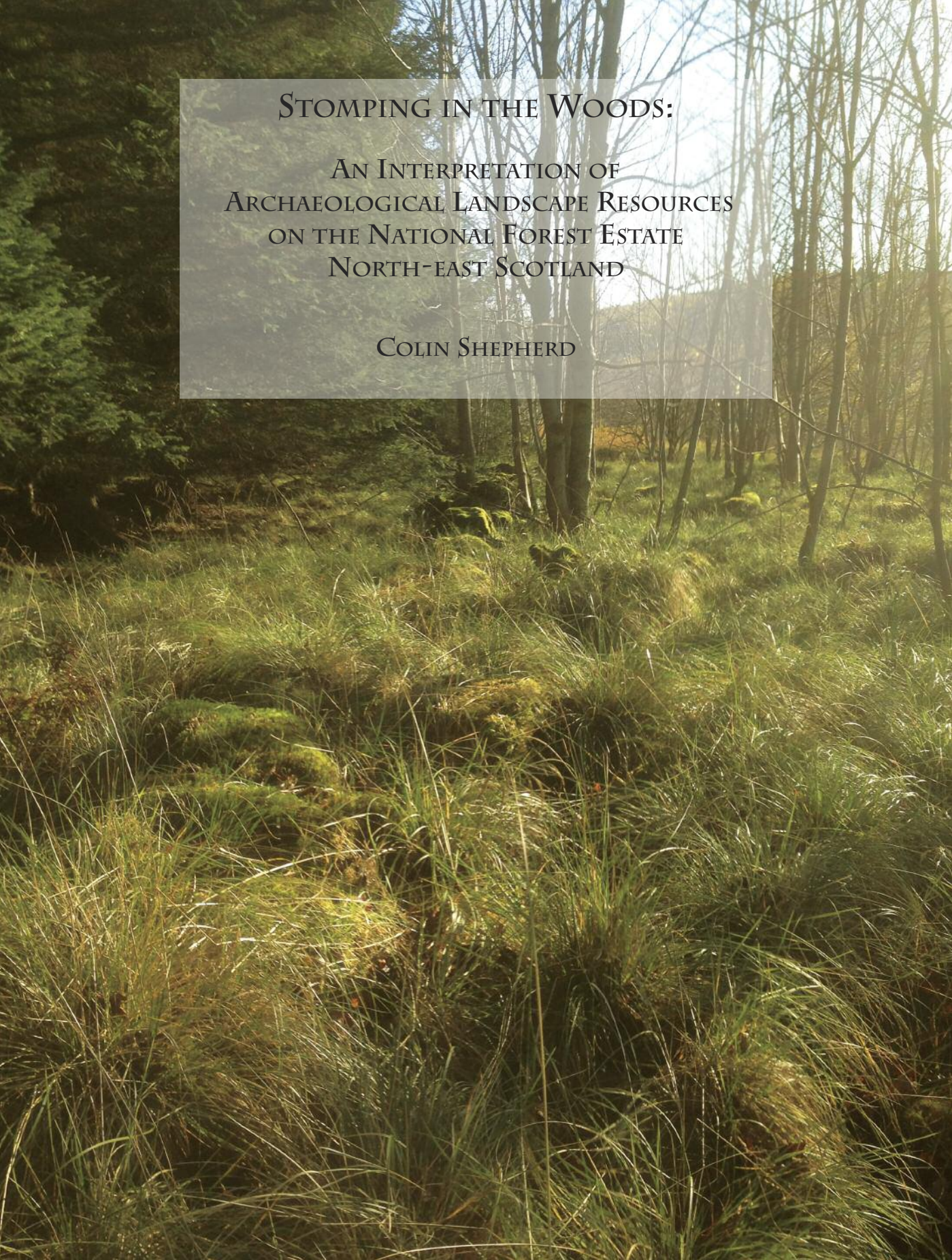

Stomping in the Woods:

An Interpretation of Archaeological Landscape Resources on the National Forest Estate North-east Scotland

Colin Shepherd

Forethought

Interpretations of archaeological landscapes change with each new site that is found. The suggestions made here will be out of date within weeks and should only be regarded - along with every other piece of archaeological writing ever written as 'interim'. Some of the suggestions will be seen to be just plain wrong. No survey is ever complete. With the ever-changing seasons and vegetational alterations across months and years, sites come and go. Some appear for a brief period before disappearing back into their ecological camouflages. Others persist for a bit longer. Those that are most ephemeral often contain the the most important evidence. Type sites that are visually stunning are often so well known that they have been frequently investigated. Possibly, less surprises lie in wait for us there. This work unashamedly considers the 'Cinderella sites' - those sites that do not receive lavish funding and information boards to bedazzle the casual visitor. These are some of the sites present on the National Forest Estate that tell of the ordinary person's labour and toil across the centuries. These are the landscapes that were so ordinary that they have been taken for granted and lost. They form the context within which castles, duns and forts sit and without which those sites could never have existed. The everyday landscape of labour and toil has always provided the sustenance and wealth upon which pomp and display drew. These archaeological landscapes are the lifeblood without which the prestige sites can have no place in a factually-based historical story of these lands.

March, 2015

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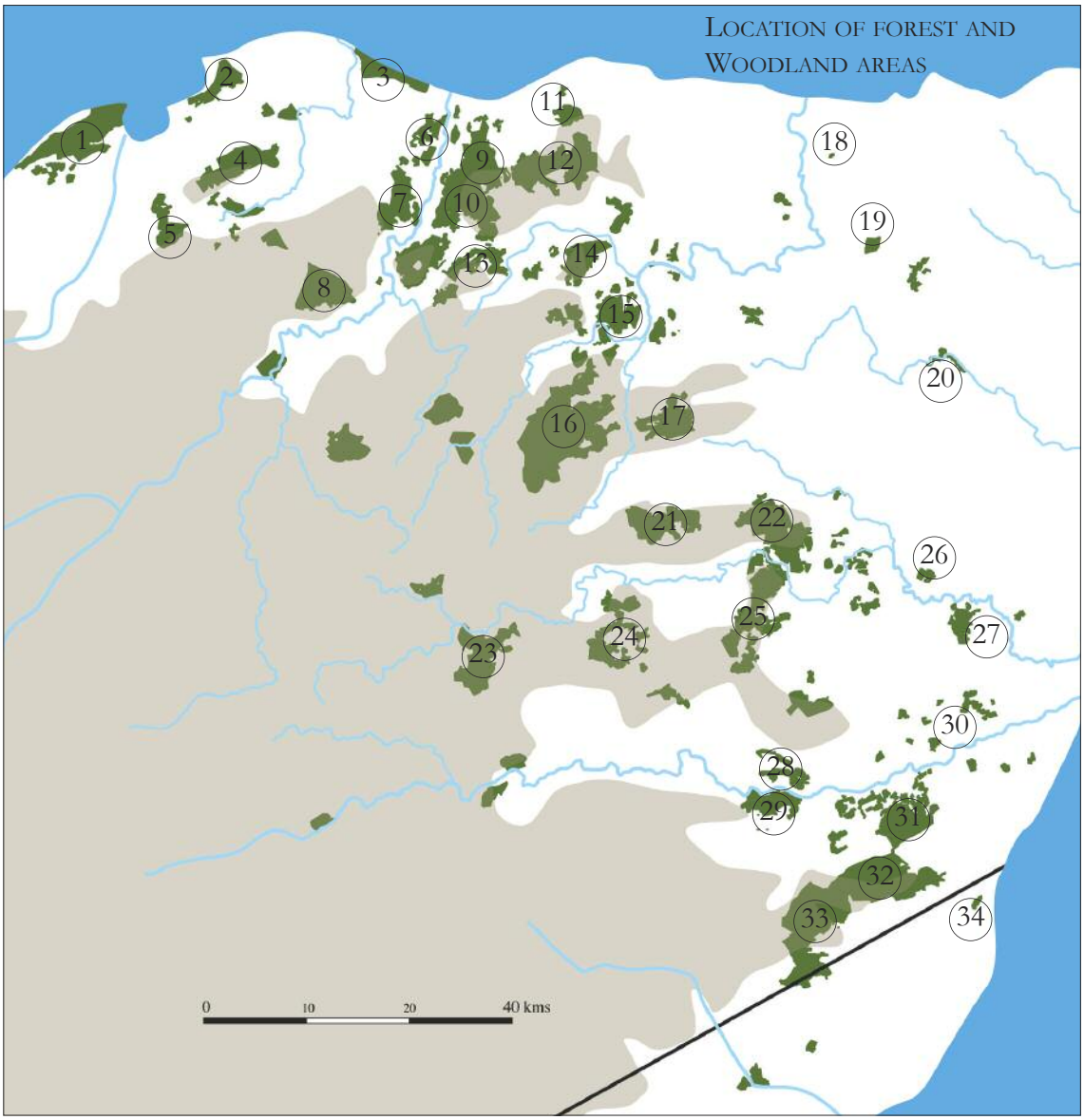

1. Culbin Sands
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An Interpretation of Archaeological Landscape Resources on the National Forest Estate North-east Scotland

Colin Shepherd

Introduction

Moray and Aberdeenshire Forest District manages approximately 59,000 hectares of woodland in the North-east of Scotland (Forestry Commission Scotland [hereafter FCS], 2013). Until recent government initiatives most of this land lay in topographical situations less suitable to the large-scale production of cereal crops. However, this does not necessarily equate with 'marginal' land. Logistics of scale in early land-use strategies meant that many areas now considered unsuitable for intensive cereal production were eminently suited for smaller-scale subsistence strategies. It has also been shown that former land-use strategies were topographically-targeted (Shepherd, 2011) and that past sophisticated pastoral systems might reverse modern conventions of 'marginality' (Oram, 2003, 56). As a consequence, although Forestry Commission land cannot be seen as representative of all land types in the North-east, it may be viewed as representative of an important range of topography in the area. It is also demonstrative of a range of topography that, until the arrival of LIDAR, remained hidden for much of the time. Work by Lennon in Savernake Forest (2012) has noted the considerably increased likelihood of earthwork survival in wooded areas compared with neighbouring farmland.

