the country west of Oyne, only subsequently referring to the lands of the Lordship to the east. The placename Edingarioch, next to Auchleven, presumably meaning 'head of the Garioch', might suggest a traditional beginning for this region. Geologically and topographically, the plain north of the Correen Hills and Bennachie is uniform. A western 'rough' area, therefore, is more suggestive of land-use difference between the two areas which might be apparent in the evidence discussed below.

Landscape and Topography

The study area contains a range of topographies and soil types resulting in a variety of ecological zones. North of Bennachie and the Corren Hills are soils of the Insch series, drifts derived from gabbros and allied igneous rocks resulting in arable and permanent pasture on Brown Forest Soils (BFS) with some gleys. The upland massif of Bennachie derives from the Countesswells/Dalbeattie and Priestlaw granitic drift series supportive of heather moor, bog and native pinewoods. The lower slopes on the north and south, including the area of Birks and Tillyfour, present the capability for patches of arable and permanent pasture amongst rush pastures and sedge mosses. The Correen Hills are of the Foudland series - drifts derived from slates, phylites and other weakly metamorphosed agrillaceous rocks giving a mix of humus-iron podzols, some BFS, gleys, peats and mixtures thereof. The uplands yield mainly dry boreal heather moor, though mixed with some Atlantic heather moor and bog. The southern slopes towards the Don yield arable and permanent pasture, giving way

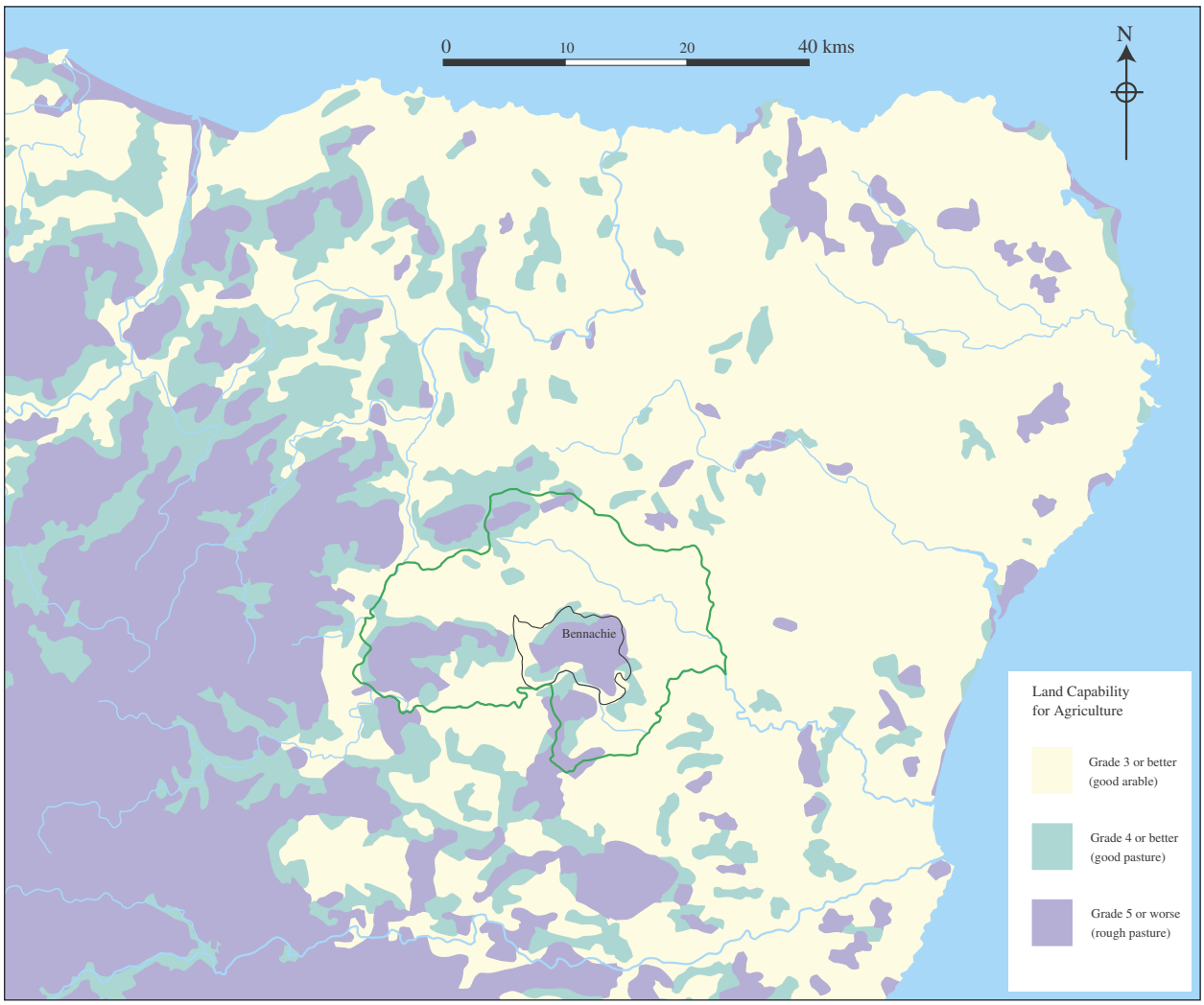

Figure 4. Land capability for agriculture of the North-east of Scotland (after Macaulay Institute, 1982).

to soils of the Tarves series of drifts of mixed acid and base rocks leading to a wide variety of component soils. Again yielding arable and permanent pasture, though with patches of rushy pasture and acid bent-fescue grassland. The area of Fetternear contains Tarves series soils intermixed with those related to the Corby/Boyndie/Dinnet fluvioglacial and raised beach acidic series, giving the possibilities of arable and permanent pasture along with rush and sedge and, significantly, oak and birchwoods. Up towards Balquhain and into Rayne, the soils return to the Insch series giving good arable and pasture though intermixed with patches of herb-rich Boreal heather moor, rush pasture and sedge mire. These soils continue westward throughout the study area, though with patches of the Countesswells and associated soils in Leslie, Kennethmont and at Knokespok. The extreme west of the area in Kearn, along the banks of the Bogie are derived from soils of the Ordley/Cuminestown drifts of BFS, humus-iron podzols and gleys yielding further arable and permanent pasture, though with patches of rush pasture and sedge mire (Macaulay Institute, 1982). Figure 4 shows a simplified map of the land capability for agriculture of the study area as assessed by the Macaulay Institute (*ibid.*). From this it can be seen that, apart from the upland cores, the area comprises Grade 3 (good arable) or better land.

METHODOLOGY

The approach taken was to assess the databases of the National Archives of Scotland and Aberdeen University Historic Collections and to note extant estate plans and historic documents. Those relating more directly to the management of the landscape were singled out for viewing. Any numerical data relating to land tenure and usage were recorded. The emphasis upon the documentary evidence relating to landscape management reflects the aim of this study which is to provide base line data for a more wide-ranging project incorporating a high level of fieldwork, hopefully to be carried out by the local community. The avoidance of detailed study of other types of documentary evidence, such as charters and retours, is in no way reflective of antipathy towards those highly informative sources which will hopefully be followed up at a later time. To attempt to include such a wealth of detail here would far outstretch the limits of this study.

Documentary details were cross-matched with estate plans where possible and correlations noted. Other significant features found within the documentary records were noted with a view to future analysis. Some documents were transcribed and all plans, where it was possible to do so, were redrawn. Unfortunately, at the time of writing, the National Trust for Scotland have been a bit slow in permitting access to plans of lands of Leith Hall pertinent to this study and these have, consequently, not been included here. They should, however, supply further useful information.

Certain conclusions have been drawn concerning the biocultural development of the study area and these are noted as targets for potential follow-up fieldwork. Such fieldwork should be aimed at testing some of the suggestions put forward. Some conclusions drawn from the documentary sources have been checked and verified by reference to aerial photographs held at the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS). Only a cursory search was made of these, again with the intention of confirming the benefit of future work in that direction. In fact, many subjects have been touched on briefly in order to suggest future areas of study which fall outwith the remit of this initial 'fact-finding' investigation.

I have attempted to illustrate the results in a visual form wherever possible for purposes of clarification and have hopefully demonstrated that landscape studies can benefit from a high level of statistical input. My over-arching desire, however, has been to demonstrate that a study of biocultural developments takes many forms and can benefit from the input of people with a broad range of experience and not necessarily of an academic kind.

Notes on terminology used in the text

A note of explanation is required with respect to the frequent use in what follows of the term 'capitalist'. I follow Carter (1979) and use the term as a description of a mode of production wherein 'capital' is invested in labour with a profit accruing upon the sale of the produce of that labour. I use it to distinguish this mode of production from the subsistence-based strategies which were widely in evidence before the mid 18th century in the north of Scotland. These strategies commonly involved the rent of a piece of land from which the basic amenities of life could be produced. Any surplus could be sold to purchase some of life's little luxuries or to be set aside for a rainy day.

I will also use the term 'pre-modern' rather than pre-'Improvement'. The latter suggests the erroneous idea that the landscape had not undergone extensive developments prior to the late 18th and early 19th centuries or that these later changes were somehow 'better' than what had gone before. 'Pre-modern' might also be viewed as synonymous with 'pre-capitalist' with respect to the agricultural modes of production. This apparent synonymity has an important bearing upon discussions concerned with the early modern biocultural transformation of the area.

For purposes of simplistic abbreviation I use the term 'church' to refer to the pre-Reformation ecclesiastical authority and the buildings of its parish administrative and ritual core. I use 'kirk' for the post-Reformation authority and its parish core. Though the picture is, obviously, rather more complicated than this, further discussion of such complications are not essential to this study.

With respect to fermtoun spellings, I retain the spelling contemporary with the records that spelling refers to. Its present rendering frequently bears little or no relationship with the land being described. I apologise for this lack of convention but believe it to render the evidence more faithfully.

Historical and Cartographic Sources

A substantial corpus of historical material survives covering the area surrounding Bennachie and for the Garioch. Much more might have survived were it not for the vicissitudes created by political motivations to destroy records of earlier regimes that have been common across much of North-west Europe. The social importance of history has been well recognised by many political leaders in the past (though seeming to have escaped the mental grasp of most present day ones!) and its subjugation often enacted. The supplanting of the Pictish dynasties by Scottish ones appears to have been the first obvious example of this sorry catalogue, probably followed by Malcolm Canmore's usurpation of the local boy, MacBeth. Robert de Bruce played his part during the genocidal 'herschip' in the North-east, quickly followed by Edward I's rampage through the records. Finally, the Reformation and its wanton destruction should still send shudders of guilt through anyone harbouring an uncritical respect for the (far from) 'National' Covenant (see below, page 41).

Much of the earliest material (of the 12th to 15th centuries) relates to land-holding and the legal entitlements to those holdings. Subsequently, the records start to give glimpses of the management of those landholdings until, by the 17th century, it becomes possible to get a realistic understanding of the management of the large estates and glimpses of the daily lives of the bulk of the population inhabiting those estates. By the 18th, everybody's dirty linen was out for inspection!

For the present purposes of trying to understand the development of the landscape, the records of especial importance are land rentals and taxation rolls. Both can give an indication of the relative wealth of different parts of the study area and can help in the understanding of developments within it. Often, the only indication that there has been some form of landscape change is its reflection in an increased rent or taxation. Apart from monetary clues to landscape change, the rentals can sometimes inform on changes in land-use. Up until the 19th century (and later in some areas), at least a portion of many rents were paid in kind rather than money. If a particular farm was paying with a large amount of grain, it might be that this was indicative of a greater proportion of its production capacity being geared towards arable cropping than a neighbouring farm which might have been paying a greater proportion in animal products: the animals themselves or animal products, such as cheese or butter. Changes in this balance of payment may be reflective of real change in the production base.

A further possibility is that the rentals might suggest the social composition of farming units. In some cases the farm may have been split between a number of land-holders, holding that land on different terms. This evidence is helped enormously by the 1696 poll tax returns and which, fortunately for us, are preserved in a more complete state in Aberdeenshire than in any other county. These returns list the members of every community over the age of sixteen years and, frequently, note occupations and marital status. The terms by which land was held can be seen to have changed throughout the Mediaeval and Post-mediaeval periods and through charting these changes it becomes possible to understand broader social developments. Caution must be exercised, however. The terminology used within the poll records was determined by the local assessor and the local lairds. A person appearing as a sub-tenant on one estate may appear as no more than a name without qualification on another. This can be seen by the complete absence of certain categories on a particular estate, whilst being well-evidenced on a neighbouring one. Similarly, in one parish people might be grouped meticulously within their individual farms and fermtouns whilst, in another, they might appear as an undifferentiated mass. Leslie may be cited as an example of the former, Clatt the latter.

The final type of evidence of particular use in understanding the landscape and agricultural practices is frequently related to the cartographic evidence supplied by estate plans. This is the estate survey and was usually carried out either with a view to revising rents or as an aid to landscape replanning and development. The evolution of accurate cartography during the 18th century permitted landholders, for the first time, to be in a position to accurately assess their lands with a 'bird's eye' view. The effects of this aspect of 18th century knowledge is increasingly being seen to have had important results for the development of social relations and appropriation across the globe. Oliver draws attention to 'agenda-laden maps' in the context of facilitating colonial expansion (2010, 81) and Whyte notes (2009, 12) how they became used as a symbol of lordly dominance over an area of land and communities.

Such cartographic developments might also be seen to have had a special resonance with respect to the Bennachie Colonists and the division of the Commonty where division was imposed via lines drawn on a map

and, from thence, superimposed on the landscape by means of marker stones (the 'Thieves' Marks'). Such mapping was a revolution in territorial acquisition and made a significant break with the topographically-based patterns of the past. Those had utilised natural landforms, such as burns and crags and symbols redolent of localised social meaning, such as stone circles and ancient standing stones. (See Whyte, 2009 for a full discussion). Such symbolic acts of landscape domination and the dislocation from a 'traditional' approach to inhabiting the land are unlikely to have gone unheeded by the local population. The division of Bennachie was simply the final act in this process - perhaps, for this reason, fuelling the emotional outpourings of a large number of the dispossessed North-east community. Gregory also notes (2005, 75) how the disparity between the ease of planning with ruler and pencil and the days of toil it occasioned for the farm workers to implement those changes served as a symbol of dominance and power of the landowner not only over the landscape but also over those who worked within it.

But, in terms of understanding the landscape and allied agricultural practices, the plans and attendant measurements give us a view of the landscape immediately prior to its replanning into the form with which we are all most familiar. It must be remembered, however, that this view marks the end point of an evolution stretching back for hundreds of years. (This is discussed more fully elsewhere; Shepherd, 2007). The constructional palimpsest revealed in these estate plans can, therefore, help in the understanding of the landscape's development to that point. Interestingly, the plans also reveal that much of that former landscape does still survive in the skeleton of what we see today, albeit in a modified and regularised form.

Land Rentals and Taxations

The study area contains a good, broad range of rentals pertinent to the early 16th through to the late 18th centuries and even a taxation of parishes for 1275. Unfortunately, few of them cover the same geographical locations. Figure 3 demonstrates that few rentals or even plans overlap. The picture, therefore, has to be constructed as a three-dimensional jigsaw. The large size of the study area helps in this respect. Were the study to be of only one of the sub-zones, it might be possible to use a particular rental to perceive one moment in the history of that area, but it would not add much to the story of its development through time. Other complicating factors concern inflation, differing sizes of farm, not to mention a range of methods of valuing rents: from money, bolls of grain and loads of peat to bits of animals! The method employed to alleviate these problems is outlined below[2].

To start with the first awkward variable: inflation. Fortunately, lists of market prices for a wide range of consumables survive from the mid 16th century and are known as 'fiars'. These were set by the markets of various cities, probably for a wide range of economic purposes and safeguards. Figure 5 shows the fluctuations in grain prices from Aberdeen and Fife between 1550 and 1800 (taken from Gibson and Smout, ND). Obviously, Aberdeen was the local market but it was considered useful to confirm that the Fife fiars were not giving a completely different picture which would have required explanation. Fortunately, this was not the case and it is possible, therefore, to be fairly certain that the graph shows a genuine trend pattern, presumably related mainly to the vicissitudes of weather over different years.

Obviously, prices varied from year to year and there is no evidence that rents were that variable. In the 1500s rents were usually set for 19 years, though by the 1600s this had frequently been changed to 5 years[3]. With rents being paid in kind, it is necessary to convert all elements of the rent into a common denominator for the purpose of analysis - in this case a monetary equivalent. To achieve this, the various rental payments - cattle, bolls of grain, loads of peat etc. - have been similarly taken from the fiars. As most do not recur with the same frequency as grain, it has been necessary to take the costs from where they do appear and apply a multiplier to take account of inflation. As the dominant commodity underlying estate production was grain, this was used to determine that multiplier. The trend displays a fairly constant upward movement and the rental multipliers used are the figures shown horizontally along the top of the graph. This process, therefore takes care of inflation and the variations in methods of rental payment.

Note 2. A full account of the method and its applicability to the Lordship of Huntly can be found in Shepherd (2011).
Note 3. The reason for such changes is a question worthy of deeper analysis. 19 years might be considered almost a lifetime lease were the lessess taking it on aged around 20 years. Any renewal would be bound to result in a possible inheritance issue. This had clearly not been of concern but may have been perceived as such as the 1600s progressed. Perhaps political and religious troubles at the time may have had some effect.

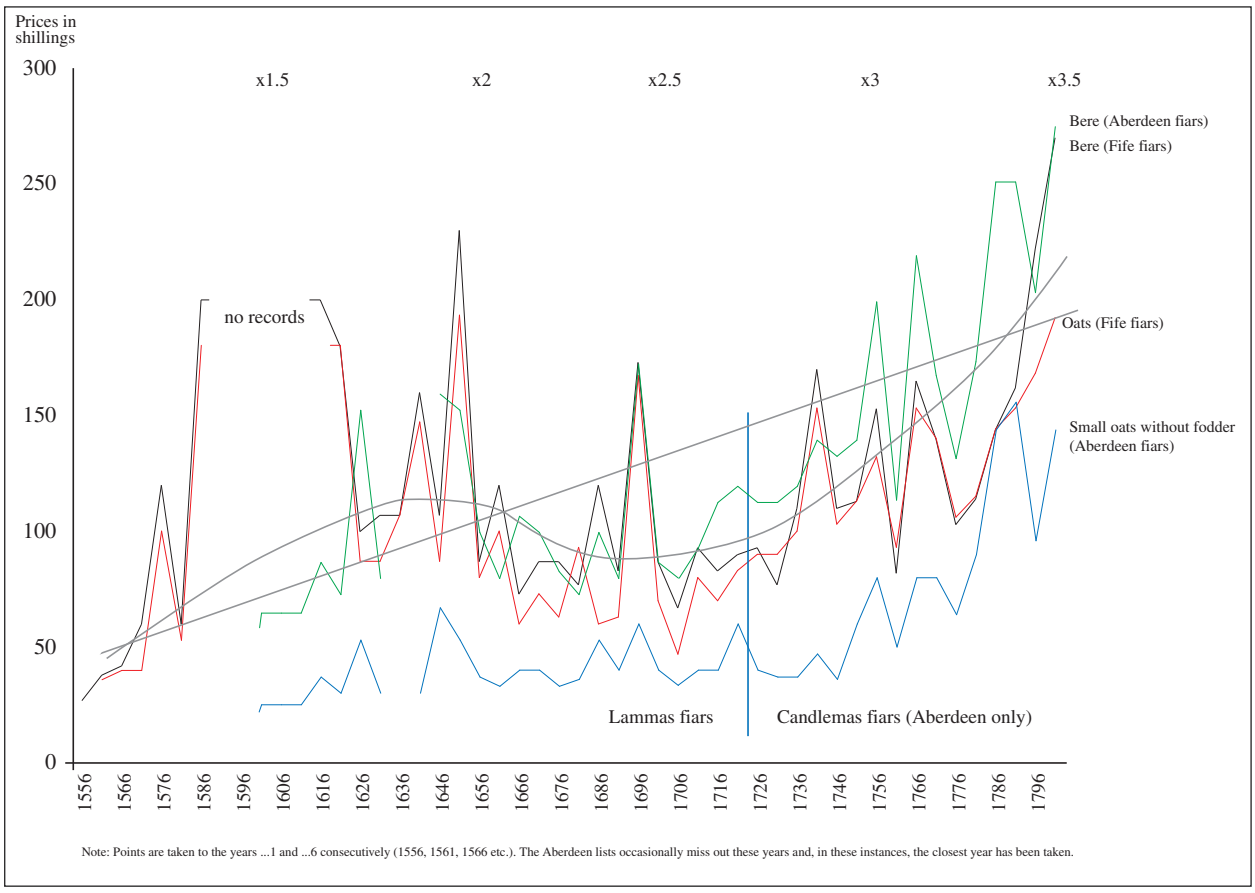

Figure 5. Fluctuations in the price of grain as taken from the Aberdeen and Fife fiars.

The other variable is size of farm. These could vary from 6 plough units down to half plough units - a plough being very roughly equatable to 100 acres. (Smaller 'crofts' have been excluded from this part of the analysis but rear their heads in a subsequent discussion). In order to be able to compare farms of such differing sizes, all have been expressed as single plough values. In other words, the value of a farm of 6 ploughs has been

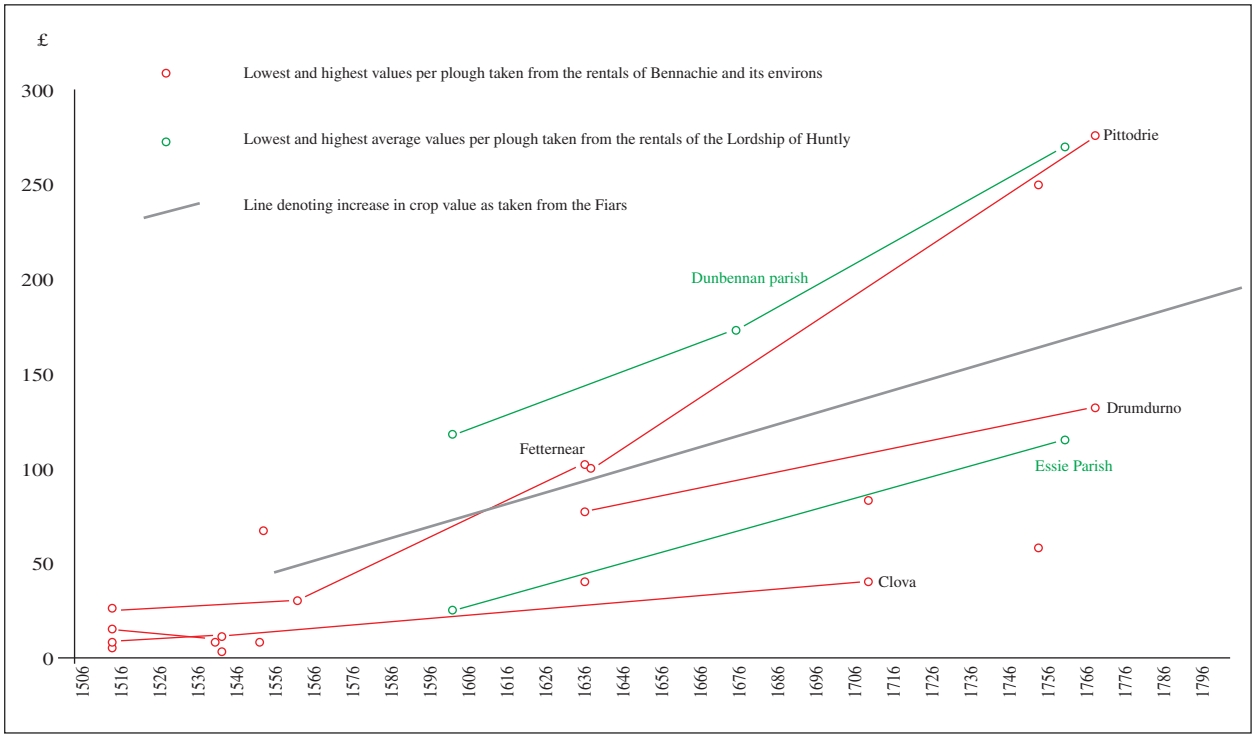

Figure 6. Graph showing lowest and highest rental values compared with the inflation trend from the fiars.