Work across the forest district since 2005 has added hundreds of hitherto unrecorded sites to the national and county archaeological databases. This work has been undertaken by the conservancy with a view to informing and aiding its land-management strategy. Protection of archaeological remains accompanies habitat protection, recreation requirements and timber production. The planning required to satisfy all competing constraints across so many hectares is 'monumental' in its own way! Archaeological survey was targeted at areas of woodland as they became due for forestry intervention - clear-felling, thinning, ground preparation or replanting. Sites were recorded and marked where appropriate against accidental damage. The records were submitted to local and national registers and added to the heritage layer of the internal Forestry Commission GIS. It has also been interesting to note how forestry activity itself has resulted in the discovery of formerly unanticipated sites and how careful forestry intervention has enabled archaeological recording.

The main thrust of the survey work over the years has been to record and safeguard, where appropriate, the archaeological resource for future generations. However, after a period of eight years it seems appropriate to pause and reflect upon an overview of these individual sites within their broader landscape contexts. It also seems appropriate to present a number of features that might be seen to be atypical of the broader perception of the archaeological legacy of the North-east. Most of the sites have been added piecemeal during the process of pre-intervention survey. Many are simply short and disarticulated sections of linear banks or drainage features. As such they have warranted little attention but, taken as a group, their importance may be seen to be more profound. This work hopes to consider their collective importance across the forest district and to present the findings for wider consideration.

Any attempt to order such a disparate range of features across such a wide topographical and chronological canvas is fraught with difficulties and any compromise is never going to be wholly convincing. Each forest block contains a palimpsest of features from a range of periods in greater or lesser states of survival. Each block is, therefore, like a jigsaw with only a few of the elements surviving. Sparse evidence from one forest can, at times, be used to replicate missing pieces from another forest block and vice versa. In this way the individual skeletal landscapes can be enhanced and, at times,

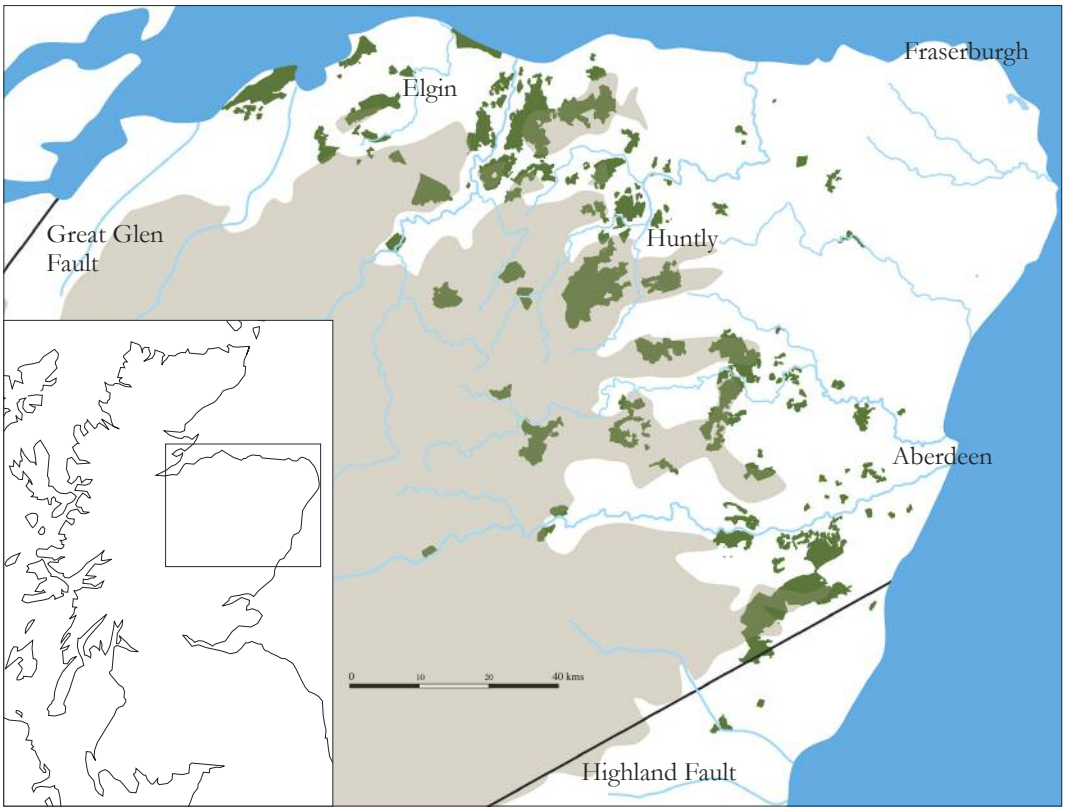

Figure 1. Location plan of study area showing forest blocks in dark green.

explanations attempted. The presentational approach attempted here is geographically wide-ranging across the study area in portraying sites of similar superficial appearance. As no dating evidence is available, other than on typological grounds, any narrow date ranges would be based upon little more than guesswork. The broad chronological groups used here will be the suitably flexible categories of: Prehistoric (anything up to c.CE500), Earlier Medieval (c.500 - c.1300), Later Medieval (c.1300 - c.1800) and Early Modern (c.1800 - c.1900). It is hoped that these bands reflect the limits of intuition regarding the evidence and that the post-prehistoric groups reflect horizons of social change in the area recognisable within the documentary sources.

The purpose of this work is to bring to wider attention the cumulative evidence for a range of archaeological features. All have been duly noted in the county HER but little analysis of their combined potential has been undertaken to date. The Conservancy also manages a considerable number of scheduled monuments that have statutory legal protection. As is common within other publicly-funded management structures concerned with the histoirc environment, a system of grading features according to their perceived importance is employed. Within this system scheduled monuments and listed buildings fall into category A and former roofed structures and other features considered likely to contain archaeological deposits are graded as B. Grade D accounts for findspots and historically-attested sites no longer extant whilst the focus of this work falls into category C. These are considered potentially expendable, though the present management philosophy in the North-east is to try to protect whenever possible. Linear features are relatively straight forward to work around and, where they form field systems, the approach is to try to manage these areas of former husbandry in the same fashion, i.e. to enter and exit from single access points and gather the tree harvest from within the enclosures as in the case of

former crops (though with considerably larger 'scythes'!). The survival of cairnfields and areas of rig and furrow are, however, considered impossible to safeguard except in rare circumstances where machinery is not used. Presently, these areas may include recreational zones being planted with a non-industrial broad-leaved crop.

The following work will mainly consider the evidential potential for some of the category C features. What will be suggested is that the weight of evidence for a range of features that might not normally be accorded much consideration does, in reality, provide important insights concerning land-use across the area from prehistoric to early modern periods. As noted above, these seemingly mundane categories include linear and drainage features, cairnfields and the fragmentary survivals of former field systems. It should be noted that environmental evidence relating to biocultural development will frequently be sealed beneath many of these upstanding remains. With regard to understanding the ecological developmental processes of a topographical zone, these may, at times, be more instructive than the curatorially-preferred scheduled monuments. This work will try to use the field evidence to highlight some of these landscapes surviving within the National Forest Estate of North-east Scotland.

Additionally, a few 'anomalous' cases are also appended that are symptomatic of archaeological survivals that frequently remain hidden and unrecognised. Some are only revealed in the course of their destruction owing to their former invisibility, lack of 'above-ground' evidence or ignorance concerning types of monument not conforming to expected norms. I hope to demonstrate that this corpus of material is worthy of greater consideration than it sometimes appears to warrant owing to its unspectacular and seemingly mundane nature.

Geology, Topography and Climate

The area is largely confined between two major geological fault-lines: the Great Glen Fault running between Fort William and Inverness and the Highland Boundary Fault running between Bute and Stonehaven. Some pieces of woodland covered by the Conservancy extend south of the latter. Simplistically this gives an area of Precambrian (Dalradian) rocks with extensive Cambrian to Devonian intrusions, especially important for the area being the Gabbroic metamorphic rocks. The reality is a far more complicated picture that includes sedimentary rocks, bands of limestone and localised metamorphic sills and dykes. The drift geology can, consequently, vary dramatically from deep, rich brown forest soils to bare rocky outcrops. These changes may occur over no more than a few metres and can affect the creation of archaeological features accordingly. Recent excavation at Druminnor Castle underlines this point. A micro-analysis of the underlying geology has been essential in order to try to comprehend the overlying archaeology (Shepherd *et al*, forthcoming). The major rivers provide floodplains rich in alluvial silts and other pockets of deep, well-drained soils can occur in areas that might generally be seen to be 'marginal' with respect to crop cultivation. In other words, the applicability of soils to settlement and ecology is very fragmented. Altitude, aspect and exposure can be as important, if not more so, than underlying geology with evidence for artificial enhancement of soil from early periods, as at Garbet in the Clashindarroch Forest (Shepherd, 2012). Even with this caveat and as noted above, the underlying geology itself may be seen as fragmented and localised, accentuating the view of an extremely heterogeneous mix of ecological, agricultural and settlement potential. Owing to this highly localised picture of the soils within the area, it seems apposite to include additional references to them at appropriate points in the text rather than try to cover the variety at this point. All references to soil types and map units derive from the Macaulay Institute 1:250,000 Soil Survey of Scotland, 1984.