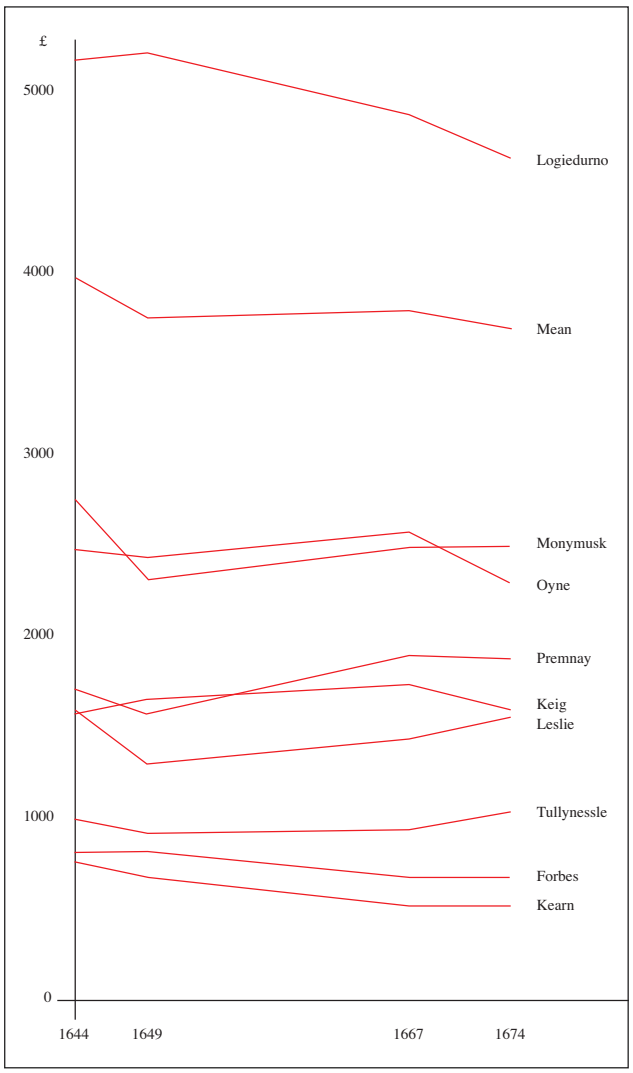

Figure 7. Parish values from 1644 to 1674.

divided by 6 to achieve a unit which can be compared with a 1 plough farm. This value per plough permits a characterisation of the relative productive capabilities of the different farms. By plotting the lowest and highest values from each of the rentals, Figure 6 demonstrates that the trend does, in fact, match the inflation slope presented by the fiars and that the study area is not out of kilter with much of eastern Scotland through the period from 1550 to 1800. However, it does also demonstrate that within the study area there was also a wide gulf between the highest and lowest values achieved. The figures for the Lordship of Huntly have been included as a comparison and a similar situation can be seen to apply. (The Huntly Lordship contains a comprehensive set of figures relating to recurring farm rentals between 1600 and 1762 and can supply a control for the present study area).

A further short period of time is covered by the Kirk's parish records from 1644 to 1674 and is shown in Figure 7. The period covered is too short to be very meaningful though it does seem to reinforce the very noticeable dip in the fiars graph at this period. It might be no coincidence that this occurs at the time of the civil war and otherwise politically-turbulent period. It should also be noticed that, although the general trend is down, the very worst period is from 1644 to 1649 and that some parishes, thereafter, increase in value - bucking the trend of the fiars. Logiedurno, bizarrely, after increasing a bit during the first period then goes into a steady decline. Premnay appears to be the only parish to finish the period significantly better than it started.

Estate Plans and Surveys

Surveys and other descriptions of farmland give eye-witness accounts of how the land was perceived by at least one sector of the community - the landholders and their agents. Unfortunately, there are few, if any, descriptions by the tenants themselves. But, by means of the recording in cartographic and numerical form, it is possible to gain a slightly more impartial view - though, it must be remembered, we only see what we are being permitted to see. By that I mean that even an 'objectively'-drawn plan can fail to relay parts of the landscape which were considered unimportant (or even antithetical) to the remit of the cartographer (Oliver, 2010, 81). One example, near Huntly, is of a church which was still standing as a ruin in the late 1800s (MacDonald, 1891, 177-178) but was not even depicted on a plan of a hundred years earlier, though the adjoining field names incorporating 'Chapel Leys' were noted; this despite the fact that ruined farm buildings in the area were frequently depicted. The reason for the ommission can only be speculated upon but probably revolves around a pre-occupation with landuse and the income from it. Other features in the landscape, such as the church and the nearby stone circle - still partially visible today - escaped the interest of the cartographer.

There are two major areas in which estate plans and surveys can furnish important data. Firstly is the very obvious depiction of field shapes and how they fit within the topography. Many examples of 'deconstructional analysis' attest to the possibility of being able to unpick the development of the fieldscape by means of a form of stratigraphic analysis. For example, later boundaries can frequently be seen to overlie an underlying

Figure 8. Developing landscape around Castle Forbes in the later 18th century (RHP 859, 1771)

pattern which forms a coherent plan within itself. For instance, Figure 8 shows the developing lordly landscape surrounding Castle Forbes in the later 18th century (RHP 859, 1771). The later straight dykes encompassing the developing Castle policies overlie the older field boundaries, leaving elements of an original field split by a more recent dyke. (The fields depicted in brown are the 'infields' - those kept in a permanent state of cultivation. The 'outfields' being used for a limited number of years before being left to lie fallow for a further period). The date of these alterations appears to be supplied by a note from Lord Forbes claiming them as expenses to be set against his teind contribution for 1776 (GD52/192).

Such techniques of landscape 'deconstruction' have a long pedigree, perhaps first catching the imagination after Tom Williamson's (1987) recognition of probable prehistoric co-axial field systems on the lowland Norfolk boulder clays, warranting comparison with the Dartmoor Reaves on the opposite side of Britain within an upland context (Fleming, 1983). Roberts demonstrates its use within studies monitoring the development of mediaeval settlement forms (2008) and Oosthuizen (2005) shows its application in the study of the developmental processes behind mediaeval open-field systems.

The depiction of the fieldscape can also draw attention to diagnostic features which suggest different usage or different periods of construction. Simplistically, the highly rectilineal form of the later policy boundaries stand in sharp contrast to the curvilinear form of most of the other earlier ones. However, even amongst these earlier ones can be seen a range of types. On Figure 8, the uncoloured rectilineal forms above the river to the left of the policies are shorter and more squat than a number of the others, particularly amongst the infield, which are longer, thinner and present a more curving profile. Finally, topographic features such as streams can suggest landscape management. Most natural burns, especially amongst broken landscape, display an irregular course as the burn has cut its way through and round obstacles. A length of straight watercourse suggests the hand of man. An example lies in the north-west sector of Figure 8. Such features can indicate the sites of former mills or irrigated fields - the straightened watercourses being lades - or 'catchworks'. These are artificial channels,

usually running along the contours, which permit the irrigation and, sometimes, manuring of the fields on the hillslope below. This is a means of agricultural improvement which has not been widely acknowledged in the North-east but is now being discovered to have been increasingly utilised (Shepherd, 2011). There are a few instances in the study area and these will be returned to below.

As well as the purely visual assessment of the cartographic evidence, some maps formed just one part of a more intensive survey. Such surveys considered how each part of the farm was being used along with an assessment of how this usage might be developed. Field usage may be defined as falling into one of only four major categories: infield, outfield, meadow or pasture[4]. Further to these were also plots termed crofts. This is not such a simple term as often supposed and will be looked at in more detail below. Where an area is denoted as 'improved' outfield, this clearly indicates recent upgrading of the land for more regular cultivation. However, by comparing the proportions of infield, outfield and pasture between the farming units, it is possible to gain a further view of recent changes in land use. Between farms sharing similar topographic dispositions there seem to be similarities in land-use practices which are reflected in the proportions of the different types of fields encountered. Aberrations from this norm provide an opportunity for discussion and explanation. Variations might be occasioned by a range of causes including: different production bases; differential land-use at some point in the past; or variation in development between the farms, resultant upon personal choices such as conservatism or opportunism.

The range of strategies noted above supplies a means whereby the historical and cartographic data can ask questions of the landscape with a view to supplying avenues of further research. By highlighting observations which are outwith the norm two things are achieved. Firstly, a better idea is gained of what the 'norm' for a given piece of landscape might actually have been during different periods and, secondly, to provide targets for a more complete range of rigorous research methodologies. So, to return to the Aims and Objectives, this introductory review of the types of evidence available suggests that the objective of assessing whether the biocultural formation of the landscape can, in fact, be understood from the evidence available appears to met. The aim of this study, noted at the outset, was to provide a framework within which a range of research questions and methodologies, focussed upon such evidence, might be collaborated upon by a range of interested parties. The aim, therefore, also appears to be achievable, provided the community is willing. What is now required is a more complete analysis of the evidence gathered to date in order to supply a more specific range of questions, hypotheses and anomalies to be tested and explored in the field by that wider range of participants. These will then be finally presented as suggesting the basis for future study.

Note 4. These categorisations are those which commonly occur on estate plans. Many other sub-categories of land-use occurred in agricultural management and cropping practices.

Results

Land Tenure, Service, Lordship and Settlement

I have chosen to look at tenurial systems before embarking upon a study of the land itself. This might seem a bit like putting the cart before the horse - the landscape itself, it might be argued, is the arena wherein social relations occur. However, as Ingold notes, in pre-capitalist production environments, people might be seen to be functioning parts of an emerging landscape rather than simply participating in a lifestyle superimposed upon it: *"For production is tantamount to dwelling: it does not begin here (with a preconceived image) and end there (with a finished artefact), but is continuously going on"* (Ingold, 2000, 205). Consequently, social relations must be seen to have played a far more important role within the 'taskscape' (*ibid*., 207/8) of production than they have done subsequently within a capitalist production system. In the latter, the means of production (and even survival) have been monopolised by a few at the expense of the many; the many becoming little more than cogs in a human machine instructed in its daily workload with little personal control over its assigned tasks. Time had to be quantified and commoditised in order to be sold. In pre-capitalist 'production' - ie. subsistence-based - work could not be differentiated from the act of living in a unified 'taskscape' of social interactions (*ibid*., 154). It might also be pertinent to note how the 'industrialised' farming landscape resembles a large factory with corridors - enclosed areas in which many toil together and with access to and from these places being along enclosed trackways and all actions accountable to an overseer. The previous landscape was composed of small, unenclosed patches, sometimes worked communally, sometimes individually, and arrived at by wide 'driftways' of pasture. Gregory notes how the imposition of order on the landscape in the 18th century also sought to discipline its inhabitants (2005, 66).

Although Ingold is largely concerned with hunter-gatherer exemplars, he does seem to allow that all pre-capitalist societies - be they hunter-gathering or of cultivation and animal husbandry kinds - can be juxtaposed with a modern capitalist-centred, consumer way of viewing the world (Ingold, 2000, 86). Quite how closely pre-capitalist farming communities of various periods can be compared or contrasted with hunter-gatherer societies is an interesting question which does not seem to have been much addressed locally and certainly merits further study. It is interesting to note in this respect, though, that Carter (1979) sees the persistence of a pre-capitalist mode of production surviving, within one limited section of the community, into the 20th century in Aberdeenshire to a far greater extent than in any other part of Britain.

Within the political environment of the early eighteenth century lairds still required manpower for fighting and currency appears to have been of secondary concern. The results of the Battle of Culloden will have done much to undermine that earlier way of living which was swept aside along with much of the agricultural landscape and settlements within which it had formed a part. So, in order to understand the landscape which had developed as part of that broader life experience, it would be perverse not to attempt at least a formative understanding of any visible changes in social relations prior to the massive upheavals of the later 18th century. The first port of call might be to list a catalogue of some terms used within a range of historical documents and to try to ascertain if changes within the system can be noted.

Land Tenure

Amongst the terms found are some which appear to refer to a class of persons tied to the lands of their lords. These are the '*nativi*' as noted as a feature of the lands of the Bishops of Aberdeen in Birse in the 1170s (REA, I, 12) and in the barony of Murthill in 1380s (REA, I, 183). As Neville notes, with particular reference to Mar and the Garioch in the 14th century, *"... the exchange of nativi and their families was a vigorous feature of the human economy throughout rural Scotland in Mar, Garioch and elsewhere"* (2005, 183). Furthermore, she notes that they lived, *"rigidly regimented lives that were not far removed from those that their twelfth century ancestors had known"* (*ibid*, 77). A possible further placename connection with a related group of people may occur at present 'Bonnyton' within the lands of the Bishops of Aberdeen in Rayne parish. In the 1250s this was referred to as 'Bondyngton'. The 'bond' element coupled with the 'ton' suffix suggests a formation no earlier than the 1100s and William's charter

to the Bishops of Aberdeen of the 1160s, confirming King David's earlier (1124x1153) grant to the Bishops of Aberdeen included the shires of Clatt, Tullynessle and Rayne (REA, I, 8).

Stringer suggests that, at the time of Earl David's accession to the Lordship in the later 12th century, the Garioch was already a well-developed agricultural landscape organised along the lines of small estates, and having their origin in a pre-'Normanised' period of royal overlordship (1985, 58-68)[5]. His suggestion that they represent a 'pre-demesnial' system of management (ibid., 64) does seem open to challenge in the light of a lack of convincing evidence to support that statement. That demesne farming[6] existed at some period appears likely owing to the panoply of words surviving which have commonly developed alongside such a system. '*Nativi*' are well-attested in the charters, 'bondage' appears as a placename element as well as occurring as a relict form of service dues owed within the rentals. One interesting legal survival occurs in a testament to the disposition of lands on the Don at Deepstane where, along with the 'miln lands, multures, sequells' are the 'knaveships thereof'. As the document dates to 1737 this can only be a relict legal phrase, but it does suggest that such a tied class had existed locally (GD52/672). 'Bord' or 'bordar' is also found commonly as a placename element within 'Bordland'. Earl David[7] also appears to have made use of managers from his southern estates and granted land in the Garioch to vassals from there. Hugh le Bret and the Billinghams, Simon and Robert are just three that received lands in the Garioch. It is also probably no coincidence that the common name for the core farming unit of an area is 'Mains' which, possibly, derives from or is a reference to 'demesne'. With such close connections with the East Midlands of England, it is hard not to envisage some compatability of agricultural management regimes, albeit tailored to the local situation.

The late 12th century in much of Britain saw a resumption of demesne farming (Faith, 1999, 161) in part, owing to the swelling population and attendant cheapness of labour. Labour shortage after the Black Death is likely to have re-initiated a move back again to leases. In this context, a rental of the Forbes estate (MS 588) from 1552 makes for interesting reading. Most of the rental reads as expected with each farming unit supplying a range of goods, money and services in a standard lease agreement. However, under the Mains of Drumminor in Kearn parish, is listed 'Croftis made out of the Mains' which number seventeen in total. No rent is added next to this statement though a rental of 1557 is reputed to have noted some names with a payment of 6 poultry[8]. 6 poultry is likely to have been equivalent, at the most, to 6 shillings at that time. As the whole farm is listed as 4 ploughs in extent, each croft, if held in tenancy, would have extended to a seventeenth share, or just under 2 oxgangs. Even the lowest valued 2 oxgate unit was valued at the equivalent of £2 with others worth much more. With the Mains being the core agricultural area of the estate, its value should be expected to be about as high as anywhere on the estate. Furthermore, an estate plan of c.1771, though unfortunately damaged, seems to suggest that this unit had never undergone a division into 'crofts' as subsequently seen on many other estates (see below, page 19). The field patterns generally correspond to the large open field systems common to the area prior to the move to a capitalist mode of production in the later 18th century, and to which ends these estate plans were drawn. The area of the Mains is outlined in red on Figure 9. How, then, can these observations be accounted for?

The simplest explanation might be to see this unit as being worked as a demesne holding. In which case the use of the term 'croft' would coincide with its earlier mediaeval usage in concert with its usually accompanying 'toft', the area in which lay the house and outbuildings. Roberts states that 'croft' normally means an enclosed plot but does also note that in early 17th century Northumberland it was, *"specifically applied to the bundle of open field strips set in a block behind behind the tofts..."* (2008, 58). It is difficult to see how that latter usage could apply in this instance as that would be how all of the other farming units on the estate will have been organised. Consequently, there would be no reason to distinguish this unit from all of the others as so clearly does seem to be the case. In other words, 'croft' has to apply to an enclosed area of land. This accords well with all

Note 5. I hesitate to use the term 'pre-feudal' as the dividing line between royal overlordship based upon an exchange of land for military service pre-1066 and post-1066 appears to be diffuse rather than rigid. The concept of land held in return for a promise of military aid emerges nebulously from the early mediaeval mists of petty kingdoms and the 'comitatus' (or 'war-band') in the 6th and 7th centuries and almost certainly predates the feudal 'manor' or vill (see Roberts, 2008, 168).

Note 6. Land farmed 'in demesne' was managed directly by the laird utilising his own workers rather than the land being leased to a tenant upon whom the responsibility of production and rent descended.

Note 7. Earl David was brother to King William of Scotland and acquired the rich Lordship of Huntingdon in the East Midlands along with lands north of London, including the 'shire' of Tottenham. As well as being one of the greatest landholders in Scotland, Earl David was, therefore, a major landholder in England and a chief adviser of the English King. Such a situation was not unusual before the wars of independence and shows the close working relationships frequently apparent north and south of the border at this time.

Note 8. I have not been able to trace this later rental, referred to within the much later trancript of the 1552 rental which is kept in the University Library in Aberdeen.

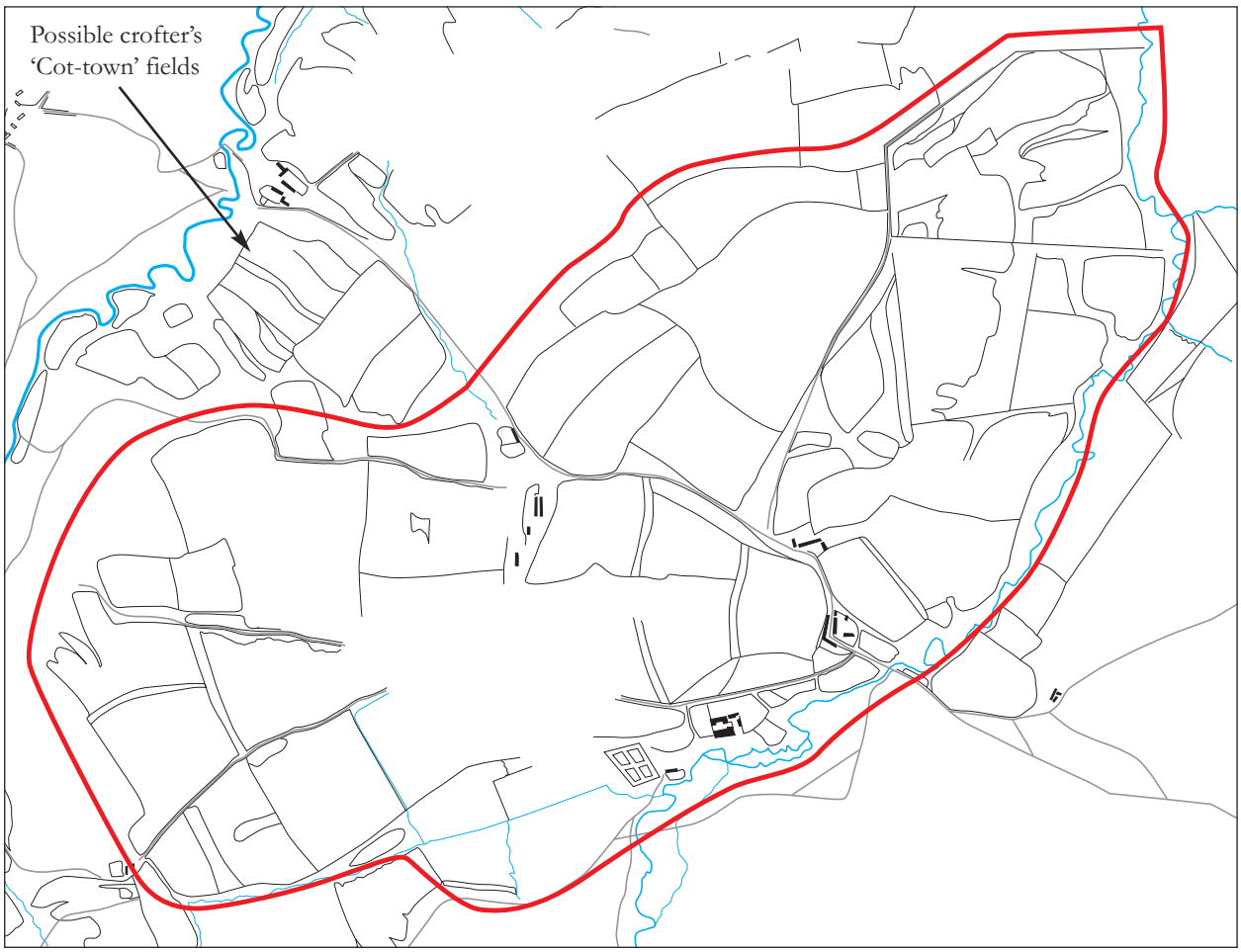

Figure 9. Mains of Drumminor as depicted on an estate plan of c.1771.

subsequently known 'crofts' from the North-east which do all seem to share that one determining factor. If our seventeen 'crofters' are denoted by a small area of land, what is happening to the bulk of the 4 ploughlands - commonly assumed to be something in excess of 400 acres, often excluding pasture? The easy answer is that the demesne was being worked by the 'crofters' in return for their areas of land to themselves. Whether this included a small share within the open fields or was simply the enclosed croft and, probably, some grazing rights, is unknown. It is also worth noting, however, the coincidence that the traditional holding of '*villani*' or 'bondsmen' also appears to have been 2 oxgates (or bovates)(Faith, 1997, 212; Roberts, 2008, 71). The six poultry noted for a missing later rental would also be appropriate as a customary rent of low value. What this fortunate survival within this rental does seem to suggest is that demesne farming was alive and well on at least one estate on the edge of the Garioch in the mid 1500s. A further possibility is that the remains of the crofter's 'cot-town' might be seen lying between the suggested demesne lands and the River Bogie (see Figure 9).

Before leaving this fascinating rental, there is, perhaps, a couple of further pieces of corroborative evidence to be gleaned. Under the small farm of Carndard, there is a further instance of a 'croft' seemingly being exempt from rental and the attendant possibility that the same explanation might apply. Also, a consideration of the rental values results in the conclusion that there are two distinct categories of farming units on this estate. One is valued quite low - in the region of £8 to £11 per plough - whilst the other is valued much more highly - between about £30 to £50 per plough (see Figure 10). It is also notable that 3 of the 6 lower valued ones stipulate ploughing and other service dues, though with a fourth, Carndard, having a croft, as noted above. Cuschny shows a low rate but, when re-let to William Mill is suddenly uprated. This cannot be through some sudden and very drastic improvement of the land and must be related to some other factor. Possibly, the increased rental substitutes for services. Buthny and Kirktoune - two of the higher valued farms - have

Fermtoun	size	Total	Value per pl	grassum per pl	Services
Mains of Druminnor (see	4pl				
Castle Hill	1pl	£52.0.0	£52.0.0d	0?	
Carndard ane croft out of Carndard	4pl	£31.18.8d no payment	£7.19.8d	£2.4.7d	
Cuschny Total value then, for Will Mill	 1pl 1pl	 £7.18.8d £53.0.0d	 £7.18.8d £53.0.0d	 £2.4.8d £2.4.8d?	
Green Myres	1pl	unknown			
Midhill	1pl	unknown			
Merchemar	1pl	unknown			
Edinbanchory with the miln	2pl	£8.0.0d	£8.0.0d	£4.0.0d	
Logy	2pl	£21.13.10d	£10.16.11d	£3.6.8d	3 days ploughing and due service
Buthny	1pl	£42.10.0d	£42.10.0d	0?	
Kirktoune	1pl	£39.10.0d	£39.10.0d	0?	
Stralovnak	2pl	£21.10.0d	£10.15.0d	£4.0.0d	3 days ploughing and due service
Culhay	4pl	£33.0.0d	£8.5.0d	£2.0.0d	
Estir forbes	2pl	£16.8.9d	£8.9.5d	£4.0.0d	3 days ploughing and due service
Miln of Forbes		£33.18.0d			
Walke Milne of Forbes		£6.4.0d			
Sillavathy	2pl	£64.10.0d	£32.5.0d	0?	

Figure 10. Synopsis of rental values taken from a 1552 rental of Forbes

explanatory notes appended to the rental. Buthney's runs as follows: *"the tenants of this toune have of my Lord to the labouring of the ground, 32 bolls aitts, 8 bolls bere, 8 oxen prysit to £13.5.0d"*. Kirktoun's omits the oxen but contains a further one and a half bolls of white meal. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the tenants of these two touns were paying a higher rental value in exchange for the due services but, in exchange for work that they were doing, were receiving payment in kind, presumably, collected in rental from other farms. It seems strange to note that they were, themselves, paying a proportion of their rent in grain and receiving it back as wages but, presumably, this was to keep the books 'straight'! One benefit to the lord might have been to receive a higher regular cash income but only to have to pay wages when necessary. Furthermore, the wages were paid in kind which would also have saved carriage expenses in taking the grain to market - probably in Aberdeen. Much of the work was still being handled by the 'crofters' recognised on the Mains and, possibly, at Carndard.

This question of what was of greatest value to the landholder was still creating discussion in the first half of the 18th century. In his "Memorial of several things relating to Patrick Duffs lands within the Parish of Premnay, 1742" (MS 3175/2395) which, amongst other things appears to be a sales pitch, Duff notes his opposition to commuting services to rents as the value to him of the services far outweighed the little extra rent which he might expect[9].

One further suggestion might be made regarding the significance of the Forbes rental in respect of the rental of the Bishops of Aberdeen for the '*scir*' of Clatt in 1511. If the lower value of certain rents on the Forbes estate occurs as a result of the survival of heavy labour services rendered on the lord's demesne lands, the similarly low rents on the neighbouring Clatt lands may be suggestive of the same situation. That is, that there were other pockets of land within the scir of Clatt which were still directly managed in 1511 and they escape the record because they were not rented. One possible case might be the township of Tayloch, listed as a one plough unit. It is difficult to imagine that this area, on a readily-worked ridge, was still awaiting the intaking of another 100 acres. The 1511 rental does show us that some intaking was still occurring within the Haugh of Bolgie (which will be returned to below), but that was low-lying land, presumably requiring draining for arable use. One possibility is that the other, unmentioned, plough of Tayloch, was demesne and was worked utilising the labour services of the surrounding tenancies. This might also address other imbalances within the lands of the Bishops: Daviot was valued at in the region of £48 per plough in 1550 whilst, at the same time, Gowlis and Lochehills, next to the Bishops Palace and only a few miles north of Aberdeen, was valued in the region of £12 per plough (REA, I, 450). The former might reflect the conversion of the labour dues to a monetary equivalent, whilst the latter, next door to the Bishop himself, might not have been so re-organised. In 1577 John Leslie of Balquhain was being paid a salary for being the, *"principal constable of the the place and messuage of the bishopric of Aberdeen, with yards, orchards, houses, biggings, meadows and pastures thereof, with the sum of £126.0s.10d Scots furth of the lands of Auchlyne, Tailzeauch, Blairdynne, Bonetoun, Custestoun and Lowesk, in the parishes of Claitt and Rayne and sheriffdom of Aberdeen"* (RH6/2444). ('Tailzeauch' being 'Tayloch'). This might also be construed as meaning that these lands were, at this time, being directly managed by the Bishopric. I offer this only as a possibility that requires further study.

Note 9. Duff appears to have purchased some of the lands a few years earlier and seems to have developed them with a view to selling on and making a profit. He lists many of the benefits of the estate, including the wide range of trees planted within the previous 18 years.

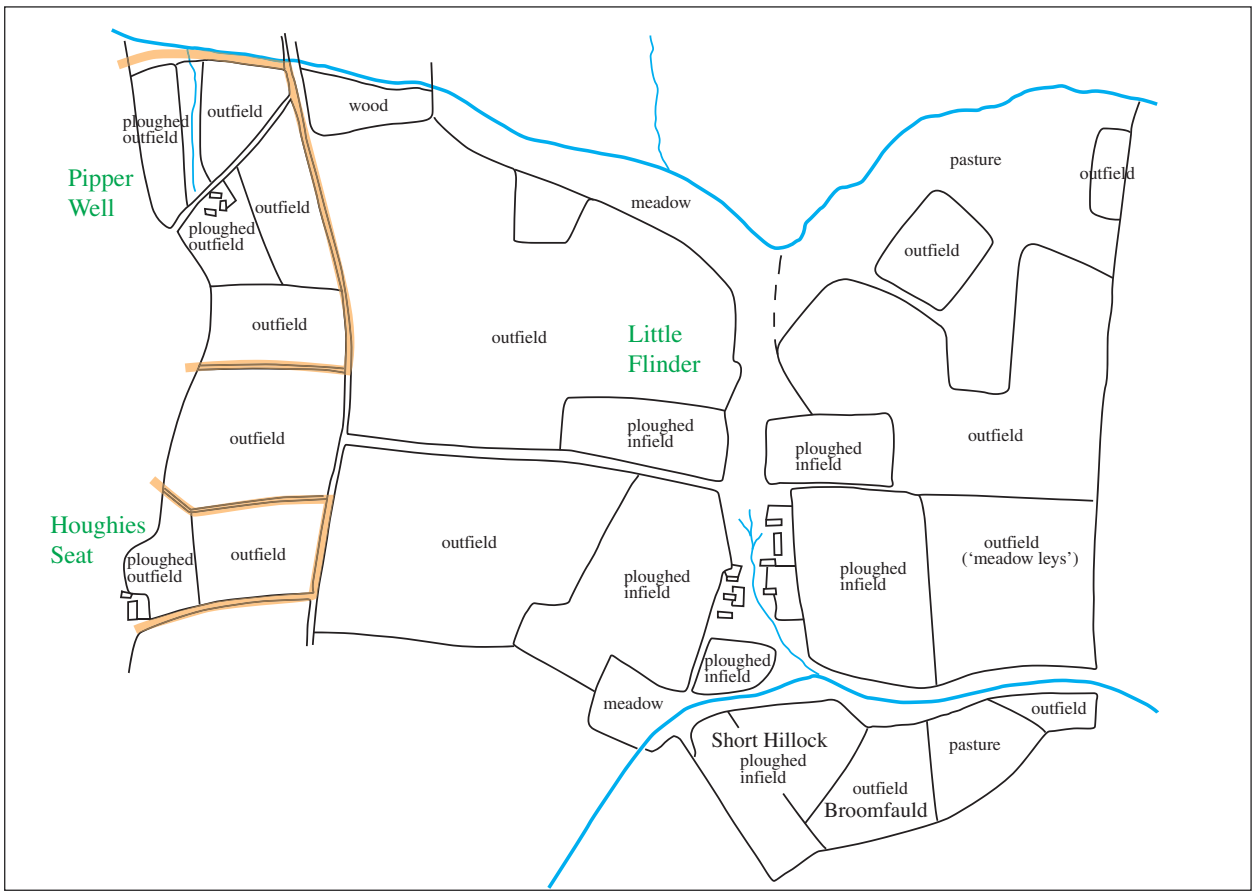

Figure 11. The Plan of Little Flinder from an estate survey of 1758.

So, to sum up the evidence thus far, it appears that there is evidence to support the notion of demesne farming in the Garioch from the 12th century. That unfree '*nativi*' survived at least until the 1380s is suggested by reference to them in the records of the Bishops of Aberdeen. That demesne farming persisted until at least the 1550s is suggested by the rental of the Forbes estate. This rental further suggests that the use of the term 'crofter' was still being used in a context most applicable with respect to 12th and 13th century usage. This might, therefore, be a useful point at which to consider when this term did start to change and develop its modern usage.

An estate survey of the lands of Leslie (RHP 5199) and dated to 1758 might help in this respect. This survey was produced as a set of field sketches and texts describing what the land was like at that time and making suggestions for future improvements. Alongside the open field systems which would have been worked by the tenants and subtenants are a number of separate 'crofts'. The underlying feature, as noted above, is the idea of 'enclosure' separate from the common fields. This is not in itself a departure from earlier mediaeval use when, as we have seen, a 'croft' was usually seen as an enclosure pertaining to an individual as opposed to that individual's share within the common, open fields. But, in the partitioning of a specific area and defining it as a holding separate from the open fields, it starts to develop a new identity.

Figure 11 shows the toun of Little Flinder, a nucleated settlement in the middle of its infields. However, towards the left of the plan can be seen the two separate holdings of 'Pippers Well' and 'Houghies Seat', the final suffix, 'Seat' being a common name for a later intake or 'outsett'. These two units do not form part of the compact nucleated hamlet and their names suggest later additions. As such, they are accounted as separate holdings apart from the rest of the farm. Haughies Seat comprises 7 acres and Pipers Well, 15 acres. Pipers Well might therefore have been two holdings situated either side of the track shown.

Within the body of the text of the survey is the suggestion that Short Hillock and Broomfauld would make three good crofts. This, therefore, is a suggestion to increase revenue by parceling the ground into 'subsetts'. It is not, it should be noted, a means of intaking new land as two thirds of it was already infield and the other third already periodically cropped outfield. This is not to say that crofts could not be used as a means of

extending cultivated ground but to see this as the defining features of crofts would be a mistake. Certainly, during the 19th century, the 'improving' leases were mechanisms for intaking land but this must not be projected backwards in time without sufficient evidence.

What the evidence suggests, therefore, is that the term 'croft' underwent subtle but significant changes between the 12th century, when we find the first occurrence of the name in the North-east, and the 19th century, when it fully complies with the modern concept as finally legislated in the 'Crofters Holdings Bill' (Carter, 1979). The underlying and consistent feature appears to have been the description of an area of enclosed land, either forming a discrete holding within a larger demesne setting, or as an individual holding. The earliest apparent occurrence, Murcroft in 1163 (REA, I, 7), itself suggests an enclosed individual entity rather than forming a part of a demesne (which is unlikely to have had an individual label anyway). It moreover suggests an expansion, albeit close to Aberdeen, at a very early period but which, on the other hand, is not out of kilter with what might be expected in the economically-buoyant 12th century.

Service

Service has been noted above as an aspect of land tenure. However, service dues formed a fundamental but frequently invisible aspect of that tenure. They remain invisible quite simply because they were customary obligations which were a part of daily life, almost from the cradle to the grave. Only when there is evidence of their commutation for monetary value do they affect the records, as in the case of the Forbes rental discussed above. Patrick Duff, as noted, draws attention to their importance to him as a landholder as late as the 1740s and they would have remained so until the capitalist mode of production replaced the earlier way of life. Although, perhaps, it could be said that capitalism simply subverted limited customary obligation and extended it so that it might encompass all aspects of life. After all, service dues were a means of payment in kind for a share in the productive capacity of the land. Capitalism removed any chance of a share in that capacity and replaced it with a mere wage. Instead of exchanging part of the working year for the ability to sustain personal subsistence and to make small profit, the worker now had to work all year and return a large part of his or her wages to the employer as rent and, in many cases, as the purveyor of foodstuffs. Instead of being an active participant in all aspects of the working landscape, all now merely formed disengaged elements of capitalism. All were set to work in achieving the western Enlightenment ideal of man's subjugation and 'improvement' of nature (Gregory, 2005, 66; 74-76).

What, then, can we say about service dues in the Garioch in pre-capitalist times? As noted above, the detail characteristically remains absent from written accounts. It is a feature of pre-capitalist societies that labour rarely held a monetary value - it was simply one aspect of 'dwelling' within the environment. It was only with the accounting requirement to place a value on it in order for it to become a commodity to be bought and sold did it acquire a monetary worth (Ingold, 2000, 328). The Bishops' of Aberdeen rentals of 1511 and 1540/50 note *"service and usual customs"* or a formula such as, *"with ariage and carriage and service debts and customs"* (REA). Most already demonstrate that some services have been commuted to a money rent by placing a cost upon 'bondage' for the varying farming units. Although simply an unsubstantiated guess, this might relate to a payment for 'freedom' from the noted bondage - an alternative to 'villeinage' or tying to the land. The service dues themselves, consequently, might not have been commuted at all. An interesting and rather more full exposition relates to 4 oxgangs of land in Kinmundy, held by one Thomas Downe slightly east of the study area (REA, I, 434). Its intrinsic details make it worthy of note, however:

"10d for bundage, arriadge and carriage and other due service usit and wont, that is to say, leading yearly the bishops' teind corns of New Aberdeen to his place, lyme sklait and salt as happens then to be requirit of him or his successors together with service in ofting and other general 'raidis' furnished thereto after the form and style of the shire and that happen to be made and taxit of samekill mailying within the barrony as use euer hes beyne in tyme bygane and in sic raidis sall nocht pas with ony othiris bot with the bishop and his baillzeis allanerly without speciall licence and charge".

Attention has already been drawn to the '3 days ploughing and due service' noted in the 1552 Forbes rental. It is, perhaps, the 1714 rental of the Earl of Mar (GD 124/17/175) which gives the best insight into how arduous some of the services could be. It covers the feu duties owed to the Earl as feudal superior - the right

to sub-let the lands already having been feued and, in effect, alienated. The laird of Glenbucket owed 48 days of labour for casting peats and was to supply 286 loads of peats. In total across 27 subinfeudations, the Earl could rely on 1096 loads of peats to keep his toes warm. Days are also noted for harrowing, mucking, ploughing, harvesting and carriage work. The list gives some idea of the unrecorded labour dues which are likely to have formed part and parcel of most rentals. In fact, most of these works are referred to by Patrick Duff in his defence of the importance of such services to the landholder.

The 1714 Kildrummy rental of the Earl of Mar (*ibid.*) also notes some services that had been 'contraverted' on his tenanted lands in Kildrummy itself. It is noted that every tenant who pays carriage money (which was probably most if the lordship of Huntly is anything to go by) also owed 20 loads of peat and a dozen poultry for each davach[10]. The peats were converted at 1 shilling per load and the poultry at 2 shillings each. (To my mind, the work in supplying a load of peats was worth more than half a scraggy chicken!). Interestingly, especially with reference to the Forbes rental, is the notification that, *"The hooks in harvest, plough darracks and mucking and harrowing horses are payd to the tennents in the Mains of Kildrummy"*. This again suggests that the Mains was, in reality, even at the beginning of the 18th century, often being run as a form of estate focus, supplied by labour from the surrounding farming units. (But, see below, page 22, concerning the Mains of Edingarioch and Duncanstone). The estate would, in effect, have been functioning as a single unit, much after the fashion of the 'small scir' as noted by Stringer. He notes, in the case of the Garioch, that the general small size of scirs in this area may be a function of their antiquity (1985, 60).

Lordship

Service denotes a position subservient to another. Lordship is the superiority of one over another. In other words, service supports lordship to the extent that, without service, there can be no lordship. However, such linkages are articulated by networks of reciprocal obligations which change through time and generate differing social patterns. And whilst this is certainly not the place to get bogged down in discussions concerning the ever-changing meaning of 'lordship' through the pre-modern centuries, it is hoped that future work in the area will come to terms with that interesting and knotty problem which underlies much landscape research. The remit of this study is to suggest avenues of potential enquiry suggested by the surviving evidence.

The consideration of service above suggests that the historical records can be used to unravel such relations. This study has concentrated on the financial side of tenurial agreements. The reams of documents related to interpersonal relations are likely to shed light upon other dimensions of lordship through time and could produce a more three-dimensional image for scrutiny. At this point it seems appropriate to consider where evidence of lordship might be found archaeologically within the landscape of the study area.

Yeoman notes that of the forty or so principal lordly units within the Garioch at the end of the 12th century, the sites of only 6 are known, though with another possibly lurking beneath the 13th century remains at Dunideer (1998, 584). Those quoted are: Wardhouse, Inverurie (the Bass), Caskieben, Pitcaple, Leslie and Premnay/Auchleven. It is possible that a further two might now be suggested, at Knockinglewis and Insch. The evidence derives from two estate plans and a site first recognised from an aerial photograph. The rather frustrating possibility at Insch is no more than a name on the edge of an estate plan. On the extreme edge of a plan of Nether Bottom (MS 2769/III/4/10) is the inscription 'The Bass of Insch'. It may be no more than an unrelated feature, but the use of the word 'bass' does draw immediate consideration of the Bass of Inverurie. Sadly, the site appears now to have been built over but its approximate position, on the north side of Insch, does seem to suggest that it would have sat on a low promontory. The second possible site relates to NMRS site NJ72SW15. This is described as a cropmark of a possible henge with a diameter of approximately 40 metres, though it is marked on the estate plan MS 3528/10 as 'Manor Place'. The lands of 'Cnokinglas' appear in a taxation of 1257 (REA, I, 25).

With the exception of the motte at Inverurie and the possible similar site at Insch, the other known sites appear to have been 'moated' sites, or earthwork enclosures. As Yeoman notes, such features are more easily destroyed than are mottes - only about twenty moated sites are known in the North-east compared to about one

Note 10. A 'davach' became to be used as a means of specifying an area of land, usually assumed to relate to 4 ploughlands, each of approximately 100 acres. Its origin appears to relate to a quantity of grain and, from that, to have been equated with the productivity of a given geographical area. The subsequent approximation to land area was a final corruption of meaning.

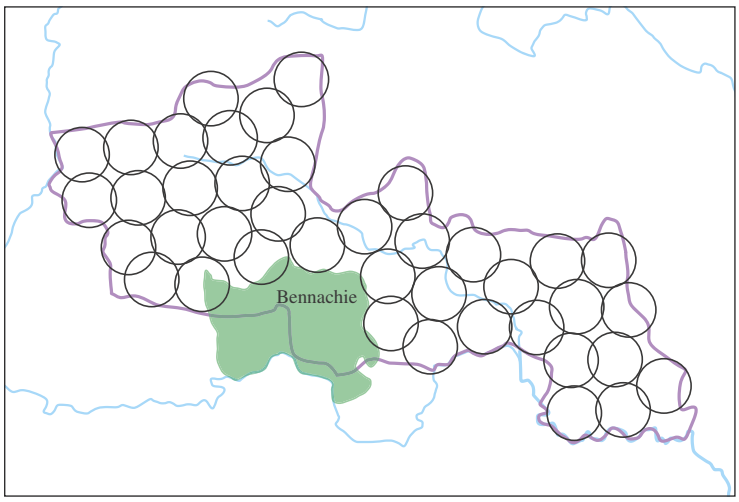

Figure 12. Forty circles representing forty equal-sized subinfeudations within the Lordship of the Garioch.

hundred mottes (*ibid.*). It is clear that a complete section of society has been rendered virtually invisible and this has left us with a very skewed view of the social landscape. As an overly simplistic interpretation, Figure 12 demonstrates the kind of land areas which forty estates would need to cover if they were of relatively equal sizes. Interestingly, the areas appear to conform to the known 16th century *scirs* of Clatt, Rayne and Fetternear which abutt the borders of the Lordship. (It must be stressed that Figure 12 is in no way intended to speculate upon the actual areas covered by any estates).

That feudal reliefs were still operative into the late 1400s is shown by a charter of James IV granting the tenth penny of all *"wardis releffis marageis excietis of airis and utheris causualiteis and accidentis pertening to us betuix the watteris of Dee and Spay"* to the Dean and Chapter of Aberdeen (REA, I, 330). Bonds of manrent may be seen as late feudal oaths of service perpetuated into the early 17th century at least. One drawn up between the Laird of Balquhain and George Marquis of Huntly in 1603 runs: *"... I bynd and obleiss me to be leill, trew, efauld, and faithfull man and servant to my said lord marques ..... contrair and aganis all leiff and, the Kings grace and authoritie only except."* (Spalding Club, 1849)[11]. That such personal alliances were still considered of vital importance can be seen in the way that they impinge even upon terms of rental agreements. That between the bishopric of Aberdeen and Thomas Downe has been noted above. But, the religious insecurities of the day are also reflected. Robert Lumisdane of Clova (note the interesting link with the much later planned town of that name within the same parish) was leased the lands in 1549 provided, *"Robert and his heirs defend the liberties of the church and defend it from heretics"* (REA, I, 444).

Relations between lordly neighbours could also become strained, however. Lord Forbes appears to have had an ongoing difference of opinion with his neighbour, the Bishop of Aberdeen concerning the boundary between their respective lands in Terpersie in 1446 (REA, I, 248-9). This will be returned to later as it appears to highlight certain similarities in legal approach to how such disputes were conducted in the 1730s and how they were argued in the 1400s. The tract is also interesting for telling us that another knightly landholder, Sir John Brown, kept his sheep, sheepcotes and shepherd's houses on those lands. This almost throw-away comment, gives an insight into another use of the land which, whilst well recorded from the ports of trade for Scottish wool on the continent, is under-represented in the archaeological record of the North-east.

Terms of tenure and overlordship are important for understanding the development of the physical landscape. Such social bonds become reflected in how the landscape is laid out and social relations become manifested through that landscape. As an example: a large-scale planned landscape (at least during the historic period) is likely to reflect the imposition of the will of a socially-important landholder and the design has probably been chosen to reflect his or her self-perception, as well as topographical and economic considerations. Such a landscape might also contain an area of open fields with little or no enclosed land. It would be difficult for this portion of the landscape to be maintained if people dwelling within it failed to conform to a set of (at least locally) commonly-held social conventions. In other words the development of a landscape cannot be divorced from its inhabitants, either floral or faunal, and their own interactions as elements of a biocultural whole.

Settlement

Figure 13 shows the land-use on the Leslie estate in the 1750s along with the settlement pattern. As will be noticed, the settlement locations present a more nucleated layout than the present more dispersed arrangement

Note 11. Though Faith sees them more as reflections of political strength than 'tenant relationships' (1997, 120). A closer look at the acquisition of the Balquhain estate should clarify this particular case.

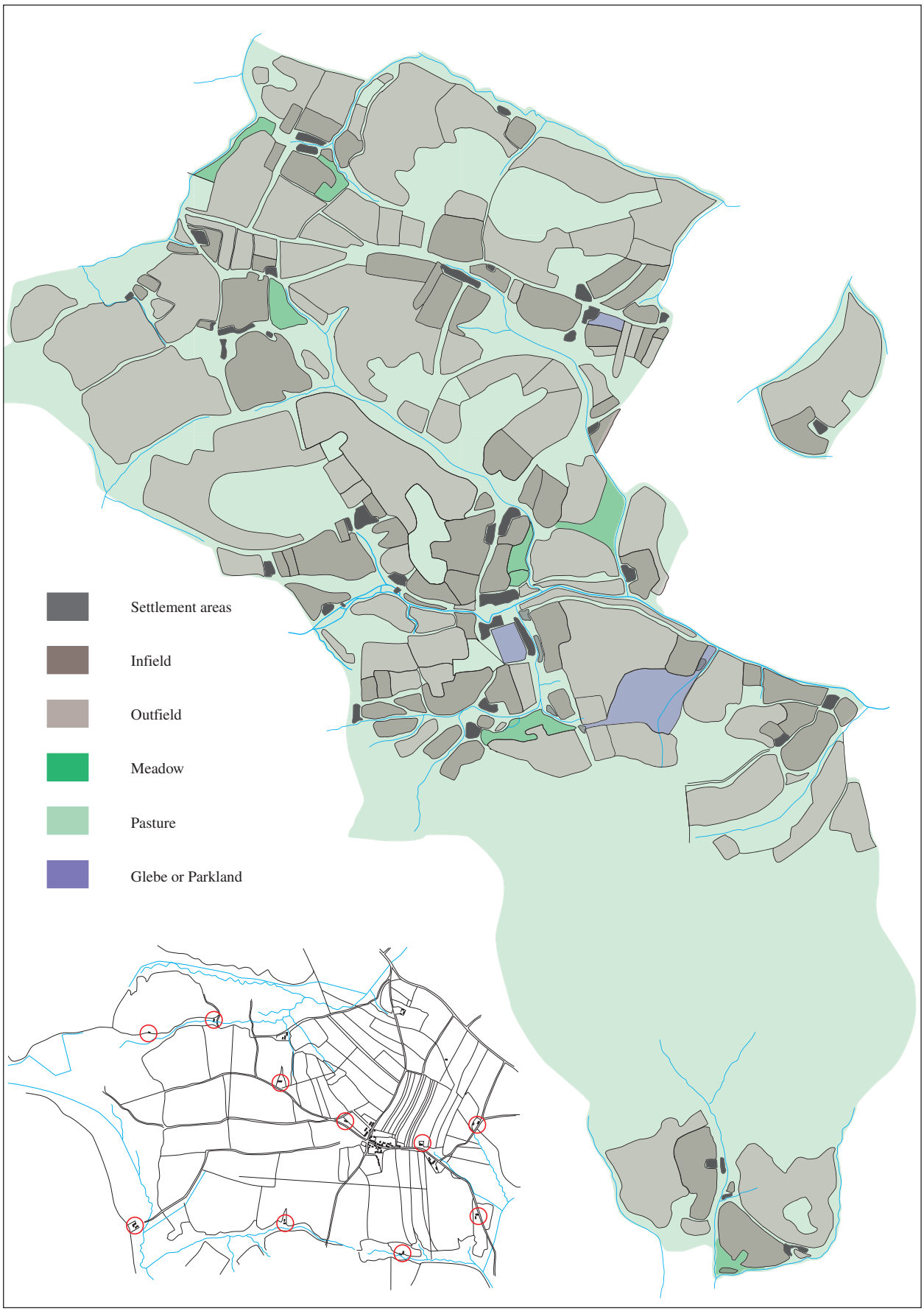

Figure 13. The Estate of Leslie taken from the 1758 survey and (inset) Duncanstone from 1797 plan.

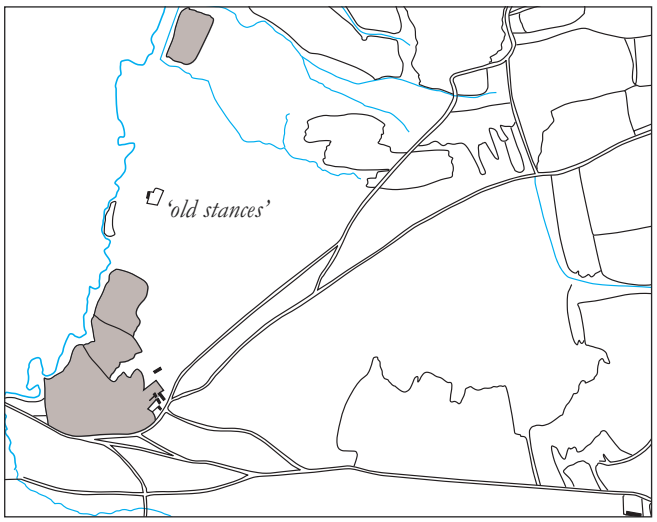

Figure 14. 'Old stances' above Braeside Croft by Bridge of Kearn.

and, if contrasted with the 19th century OS map with all of the subsequently deserted crofts, it presents a significantly more nucleated form. Quite how old this pattern is could only be revealed by fieldwork. As noted above, even some of the few satellite dwellings that do exist might well have been of relatively recent vintage. The inset of Duncanstone in 1797 demonstrates how many new properties (circled in red) had been 'crofted off' since 1758. The advice of the surveyor in 1758 (RHP 5199) was that five new holdings could readily be made; the 1797 plan shows that double this were laid out.