Topographically the area falls from the uplands of the Cairngorm and Grampian mountains down to the gently undulating plains of the North-east coastal lands. As with the geology, the topography can be very localised with pockets of fertile and sheltered farmland nestling in amongst the uplands in the west. Conversely, zones of upland environment stick out like fingers from the west into the North-

east plain. The climate is also clearly highly dependant upon this localised topography as well as more broadly-based climatic pressures. For instance, the Moray coast enjoys a remarkably warm climate owing to the effects of the Gulf Stream funneling up through the Great Glen. The east coast from Faserburgh to Aberdeen, on the other hand, is predictably colder than the east coast above the Moray Firth, further to the north. Again, further topographic and climatic descriptions will be left until required in the text.

Note on Site Referencing and Layout

Site references are presented as national grid references rather than by reference to national NMR (CANMORE) or regional HER (Aberdeenshire and Moray Council) references. The FCS Moray and Aberdeenshire Conservancy has its own 'in-house' database of sites but, to use those references would only serve to complicate matters. Consequently, recourse to the Ordnance Survey national grid is deemed preferable and more accessible. Generally, the national database includes less sites than county databases and the Aberdeenshire and Moray council HER contains less sites than the Conservancy database. The reason is simply that the Conservancy wishes to include all detail that might relate to issues of landscape management and conservation in its widest remit. Archaeologically-relevant sites, like small peat mosses, can also be useful for purposes of wildlife conservation within the Conservancy whilst such aspects of the cultural heritage fall outwith the remit of the aims of national and county SMRs and HERs. 8-figure national grid references are used to indicate locations for the sites mentioned.

It has been decided to break the features down into a series of related themes: 'Linear Earthworks and Dykes'; 'Cairnfields and Field Systems'; 'Trackways and Hollow-ways'; and 'Anomalous Features'. Thereafter follows a short discussion and an overview of 'Forestry Management: Past and Present'. These major headings are further subdivided into specific woodland blocks for descriptive convenience.

Linear Earthworks and Dykes; Lades, Drains and Irrigation Works

These linear features provide a skeleton for the archaeological landscape. As elements of field systems their importance to unitary landscapes is obvious. As disparate and apparently disjointed remains they are frequently overlooked. A range of such remains are considered here as repetitive features occurring across the North-east forestscape. The groups of linear banks and dykes are considered alongside drainage and irrigation works as they frequently overlap spatially and with regard to practical applications and they often appear to alter morphologically from one to the other through time.

Individual lades, drains and irrigation works may be said to 'swap' identities through time. Modern forestry plans show 'drains' that can be seen, by reference to cartographic evidence, to have had former existences as irrigation works and mill lades before being utilised by modern forestry managers as simple drainage features. Anthropologically, it is also interesting to note that younger forestry workers accustomed to 'discovering' the landscape by means of maps on computer terminals have difficulty in 'seeing through' the labels given thereon. Once described as a 'drain', that is how it is perceived and not inconsiderable scepticism is met by an explanation that suggests it to have been anything other than 'a drain'. Furthermore, as the drain is a function of forestry activity it is frequently assumed that it was created by forestry workers. Older forestry workers have 'discovered' their forests 'on the ground'. Those involved more directly with the topographical management of the landscape view labels on a map with their own blend of scepticism and only accept that label if it makes sense topographically. An interesting example of these mindsets concerned a former lade in Fetteresso Forest (NO 7779 8829 - NO 7818 8841). Younger forestry workers viewed this readily visible section as a FCS

drain dug in the 1950s. An older worker new its far longer back history and argued that it made no sense as a drain. It is shown on the 2nd Ed OS maps of 1901 and 1923 feeding a dam on the farm of Tillybreak. In other words, landscape perception is frequently 'overwritten' with reference to present circumstances and technologies and may falsify historical realities.

'Head Drains':

One class of drain frequently encountered is what might be described as a 'head drain'. These are frequently relict features of pre-modern landscape usage marginalised by subsequent developments. They were dug above the cultivated land with the purpose of catching the hillwash and channelling it around the outside or between the cultivated fields. At Esson's Croft on Bennachie (NJ 6931 2198) the same process was used in the 19th century as 'squatters' brought new land into cultivation and, in this instance, the drain was edged with stone. The drain appears to conform to the general division between the humic gleys (map unit 116) and the less tractable peaty podzols and gleys above (map unit 117). Its 'agriculturally-comfortable' siting at around the 190 metre contour on a south-east facing slope will have helped its survival through to modern times. This 'updating' of earlier technologies into the 19th century is well-attested in the North-east and blunts the defining edges of the supposed 'technological revolution' of the 'improvements'. Tarlow's view (Tarlow, 2007) of a thorough-going 'overhaul' of 'improvement' perhaps overstates the case, at least for the North-east of Scotland.

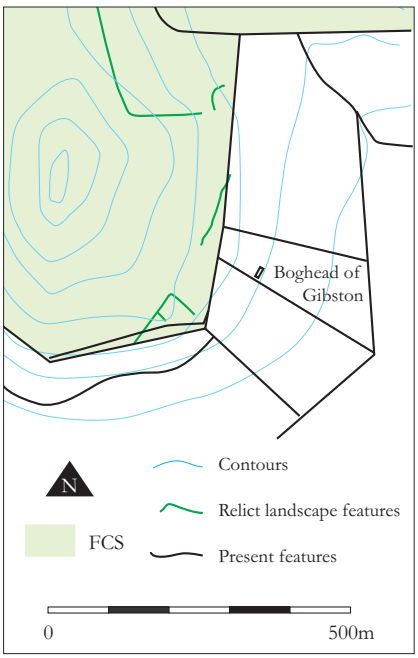

Figure 2. Boghead of Gibston with 'head drain' lying to the west.

These 'head drains' also merge with the perhaps better attested 'Head dykes' of upland settlement across Scotland. But, again, a more nuanced approach is required to avoid lumping all apparently-similar features into a 'one-size-fits-all' approach. Similar-looking features may or may-not share all or some of their attributes or purposes. 'Head dykes' in upland, infield/outfield strategies were generally constructed as a means whereby the community's grazing animals might be excluded from the infield land during the growing season. This did not preclude the possibility of doubling-up such a dyke with a drain in order to improve the growing conditions of the fields below the dyke. On the other hand, the appearance of such a drain with or without associated dyke does not necessitate the presumption that an upland management regime was in existence at that settlement. Many of the drains surviving in FCS lands above the present field line are associated with individual farmsteads and smaller field systems than the large communal head dykes surrounding entire 'tounships' (North-east usage of 'township') exemplified so well in the RCAHMS survey of North-east Perthshire (1990).

Examples, such as that in the Bin Forest behind Boghead of Gibston (NJ 5119 4168 - NJ 5123 4179; Figure 2), 'zig-zag' their way through stone boulders in order to keep water off of the fields below. Here the division appears to be through areas of greater and lesser stone with the soil type being fairly consistent above and below the drain as illustrated by the soil maps: noncalcareous gleys, peaty gleys; some brown forest soils with gleying, all pertaining to the Insch series and derived from gabbroic parent materials. However, very localised variation does occur and the soils below the drain line, although sharing characteristics with the soils above, have far greater depth and provide some of the best growing land in Strathbogie. Gibston was the most highly valued of the farms in terms of rental income during the

1600s (GD44/51/747/1) producing large quantities of meal. This may be seen as a demonstration of how soil surveys must be used cautiously and with regard to pre-modern technologies. Perhaps of equal concern was a relatively low altitude (less than 175m above O.D.), a south-east prospect fairly sheltered from the north and west by the Bin and Boddum Hill and the proximity to the market centre of Huntly (formerly Strathbogie). Slightly lower yield on the upper slopes might have been offset by ease of transportation of the crop.

Where the geology is less boulder-strewn, as on the brown forest soils of the Strichen Series at Jenny's Bog, Burn of Day in Fetteresso Forest (NO 8111 8710 - NO 8117 8701), drains could be dug along more regular lines surrounding the fields below. The examples of Burn of Day and Boghead of Gibston appear to be associated with farmsteads or 'outsets', extending the farmed landscape beyond the traditional limit of the township. Though the ultimate field systems related to these farmsteads can be seen on the 1st Ed OS maps to have been the formal, rectilineal systems of early modern farms, the drainage features suggest an earlier period of initial creation prior to that later consolidation and structuralisation of the field plan. The fields of Boghead are still in use as good arable land on the edge of the Bin Forest whilst Burn of Day is a deserted ruin in the middle of Fetteresso Forest. Issues of access may have played a part in the differential pattern of survival and this will be returned to below. On the other hand, although the altitudes of both sites is almost identical, Burn of Day lies on a west facing hillside and, whilst nestling in a cosy valley, it may well have been more limited in its potential for agricultural output.