It is difficult to accurately assess earlier settlement patterns from the 18th century plans owing to the large loss of life during the famines in the 1690s. This will inevitably have resulted in some abandonment and it is quite probable that these desertions will have removed the less-favoured sites from the settlement record. Surviving families may well have moved into better holdings on the demise of former inhabitants. The 18th century estate plans do certainly depict 'old stances' which, considering the timescale, might sometimes reflect famine-related desertions. They can usually be seen sitting amongst abandoned ground (see, for example, Figure 14, RHP 260/2, c.1771).

It is interesting to note that relatively few names found in the historical data cannot be found on present day maps. This may, however, afford a false sense of security. Many of the settlements depicted on the plans of the late 18th century have moved so far that it is difficult not to think of them as new habitations clinging on to an old name. Perhaps more worrying for one suggestion made earlier concerning 'Mains' farms is that they themselves are frequently late 18th or early 19th century creations and so any attempt to tie them into mediaeval tenurial systems is best avoided. Mains of Duncanstone now sits in an area of former outfield, whilst Mains of Edingarioch is on the edge of a former park associated with the Mains of Leslie! A similar tale of caution needs to be sounded concerning the supposed documentation of 'split tounships'. These are the occurrence of adjectival prefixes such as 'wester', easter, 'nether' and 'over'. The RCAHMS take the view that much of this splitting occurred in the period around 1600 (RCAHMS, 2007, 191) and uses the 1696 poll records to support this view. This might well be the case but caution does need to be exercised. The records of the period appear to be notorious for including and leaving out these prefixes at will. As a case in point, and one used by the RCAHMS, is that of Tayloch noted above (page 18). This is suggested as a township, single in 1511 but split by c.1770. The Poll records, however, refer to three tenants in 1696, though one of these appears to have been sited at Blairindinny. A tenant is noted at Tolach, but the farm is referred to as the lands of Tolaches, plural. In 1718 it enters the records in its singular form ((GD52/622), in 1723 'Easter' and 'Wester Tailliachs' are noted (GD52/643), but by 1736 it has become singular again (GD52/669). It is hardly credible that these refer to actual changes on the ground. It has already been noted above (page 18) that the second portion of this township may have escaped inclusion in the 1511 rental owing to it being held in demesne. It is not wise, therefore, to assume that names always refer to particular unchanging pieces of the landscape or that they have always been recorded accurately. They were recorded for the purposes of the time; not with a view to supplying modern populations with accurate historical data.

The RCAHMS have drawn attention to the planned layouts of Clatt and Duncanstone and suggested others (2007, 184-188). That such planning might have been relatively widespread throughout the North-east can be seen in the evidence from Rattray (Murray and Murray, 1993), Inverurie (Carter, 1999) and, in another rural contex, within the Lordship of Huntly (Shepherd, 2007). The situation regarding Kintore can be gleaned from the historical records of the late 15th century (REA, 340-343). (Although outwith the study area, it is still instructive and so included here).This assignation gives the holdings of Henry Chawmer relative to those of his neighbours and described in tenement widths of 'poles'. Most measurements, either of weight, volume or dimension could vary, sometimes quite dramatically, from region to region and, even within regions. The 'pole'

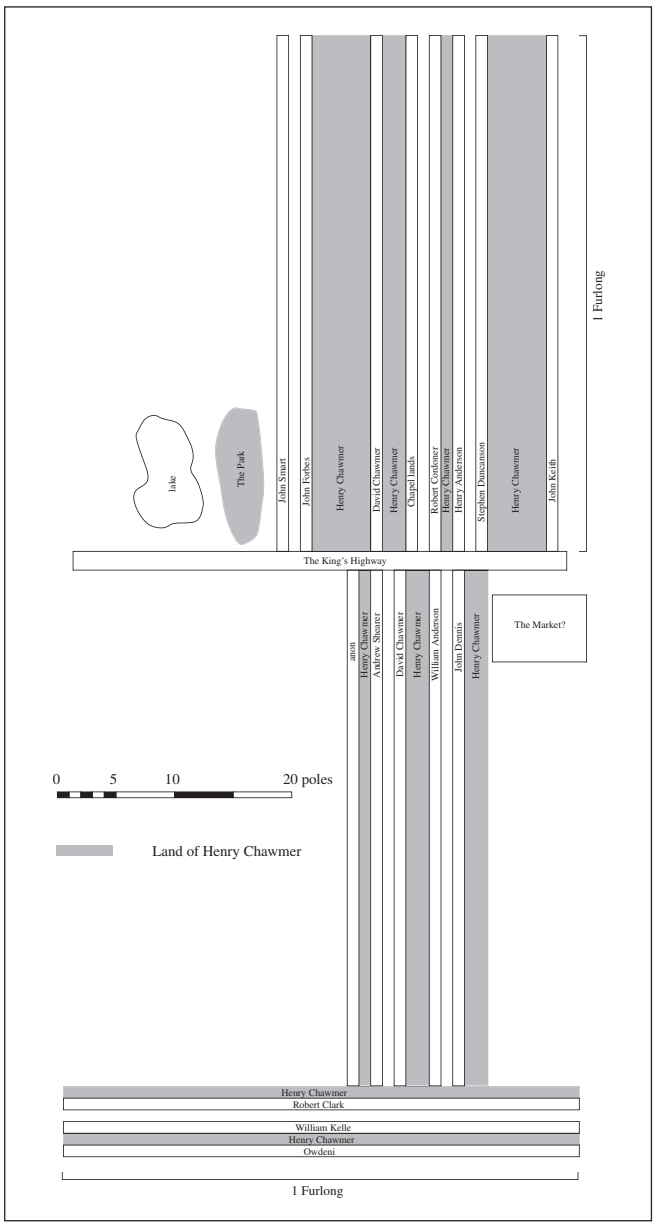

Figure 15. Plots of Henry Chawmer in Kintore c.1498 (REA, I, 340/1).

was usually in the region of 5 to 6 metres. The impression we are given, therefore, of Kintore in the late 15th century is the common Mediaeval layout of long thin holdings, burgage plots, running back from, in this instance, the 'King's Highway'. Figure 15 attempts to give a schematic impression of the layout as derived from the assignation in the REA. This can only be a minimalist view as the record only relates the individual holdings of Henry in relation to his neighbours. How many burgage plots lay between these is not recorded. In a couple of instances, there is also reference to Henry's largest plot being 5 poles, 5 roods. A rood was an area 1 pole by 1 furlong and suggests that it may originally have been taken from agricultural land. It is probable that the other plots were of the same length. His plot to the south next to what appears to have been the market is also noted as being 2 roods, which was, presumably, two poles, each of a rood in length. Henry's cross plot, above that of Robert Clerk was known as the 'head rood'. This was presumably also a furlong in length and we are told that his other plot lying similarly above that of de Owdeni's was also a rood. The name 'the head rood' suggests that it fell at ninety degrees to the other burgage plots and, at one time, may have been a headland in the open fields. It is possible that at least some of the burgage plots will have had buildings - perhaps workshops or shops, lying along the roadside - at least at the end near to the market area and spreading along the road from there.

Building construction is still very open for discussion. It must not be forgotten that at this time there will still have been significant amounts of timber for building and stone is unlikely to have been the ubiquitous structural element that it was later to become. Although from a much earlier period - the 14th rather than the later 15th century - it is worth noting that timber framed buildings were found in the deserted burgh of Rattray and at Aberdeen. The Murrays also note that timber-framed buildings have been suggested for Scotland into the 16th and 17th centuries (Murray & Murray, 1993, 128). Other Rattray houses were built of clay, which appears to have been another local construction technique recorded from Aberdeenshire from at least the 16th century (*ibid.*, 141). The paucity of building evidence from Inverurie is also put down to the probable flimsiness of their construction (Carter, 1999, 659). Both Rattray and Inverurie have been viewed as being composed largely of agricultural holdings, though playing important parts within the lordly landscape dominated by their local castles. That there was also a commercial function cannot, however, be subject to serious doubt. Kintore is likely to have maintained a similar status and it is within this type of context that Insch might similarly be considered.

Within the hinterlands of these local power-bases, vernacular buildings are also likely to have been made in a range of materials. Even the pre-modern turf-built houses were usually built upon a stone foundation, acting as a form of damp-course. This results in upstanding archaeological remains provided those remains have not been actively removed. Timber frames on timber sills or post-in-trench construction leave no such traces. Only in exceptional circumstances would walls composed of clay leave evidence as lumps or bumps in the ground. Even geophysical exploration would struggle to find such evidence and excavation would, therefore, be required to confirm the use of such techniques. Until such times as extensive sampling of rural sites occurs, the dwellings of mediaeval peoples in rural Aberdeenshire will remain hidden.

Agricultural Development and Land-Use Strategies

The sources discussed above provide statistical data (presented as prose description, visual abstractions and numerical values) which can be assessed and questioned. This interrogation, in turn, can result in the production of a range of hypotheses and predictions which can only, finally be tested, literally, 'in the field'. As the stated aims and objectives are to evaluate the available evidence for their potential, it seems appropriate to present a couple of case studies based upon some of the evidence so far collected. This is intended to highlight a few of the avenues awaiting further and closer scrutiny but which lie beyond the remit of the present work.

Cartographic Evidence - Case Study 1 - The Estate of Bottom, Insch.

The plans of this estate were produced c.1770 as four separate drawings, treating the farms of Cairniestown, Mains of Bottom, Over Bottom and Nether Bottom as four individual entities, along with three crofts forming 'subsetts'. The collection also contains a number of other small farms across the other side of the Foudland Hills from Bottom. All were owned by James Gordon of Cobairdy by Huntly.

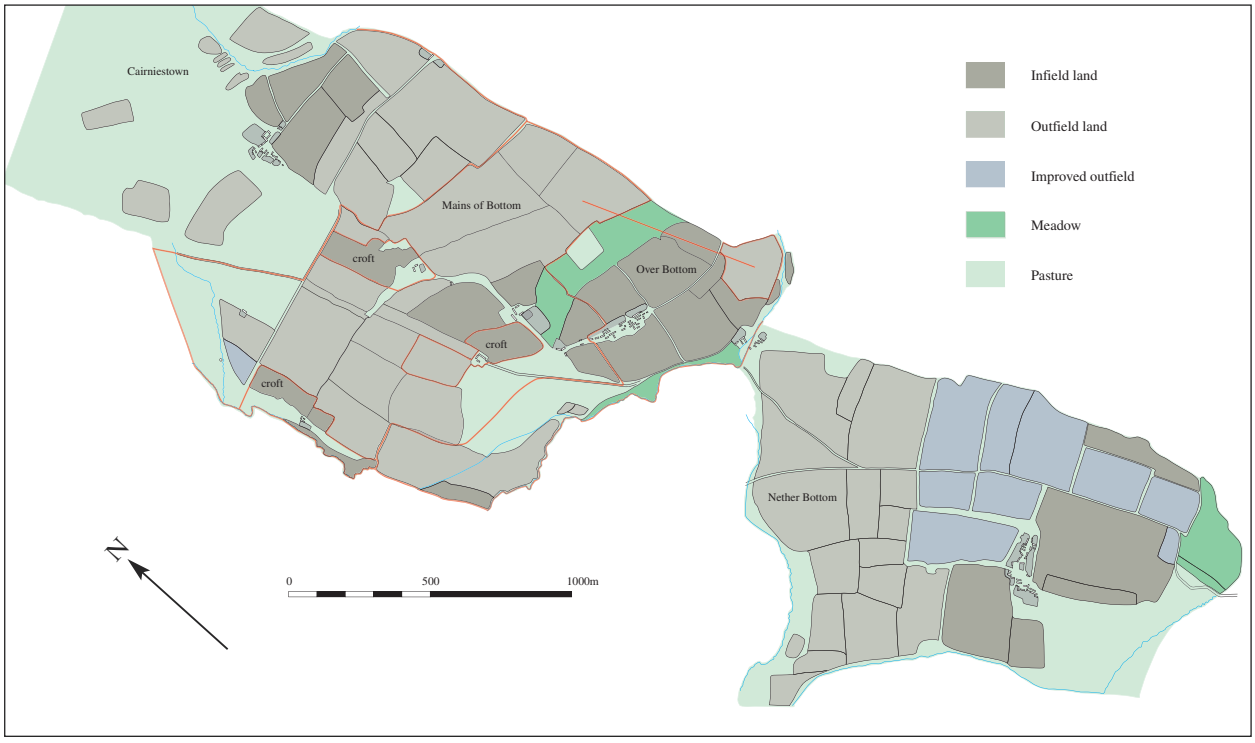

Figure 16. The Estate of Bottom, Insch c.1770 (redrawn from MS 2769). 18th c. farm divisions shown in orange.

As three of the four farms in this discrete grouping abutting the town of Insch share the same name, it is reasonable to assume that they belonged together at some point in time, arguably by the mid 12th century, and subsequently formed what is generally known as a 'split' fermtoun. Including the pasture ground on the Foudland Hills, the estate would have contained slightly in excess of 1200 acres. This would place it in the right degree of magnitude for inclusion as one of the forty subinfeudations recognised by Stringer for the Lordship of the Garioch in the 12th century, if perhaps at the lower end. Whether it was actually one of that number would require further investigation, but an initial survey of the cartographic evidence might support such a suggestion.

Immediately apparent at Over Bottom is a core area of infield enclosed by an oval boundary and covering just over 50 acres. (The furthest corner of this was still retained by the farm of Mains, though lying completely separate from it [and showed linked by an orange line on Figure 16]). This oval core is surrounded by an area of meadow and pasture, also enclosing an oval space. These oval core areas are relatively common in the North-east and appear, stratigraphically, to be the earliest field formations recognisable within the estate plans. (See Shepherd, 2007 for a full discussion). They are also being increasingly recognised across Europe as key forms in the subsequent development of landscapes. Rippon discusses them in relation to the development

of coastal environments in the late Iron Age (Rippon, 2000). A second phase is also quite clear from the many separate fields visible on the plan which, at one time, had formed a more contiguous, open fieldscape. These were overlain by subsequent divisions in a third phase. Subsequently, in their final pre-modern form, the enclosure banks would again have been slighted to produce the open-field agricultural landscape so maligned by the 'Improvers' in the 18th century. In other words, the final phase open-fields incorporated earlier boundaries for tenurial purposes whilst, agriculturally, the land was worked as an open-field. Renes has drawn attention to these transformations in a recent assessment of open field systems across Europe (Renes, 2010). The history of this type of 'landscape deconstruction' has been noted above (page 13). The method is simple enough. At its heart is the notion that for good practical purposes, human beings are more likely to alter elements of landscape piecemeal fashion in order to affect change rather than sweep all aside and start afresh each time. The latter has, obviously, occurred in the past but such actions usually carry with them further purposes, such as display and appropriation rather than epitomising simple practical agricultural or subsistence stategies. Even within more modern farming periods, such as the 1960s, when a larger field was required for accessibility for larger machinery, the subdivisions within a larger perimeter would be removed leaving the outside edges of the new area unaffected. Similarly, if fields are required to be made smaller it makes more sense to make use of existing boundaries and simply add further ones. Both aspects of adaptation are apparent at Bottom occurring after an apparently earlier formative phase. A summary of the suggested transformation of the Bottom estate recognisable within the estate plan is depicted in Figures 16a-d. The contour-shading on these figures also demonstrates how the estate contained a portion of all land types - from the low marshlands surrounding Insch ('island', 'haughland'), up the gentle southern slopes to the Skirts of Foudland and then up to the high pastures and slate quarries. Between Over and Nether Bottom, moreover, was the estate's Mill of Bottom, making the unit virtually self-sufficient. The following figures are derived solely by the removal of lines from the estate plans - nothing has been added in order to speculate on lost elements.

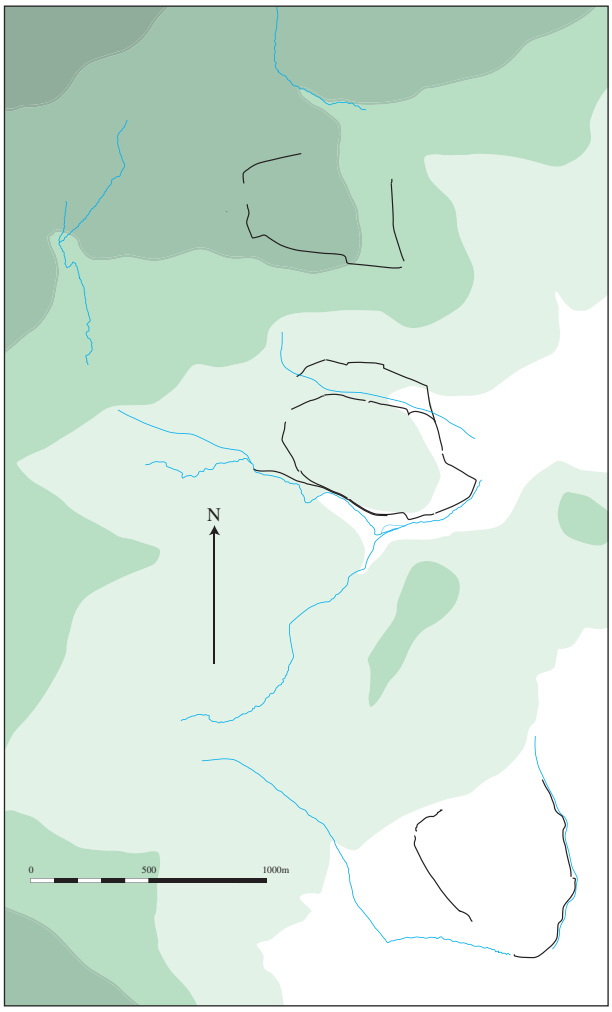

Figure 16a. Phase 1

Figure 16a shows the three possible core areas, though only the central one, later to form the core of Over Bottom is convincingly complete. It is interesting, however, that each suggested enclosure contains similar sized areas of ground and each sits at a different altitude. Each, therefore, would be situated with respect to a different type of potential land use. It would be useful to know whether these areas were contemporary and, if so, whether they formed part of a single unit at that early (?late Prehistoric) period. It is also interesting to note that a 'chunk' had been removed from the oval form at some formative period of the later (?Mediaeval) estate. The removal of this 'chunk' can be seen to have impacted upon the central and northern of the three proposed core areas. Just to the east of the northern core settlement of Cairniestown lies Scotston - forming part of the Knockenbaird estate which lies alongside that of Bottom. This name is suggestive of a 12th/13th century horizon and this would fit with a period of expansion up the skirts of Foudland at that time.

Figure 16b shows the core areas becoming infilled with long, parallel fields, most reminiscent of conventional mediaeval strips within an open field. (This assumes that parallel boundaries usually form parts of unified field layouts rather than having simply coalesced independently through time by means of chance, which is considered unlikely). Although it is quite likely that all areas were united in a single estate by the 12th/13th centuries, there is a possiblity that the southernmost core was originally part of an individual unit

before being included within the larger scheme at some point prior to this time. The only reason for suggesting this is the fact that it is linked to its northern constituents by the narrowest of corridors and it appears to form such a perfect individual unit on its own, demarcated by surrounding burns. If this is the case, it might be worth considering that the conjoining occurred during an organisational phase in the 12th century under Earl David. Again, this is speculation and could only be tested by fieldwork. It is also interesting that the strips composing the fields of Nether Bottom appear to be broader than those of Mains. Whether this is again a function of different dating or simply survival would require testing.

Phase 3 shows these long strips being cut into smaller enclosures. (This has been achieved on the figure by simply re-inserting some of the boundaries removed to depict Figure 16b). Rene has noted (2010, 60) how this became a common response to the effects of the Black Death and population decline. Large amounts of grain were no longer required and livestock products became a more valuable commodity. That large amounts of fleeces were reaching the continent from

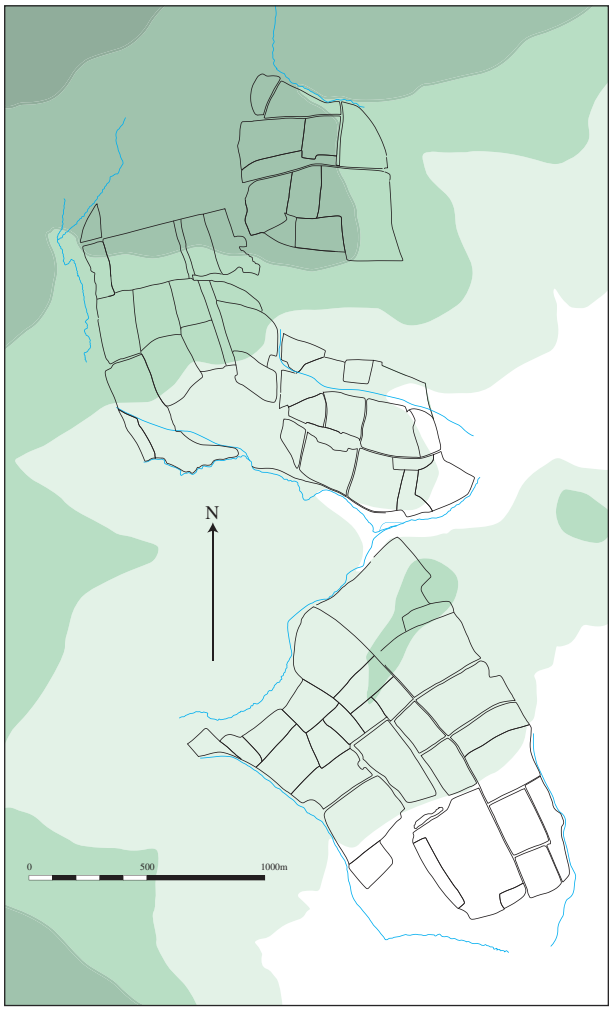

Figure 16c. Phase 3

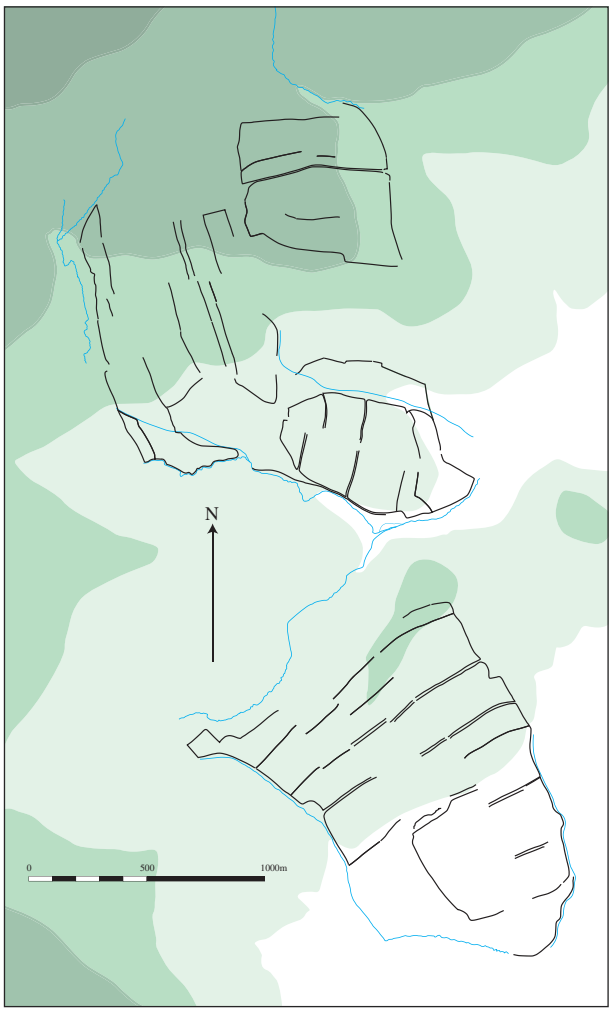

Figure 16b. Phase 2

Scotland is well recorded as is the observation that animal husbandry requires enclosed fields rather than open fields. As much of our documentary evidence from the area attests that grain production was once more burgeoning in the 16th century, it might be possible to suggest that these enclosures date to sometime between the 1350s and the early 1500s. Again, subject to field testing.

These fields retained their shape into the final pre-modern phase ending in the later 1700s. However, their function would have become to exclude rather than to enclose livestock. Furthermore, by this time, it is more likely that tenancies were being let in severalty rather than in common. (This means that, whereas on a farm leased in common the inhabitants would take over the entire unit, work the land together and pay the rent as a lump sum, in severalty, the fermtoun would be let out in portions to different families who would be responsible only for their agreed portions. This is how the rentals and estate plans for this area in the 1500s and later describe farm tenures). Unenclosed strips, as in Phase 2, might apply to farms held in common,

whereas farms let in severalty could still make use of the subdivisions of Phase 3 to demarcate the individual holdings.

The final pieces of the fieldscape would be the enclosure of the open pasture areas in a bid to maximise the area to be brought into grain production as shown in Figure 16d. This returns us to the layout depicted on the original plans, redrawn as in Figure 16 and with the settlements as depicted at that time. This push to maximise agricultural potential appears to relate to the late 17th and 18th centuries. It is further attested by the extensive areas of 'improved outfield' noted at Nether Bottom and shown in grey on Figure 16. Interestingly, this final pattern, though modified by modern planning, has not been completely effaced. Many of the field divisions shown on the estate plan have simply been straightened and the burns canalised to create what we see today. This further fuels the hypothesis that, even within a seemingly 'new' landscape, many elements of previous landscapes remain embedded.

This brief study has certainly not exhausted the detail provided by these estate plans. The ring of pasture surrounding the central 'core' area might also be of considerable antiquity and demands closer scrutiny. Also, there are the remains of a stone circle lying along the edge of the former southern core area. A consideration of how this even older site was incorporated into the subsequent field patternings would make a specially interesting avenue of enquiry and might help to develop an even deeper landscape chronology. There are still further elements to consider but it would serve little purpose to list them all here. What I hope to have demonstrated is how the cartographic evidence from the 18th century estate plans can be used to suggest reconstructions of landscape development stretching back into the late prehistoric and early mediaeval periods. Obviously, some plans have greater survival from different periods than others but all can be used to fashion hypotheses. These suggestions can, however, only be tested by fieldwork.

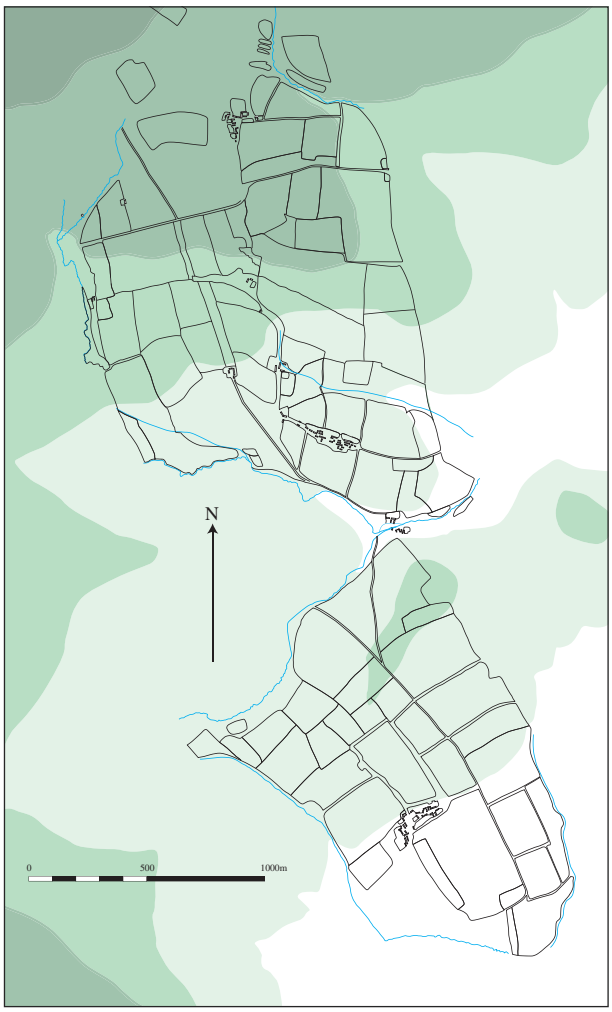

Figure 16d. Phase 4

Documentary Evidence - Case Study 2 - Land-Use Patterns.

As discussed, land surveys and rentals can supply ways of assessing the constitution of estates. This is particularly relevant when a single entity holds land in a number of locations. By such means it is possible to determine whether some larger strategy might have been being employed and, if so, to what ends. In the present study area the Bishops of Aberdeen held estates at Clatt, Terpersie, Rayne and Fetternear, as well as other lands outwith the area at Mortlach and Birse.

Estate plans and surveys can supply details of the types of land constituting the farm in terms of infield, outfield and pasture. Obviously, the greater proportion of arable lands, the greater the grain producing potential of that particular farm. Conversely, a greater extent of pasture is likely to be correlated with greater reliance upon livestock, though the relationship between livestock and arable areas with respect to manuring requirements also needs to be considered. The proportions may also vary according to choice or topographic limitations.

Rentals can be used similarly to try to comprehend land-use patterns. In this case, the means of paying rent can be a good guide to the productive capacities of the fermtouns. Unfortunately, through time, there was a gradual conversion from rents paid in kind towards simple cash payments. Fortunately, in the present study

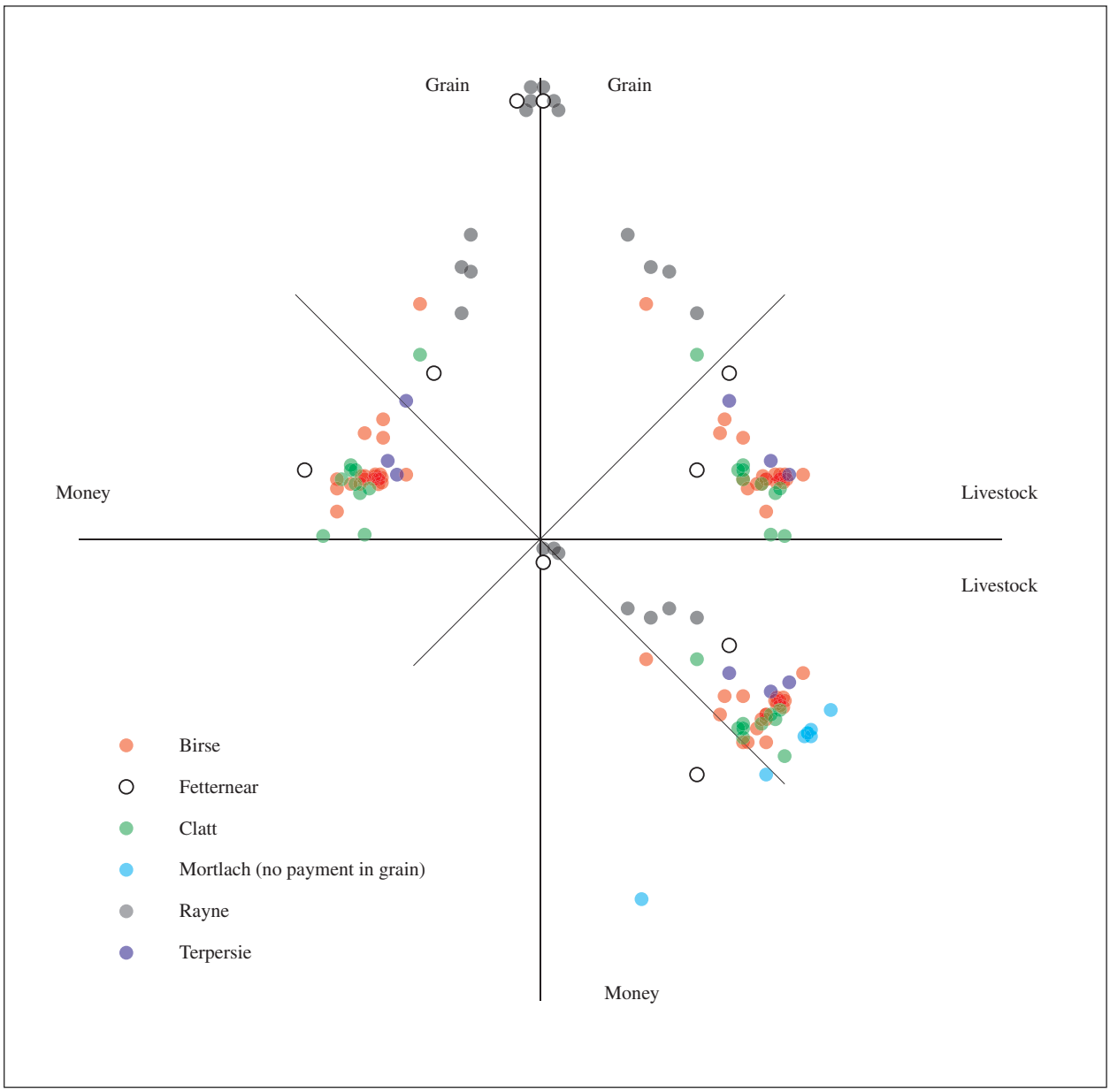

Figure 17. Scattergram showing relative rental payments on the Bishops' lands in 1511.

area, the Bishops of Aberdeen were still collecting much of their rents in kind in the early 16th century and this permits us a sense of how the entire estate was being managed. Figure 17 shows a graphical plot of the diocesan lands with respect to how the rents were being paid in 1511. Mortlach and Birse have been included for comparative purposes. The main XY axes run from 0 in the centre to 100% at their ends. The diagonal lines, therefore, represent the 50% divisions. For example, in comparing the value of rent paid proportioned between grain and livestock (top right sector) grain can be seen to have been a far more important proportion of the rental for the farms in the *scir* of Rayne than it was in the other areas. Conversely, livestock was less well represented.

What is immediately obvious is the distinction between all of the fermtouns in Rayne and the other lands. Rayne would appear to have been paying most of its rents in grain with livestock forming a negligible portion of the payments. One fermtoun in Clatt stands out as being a grain producer and this was the church ville of Clatt itself. The 'Lord's' lands in Fetternear were also paying almost entirely in grain whilst the croft lands and Carne there were paying mainly in animal produce[12]. (Interestingly, Mortlach paid nothing in grain which probably

Note 12. The relative importance of the farmlands of Aberdeenshire in the wider Scottish economy in the mediaeval period can be put into some kind of context by considering the sums of the taxes raised from all of the Scottish bishoprics in 1275 (REA, II, 51). Aberdeen stands third in the list of eleven dioceses paying £1,610 after St. Andrews on £8,023 and Glasgow on £4,080. Moray followed with £1,418 and the list ends with Caithness on £280.

reflects the upland nature of its farms. Also of interest is the fact that twenty of the fermtouns of Birse were paying part of their rent in loads of firewood in 1511, suggesting fairly extensive woodlands. By 1540, however, no such payments were being made. Similarly Dulsak paid most of its rent in turned wooden kitchenware but continued to do so in 1540).

The linear correlation in figure 17 between money and livestock, ie. that when the money rent increases, the livestock does as well, suggests that there may be a connection. One possibility is that part of the livestock rent had already been commuted to a cash payment. This is also suggested by the Whitehaugh rental (MS 2308/8) of 1739 which has a column headed converted 'customs'. '*Customs*' in the Huntly rentals of 1600 and 1610 are inevitably paid in livestock or livestock products. ('*Maill*' being paid in cash and '*ferme*' in grain).

The overall message of the scattergram appears to be that the lands of the Bishops of Aberdeen were being geared towards different types of production suited to different topographical niches. Certainly, the Bishops of Winchester appear to have been following this strategy in the 13th century (Biddick and Bijleveld, 1991). As noted above (page 22) Sir John Brown appears to have kept his sheep in sheepcotes on the Bishopric lands of Terpersie in the 1400s. Although this was past the peak of wool export to Europe, cloth exports were flourishing from other parts of Britain and it is to be wondered how important this was to the local economy in the North-east. A 'walk-miln' is recorded at Forbes in the 1552 rental and there is no reason to assume that this was a novel introduction.

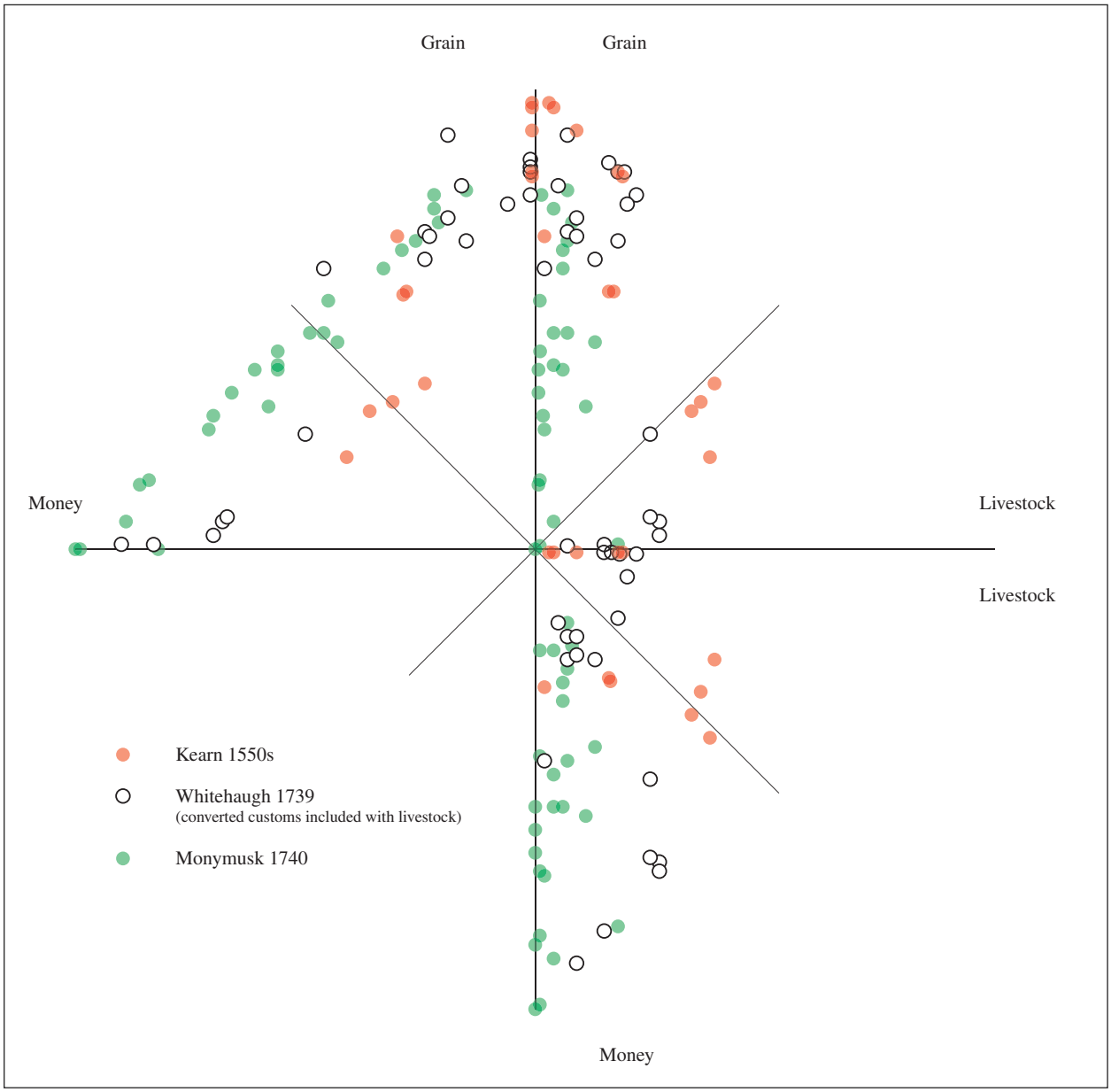

Figure 18. Scattergram showing relative rental payments on the estates of Kearn (Lord Forbes), Whitehaugh and Monymusk.

The suggestion that it was the livestock rents that gave way to conversion to a monetary equivalent before the grain payments is further suggested by Figure 18. This shows the estates of Kearn, Whitehaugh and Monymusk. The rental of Kearn dates from the 1550s whilst those of Whitehaugh and Monymusk are around the 1740s - two hundred years later. The scatter from Kearn appears to demonstrate the same bipartite split between grain-producing farms and livestock-centred farms. The fact that the two groupings are so separate and do not merge into one another suggests that this may reflect a policy division of specialisation rather than a simple topographically-ordered valuation. Were the rents simply reflective of the latter, the groups should blend from one to another in the same way that lowland blends into higher lands. This pattern is also well documented from the Lordship of Huntly (Shepherd, 2011).

This same bipartite split is also evident in the figures from Whitehaugh, even though they relate to a much later period. Here the livestock portion is matched by a monetary equivalent. The split recognisable between the grain- and livestock-rendering farms is matched by an identical split between money and grain renders. The six farms paying the highest proportion of their rents in money were also paying the lowest proportions in grain. This might be argued two ways. Firstly, it could be suggested that the monetary rent represents a change from payment in grain to money. This would suggest a diminution of grain production on those farms. Or, conversely, it might be argued that part of the livestock rent had been converted to a payment in cash. From this would follow the notion that these farms were, at one time, geared almost exclusively to livestock management.

Figure 19 suggests a possible rationale behind certain aspects of these figures. The map shows the landuse pattern as described by the rentals for the lands of the Bishops of Aberdeen and Lord Forbes' estate centred at Kearn in the 1500s and for Whitehaugh in the late 1730s. The lands of Clatt are almost entirely producing livestock payments whilst the lands of Kearn and Whitehaugh, to either side, are producing grain payments. The land north of the hills is fairly similar across the three estates. The difference, however, is that the Bishops also had extensive holdings elsewhere, in particular, around their manor at Rayne. These appear to have been the lands organised for grain production whilst those at Clatt were left to concentrate on livestock. Travel might perhaps be seen as an important aspect in this decision. Carrying bulky grain to market in Aberdeen from Rayne would be less arduous than the journey from Clatt. However, beasts on the hoof could be driven from Clatt. The grain production carried on at the church ville of Clatt, however, might have been for local consumption and travel to Aberdeen would not have been an issue.

The situation with the smaller estates of Whitehaugh and Kearn/Forbes is different. For these estates to be self-sufficient would require a management regime which concentrated production of the various products on the most appropriate pieces of land available. Both Kearn and Whitehaugh appear to have reached similar management decisions, with grain production focussed on the Garioch, north of the hills, and livestock on the more broken landscape running down to the Don. A small area of each estate, focussed on the rich haughlands of the Don, were also given over to arable production.

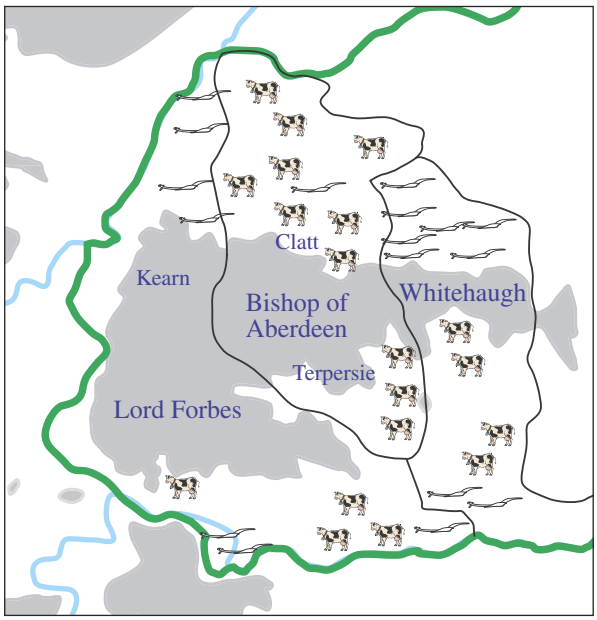

Figure 19. Land-use pertaining to Kearn, Clatt, Terpersie and Whitehaugh

In the light of this, it seems more likely that the money portion deriving from the Whitehaugh farms located north of the Don reflect earlier livestock renders converted into cash payments. Though it must still remain an interesting possibility that they may have been converted grain renders occasioned by an intensification of livestock production at the expense of grain production. As has been seen, this would most likely occurred during the post-plague period of the later 14th century, though such a conclusion still awaits confirmation. A third possibility, and one that has been touched upon with respect to the other two estates, is that there was a commutation of labour services into a cash payment at some time. Further work, including environmental analyses, would obviously be required to answer these questions convincingly. What is interesting, however, is that land-use strategies pertinent to the early 16th century, or earlier, do appear to have remained viable into the first half of the 18th centuries on some estates.

Having considered a couple of short case studies exemplifying possible ways of utilising the cartographic and documentary evidence to understand the biocultural development of the area, it seems appropriate to introduce a few more themes which, collectively, would enable a more complete understanding of these changes through time.

Irrigation

As noted above (page 13), water appears to have been widely used for the purpose of improving land though it is an aspect of landscape architecture that has received little mention with respect to the North-east. Smith's (1962) excerpts from the Minute book of the Gordon's Mill Farming Club, 1758-1764 make no mention of such practices, though it would be useful to carry out a complete search of the Minutes to confirm this. Archibald Grant appears to have countenanced it though not widely. Hamilton (1945, 129) records one cursory reference to, *"Water the sides of hills..."*, in notes written by Grant for a speech in 1735. The surveyor of the Leslie estate (RHP 5199, 1758), however, was a very outspoken proponent, frequently making references such as, *"...and may be flooded all of it with a fine stream of water"* (Old Leslie). That this practice was already being carried out and not simply a suggested improvement can be seen by such references as to 'The Waterd Land' (covering almost 14 acres at Achnagathie) which, he notes, *"Can be watered at pleasure"*. Suggestions for carrying out watering are noted: The Haind Fauld, *"may easily be made infield as all of it can be watered"* and others which could not be irrigated are also frequently noted, such as Rett Hill - *"generally thin ground and cannot be watered"* (both in Christs Kirk).

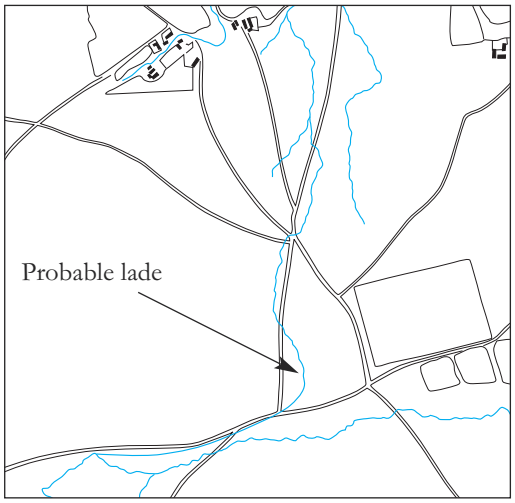

Figure 20. Part of the hillside above Knokespok (RHP 14753, 18th c.)

Such irrigation features appear to have usually taken the form of 'catchworks' or types of lade running along the contour and permitting an overflow of water onto the fields below. These are turning up with greater frequency in the Clashindarroch Forest in the Lordship of Huntly, now that it is known to expect them and, in all likelihood, there are many to be found in the present study area. One possible cartographic survival appears to be depicted as a 'water draught' at Netherton Farm near Balquhain castle, which appears to have watered the 'wet faulds' below it (MS 3528/10, 1769). Another interesting feature which either served the same purpose or supplied water to an otherwise unknown mill site is depicted on an 18th century plan of the successor estate to that of the Bishops of Aberdeen, encompassing Clatt, Terpersie and the hills in between (RHP 14753). Part of this lade survived to be included on the 1st Ed OS map of the area and seems subsequently to have been diverted to supply water to Knokespok House.