Sadly, although an estate plan survives for Gibston (RHP 2286), it is of an unusually poor quality compared with most carried out on the Huntly lands in the 1770s. (It was one of the first commissioned and repeat trade was, fortunately, not an outcome! Subsequent surveyors included Thomas Milne, a vital force behind many of the the most accurate plans surveyed in Britain at the end of the 18th century, including Faden's celebrated map of Norfolk [Macnair and Williamson, 2010, 61]). Two curving banks with drains behind also found on the edge of the Bin Forest (NJ 5193 4244) appear to represent more typical 'Head dykes' demarcating the infield land of Robistoun. Interestingly, these features occur west of a burn on land that subsequently became annexed to Gibston and suggests an earlier period of fermtoun boundaries during which the burn was not the defining feature. Similar pre-modern drainage features without obvious accompanying banks can also be found. An example from Loanhead at Kingshill (NJ 8699 0465 - NJ 8680 0464) was replaced by an early modern straight drain. This has resulted in a small patch of rig and furrow being left high and dry between the former and newer drains in the corner of the wood. Here, again, the driving force behind the intaking of land appears to have been a compromise between cost of stone clearance compared with value of output. This east-facing, gently rising ground was utilised up the slope to the point where potential returns were outweighed by excess of clearance effort.

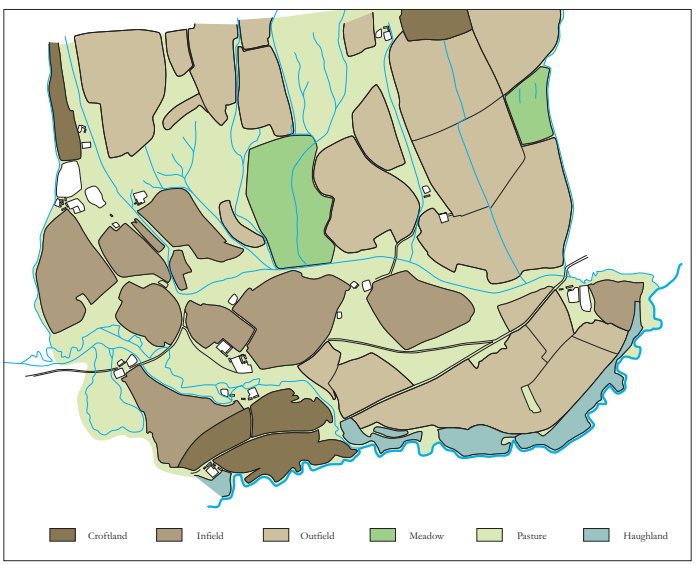

Figure 3. The drainage pattern and land-use around the fields of Milntown of Noth.

Features such as these demonstrate pre-modern drainage techniques in the area and suggest reasoned limits to the enclosure of land. Small fields could be kept well-drained with minimal maintenance once the original drains had been dug but, sometimes, that initial clearance effort on thin soils was deemed unworthwhile. Estate plans across the area suggest that most agricultural land was drained in this fashion with the fields organised according to natural drainage patterns linked by 'head drains' running above the agricultural plots (see, for example, Figure 3). Most examples have clearly been removed by subsequent farm management techniques and their survival along the margins of FCS woodlands suggests a frequent correlation between pre-modern field extent and subsequent early-modern planning. This in turn relates back to the rationalisation of land quality combined with issues of market accessibility which itself might alter through time.

Plantation Boundaries and Elite Landscapes:

Similar but functionally-distinct features frequently surround plantation boundaries. These clearly relate to higher status landscape planning and are interesting for supplying a chronological 'back-story' for the present forestry regimes. Morphologically there are a range of types from the area and variation may be resultant upon chronology, fashion and function. Cartographic and documentary evidence frequently helps in the dating of some of these features.

Well and truly near the top of the social pile would have been the Dukes of Gordon and, prior to that title, the Earls and Marquisses of Huntly. The 'Bogs of Gight' on the Spey outside Fochabers appears to have been the residence of the eldest son of the House of Gordon before becoming the family's main residence in preference to Huntly Castle in Strathbogie during the course of the 17th century. Many of the former policies of the subsequently styled 'Gordon Castle' now form part of the National Forest Estate managed by FCS. During the 19th century the extent of the landscape planning appears to have been drawn in closer to the immediate surroundings of the Castle. As a consequence, many earlier features recorded on 18th century plans were, in effect, abandoned and survive as relict features. A plan of 1764 (RHP 2312) supplies a date at which these features were in existence but not their date of construction. Further linear features extending into the still wider landscape are not shown on these 18th century plans and may well have formed part of an earlier and more extensive 'elite' landscape dating from the period of the Gordons' height of political power and wealth during the 16th century.

Cartographic evidence notes a 'hare warren' and 'deer park' within the immediate castle policies (RHP 2382) along with other 'compartments' typical of a 17th century designed landscape (Williamson, 2000, 52) that survived here into the 18th century. By the 19th century the deer park name seems to have been applied to a relatively restricted area within site of the Castle. However, earthworks suggest that the late Medieval hunting environment may have been far more extensive. But, before considering the evidence for Gordon Castle the former residence of Huntly Castle might be considered along with a consideration of the term 'park'. In modern Scots agricultural usage 'park' commonly refers to enclosed fields frequently used for grazing. That this usage was locally common in the mid 18th century can be seen from estate plans such as one for Huntly Lodge (RHP 2277, 1759) which includes enclosures called Hill Park, Stonie Park, Haugh Park and Cowie Park. Amongst the other estate plans of the fermtouns on the Duke of Gordon's lands the term is met with only infrequently. When it does occur it is most frequently with reference to other areas of enclosed grazing: 'Grass Park' on RHP 2300 at Broadland or 'Park', a recently enclosed rectilineal enclosure at Mortlach, on RHP 2306 for Whitehill. Former terms being replaced by this term appear to include 'ward' and 'folding grounds'. It would seem notable that within the series of maps covering Strathbogie, the only concentration of the term in the mid to late 18th century is in association with new enclosures surrounding a new elite residence. As will be seen below, this is also the case at Gordon Castle where the term is also commonly employed at this time. It might be suggested that the modern agricultural usage of the term 'park' in the North-east stems from this early-modern period of enclosure. The only 'park' noted in the rentals for the Lordship of Huntly in 1600 and 1610 refers to the Park of Kinnoir.

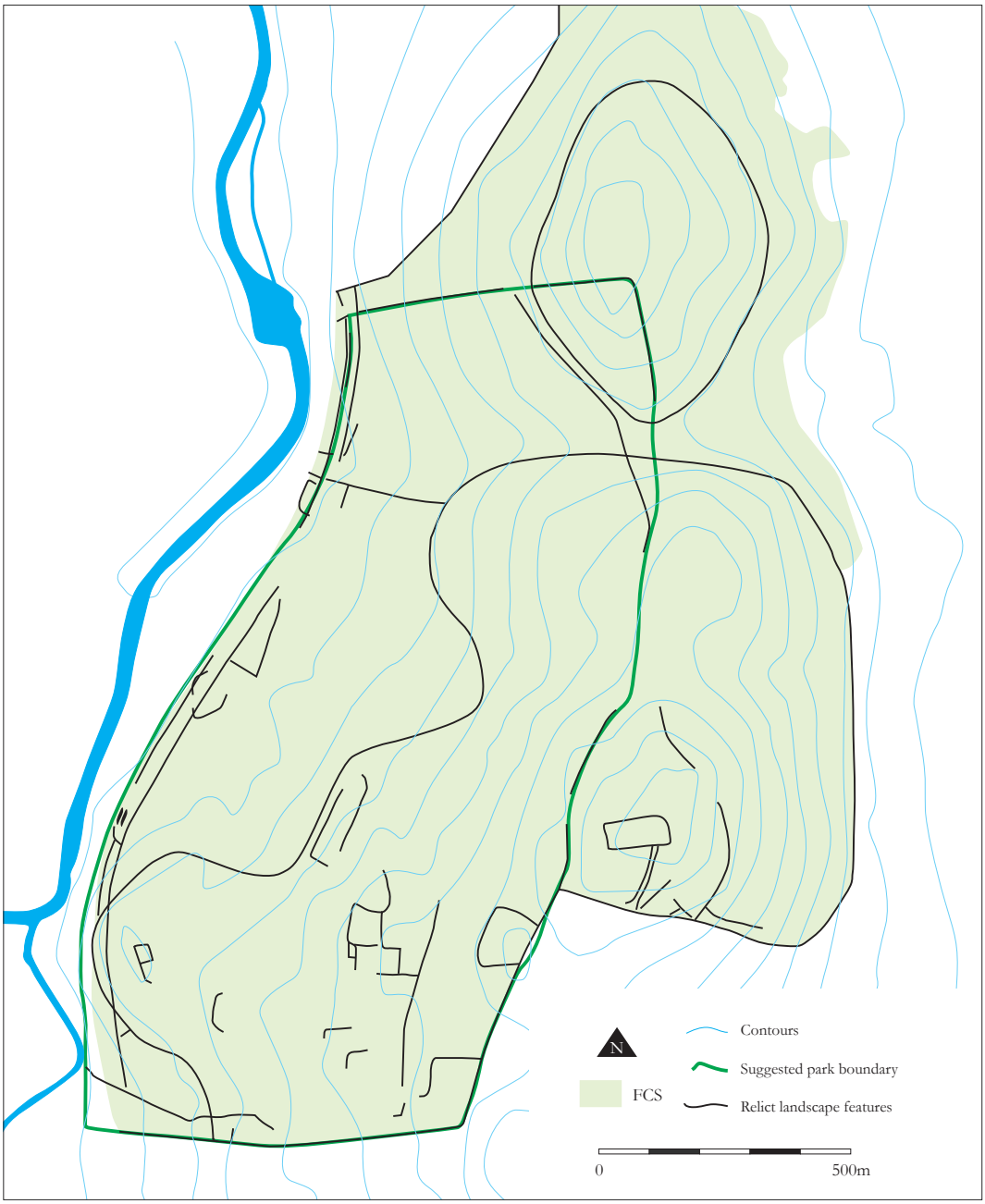

Figure 4. Kinnoir Woods showing relict features and suggested park boundary. Huntly Castle lies approximately 750m south-west of the meeting of the rivers Deveron and Bogie.