Whilst considering the use of water for improving the land, it is pertinent to question the likelihood of locating early forms of water meadow in the area. Were the highly sophisticated 17th and 18th century versions known from further south to have been in existence, it is likely that some evidence would be available. However, it has been proposed (Taylor, 2007) that earlier forms are likely to have predated these and may have been in existence elsewhere in Britain as early as the 12th and 13th centuries. If this is the case, there is no reason why they should not also have been present in the Garioch. Possible examples have been noted on Forestry Commission lands from Moray down to the Cowie Water. One suggestion supplied by the estate plans is located at the extreme west end of the study area at Barflit in Kearn. Figure 21 shows a very unusual pattern of waterflow on the estate of Lord Forbes. A natural bend in the river appears to have been cut off by a channel created to the west of it. From the original course a lade runs northwards to the mill of Barflit. However, between the original bend and the channel lying to its west is an intriguing meandering water channel which is unlikely to be natural. The new channel to the west could easily have been made to drain the area completely and to have left more rich, riverside haughland which, the maps demonstrate, were keenly guarded. All along the boundary between the Forbes and Gordon lands are tiny patches of haugh meticulously claimed by one or other of those great

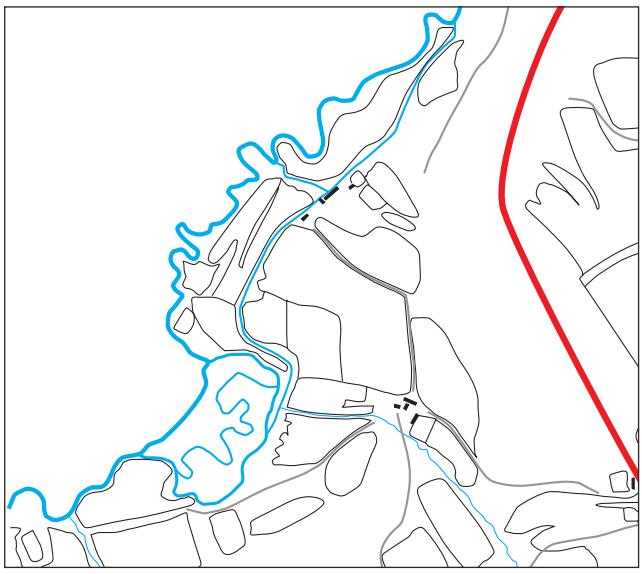

Figure 21. Part of the estate of Lord Forbes (RHP 260/1, 1771)

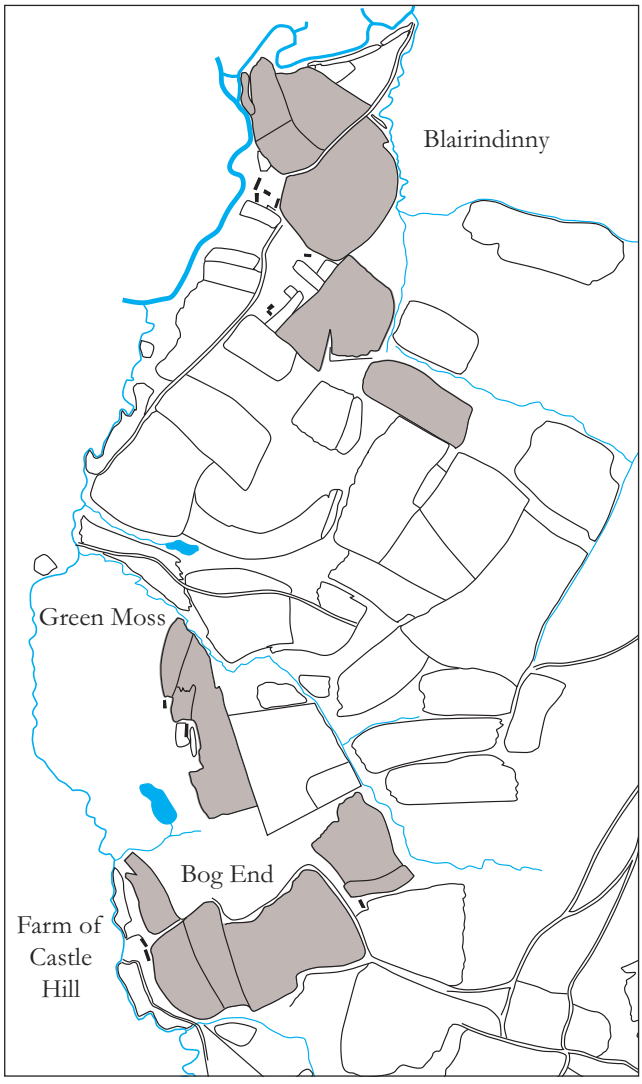

Figure 22. Haugh of Bolgy taken from an estate plan of 1771 (RHP 260/2)

landowners. The conclusion might well be that this meandering stream was a drain for a series of small 'water-meadows', possibly of an 'upwardly floating' type (*ibid.*).

On a similar theme is the possibility of finding other water-related landscape features. Prior to the Reformation all Christians were under an obligation to forego meat on Fridays, at least, and to eat fish. Obviously, there must have been large numbers of fishponds, as elsewhere in Europe at this time, which are still awaiting discovery[13].

Outsetting and Reclamation

There are hints relating to the intaking of new lands contained within the rentals. The Bishops' rental of 1511 notes (REA, I, 364) that Robert Black was leased the Haugh of Bolgy with the land of one plough. It cost him 20 shillings for the first year on the understanding that new agricultural land would be brought under the plough in that year: "*It is noted that the tenant of the hauch will make three outsettis against the hill of the castle of Drummynor and in that way make habitations on or before then and pentecost in 1512...*" The rector of Clatt was given the task of assessing the land to see that Robert Black had fulfilled his part of the bargain and to release him from his bond. That this policy of intaking was not new can be seen from a similar agreement on the Bishop's lands at Edinglassie in Glass in 1446 (REA, I, 250).

A 'special retour' of 1718 (GD52/622) makes it clear that the present Blairindinny is the site of the original Haugh of Bolgy: *"Lands of Haugh of Bogie, now Blairdilne"*. It is possible that these three outsets might be visible on an estate plan of 1771 (see Figure 22). The description, *"against the hill of the castle"*, fits admirably and they are the only three areas of infield west of Tayloch and Towie - the original settlements to the east. It is worth noting that, even at this late date, new intakes were conforming to a more curvilinear field shape, though possibly shorter than the 12th and 13th century strips. In fact, the shapes are similar to those noted as possibly relating to the 'crofts' laid out at the Mains of Drumminor in the 1550 rental (see Figure 9, page 16). It is also worth noting that Blairindinnie, by 1771, had an associated further subsett lying to the south of it, representing a further 'outsett'.

That not all expansion remained viable from this or earlier periods is demonstrated by the remnants of

Note 13. Keeping fish during the hot Summer months with access to only a weekly market is likely to have proven a considerable health hazard and probably accounts for the large numbers of such ponds serving local needs prior to the Reformation. Post-Reformation, such fasting is likely to have been seen as 'idolatrous' and this would account for the remarkable lack of this type of site in Scotland.

rig and furrow surviving on aerial photographs. Along the western flank of Clova Hill are extensive field remains (RAF B0060, 2402) and, above Tillyfour around the interestingly named Shiel Knowe is further evidence of relict fields (RAF B0047, 3063).

Such evidence demonstrates the dynamic nature of the biocultural development of the study area throughout the whole of the Mediaeval and Post-mediaeval periods. Of particular note in this respect are two plans held in the Historic Collections of Aberdeen University. (They were discovered along with eight others as recently as 1988 in the roof of a potting shed in Aberdeen!) Some of this series are, unfortunately, unavailable for inspection owing to their fragile nature and digital copies of them do not exist. Others can be viewed but two, in particular, add enormously to an understanding of the 18th century development of the land abutting Bennachie on its eastern side. These are MS 3528/9 and MS 3528/10 and both date to 1769. Unfortunately, although these two have been stabilised, no digital images yet exist for closer analysis.

Their importance rests in their portrayal of differential land-use on the Balquhain estate as late as the 1760s and a clearer understanding of the landscape into which the Colonists would soon be entering. Though the area of landscape depicted is now almost indistinguishable in terms of land use, the situation in the 1760s could not have been more different. I would like to briefly summarise the two plans, starting with MS 3528/10.

MS 3528/10 - the lands of Balquhain in the parish of Chapel of Garioch

The area covered stretches from Tullos House in the west, eastwards through Knockinglews to Dubston in the east. From here noth-westwards to include the remains of Balquhain Castle to Gallows Hill and thence back via Chapel of Garioch to Tullos. All of this area is composed of compact field systems and contains very little pasture - perhaps no more than 120 acres. Some of the fields are quite large and are suggestive of having been laid out in the 17th or early 18th century. Some field names, such as 'The Bog Park' refer to enclosed areas and may reflect an earlier lordly landscape in the vicinity of the castle, between the castle and the Hill of White Cross. There is a roundish field system, partly surrounding Tullos, which is cut by a larger linear enclosure. Some form of planning is evident here which might be related to the construction of the farm of Cappernook. It is possible that the modern drained boundary north of Whitecross Farm and leading to Boghead reflects that present on this plan and the fields enclosed in this area appear to have had been recently laid out. A note has already been made above concerning the 'water draught' south of the castle and to the 'Manor Place'. It is also worth noting the name 'Chapel Folds' lying by modern Burnside of Balquhain. Finally, the modern boundary from Chapel of Garioch north-eastwards, up round the top of gallow Hill and back down to the burn running from the old Castle appears to reflect that depicted on this 18th century plan and to have retained its integrity.

MS 3528/9 - the lands of Balquhain in Inverurie Parish

This area is slightly separated from the one above by the lands of Braco which drive a wedge north-eastwards between the two areas. Consequently, this plan depicts the area from about Dubston in a southerly direction to Newseat, along the Don to Burnhervie, up that burn until a westward branch to modern West Aquhorthies, around Bograxie and then north-eastwards back to Alton, passing Braco's lands on the south.

This plan notes the total acreages of different land types: infield, 185 acres; outfield, 514 acres; pasture, 963 acres. The difference between this last figure and the 120 acres of the first plan are very apparent and resultant upon the less intensive use of the area. Bograxie is depicted as a five-sided enclosure of recent date made of shelter belts enclosing land described as 'heathery rigs'. This presumably refers to former possible outfields subsequently fallen into disuse. The outline of this enclosure appears to have been retained by the present field structure. Along the Burn Hervie are scattered plots of arable amongst large areas of 'heathery muir'. There is a gradual increase in the consolidation of fields towards the north-east, but the western half is depicted as more muir than farmland. The present field structure of small enlosed fields west of Burn Hervie all appear to be intakes made after this plan. The plan gives the appearance of having seen little development up until this time. This might be of consequence for the suggested earlier land-use in the area of the Colony. As it was clearly not being used in the 1760s, any prior usage is more likely to have been much earlier. This situation is supported by other names on this plan pointing to episodes of decline - such as the 'Heathery muir called the Foul Rig'. The recognition of former field remains from aerial photographs north of the Bograxie intake suggests a similar story (RAF B0047, 3047).

There is a 'walk miln' noted at Burn Hervie with an 'old run' (of water) noted to the east. A consolidated array of fields around Aquhorthies stone circle became East Aquhorthies farm, though no farm appears to

have existed alongside this field system at this time. West Aquhorthies was largely unimproved muir at this time and modern Aquhorthies farm was the Miln of Aquhorthies. 'Ols Yaa's Croft' by Mains of Aquhorthie appears to have been derelict, again suggesting no great trend to expansion at this time in this area.

These two plans, drawn by the same hand and for the same heritor, demonstrates the differential use of land within the same estate at this time. Obviously, there are a range of possible reasons to explain this differentiation. The lands closer to the estate centre (shown on MS 3528/10) may have been being developed first and what we see is a picture of partial completion. Or, perhaps this was reflective of a state of affairs which had pertained for a long time. Only further work will answer these questions. The importance for this study is in the demonstration that such evidence does exist and that it can be subjected to a full range of analysis.

Mosses and Woodland

Of equal importance in the development of the landscape are the natural resources found within those areas often termed 'waste' by the 'Improvers'. This term probably owes most to that period of the industrialisation of the farming environment when such resources were not considered profitable enough to exploit for capital gain. To the pre-modern people of the area, rich and poor alike however, the accessibility and appropriation of these resources caused no small amount of friction. Figure 23 shows how the peat resources of Gateside at the northern end of the old scire of Rayne were as meticulously subdivided as the lands that surrounded them. Small areas were even sectioned off for the use of fermtouns not immediately adjacent to the moss, such as Ladyinghame. (This situation, incidentally, relates to the earlier administrative unity affecting the wider area). An interesting document laying out the duties of the 'birleymen' in the parishes of Auchindoir, Kearn and Clatt for 1663 demonstrates how the policing of such partitions were determined (GD52/312, 1663 - this has been reproduced in full as Appendix I).

An important court case in 1738 involving the Earl of Aberdeen on the one side with Thomas Erskine and Ernest Leslie on the other, concerned access to the mosses of Bennachie. This case became overshadowed in due course by the momentous proceedings concerning the Colonists. However, it was, perhaps, the judgements occasioned by this earlier case that created a precedent for what happened a hundred years later[14]. A very brief outline of the case is as follows.

The Earl of Aberdeen held the lands of Braco and, in that guise and for those lands claimed rights to pasture and peat (fewall). In the words of his 'witness memorial': *"The Hill of Bennachie being a forrest and consequently belonging to the Crown and the heretors on all sides have right to it and are provided of peats and turf ?fuel thereof and which hill is very extensive and had different names of old on the different corners of it that it now goes under the name of Bennachie and many lands lying several miles distant are served of fewall from it."* (GD33/16). It appears that the Earl's tenants had been cutting peat on the hill and had been interrupted by the men of Erskine and Leslie who had, moreover, made off with the turfs cut. This action led to a petition being made by the Earl against the actions of Erskine and Leslie (the defenders). Both parties based their defences upon customary rights deemed to have belonged to the different lands. Many witnesses were called who had recall of how things, 'always had been'. For this purpose, some of the oldest members of the community were asked to state how things were done as far back as could be remembered. This is interesting as it shows that customary law was still considered most appropriate to deciding this case. The court was there to adjudicate customary law and not to impose a new decree. This same approach was being followed in the 1440s between the Bishops of Aberdeen and Lord Forbes over the boundaries to land in Terpersie. Here the Bishops make claim to the '*mony wise and manly eldris before him*' (REA, I, 248-9) and, in a more uncomfortable slight to John Forbes, by even using his father's memory as witness to the rights of the Bishops: "*Jone of Forbes is fadre, was a gude man wise mychty and manly in his tyme, and had he trowit ony right, he had nocht lattyn it bene unfollowit in his tyme*" (*ibid*).

The witnesses confirm that both parties had historically pastured their cattle on the hill[15]. Furthermore, nobody seems to have had a problem with the fact that the Earl had access to the moss of Hackney Marsh.

Note 14. The complete archive, including reams of witness statements, is contained within GD33/16 at the National Archives.
Note 15. One witness gives a very clear description of the lands above Clachie Burn in the early 1700s which makes it clear that the area was good pasture land but there is no mention of any habitation. If the Colony settlers were making use of earlier field systems, they clearly predated the 1700s.

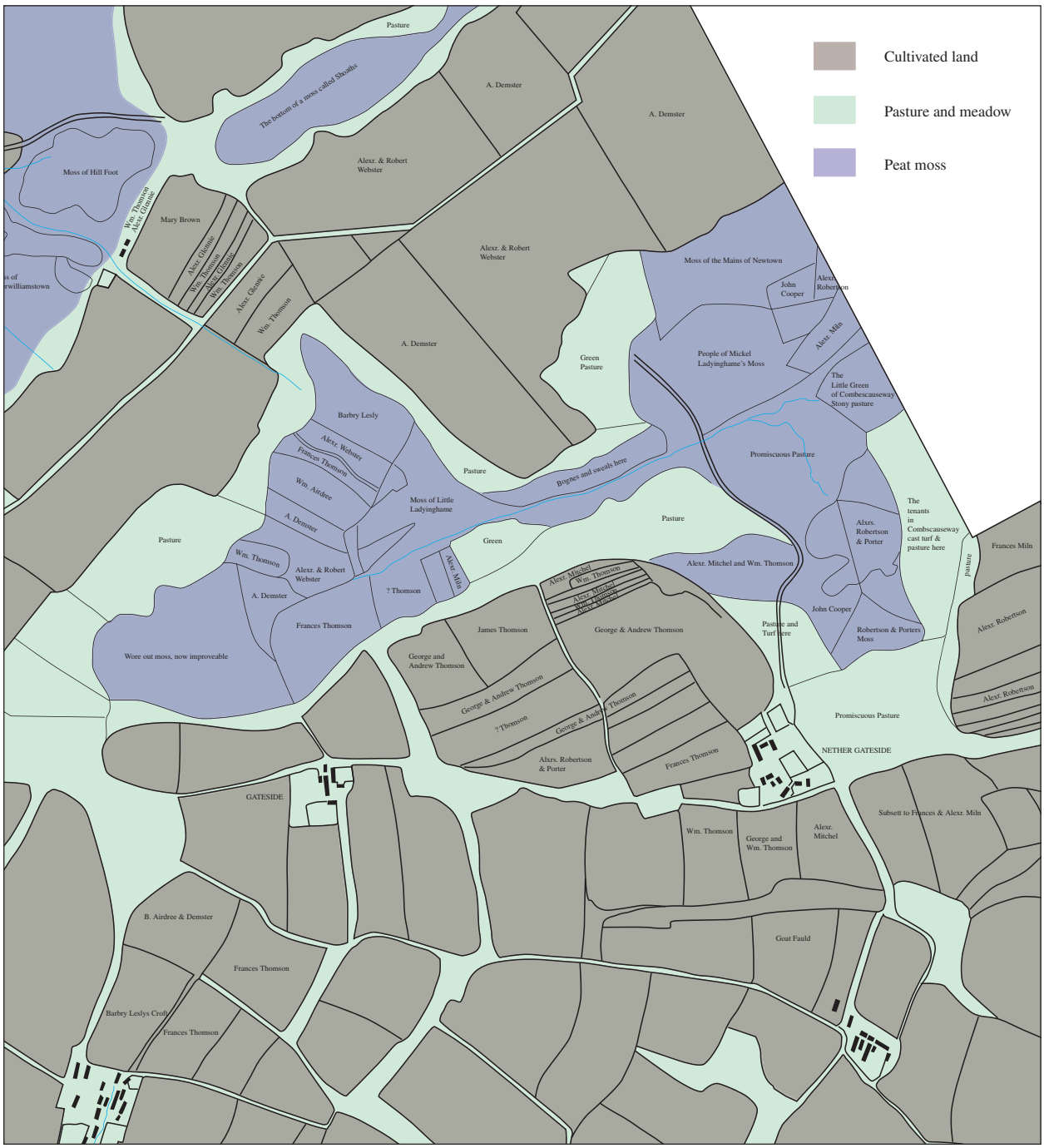

Figure 23. Gateside from an estate plan of 1764 (RHP 30788)

(Rather than in east London, Hackney Marsh lay at the top end of the Clachie Burn - see Figure 24). What is made apparent by Figure 24 and the court papers is that, although pasturage was considered 'common' across the hill, the use of peat mosses was very much determined by historical precedent, with individual mosses being the preserves of the individual heritors. That being said, the Earl's statement, noted above, does suggest that the tenants of those heritors might live some distance from the hill. This would have been the case on estates such as Leslie, where many of the fermtouns on the estate did not share a boundary with the hill. The same situation has been noted above with respect to the mosses in Rayne. It seems to have been this issue that dictated that, historically, specific mosses had, through usage from time immemorial, become the accepted preserve of one group of people rather than a common resource, that led to the court finding in favour of the defendants. The Earl had to pay the expenses of Leslie and Erskine.

That shortage of peat fuel was becoming a serious issue is supported by other references in the court proceedings to the 'clandestine' uses of the mosses at night and the noted exhaustion of some fermtoun mosses.

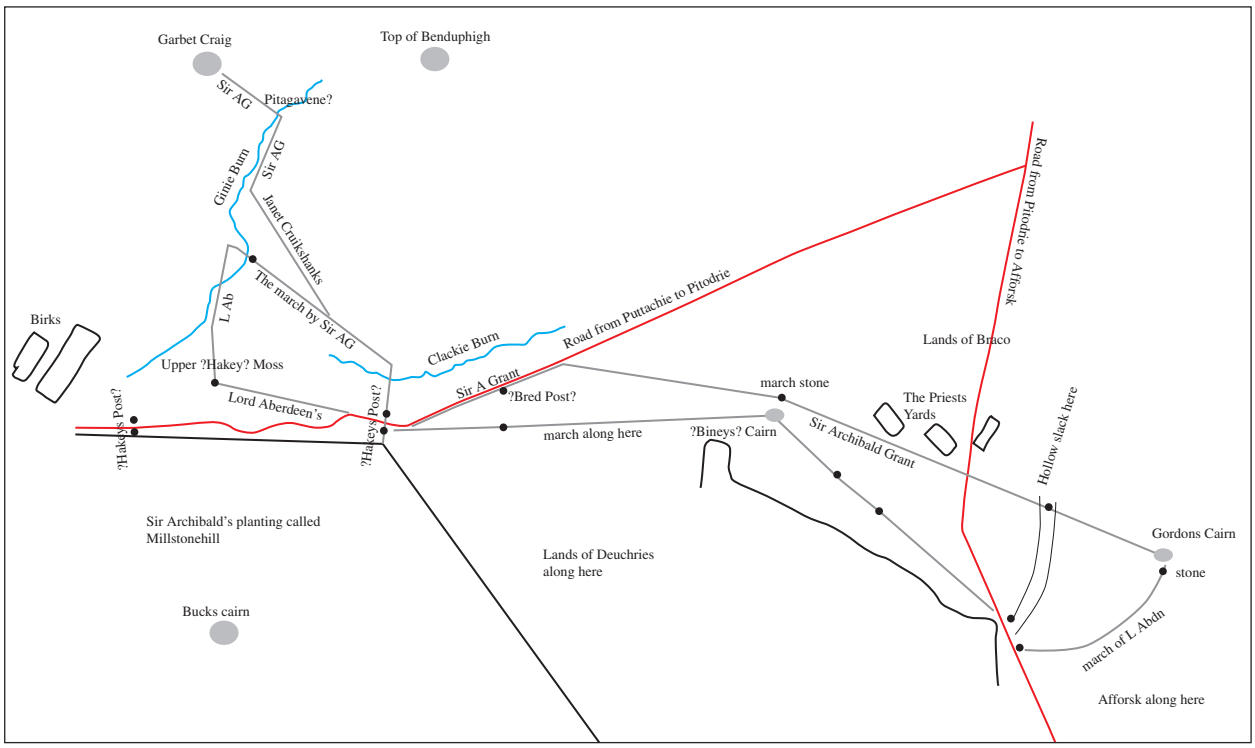

Figure 24. The boundaries between the Deuchries and Braco as drawn as a rough sketch in the late 18th century (RHP 3010/6).

The mosses belonging to Afforsk were said to be depleted as were 2 plough's worth of Leslie's at Afforsk, 3 plough's worth of Pitcaple's and 15 plough's worth of Pittodrie's. Doubtless the grander residences of the local lairds were having a serious impact on former local consumption patterns. A further note from Patrick Duff of Premnay notes the existence of a map of the Moss of Bennachie drawn up by David Dowie - a copy of which would be nice to find. He also adds that the Boddach Moss was nearly worn out and suggested that good mosses lay above Bruntwood and which might be reached by a new road up from Clachie Burn, the only other access being from the 'Strait Boddach road'. On the other hand Lord Forbes was scrounging peats from the Bishops of Aberdeen, "*for my awne chawmer*" as far back as the 1520s (REA, I, 385). And in 1710 he was still at it when a scrap of hand-written text (GD52/587) by James Gordon gave, "*to the Lord forbes a spaids casting of peats out of his Lordships moss of Bendhopehie*'.

This court action is important for an understanding of how customary rights were perceived in the pre-modern era. Furthermore, we should be grateful to the lawyers for carrying out a useful search into the extant archives of that time relating to the charters held by the protaganists. The court papers include many transcripts taken from them. Interesting snippets include references to the tower at Auchleven and the note of a 'forester' at Tillyfour in 1605. Also, the reference to "*fforresta ubi silvos et arbores*" ('forest with trees and plantations') appears to have formed part of the foundation charter for the Barony of Balquhain in 1511 and also suggests some form of surviving woodland. The papers also, perhaps, help to shed light upon references to Bennachie as a possible royal forest. Reference to a lost charter purporting to have been made by James I to the Earl of Mar and granting him proprietorship of the forest is not implausible but might have important social ramifications for our understanding of the area. Neville argues that the King's control over the forest territories of the native Earls north of the Forth was little more than nominal until well into the 15th century (2005, 84-5). This timing would fit with the purported document. On the other hand, the lands of Birse and Fetternear were granted '*in liberam forestam*' ('in free forest') to the Bishops of Aberdeen in 1241 (REA, I, 16), though such a grant would not be compromising the native rights of a local subject. A further charter by Duncan Leslie of Pitcaple in 1600 (GD108/28) notes, 'common pasture at the forest or wood of Banochie'.

Unfortunately, these vague references to woodland activities contained within historical documents, coupled with placename evidence, are the only evidence surviving for the extensive woodlands which would, at one time, have covered much of the area. These appear to have been decimated in many parts of the North-east by the mid 1600s according to Robert Gordon of Straloch (Blaeu Atlas of Scotland, 1662). It is hard to see

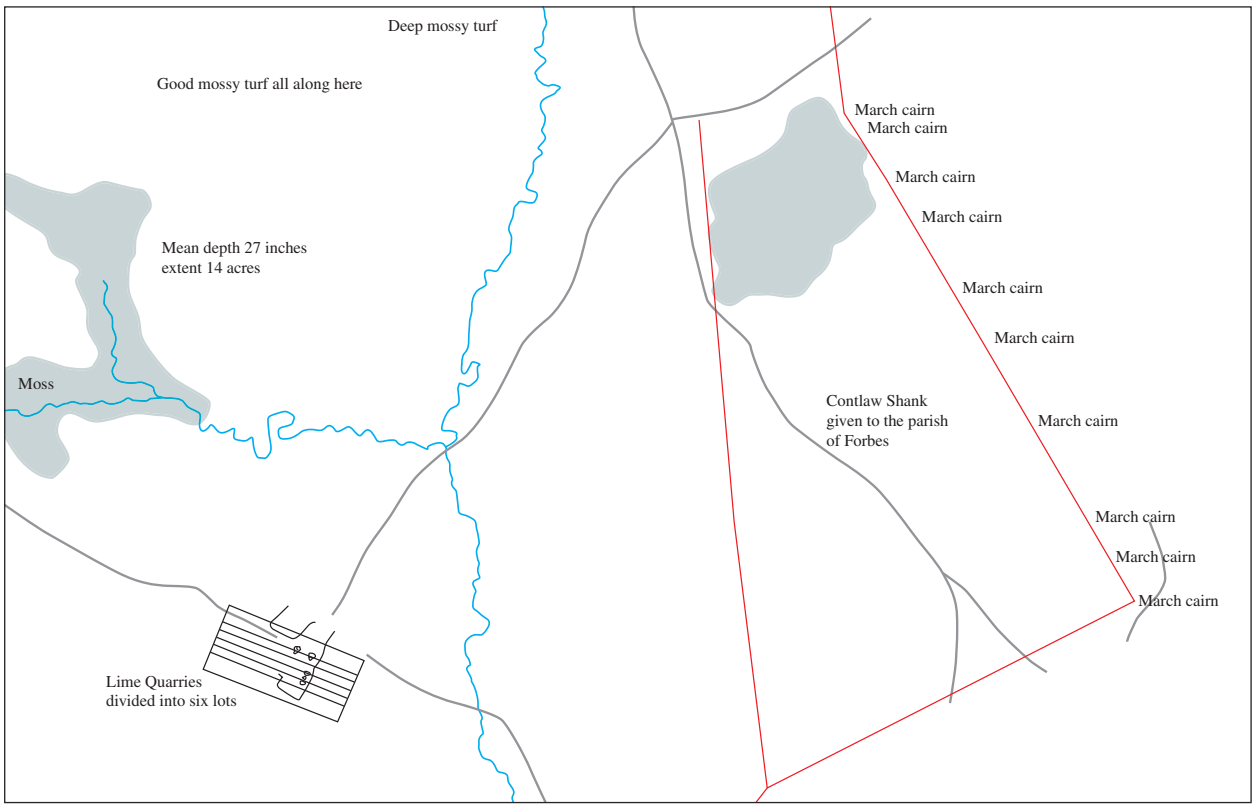

Figure 25. Lime quarries and mosses on Lord Forbes estate (RHP 260/1, 1771)

how this deficit can be corrected other than by environmental fieldwork. References to restocking in the 1700s become more common and is well attested on the Monymusk estate. Patrick Duff of Premnay notes that he had 250,000 trees planted and goes on to list the broad spectrum of types used (MS 3175/2395, 1742). It would be interesting to know whether the wood noted at Tulloch on the south side of the Don in 1737 was a new plantation or a pre-existing area (GD52/672). On the Pittodrie Estate, Beid House and Craignathunder were fir plantations of 45 and 109 acres respectively, whilst Maiden Castle Park and Farquharsons Park accounted for another 13 and 3 acres (MS 2392, 1771).

Quarrying

Pre-modern quarrying activity is occasionally encountered in the sources. Like many activities in the pre-modern period, its pattern of customary usage will have rendered it almost invisible. Patrick Duff, in his 'Memorial of several things relating to Patrick Duffs lands within the Parish of Premnay, 1743' (MS 3175/2395, 1742) notes how *"millstones are to be had from Bennachie"* and that there was a good lime quarry within a mile. Such self-sufficiency within estates is likely to have been common and Patrick Duff will not have been the only heritor quarrying millstones from Bennachie. Such usage will probably have been carried on for as long as mills were used in the area, so, for probably a thousand years at least. Extensive lime quarrying was also being carried out on the appropriately named 'Limer Shank' on the Correen Hills on the Forbes estate. This was still being used into the second half of the 19th century at least and is depicted on the 1st Ed OS map. Its earlier manifestation is on an estate plan of 1771 (RHP 260/1) where it is clearly subdivided into six 'lots' which, judging by their relative widths, might originally have been divided into eight (see Figure 25). The plan also appears to show separate kiln structures within these 'lots'. Interestingly, the plan also depicts a number of mosses, suggesting that the Lord Forbes might have been slightly accentuating his 'peat-poverty'. These mosses are shown as measured in terms of area and depth and are clearly targetted for exploitation. The plan also shows a vast array of march cairns along its eastern boundary. As this is the march line with the lands formerly belonging to the Bishops of Aberdeen, it is interesting to speculate whether they relate to the settlement after the boundary disputes of the 1440s noted above.

Fishing and Wild Fowl

As noted above (page 34) fish will have been an important staple in the pre-Reformation period. There is also later evidence for the importance of salmon fishings as a trading commodity in subsequent periods. The 1540 rental for Fetternear (REA, I) records the requirement to deliver 1 barrel of salmon for rent for the right to fish the waters. This could be commuted to a cash payment of £3. With the entire rental for the fermtoun of Carne in the same scire being valued at around £6.12.0d, this was a significant sum. A tack of 1632 for the estate of Tilliefour also includes the fishings, along with the mill and its other pertinents (GD124/1/335) and a charter from Sir John Leslie of Wardes in 1627 includes salmon fishings on the Don at Ardtannes (GD 124/1/321). An interesting reference to the payment of six shillings and eight pennies for twelve pike (or 'geddis') occurs in a rental 1551 for four roods of land called, interestingly, the 'Hospitale of Kintor' (REA, I, 454). Doubtless a more focussed search of the charters will reveal other similar instances.

Wild fowl appear as a frequent 'livestock' render in a number of the rentals, especially on the Bishopric lands of Clatt, Terpersie and Birse in the 16th century (REA, I). Such a payment may, however, have been becoming archaic on most estates as their absence from other rentals suggests.

Linen, Weaving and Sheep

As noted above, there is good evidence for sheep, sheepcotes (sheep 'byres') and shepherds' houses in the 15th century on the Bishops' lands at Terpersie. That sheep played an important role in other hilly areas in the study area is not to be doubted. Goats are also likely to have formed a further render, with many fermtouns in Mortlach paying 6 each year as part of their rent. These may have formed one of the first of the 'customs' to have been converted to a cash payment. As noted above, closer scrutiny of the walk miln sites might add greatly to our knowledge of the importance of sheep to the local economy during the mediaeval period. These can be located from rentals as well as directly from estate plans. Numbers of 'cotts' also occur on the estate plans and these are also likely to refer to the provisioning of sheep or goats.

Linen production appears to have been an industrialised re-introduction to the North-east in the 18th century. Rentals attest it as an important farm product in the Lordship of Huntly in the 16th and 17th centuries and it is unlikely that it was absent from the Garioch. The rental from Monymusk (GD 248/158) seems to demonstrate its fading importance on that estate with only three farms still rendering it. Its widespread nature is more apparent from the cartographic evidence where a number of fields related to the growing of flax is attested; for example, the 6 acre 'Lint Butts' on the farm of Myretoun and another 'Lint Butts' on the farm of Largie (MS 3528/1, 1769). Another possible type of reference might be to 'retting' (the soaking of the flax), as at Ret Hill at Christskirk (RHP 5199, 1758).

Recreation

One aspect of life which is seldom referred to yet may still be detected within the historical record is community entertainment. The local fairs and markets undoubtedly provided occasions for socialising, though others might be reflected in field names incorporating the word 'play'. Bailey's brief search amongst the field-names in Buckinghamshire (2010) proved fruitful and such an exercise would probably pay dividends in the Garioch. A number survive still on modern maps (see below) and from the estate plans can be exemplified 'Plea Dyke' from New Leslie (RHP 5199). Caution must, obviously, be exercised as the word 'play' can be used in a variety of contexts, not all of them less than sardonic. Pley Fauld on the site of the Battle of Harlaw being one such possibility.

As noted, fairs and markets will have provided local entertainment and the Reformation failed to hide the earlier important connection between the mediaeval churches and their monopoly over many trading activities. Many local fairs were named after the founding saint of the local church, such as St. Lawrence's Fair at Rayne, Polander (after St. Apollinaris) Fair at Inverurie, St. Molloch's Fair at Clatt and the notorious Christ's Fair, or Sleepy Market, held at Rathmuriel. This was so-called as it started at sunset and finished one hour after sunrise. In the 18th century the local kirk authorities tried to force it to operate during daylight hours but it was soon abandoned as a result.

'Belief'

This tortuous subject will be limited here to a discussion concerning how elements of pre-modern religious beliefs may be reflected within the physical landscape and how these reflections might help us to understand the perceptions of the populations who made them manifest.

Much of this landscape of belief will have undergone severe and purposeful destruction as a result of being perceived as a threat to subsequent belief patterns of a different kind. Perhaps of greatest significance to the landscape during the last thousand years were the Reformation in the 16th century and the industrialisation of the agricultural landscape at the end of the 18th and start of the 19th centuries. In real terms, the Reformation in the North-east might be seen as occuring between the mid 16th century and running into the industrialisation period. This is not the place for a long exposition of this development but, in very general terms, it might be seen as being related to a complete apathy on the part of the majority of the landholders and the population at large to embrace the new religion. The 'National Covenant' was hardly that. Aberdeen had refused to sign in 1638, for which act its period of commercial expansion was cut short (MacNiven, 1986: 63). The Presbytery Book of Strathbogie is also full of refusals of parishioners, both lordly and poor, to sign. James Gordon read the Covenant at Dunbennan in 1643 and 'all in one voice refused'. Alexander Fraser 'had gotten no subscriptions'; Robert Watson 'had gotten some hands'; William Reid 'had gotten no subscriptions save his own'; and the list continues (Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, 29th November 1632). Even in the 1650s 'mopping-up' operations were still concerned with forcing signatures from people such as James Gordon of Daach (ibid., 25th September 1650). And as late as 1713 the inhabitants of Turriff barricaded the church against the imposition of an incoming presbyterian minister, resulting in a riot and shots being fired. Illegal Catholic meeting houses persisted throughout the area until the Catholic faith was once again restored to delicate society in the nineteenth century. That a similar situation pertained in the Garioch can be seen by the writings of one 'well-meaning' citizen who was informing upon members of the local population. Such accusations as he was making frequently resulted in complete personal ruin (GD 124/9/78, 1713 - a complete transcript of the section relating to the Garioch is included as Appendix II). Fetternear was one such meeting house as described in the text.

The Reformation removed the trappings of the former religion in order to expunge its memory. The destruction wrought by the agricultural industrialists appears to have been occasioned for a different, though not necessarily unrelated, purpose. The removal of former symbols relating to a pre-capitalist system of living could be taken to be a display of the 'new order' over the old - the newfound ability of mankind to bend nature to its will. The imposition of a new economic belief system might not be so different from the imposition of the Reformation. It is enough to note here that these new ideologies both sought to suppress earlier symbols related to how the population dwelt within its landscape. How then, might it be possible to reconstruct that earlier landscape?

It has been noted above that recourse to the ecclesiastical records can help us to understand how the diocesan lands were being administered in the mediaeval period. A study of the dedications of the parish churches, where known, can also clarify this picture. Figure 26 shows some of the known dedications to native saints. The distributions do suggest that there are discernible patterns relating the dedications to discrete territories. Of particular interest is the distribution of the Wolak/Moluac name. (The substitution of 'M' and 'W' relating to the 'v' sound of the Gaelic spelling 'mh' - post c.1200 - or 'm' pre-c.1200 (Clancy, 1998, 346)). This appears to be focussed at the west of the study area and to relate to the former diocesan centre at Mortlach. This was a seat of a bishopric as well as being the site of a *monasterium*. Cloueth (Clova) formed part of the same assignation, purportedly in the 1060s (REA, I, 3). Clova is also noted as the site of a *monasterium* in the 1350s (*ibid.*, 85). A dedication to Finan occurs at Egilsmenytok (Monymusk) and also in the centre of the grouping of Wolok names to the east of Mortlach - also dedicated to Wolok. Clatt was also dedicated to Wolok and it is tempting to see the scir of Clatt becoming annexed to the Bishops of Aberdeen at the same time as the other Wolok lands of Mortlach. Whether Clova formed a part of this picture is also a possibility, whilst a further connection with Egilsmenytok is suggested by the dedication to Finan. It might also be a possibility that the *monasteria* of Clova and Mortlach were also *Celi De* houses. To look more closely into these aspects is beyond the remit of the present work, but this brief consideration does suggest how the utilisation of a range of types of evidence: tenurial, ecclesiastical and naming, can be used together to begin to build a picture of the development of the diocesan infrastructure within the study area. Even references, such as to the 'Hospital of Kintor' noted above can help to point in the direction of further pieces of the mediaeval ecclesiastical jigsaw.

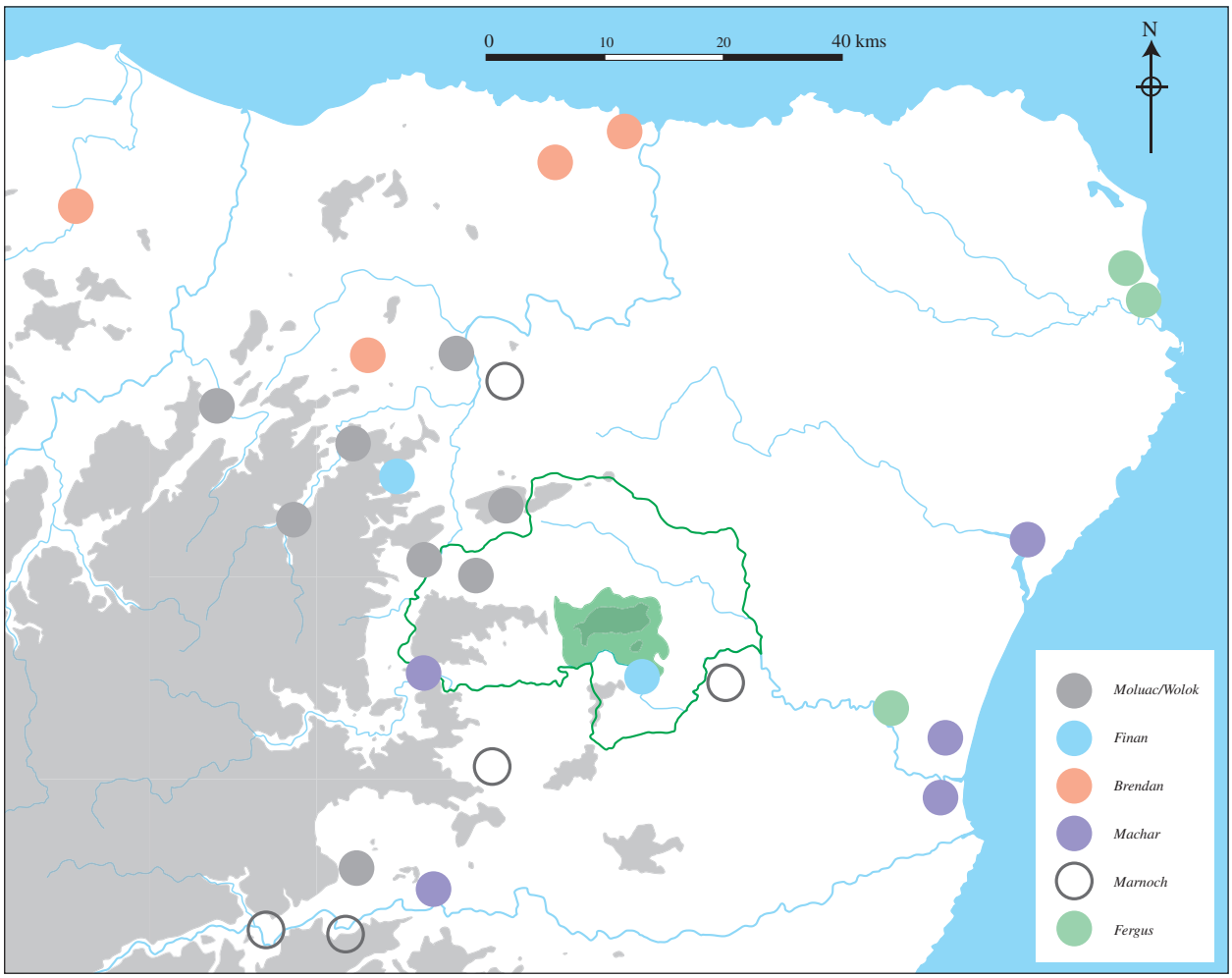

Figure 26. Dedications of some of the churches in the North-east.

At the next religious layer down, it should be possible to gain insights into the development of the parish churches and to see how these developed from their forerunners. As Clancy has shown (1995), a pre-parish organisational structure based upon *annats* or 'mother churches' may be gleaned from place-name evidence. The defunct parish of Rathmuriel, or Christskirk, contains just such a name along with some other salient features. Figure 27 shows the settlement along with some of the field names and features. The church and glebe sit in the middle of the settlement at the centre of the strips of the agricultural holdings. Anit Hill overlooks the church and to adjoining piece of infield is called Kill Croft. It is possible that Kill, in this instance, derives from *Cil* - a common Gaelic church placename though usually found more commonly further west than Aberdeenshire. Temple Croft beside the Temple Burn is suggestive of an ecclesiastical connection though by no means definite. The supposed remains of a purportedly unfinished hill-fort is even more startling, particularly given the placename element '*Rath*', often indicative of an early administrative centre. As individual elements, the names and features might not amount to much, but within the context of a later parish centre and all falling within a radius of maybe 500m they are at least suggestive.

Other aspects of the wider social religious landscape can benefit from analyses of placenames, topography and field evidence. Whyte exemplifies how full of religious imagery the mediaeval environment was (2009, 32-44). Aside from the churches and chapels dotting the landscape, were a plethora of standing crosses, carved stones and 'healing wells'. Few of these physical features now remain, though some recur as placename elements. Customary observations, such as at the beginning of the ploughing season, marked the Christianisation of former traditions and more overtly pagan ones persisted in midsummer bonfires and in the recourse to the healing wells. Religious Christian life in the mediaeval period was bound up with the idea of 'pilgrimage' or journeying. With the environment awash with religious imagery, simply moving about the fields in the everyday process of

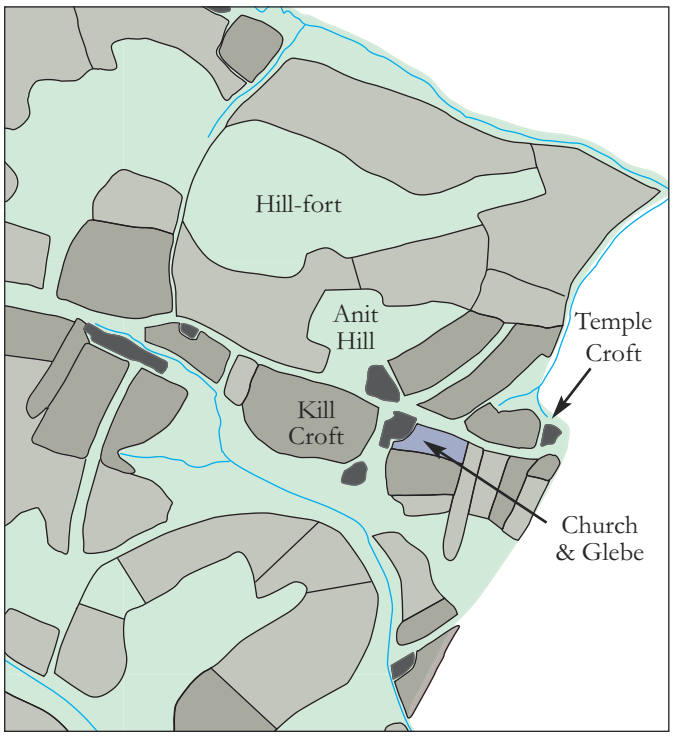

Figure 27. Placenames in Christskirk, Rathmurhiell (RHP 5199)

work will have resonated with an embedded perspective of the sacred. Archaeological remains of cairns and stone circles, likewise, fitted into a landscape of story and belonging. *"...the landscape can be seen as having an active role to play as both a repository of religious beliefs and also in providing a series of signposts for the perpetuation of customary practices and beliefs. The everyday landscape sustained, moulded and intensified religious experience. The process of religious reform fundamentally altered this diffuse religious landscape of the early sixteenth century"* (Whyte, discussing her work in the landscape of Norfolk, 2009, 44).

Many 'cross' and 'cors' names survive to suggest the placement of some markers, Pictish symbol stones often huddle around early Christian sites as well as in other locations. Standing stones and stone circles were excluded from agricultural land in the pre-modern period and only appear to have suffered with the development of Enlightenment values and the requirement to improve, not only the land, but also the morals and industry of the people. The re-organisation of the landscape in the 18th and 19th centuries, *"imposed order and discipline not only on the landscape, but also on its inhabitants"* (Gregory, 2005, 66). The stone circle at Nether Bottom is clearly marked 'standing stones' and avoided by the arable on the estate plan (MS 2769). It subsequently became incorporated within the re-organised fields. That some of these symbols were still recognised and utilised into the early modern period might be suggested by the cross-incised stone at Woodend of Braco. Discovered within the last few years by the Forestry Commission during felling operations, this stone appears to be depicted as one of the boundary markers defining the lands of Braco and the Deuchries (Figure 24). It might well be the stone that gave Afforsk its name - field of the stone.

To believe that this landscape is undiscoverable is, I hope, unduly pessimistic. Elements do survive and there is no reason to think that other symbols will not also come to light. Even more recently, and again on Forestry Commission lands, a small cross-incised pillar was discovered at Tonley. Estate plans depict old land boundaries and note the 'march cairns' and 'pots' marking them. Locating these sometimes very ancient boundaries on the ground might shed new light on their production and use. Piecing together how the landscape appeared before its industrialisation can give insights into how our pre-modern forbears dwelt within that world - a world which appears to have been both mundane and sacred at one and the same time.

Routeways and Trackways

Much of this study has been concerned with assessing ways of understanding the biocultural development of the area around Bennachie. This is because the records are largely silent concerning the hill itself. All we are permitted to hear are mentions of it when its resources became the focus for local argument. Trackways are the paths by which the inhabitants of the surrounding landscape gained direct access to it and by which they extracted its resources. They similarly are able to provide our access routes into understanding that direct relationship between the surrounding population and the hill itself.

Figure 28 depicts the tracks noted on a plan of 1845, along with some boundaries (marked in red). This shows the hill on the eve of its finally agreed partition between the surrounding heritors. Some of the tracks are still utilised, others can still be found though not used and there are many more tracks which are not depicted, either because they were not considered important enough or, more likely, because they were already out of use by this time. A mapping exercise of those tracks, therefore, would supply a further dendritic pattern of use going back further in time. But, sticking with the tracks depicted, it can be seen how the different

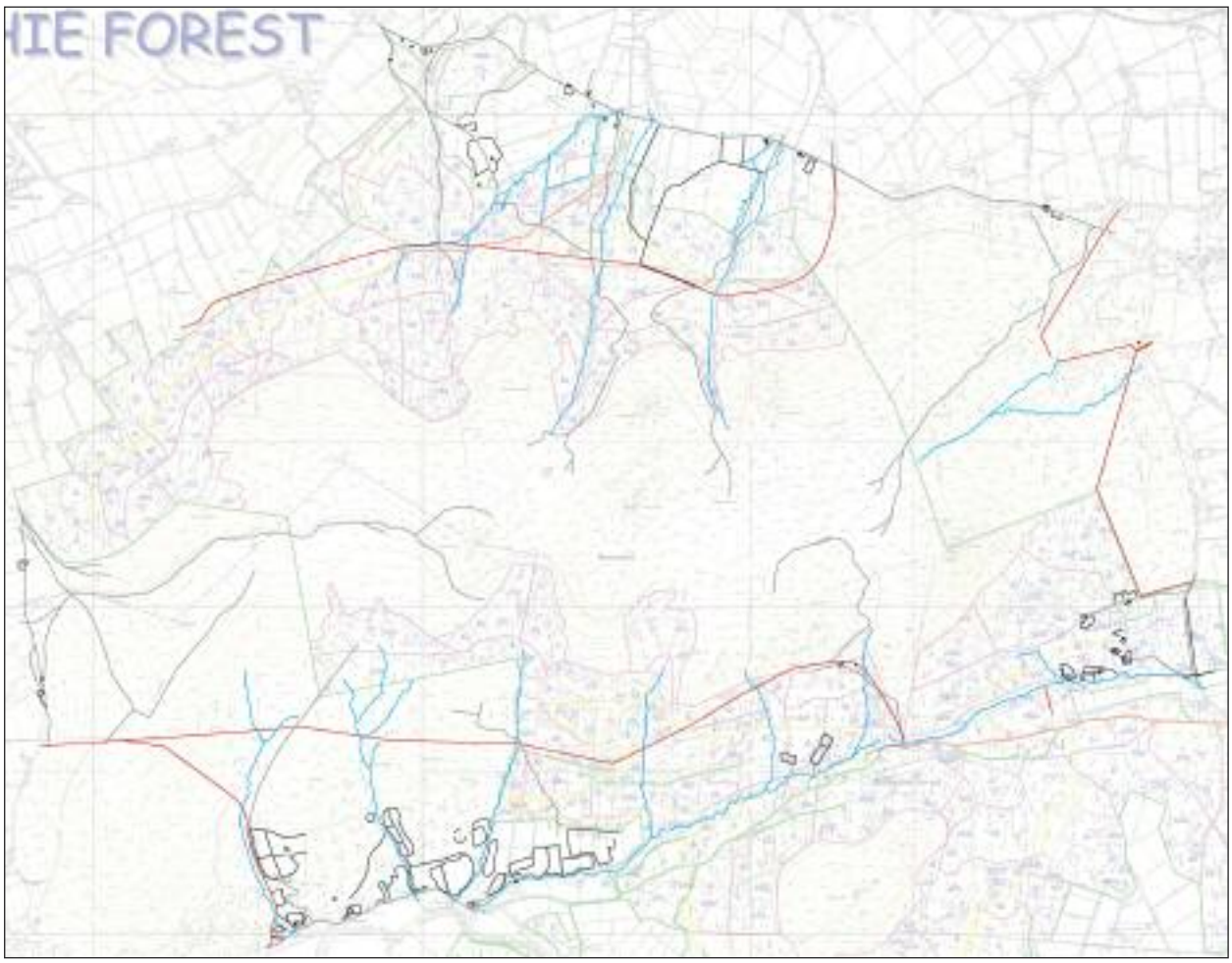

Figure 28. Part of Bennachie as depicted on a map of 1845 (RHP 3940) and overlain on a modern Forestry Commission plan.

settlement locations around the hill each had routes to individual areas upon the hill. None of the tracks appear to have been particularly geared towards passage across the hill at this time. Extraction of peat resources are probably the primary considerations. A study of aerial photographs does, however, show uninterupted linkages crossing the hill and linking settlement locations. This should not be surprising, especially considering that the parish of Oyne included Tillyfour. This begs an interesting question of how the inhabitants of Tillyfour were expected to attend their parish kirk without an arduous journey over the hill or an even longer journey around it. The presbyterian kirk took a very dim view of non-attendees, who were usually punished by severe fines and days sat dressed in sack-cloth in the 'naughty chair'.