Kinnoir Wood

Kinnoir Wood contains an area that is reputedly a deer park associated with Huntly Castle sitting on the east side of the River Deveron. That this had fallen out of use by 1600 appears to be verified by the rental records that note its inclusion under the parish of Dunbennan (GD44/51/747/1).

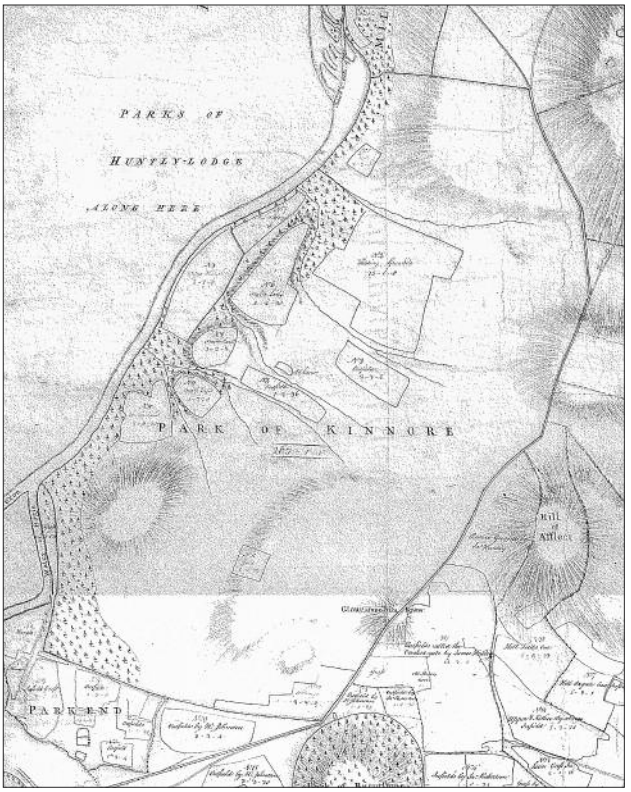

Figure 5. Kinnoir Park as shown on an 18th century estate plan RHP 2278.

In the 1610 rental (GD44/51/747/2) there is a further entry headed 'Meadows of the Park'. The fact that the Park is listed under Dunbennan parish (the parish in which the town of Huntly sat) is noteworthy as the rest of that parish sits on the west side of the Bogie and Deveron waters which meet at the invers of Huntly, bordering the Park. A croft noted as 'Over Park' in the 1600 and subsequent rentals forms a part of Kinnoir parish, as do all the other landholdings east of the waters. It may be that the name association, at the south-western extremity of the park, is related to that unit formerly being held by a park keeper. It still stands on the main service entrance to the area and would have been the obvious entrance from Huntly Castle. 13th century ecclesiastical records for Morayshire record the parishes of Dunbennan and Kinnoir and, later on (c.1400), they occur united as prebends of a single canon (REM, 1837, 365). The discontinuity of the deer park at Huntly may be coincidental to the development of a more extensive one at Gordon Castle by Fochabers.

Royal forests in the North-east had been geographically very extensive (Gilbert, 1979). That the Earls of Huntly - a martial family who rose to dominate the whole of northern Scotland - should not have extensive hunting grounds available for use seems inconceivable. FCS lands in the area contain the lands of 'New Forest' and 'Old Forest' and it is interesting to note the reference to the 'forestam de Caubrach' in 1508 and the nearby 'Elrig' (Paul, 1984, 3276, 699). These would have formed suitably distant hunting grounds for the Earls of Strathbogie and the later Dukes of Gordon.

After the abandonment of Huntly Castle during the course of the 17th century and the family's decampment to Fochabers, The Gordons appear to have wasted little time in adding an "ample four part enclosure, for the use of deer" (as well as hare and rabbit warrens) to their new home as recorded in a description made by Robert Gordon in 1662 (Blaeu Atlas). It is also hardly credible that they will have had no similar former features at Huntly. An estate plan of 1778 (RHP 2288) depicts a Clashmach Park overlooking Huntly from the opposite side to Kinnoir Wood. This shows a curvilinear enclosure with a less than simple entrance, presumably for stock control (now also on newly-acquired FCS land). The park at Kinnoir is likely to have formed a further, similar element in this lordly landscape.

The landscape evidence for the park takes a number of forms. Figure 4 shows the elements recognisable as upstanding features in the forest. Many are recognisable from two 18th century estate plans (RHP 2278 [c.1782] and RHP 2279 [early 18th c]) and may be related to the leased farmland noted in the rentals. Figure 5 is a copy of part of RHP 2278. Of particular interest is the linear feature in the north-east part of the wood leading up to the Mungo Hill. This survives as a very broad bank approximately 4m wide which is not depicted on the 1st or 2nd edition OS maps. On the estate plan its

line is reflected by a road leading to the Corse of Kinnoir. The earthwork bank does, however, articulate with other sections of linear boundary enclosing the area referred to as Kinnoir Park on the estate plan by turning west from the road and linking with a still-extant and substantial east-west boundary surviving as a drystane dyke atop a substantial bank. A short length of massive bank up to 6m wide appears to run south from the north-west corner. This area is bounded on the north, east and south and by the River Deveron on the west. It is now cut by the present railway line from Aberdeen to Inverness and the land between the railway and the river at this point is fertile haugh land - ideal for hay meadow. This is depicted on the estate plan. The area known from the 19th century as Deerpark Wood on the 1st edition map lies north of Huntly Lodge, the former Dowager's house and now the Castle Hotel. This land contained the highly-valued fermtoun of Sandistoun until the middle of the 18th century and was clearly never a deer park prior to that. On an 18th century plan by Thomas Milne (RHP 2276) this land is referred to as Hill Park and some fields just west of the Deveron known as the Old Deer Park. On an earlier plan of 1759 (RHP 2277), seemingly made during or for the purposes of laying-out the Dowager's new home, the land was also known as Hill Park but Milne's Old Deer Park was simply referred to as Long Haugh Park. The name Deer Park would seem to be nothing more than a back-construction derived from the original function of Kinnoir Park just across the river from Milne's Old Deer Park and may demonstrate family or local memory. (The 1st edition's 'Crow Wood' north of Deerpark Wood appears to have originated as Cowie's Park in 1759, followed by Cow's Park in 1770 before morphing into Crow Wood by 1870).

An interesting salient at the south-west corner of the proposed park is shown on the 1st edition map as the line of the civil boundary at that time. No property boundary is shown though it may be noteworthy that the corner of the salient is marked by an individual tree shown in a solitary position in the middle of the field. This may well have been the former parish boundary between Kinnoir and Dunbennan dividing the croft of Over Park from the lands of the Park. Its line is followed by a linear boundary depicted on the 18th century plans.

With the exception of the broad linear earthwork to the north-east the area proposed as the former park is defined by linear features shown on the 18th century estate plans. Overlying these are curvilinear plantation boundaries shown on the 1st edition OS map and, presumably, constructed sometime between the suggested date of the estate plans in the early 1780s and the survey for the 1st edition carried out in 1871. An interesting collection of strips of agricultural land occur in the south-east corner of the park and appear to be related to others lying outwith the park. It may be that these agricultural lands were split by the creation of the park. Geologically the park defines an area of Gabbroic parent rock related to that underlying the Bin Forest on the west side of the Deveron. The east boundary of the park lies a few metres west of the watershed between the Deveron and the Knightland Burn. Although the ridge tops comprise thin soil and outcrops, the western slopes contain areas of good soils and, though its west-facing aspect might not have made it ideal for arable land, it would have provided good pasture. This is clearly evident in the subsequent income derived from its lease as pasture as demonstrated by the rentals.

Returning to Gordon Castle at Fochabers, the plantation boundary features clearly predate the latest Kinnoir Park ones as they are shown on the 18th century estate plans for the area. By the time of the OS survey of 1870 the entire area was planted and the small plantation features noted on Figures 6 and 7 were no longer of consequence to the landscaping. The earlier extensive elite landscape had been reduced to a more economically-viable scale suitable to the family fortunes of the times. Moreover, the importance of that landscape was now reckoned in its worth primarily as a source of monetary revenue rather than as a recreational resource and symbol of prestige.

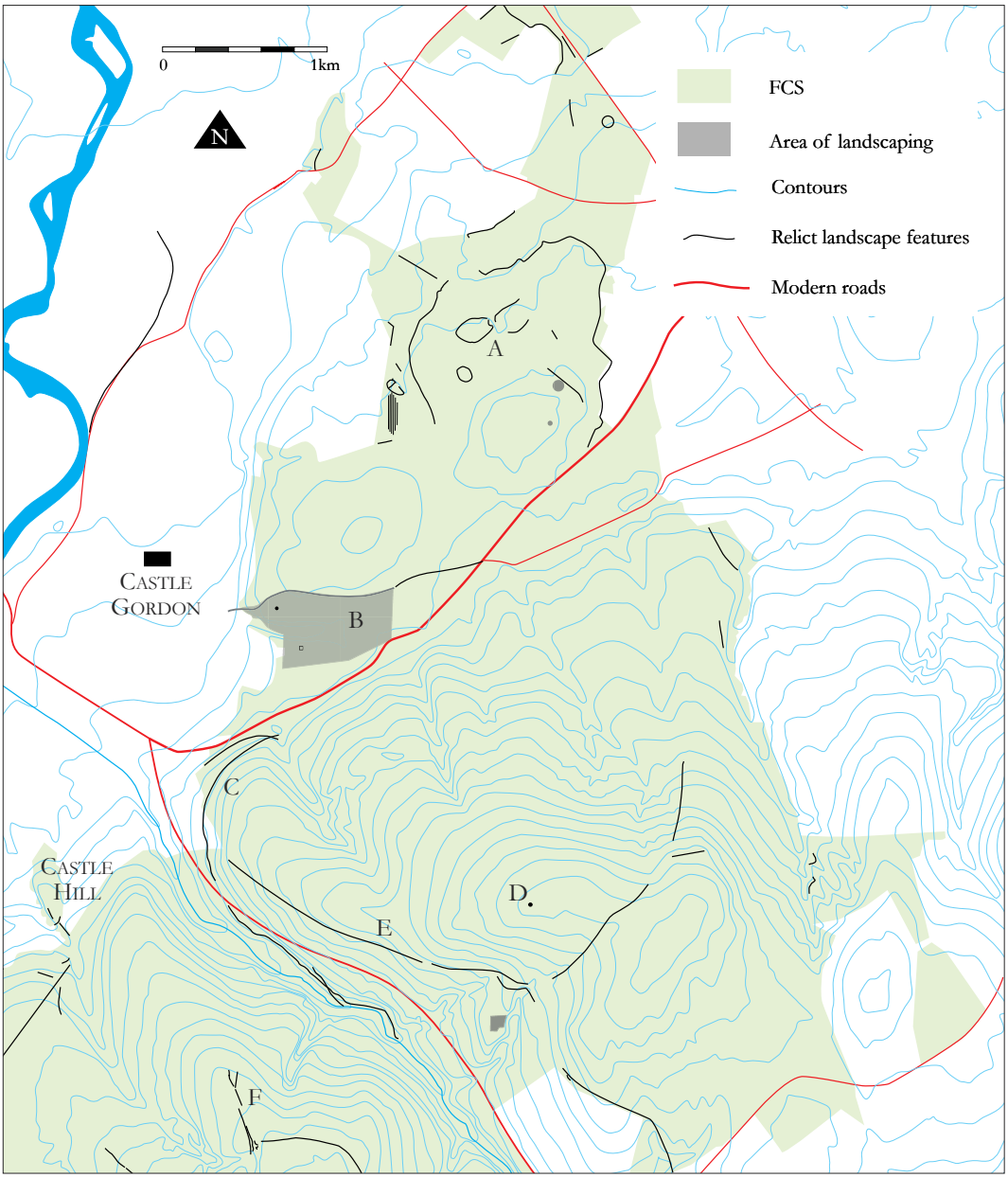

Figure 6. Deer Park Wood, Whiteash Forest and part of Ordiequish Forest showing relict landscape features.

Deer Park, Whiteash Forest and Ordiquish Forest

The present forests of Whiteash and Ordiquish stand on hills north and south of the Burn of Fochabers which rise steeply from the flood plain of the Spey lying to their north-west. The dip-slope to the south and south-east is far more gentle though gashed by deep and steep 'strypes' - river-worn gulleys. These are of great relevance to the following discussion. The geology of both forests are derived from Middle Old Red Sandstone and conglomerates. Both consist of some humus-iron and peaty podzols with some gleys occurring within Whiteash Forest, north of the burn. They contain dry Atlantic heather

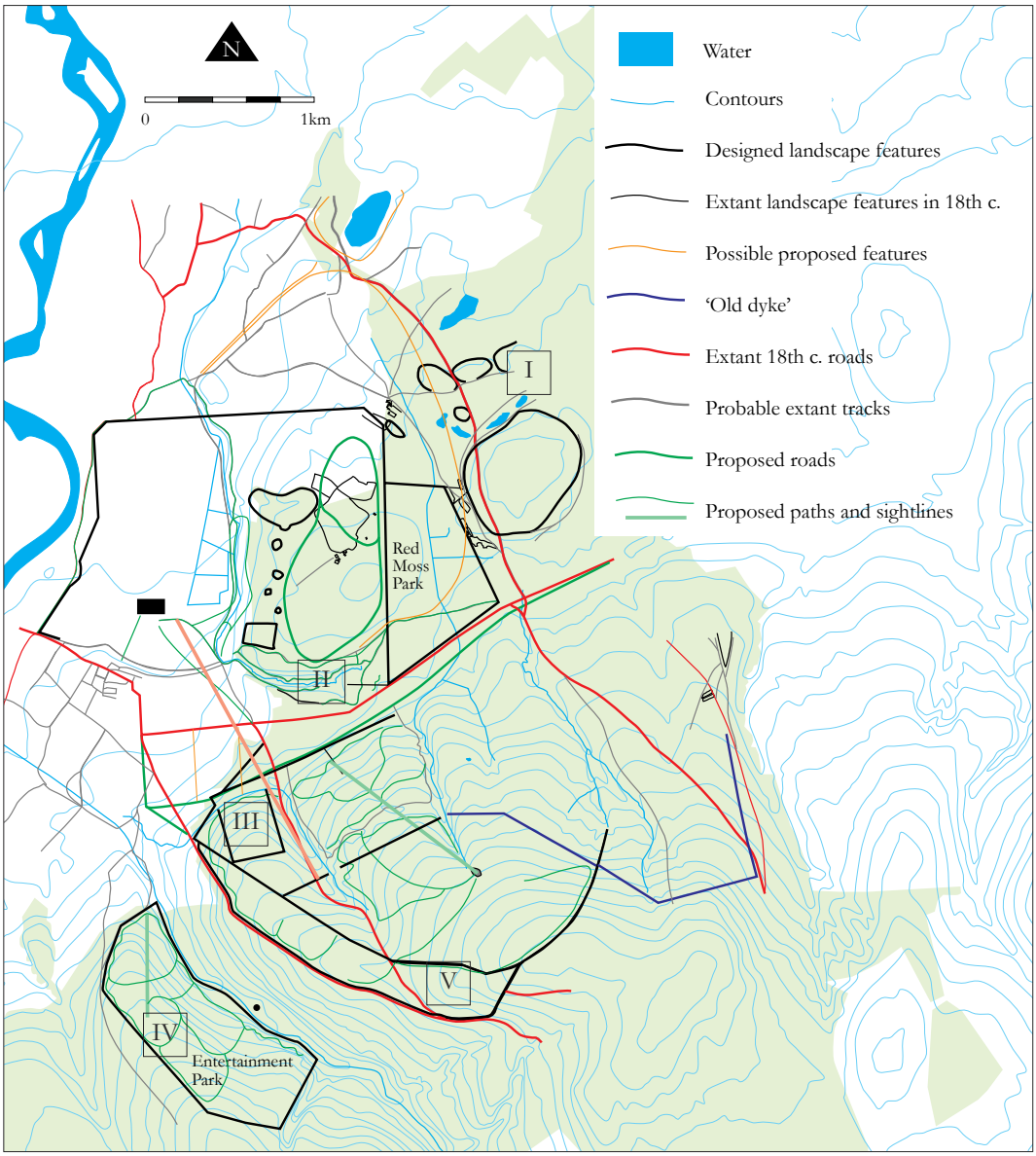

Figure 7. Deer Park Wood, Whiteash Forest and part of Ordiequish Forest showing features noted on an 18th century estate plan, RHP 2381.

moor on their tops with soils on Whiteash being now almost non-existent. Whether this has always been the case is possibly open to question. Topographically, Ordiquish to the south of the Burn of Fochabers may have yielded areas of limited agriculturally-productive land along its south-western flanks whilst the converse will have been the case on Whiteash. Any productive land being more likely to have occurred along its north-eastern flank. The extreme south-western part of Ordiquish is founded upon drift soils of the North Mormond/Orton associations which, whilst still largely derived from Old Red Sandstone, concedes a greater likelihood of arable output. A couple of platforms overlooking the Burn of Fochabers from both forest areas may have occasioned very limited use. Whiteash Hill achieves an altitude of a

little over 260 metres whilst Thief's Hill on Ordiquish attains 250 metres. Stunning views take in extensive tracts of the Moray coastline.

What is of particular interest and relevance of these forest areas to the present discussion is the possible extent of the original lordly landscape. Gordon Castle was built in the mid 15th century, at about the same time as Huntly Castle (Strathbogie) was being given a makeover. Strathbogie was built on the site of an earlier motte enfeoffed to Earl David of Strathbogie (a younger son of the Earl of Fife) in the 12th century. Gordon Castle (or Bogs of Gight as it was known prior to the 18th century), as its former name suggests, sits in the middle of low-lying ground just east of the River Spey. It is not unlikely that the site was chosen for defensive potential as well as utilising the potential of water for aesthetic and symbolic qualities. This enduring fashion has been well-documented from across Britain (Creighton, 2009). Bogs of Gight also probably replaced an earlier stronghold nearby (see below). Fochabers was noted as a thanage prior to 1153 and was in royal hands in 1292 (Grant and Stringer, 1998, 73). Some fairly substantial residence in the locality might be assumed. A reference also notes that Duncan of Ferendraght (presumably, Frendraught near Huntly) was keeper of the Forest of Enzie and in contact with Edward I concerning it and the people of (Inver)Cullen in 1304 (Nat. Arch. SC 1/61/18). It is most likely that the major tracts of land forming the Earldom of Enzie were carved out of the former royal forest of Enzie granted initially to Philip Meldrum in c.1342 and subsequently to George, Lord Gordon in 1470 along with Boyne (Gilbert, 1979, 120-1). That Scottish magnates were fully cognisant with wider European 'chivalric' ideals and notions of 'romance' has been noted by Creighton (2009), with Neville underlining its ancestry in Scotland by noting William I's devotion to such knightly conventions as early as the mid 12th century (2010, 91) and Malcolm IV's quest for knighthood slightly earlier in the same century (Oram, 2003, 47).