Too much should not be read into a single map, however, and Oliver's strictures (2010) concerning the necessity of understanding the purpose behind the production of the map must be borne in mind. It is possible that the underlying concern behind the production of the map may have been access to peat resources though, it must be said, this seems to have become a less important issue than it had been a hundred years previously.

As well as mapping the surviving hollow-ways and tracks, the resources themselves should also be plotted. This would result in a better understanding of how the hill was being used and at what periods. It has already been noted that Premnay took millstones from the hill and it is perfectly reasonable that the other settlements around the hill did likewise. Were these resources then traded on into the wider region? Analysis from surviving millstones might be able to provide their provenence.

An interesting 12th century 'Act' of Earl David granted to David de Audri the whole Davoch of Resthivet, with common pasture on both sides of the River Urie as far as their beasts could reach by day and return at nightfall, by specified marches (Stringer, 1985, 223). (The further information that it was to be held for the tenth part of one knight's service seems slightly generous but does give an indication of the relative perceived value of land at the time). This limit to daily pasturing was, presumably, to stop the formalisation of a shieling system, presumably on Bennachie. The interesting placename 'Shiel Know' overlooking the Don might, however, suggest that at least parts of Bennachie had been used for that purpose at some time. Again, a study of the trackways and routeways might help to shed some light on these questions.

Finally, the sketch plan of the bounds of Braco and the Deuchries (Figure 24) suggests that a now vanished routeway of at least local importance during the 18th century might be found in the woods at Woodend of Braco. Such changes in the pattern of routeways frequently reflect wider changes in the local economy. Again, in the wider area, the estate plans demonstrate which routes have remained active, which have become redundant and which are recent innovations.

Discussion

The sum of the evidence for the area as a whole is far more capable of producing a coherent dialogue than are the constituent parts in isolation. The data discussed can function across a range of spatial scales, from the international to the local, and all interact. The evidence can be paralleled and contrasted with other regions to demonstrate the role of the North-east within its wider European context. However, that same data can also serve to demonstrate the distinctive qualities of the North-east. These qualities mark it out as a distinctive biocultural zone within the present nation state.

Many themes have already become apparent through the course of this brief introductory and exploratory foray. I would like to recap some of these and to briefly speculate on carrying this process of discovery and discussion further.

The estate plans have suggested a number of types of site which might well supply answers concerning the development of different aspects of ecology and society through time. The recognition of core agricultural areas, discernible from certain estate plans, hold out the possibility of learning about land-use, settlement and building developments through time. Much can be achieved towards these goals by simple data gathering strategies, such as fieldwalking and shovel-pitting. Recent work carried out by Gareth Davies, though looking at earlier mediaeval rural centres in Norfolk, has demonstrated the potential for such an approach (Davies, 2010, 89-122) and Carenza Lewis' work, again in the east midlands and carried out by local school children (2007), has shown its potential for analysing mediaeval settlement formation. Unpublished work by the Stathbogie Archaeology Group at Dunbennan has demonstrated that 13th/14th century settlement sites are recognisable by such studies in the North-east and, furthermore, that clues about domestic architecture can be suggested by the discovery of fragments of daub. This fieldwork in Strathbogie suggests that, for the 13th and 14th centuries, shovel-pitting is probably a safer bet than field-walking though, for the earlier prehistoric periods, the reverse may well be true. Important theoretical work could also be achieved here by carrying out controlled experiments utilising both methods and assessing the findings. Geophysical analysis would also be a bonus, if available.

Similar methods could be applied to the probable manor site of Knockinglews and the postulated *annat* complex at Christskirk/Rathmuriel. There is also the possible *Celi De* church at Abersnithek (the name, presumably, deriving from Egilsmenytok via some sort of version such as 'Abbotsmenytok' - the conventional 'aber' prefix being totally inappropriate to the site). The ecclesiastical possibilities continue with the Bishops palace at Rayne and other ecclesiastical centres at Terpersie and Knokespok - the bishop's hill. Further work could be carried out in the environs of Fetternear to complement the intensive excavation work of the last few years. The reference in the Bishops' rental to a significant number of 'crofts' there also suggests it as a useful site for the consideration of tenurial developments (REA, I, 365-6). The study area appears well appointed with high status sites pertaining to lay as well as ecclesiastical control. Work on these sites would also be able to test the probability that many have an even greater, if less obvious, depth of chronology. It is hard to imagine that at least some of these sites were not important lordly and ecclesiastical focii in Pictish times, if not before.

Just for starters, therefore, simple fieldwork is likely to lead to an almost unrivalled (for the north of Scotland) understanding of the development of lordly and ecclesiastical sites from late prehistory through to the early modern period and the impact of those forces upon the wider environment. Coupling this with the investigation of agricultural core areas would extend that view to encapsulate the wider community. The developments across these aspects of society might flesh out the hints of land-use and management suggested by the documentary sources discussed above and others still awaiting study.

It has been demonstrated that it is possible to start to make inroads into such thorny issues as changing social relations and the development of such terms as 'croft'. Many still remain to be challenged and there is no reason why similar progress cannot be made into the use of such terms as 'feorm', 'maill' and 'custome' in the rentals. It can now be noted, with reference to the changing use of 'croft', that these other terms will not have remained unaltered through time, nor that their use in one geographical district can be assumed to apply elsewhere. Their uses will have altered along with the environment in which they were used. In this sense it is appropriate to describe these developments as 'biocultural' rather than simply social.

An in-depth but simple study of trackways, routeways and start and finish points relating to them would shed more light upon trade and industry through time. Other evidence for trade and industry, such as walk mills,

water irrigation schemes, lime kilns, quarries and sheep cotes, can be tracked through estate plans and tested in the field through the same procedures. Ancient boundary markers and details from place- and fieldname studies can be rediscovered and added to the ever-more complete picture of former landscapes. By comprehending the varying landscapes of times gone by, it becomes ever more possible to understand how those dwelling within those landscapes perceived them and, from that, to better understand their personal perspectives on life.

All of these suggested avenues can be pursued with minimal cost and experience. They demand merely enthusiasm coupled with a certain attention to detail. Such fieldwork is essential to give context to the documentary records. They are two complementary descriptors mapping the biocultural development of the area and, together, permit a far clearer understanding. If these descriptors can then be further enhanced by environmental analysis and prospective geophysics, the rewards will be startling.

The two case studies presented here on agricultural developments describe two simple methods of viewing two different types of datasets. Both can be repeated and adapted for the slightly different information which can be gathered across the study area. The deconstructional analysis of estate plans can be carried out for any cartographic data and hypotheses suggested. They should be capable of assessment and testing by fieldwork, as discussed above. The mathematical approach to data handling is very applicable to historic records, especially those related to management accounts. They do not, however, have to stop there. After all, the landscape could be seen as one massive structured deposit and susceptible to the same statistical tools of analysis as prehistorians would conventionally apply to neolithic middens or pottery decoration. It is envisaged that further and more powerful statistical approaches will be developed to help in the assessment of this landscape.

It must be apparent with reference to this short study that there is enough detail and unanswered questions to keep a cohort of prehistorians, historians, environmental analysts, anthroplogists, statisticians and wallowers in mud (archaeological fieldworkers) happy for a hundred years. Unfortunately, as few of us have that long, the sooner we get started the better!

Conclusion and Acknowledgements

The objectives and aims set out at the beginning appear to have been met. The stated fundamental aim was to provide a start-point and framework within which a broader range of investigations aimed at understanding the biocultural development of the study area could be developed. This framework has been set and, ideally, the local community can be central to these investigations.

The objectives were stated as carrying out a study into the viability of achieving the stated aim. A consideration of the documentary and cartographic evidence along with an assessment of its survival in the field has concluded that the probability of achieving a good understanding of the biocultural development of the area is high. Furthermore, as anticipated, a wide range of potentially rich datasets have been found within the archive and in the landscape itself. These have thrown up a range of hypotheses (and suggestions for further hypothesising) which await testing in the field. Fundamental to a succesful outcome of this critical testing is the willingness of the local community to get involved and to continue the work.

I would like to express my extreme thanks to all those members of the Bailies who have already expended much energy and time on this ambitious and potentially very rewarding project. I hope that others can also be persuaded to take up the gauntlet and get muddy! Jo Vergunst very kindly read this paper and made very many insightful comments, all of which have been acted upon. I alone shoulder the responsibility for any failings and shortcomings.

Appendix I

A List of Birleymen and their Duties (GD52/312, 1663)

The Birleymen appointed, received and sworne for the parishes efter following are for the parish of Auchindore Robert Mitchell in Loggie and Johne Angus in Edinbanchry, for the parish of Kearne James Anderson in Marching and John Glasse in Barflat and James Maker in Westhills, for the parish of Clatt William Brebner in Towie and Robert Wright in Talzeach: any three of them to be sufficient quhen all the rest cannot be hade. Their power is in all matters efter followeing to wit

1. For appryrseing of bigging.

2. The deviding of all sort of ground therin grasse or corne betuixt neighbour and neighbour.

3. The decyding of any controversies betuixt neighbour and neighbour in relatione to sufficient fauld dikes corne yard dyckes and kail yard dykes pay of herds and other serwants fies accordding to the conditiones to be prowen before them.

4. The cognosceing of wrongis done by spoyleing of the ground by foot spade or flaughter spade in meddowes, haughes, burne sides or any wther arrable ground. That the same may be punished accordding to the acts of court viz. ten lib. for ewerie flaughter spade and fifteine lib. for ewerie foot spade.

5. For informeing themselves of muire burne in forbidden tyme that the same may be punished accordding to the acts of court viz. five libs. toties quoties to be payed by the contraveiners.

6. That all destroyers of wilde fowle, viz. muire fowles partridge haulk nests, plover and wilde duickes shooters of haires be tryed and punished accordding to former acts of courts conforme to the acts of parliament viz. for muire fowles and partridges nests five merks, for sparhaulkes or marlione ten merks, for plover or wilde duick fortie shilling, for shooters of haires ten pound.

7. That exact tryall may be made of all wood cutters pullers receptors or of the knowledge of any wthers guiltines by cutting the least branch from any tree because of the abuse of their former libertie, or takeing of saches, ?Etan?, broome or thornes by order, and that the contraveiners according to their guiltines in many former courts may be punished for their former guiltines by appriseing of their readist goods and gear viz. ten pounds for ewery years wnlaw; and sight the yards that the planting be haill quhich they ?receid? from robert Godsman.

8. To be readie woon all occassiones with all the goods and geare sall be presented before them for payment of the ground dewtie or any other just debts quhairupon decreits is obtained before the court.

9. They are to have for their daylie paines ewery one of them sex shilling and this is to be taken (beside the wnlawes) from the contraveiners and transgressors because they occasion the Berlaymen are troubled.

10. That all the premiss or any part of them be put in eqecution by Arthour Dalgarno Baillie, Alexander Mitchell Chamerlaine and John Laynge and Patrick Tawendale Officers, and for doeing heirof and putting the same in execution let this be sufficient warrant for them, and quhen that the Baillie cannot be present that the Chamerlaine and Officers be sufficient for executeing of the premiss in all tyme cumeing; and for the further werificatione and more impowreing of the persones abowe written I William master of Forbes heritable proprietor of the lands belonging to me in the forsaid three parishes of Auchindore Kearne and Clatt hes to the effect forsaid subscribed thir presents with my hand at Castell Forbes the fifteinth day of May JMvjc sextie three zeares

william mr of forbes

Appendix II

Of Papists in the Garioch - GD124/9/78, 1713

"There are severall priests who haunt in the presbitery of Garioch, viz. mr Wallis Innes brother to Drumgask, John Innes alias ?litle Innes, mre (blank) Graham alias Ramsay son to Sir James Strachan of Thorntoun, Mr Ross alias Seaton natural son to the late Earle of Dumformling and mr Hackett. All which now prosecuted before the Lords Commissioner of Justiciary before the northern circuit for the crymes of hearing and being present at mass upon none Compearance were declared fugitievs were Orderly Denounced Rebells and put to the horn and captions raised against them about two years ago. Notwithstanding of which they publickly frequent Fetternier which is the ordinary place of the residence of the superior of the Jesuits the principall dwelling place of the Laird of Balquhan, and within the parish of Garrioch, openly say mass, baptise children and perform other acts of their idolatrous worship in a chappell consecrate for that use - with ane altar, vestments, and all the other costly appurtenances belonging thereto. Its from Fetternier that the popish youths are recommended when they go abroad. The family of Balquhan haveing the disposall of most (if not all the Bursaries in the Scots colledges of ?Doroay & Rome) and its there they full come when they return home missionaries, and from thence are dispersed. Besides these, there are other priests who usually frequent the bounds of the said presbitery of Garrioch, likewise in the presbitery of Aberdeen, viz. ....."

Appendix III

Account of money dispersed at my Lady Huntlys desire in going to and coming from Doors with her lap in October 1713 (GD44/51/498/29)

12th	To the poor twixt Gordon Castle and Huntly	12/-
	Ditto twixt Huntly and Inch	6/-
	To ane guide twixt Inch and Westhall	6/-
13th	To the carter and horses expences at the inn that night my lady lay at Westhall	£3
	To the poor at Fetternear	6/-
	Ditto going to Doors	2/-
	To the Boatman of Dee	12/-
14th	To the poor at Doors	£1.10.0d
	To Sir Peters Groom	£3
	To the washer there	£1.10.0d
	To two poor men	4/-
	To corn and straw to the horses at ??	12/-
16th	To the Boatman of the Dee on our return	12/-
	To a guide to choose the foard of Don to Fetternear	2/-
18th	To Balquhanes Porter	£1.10.0d
	To his Groom	£3
	To Pittodries groom	6/-
	To the poor twixt that and Huntly	6/-
	To the maids at Huntly	£1.10.0d
19th	To the poor there	6/-
	mr ??? for ale and brandy my lady and servants	£1.12.0d
	To the poor there	1/- each
To seven days board wages to the groom at one shilling per day		£9.9.0d?
To seven days board wages to two footmen at 8/- to each per day		£5.8.0d?
To the footmen of ?Brinkmoney by my ladys verbal order that night they came in well to Fetternear		£1.10.0d
To four removes to my ladies Galloua at Doors		8/-
To ane new shoe and three removes to the black Gallova		11/-
To four removes to the Durham Mear		8/-
Summa		£39.5.0d

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Bennachie:		
GD33/16	1738-40	Court action concerning rights of commonty on Bennachie
GD33/65/113/1	1728-1738	Complaint concerning rights of commonty on Bennachie
RHP3940	1845	Plan of the Common of Bennachie (Bein-na-chie)
Parishes of Forbes and Kearn:		
RHP260/1&2	c.1771	Plan of that part of the lands of Forbes comprehending the parish of Kearn
RHP44705	1770	Plan of Braeside and Gartnach (Gartlay) Hill showing part to be added to the policy of Castle Forbes
RH6/2444	1577	Instrument of sasine
RHP 14753	18th c.	Terpersie and Knokespok
GD52/312	1663	List of Birlaymen and duties in Clatt, Kearn and Auchindoir
GD52/587	1710	Tolerance to cut peats on Bendhopehae
GD52/622	1718	Extract of special retour in favour of William, Lord Forbes
GD52/643	1723	Instrument of sasine
GD52/669	1736	Extract of special retour
MS 588	1552	Transcribed Rental of lands of 1552
Parishes of Tullynessle and Keig:		
GD52/282	1637	Rental, taxation and stipend of Keig
GD52/283	17th c.	Rental of Keig and Monymusk, possibly c.1616
RHP859	1771	Plan of the lands and policies of Putachie, the property of James, Lord Forbes
RHP24390	1852	Volume of plans (30) of farms, etc. on the estate of Castle Forbes, the property of Walter, Lord Forbes, with 1852 property of Walter, Lord Forbes, with the improvements and alterations since the survey of Walker & Beattie in 1828
GD52/672	1737	Disposition of lands around the Don and fishings
GD52/192	1776	Valuation of teinds
Parish of Leslie:		
RHP5199	1758	Book of 13 plans of the estate of Leslie belonging to John Leith Esq showing the extent of each farm likewise the different quality of each field
Parish of Logiedurno:		
RHP3010/6	Late 18th c.	Plan of marches between lands of Braco and Deuchries
GD124/9/78	1713	Priests and papists in Garioch
GD108/28	1600	Charter by Duncan Leslie of Petcapill
MS 3043/70	1636	Rental of lands in parish of Logiedurno
Parish of Monymusk:		
GD248/158/4	1728-1779	Rental of Monymusk, 1740
RHP41893	1786	Plan of farm of Monymusk and parts adjacent
RHP43987	Early 18th c.	Plan of the parish of Monymusk and parts of adjacent parishes
Parish of Oyne:		
RHP3010/6	Late 18th c.	Plan of marches between lands of Braco and Deuchries
GD124/1/335	1633	Instrument of sasine for lands inc. Bennechie

Parish of Premnay:		
GD124/1/401	1735-1739	Value of lands in Premnay
GD124/17/180	1726	Rental for lands in Premnay
GD124/17/183	1735/6	Rental of lands in Premney
MS 3175/2395	1742	Rentals of Licklyhead and Auchlevin, 1723, 1742 and Rental of Premnay, 1742
Parish of Rathmuriel:		
GD124/8/25	1623	"Disposition of Mr. William Forbes of Craigivar to John Leslie of of Wardes of teind sheaves and parsonage teinds of said John's lands of Rothmurhiell, in parish of Chrystiskirk, sheriff-dom of Aberdeen"
Parish of Rayne:		
RHP 30788	1764	Lands in Culsalmond
RH6/2444	1577	Overseeing of the lands of the bishops of Aberdeen in Rayne and Clatt
Parish of Inverurie:		
GD124/1/321	1627	Lands of Ardtanneis with salmon fishing on the Don
Parish of Insch:		
MS 2769/111/4 - 4/10	1770	Plans of lands belonging to the laird of Cobairdy in Insch parish
Mar and the Garioch:		
GD124/17/168	Late 16th c.	Rental of Mar and Garioch
GD124/17/175	1714	Rental for lands of Kildrummy and Mar
E646/2	1716-1721	Rental for lands of Kildrummy and Mar
GD124/17/134	1726	Rental for lands of Kildrummy and Mar
GD124/17/182	1732	Rental for lands Mar
CH2/1109/22	1644-1691	Valuations of parishes in the Garioch
GD44/51/748/5	1706	Cartulary of the lands of the Marquis of Huntly
Estate of Balquhain:		
MS 3528/1-11	1769-1869	Maps and plans of Balquhain estate
Estate of Pittodrie:		
MS 2392,	1771	Survey and rental of Pittodrie
Estate of Whitehaugh:		
MS 2308/8	1745	Baron court book of 1739-1745, including a rental of 1739

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Aberdeen University Historic Collections January, 2011

MS 588	1552	Rental of lands of Forbes estate
MS 2308/8	1739	Whitehaugh Rental of 1739 and baron court book
MS 3043/70	1636	Rental of lands in parish of Logiedurno
MS 3175/2395	1723; 1742	Rentals of Licklyhead and Auchlevin 1723 and Premnay 1742
MS 2769/111/4 - 4/10	1770	Plans of Balquhain Estate
MS 2392,	1771	survey and rental of Pittodrie
MS 3528	1769-1869	Maps and plans of Balquhain, Fetternear and Insch

NAS Historic Documents Search Room

GD33/16	1738-1740	Rights of Commonty (pasturage, fuel, fail and divot) on Bennachie
GD33/65/113/1	1728-1738	Commonty complaint
GD124/1/209	1548	Disputes over loaning and passage to Bennachie
GD248/158/4	1728-1779	Rental of Monymusk
GD124/1/208	1547	Description of certain marches of Balquhain
GD44/51/748/5	1706	Cartulary of lands of Marquess of Huntly
GD52/282	1637	Rental, taxation and stipend in Keig
GD52/283	17th c.	Rental of Keig and Monymusk
GD52/323	1728	Minutes of Monymusk Baron court
GD124/1/401	1735-1739	Values of lands in Premnay
GD124/17/180	1726	Rental of lands in Premnay
GD124/17/183	1735-1736	Rental of lands in Premnay
CH2/1109/22	1644-1691	Valuations of lands in Garioch
E646/2	1716-1721	Rentals of Mar lands
GD124/1/234	1572/1573	Retour for lands in Garioch
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GD124/17/182	1732	Rental of Mar and Garioch
GD33/16	1738-1740	Rights of Commonty (pasturage, fuel, fail and divot)
GD124/17/163	1735	Value of lands of Knockenbaird(?)
CS313/1045	1786	Sequestrated estate of Kincraigie and Keig with rents

GD44/31/1/2	1722-1727	Keig and Monymusk - land purchases
GD52/153	1628	Grassum on behalf of heritors of Keig Parish
GD52/192	1776	Valuation of teinds
GD52/195	1781	Teinds of Putachie and Pittendreich
GD52/587	1710	Tolerance to cut peats on Bendhopehae
GD108/40	1657	Pitcaple and pasture and peats on Bannachie
GD108/41	1659	Teinds in Pitcaple
GD108/28	1600	Charter by Duncan Leslie of Petcapill
GD108/48	1683	Lands in Pitcaple, Logiedurno parish
GD108/52	1694	Bond over crofts and teinds etc. in Pitcaple
GD124/8/18	1618	Tack of lands in Tulliefour, Oyne
GD345/336	1643	Shadow half of Auquhorsk in Logydurno and Oyne
GD296/28	1681	Rent of lands in Tilliefour
GD345/1043	1752-1759	Papers concerning the wood of Tilliefour
GD44/51/498/29	1713	Misc accounts
GD42/G/16	1742	Premnay - Draining Moss of Gerrack (no it's not!)
GD52/672	1737	Disposition of lands around the Don and fishings
GD124/9/78	1713	Priests and papists in Garioch
GD124/17/108	1713	Commission to be Baillie in Garioch
GD124/17/109	1713	Statement of account
GD124/17/120	1724	List of tenants and feuars
GD124/1/335	1633	Instrument of sasine for lands inc. Bennechie
TE5/23	1635	Parish of Insch
TE5/29	1630	Parishes of Logiedurno and Inverurie
GD52/312	1663	List of Birlaymen and duties in Clatt, Kearn and Auchindoir
GD124/8/25	1623	Disposition of teind sheaves and stipends in Rothmuriell
GD52/285	1740	Rental of Lordship of Forbes - not viewed as unfortunately missing since 2003
RH6/2444	1577	Overseeing of the lands of the bishops of Aberdeen in Rayne and Clatt

NAS West Search Room - Maps

RHP 3010/1-6	Late 18th c.	Plan of marches between lands of Braco and Deuchries
RHP 260/1	c1771	Plan of that part of the lands of Forbes comprehending the parish of Kearn
RHP 859	1771	Plan of the lands and policies of Putachie, the property of James, Lord Forbes
RHP 3940	1845	Plan of the Common of Bennachie (Bein-na-chie)
RHP 5199	1758	Book of 13 plans of the estate of Leslie
RHP 24390	1852	Volume of 30 plans of farms etc. on the estate of Castle Forbes
RHP 44705	1770	Plan of Braeside and Gartnach (Gartlay) Hill
RHP 44707	1832	Plan of Laigh Moor of Castle Forbes, showing proposed dykes and ditches
RHP 41954	1737-38	Sketch plan of use of ground at Haddoch
RHP 41963	1773	Sketch plan of Delab (Dalabe) Farm
RHP 41967	1792	Notebook containing field sketches made on various parts of Monymusk Estate showing water courses, etc
RHP 43987	Early 18th c.	Plan of the parish of Monymusk and parts of adjacent parishes
RHP 14697	1802	Auchline, Auchmenzie and Clatt
RHP 14753	18th c.	Terpersie and Knokespok
RHP 30788	1764	Lands in Culsalmond