Some cartographic evidence suggests a skeletal relative chronology for some of the features. Amongst these an estate plan dated 1770 (RHP 2381) gives a view of the landscape surrounding Castle Gordon. The plan is clearly a working piece with planned features overlying extant ones. Sometimes deciding which were present at the time can be difficult. Figure 6 shows relict landscape features recognised in the forest whilst Figure 7 shows features noted on the estate plan. However, a slightly earlier one of 1764 (RHP 2312) can offer further help in this regard whilst RHP 2384 (1860) shows the situation just prior to the Ordnance Survey assessment in 1870.

A caption appended to plan 2381 (1770) states, *"The green straight avenues pointing upon Gordon Castle and serpentine walks thro' the plantations are not so upon the ground but a design for giving access thro' the planting"*. This could suggest that the plantings themselves were in place in 1770. Serpentine walks and clumps of plantations do seem particularly applicable to the developing tastes of the early to mid 18th century (Williamson, 2000, 58-59) and those suggested seem to be the ones drawn in green on Figure 7. On the other hand, it is noticeable that one particularly wiggly set of paths south-east of the castle is shown on the 1764 plan, along with what appear to be a range of woodland features (B on Figure 6). These run along terraces above a steep-sided gorge with a range of dams and other water features below. More will be said about these later. This 1764 plan is also annotated with a rather scruffy note of the proposed new position of the town of Fochabers. This annotation is not incorporated into the plan as such, as was the case of the 1770 plan, and may well have been added anytime between 1764 and 1770, or even later. It is noticeable that the 1770 plan makes no mention of moving the town, though the routeways through it were being replanned. The Gordon archives do note, however, that the wood and mud from the old houses of Fochabers were sold by auction in 1782 (GD44/51/197) a few years after the founding of the new version, usually dated to 1776. These dates tie in well with the cartographic evidence.

Figures 6 and 7 permit a more detailed discussion of individual elements within the woodlands. The oval plantation features A (I on Figure 7) survive quite well as banked plantation enclosures with surviving external ditches in places. These enclosures were presumably intended to exclude animals. The

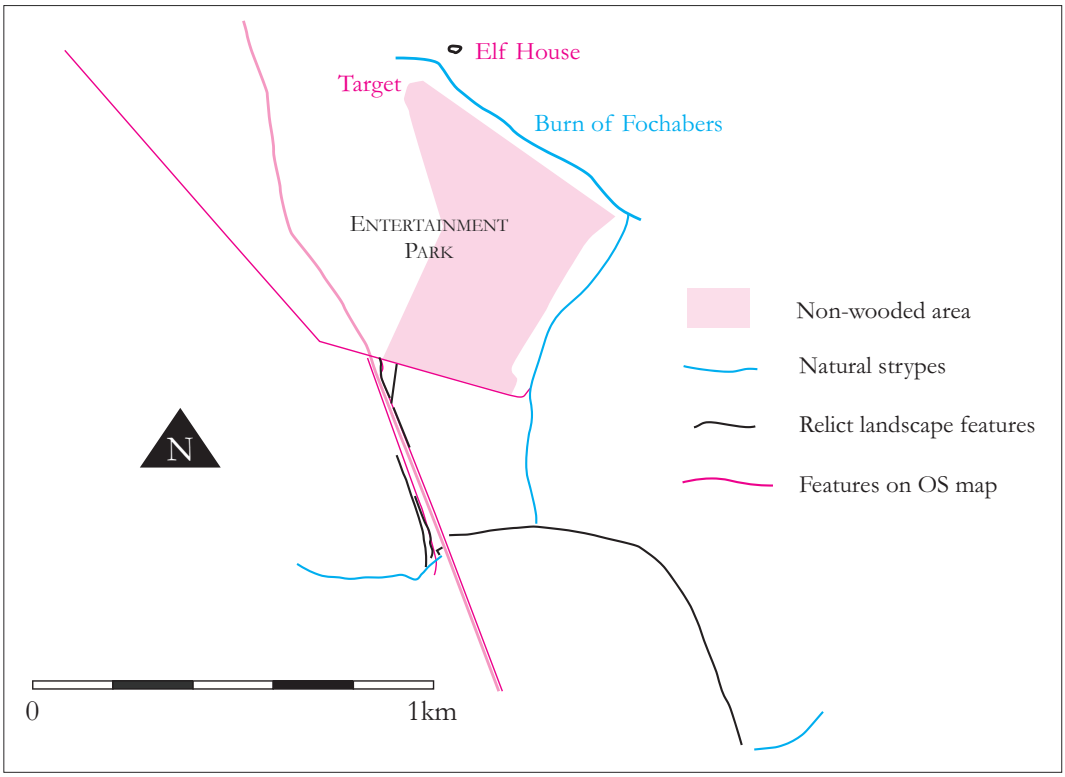

Figure 8. Detail of features abutting the 'Entertainment Park'.

westernmost of the group (and closest to the inner policies defined by a linear boundary) is shown on the plan in more of a sketch fashion than the others and also overlaps with a sketch of the arable lands of the former small toun of Badfour. The four complete ones to the east of it are shown in the same definite fashion as the other woodlands recognisable as well-eastablished on the 1764 plan. The extreme eastern one is incomplete on the plan and, strangely, survives only in a similar incomplete fashion. It is not known with this was intentionally designed or simply never finished. The largest and southernmost enclosures of these enclosed the Hill of Ordegaa and has only been noted as surviving in a very incomplete fashion. The modern forestry track does, however, continue the circuit round to its southern extent and the bank defining that track may well be the original enclosure bank.

Within this largest of the enclosures are two further features not defined on the estate plans or OS maps but very well-preserved on the ground. These appear as two oval enclosures, the inner ground surface of them apparently having been scraped to provide the quite imposing banks. Their impressive survival might sound a note of caution that they may be more modern features but no evidence can be found to support such a notion. Their form might suggest an area for stock control and it might be interesting to speculate whether the hill name of Ordegaa, spelt with the long double 'aa' may contain the gaelic element 'gadhar' - greyhound or lurcher. At present, however, they simply join the growing number of 'anomalous' features within the Conservancy! By 1860 RHP 2384 shows the small western clump noted above but none of the other oval plantations are shown differentiated from the all over woodland of the area at that time. It appears that the landscaped policies had been reduced to the area of Red Moss Park and areas west of that and north of the re-routed Cullen to Fochabers road.

V and E is the course of the 18th century military road between Keith and Fochabers and formed the south-west boundary of the later 18th century plantations. The former course of the pre-

Photo 1. Two sides of a small earthen enclosure, Ordiquish.

Military Road is shown on the estate plan just north of the eastern-most depicted part of the Military Road. Its course is not noted after it enters the plantations and nothing has yet been noted on the ground. A further route joing the Military Road and running further north of it towards Gordon Castle is shown. This route is perpetuated by modern forestry tracks as is the eastern end of the Military Road. It is to be wondered whether this is largely the course of the earlier route from Keith and focussed upon the castle rather than the town of Fochabers. The western Military Road course veers slightly north of the modern track west of the junction with this northern route and its course can just be made out as a slight earthwork. Though it is not possible to discern whether what remains is a bank associated with the Road or the boundary bank of the late 18th century plantation which followed its course. The latter is most likely. The short curvilinear feature south of E at the easternmost surviving section of the road seems to be simply an earlier line of the road.

The 'Entertainment Park' (IV) is an intriguing name associated with some interesting features. This park was in existence on the 1764 plan and is clearly not a product of the later plantings. It is defined on its north-east side by the Burn of Fochabers and, on its eastern side, by a steep strype. Immediately to the west sits the steep-sided promontory known as Castle Hill that has a relict bank cutting off its narrow isthmus from the level ground to the south-east. It is recorded as Castle Hill on both 1764 and 1770 plans as well as on an earlier plan dated c.1760 depicting the fermtoun of Ordiquish (RHP 2313). The perimeter of the 'Park' has not yet been noticed as a relict earthwork even though it was clearly visible to the Ordnance Survey surveyors in the mid 19th century. However, a set of linear features runs up to the line of that perimeter and where a 19th century track entered the enclosure. Some of these linear features are noted on the OS map whilst others are not and appear to predate these later ones that may, consequently, have been replacements.

Figure 8 shows the features noted on the 1st Edition OS and the upstanding monuments. The perimeter of the park can be seen with the 19th century track passing into it. In the 19th century the eastern area was unwooded and used for archery practice. The natural knoll known as the 'Elf House' on the OS and estate plans sits below a steep scarp on the north side of the Burn of Fochabers. On the OS map the trackway south of the park is shown as having a long bank running parallel to the trackway on its eastern side. The west side appears to define a funnel shape running only as far as a steep strype at its southern end. Both of these banks survive as upstanding remains. However, a second 'funneling' bank exists as a very denuded earthwork lying between the western bank and the present forestry track that follows the older 19th century line all the way till its exits the forest. The 19th century western bank appears to replicate the purpose of the earlier bank. At the northern end of the eastern bank the OS plan shows a further splaying out as it reaches the perimeter and this is still also clearly visible on the ground.

West of the present track but east of the ends of the western linear features are the earthen remains of two sides of a small rectilineal feature perched precariously on the edge of the strype (Photo. 1). Sadly, its proximity to the trackway has resulted in removal of its eastern side. On the other side of

the track is a linear bank arcing round from the track to another steep strype (Photo. 2). It stands too far from the present track to be a product of its creation and it is more likely that the course of the present track relates to the line of the earlier bank. In fact spoil appearing to have been formed by the creation of the road lies between it and the bank. Finally, a steep-sided gulley runs between the trackway and the park (Photo. 3). Its purpose is unknown but it appears to have been altered dramatically by human agency even if there was an original natural feature along its line. Its morphology is not really like the other water-formed strypes in the area as it does not connect with any such watercourse.

Photo 2. Earthen bank linking two steep strypes, Ordiquish.

Photo 3. Steep-sided gulley linking park and trackway, Ordiquish.

The combination of such a wide array of features and factors suggests that this 'Entertainment Park' may trace its ancestry back well before the 18th century. Though used for archery practice in an open expanse in the 19th century, the name is found on the 1770 plan where it is shown as entirely wooded. Wooded to the extent that a series of 'serpentine' paths was designed in order that the landscape might be viewed. The intriguing site of the 'Elf House' also invites speculation. It is not the 'grotto' type of feature that might be anticipated. It is a broad platform overlooking an uncharacteristic level area of haugh on the north side of the Burn of Fochabers. The southern side on which the park is situated possesses more level spaces and, in fact, displays a large flat platform overlooking the burn on which the 19th (and 20th) century archers practiced their skills. (The site of the 'clubhouse' still survives in a tumbled down state). One possibility is that the 'Elf House' may have been the site of a 'stand' from which to view the activities across the burn (Creighton, 2009, 146). It is also worth noting the proximity of the possible (probable?) site of the earlier castle at Fochabers sits less than 400m to the west of the park's perimeter. The linear features lining the present forest track and former entrance to the park are difficult to explain without noting the funneling design that suggests stock control.

Considering the area closer to the core of the Gordon Castle estate the area of relict landscape marked B corresponds to an area drawn on the 1764 plan as wooded and containing a complicated network of meandering paths (II). This stands in contrast to the other blocks of woodland on this map which are shown as overall planted units without any such paths. (Litch's Wood has a single 'avenue' crossing it on an alignment with the castle). The area of planting sits north and south of the Wishart Burn that is now not very substantial. But, it is worth noting that the 1770 plan shows the burn running

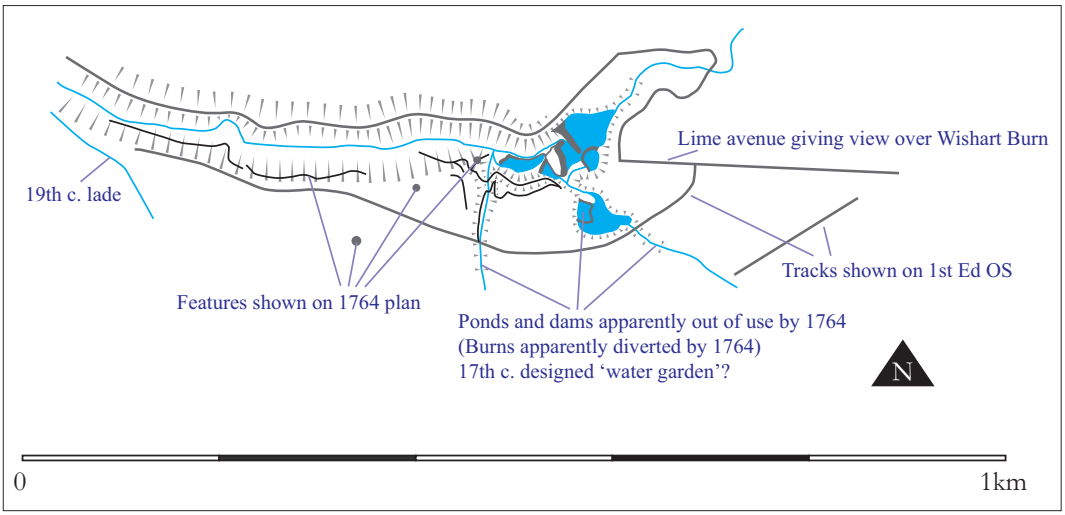

Figure 9. Sketched survey of the features alongside Wishart Burn, Gordon Castle.

from the 'summit' of the hill (the Red Slack) to have been canalised in order to run north-eastwards before heading north to the 'lochs' above Ordegaa, though one dated to 1768 (RHP 2382) appears to show it still running into 'Wisheart Park'. Also, the burn laying east of Litch's Wood (III) appears to be shown as having been canalised to feed into the Burn of Fochabers. A further substantial lade appears to have been constructed between the surveying of the two estate plans dated 1764 and 1770. Its primary purpose appears to have been to direct water away from the immediate environs of Castle Gordon. It joins the Fochabers Burn too late to have been of any use in supplying water to the Old Miln of Fochabers and the New and Lint mills were fed by lades from the Spey and lay further west. However, a plan of 1809 shows a saw-mill as seeming to stand at the east end of that lade (RHP 2347). But, within a couple of generations, water was bring brought the other way from the Burn of Fochabers to the saw-mill at Gordon Castle by a later lade culverted below the line of this now redundant lade (see below).

Returning to area II it appears that prior to the 18th century the area of woodland with the meandering paths (B) would have included a greater flow of water. That this was engineered can be seen by the surviving dams within the present woodland (Figure 9). No depiction of these occurs on the 1768 or 1770 plans and the only trackways seem to be one east-west route on the south side of the Wishart Burn, one following the burn on the north side of it and the third, an entrance from the Cullen-Fochabers road approaching the castle from the east and lying on the north side of the wooded area. The 1764 plan also appears to show at least two 'points of interest' at the intersection of some of the paths. If this suite of features relate to the Italian Renaissance ideal of the 'wlderness' it might be dated to the late 16th or 17th centuries (Williamson, 2000, 16). The formality of gardens decreased with distance from the house, in effect linking it, through stages, to the unordered and 'natural' landscape beyond. If the design is to be related to the vogue for the 'serpentine', then it might be argued that it could belong to the early 18th century (*ibid.*, 54-55). We can be certain that it predates 1764 owing to its partial representation on an estate plan of that date. Winding paths with features set at junctions are shown, though no water features are obvious on that plan.

Using the estate plan evidence further, it might be argued that the 'serpentine' paths noted on the 1764 plan are not recorded on the 1770 one. On that later plan, however, the designer suggests a series of serpentine trackways to be cut through the new plantations and he draws attention to these features in an anotation on the plan. This might suggest that the Wishart Burn garden was already viewed as inconsequential to that designer. And, to reinforce that view, it seems that the area had become

subsumed in 'external' plantings and forgotten about, by the early 19th century. Also, the 1770 plan shows that two of the burns that would have fed the ponds - the Red Slack and the Nashag Burn - had already been canalised to lead further north towards Beldorney Hillocks. The only three tracks leading along the length of the burn shown on the 1770 plan appear to be the forerunners of those trackways shown on the 1st Ed OS and still discernable today. No paths are shown as depicted on the 1764 plan. The lime avenue can, however, be made out on the 1770 plan though the route of the trackway through this area is noted as meandering on the 1768 plan. If correct, these plans would give a very precise date for the planting of that avenue. It might also be noted that one of the features noted on the 1764 plan does appear to coincide with a square setting of lime trees. A further feature that appears to relate to a vantage point and so to form an integral part of the garden design is a group of yew trees. It is clear that the whole design is centred upon views of the water features and the views down the Wishart Burn along which the castle could probably have been seen framed. Even the trackway circling north around the top of the ponds emerged through an artificially heightened bank to confront a dramatic view of this landscape. It may also have passed beside a waterful supplied, when needed, by hidden dammed water on the north side of the track.

The evidence from the estate plans, therefore, suggests that the garden had effectively fallen out of use by 1770 at the latest. However, elements of the choreographed approach to Gordon Castle along the Wishart Burn may still have been functioning. The fact that no ponds are noted on the 1764 plan suggests, furthermore, that they had fallen out of use even by that time.

It is worth commenting that Gordon Castle, originally the 'Bogs of Gight' was located in a very watery place within a low-lying area of raised beach sands and gravels between the alluvial soils of the Spey's floodplain and the Old Red Sandstone derivatives of Whiteash. In all likelihood, its original design incorporated extensive use of water as a design feature. Creighton's overview of Medieval elite landscapes demonstrates a preoccupation with watery design features from at least the 12th century onwards (2009). A substantial ornamental fountain that still survives at Gordon Castle has been dated to the mid 16th century and is only slightly later than the magnificent royal commission at Linlithgow dated to the 1530s (*ibid.*, 77). This suggests an ongoing interest in the utilisation of water as an aesthetic design aid. Key dates in the history of the Gordons must include the civil unrest of the early 1600s, when the Gordons lost their lands, and the restoration of the crown in the 1680s when they regained them. Clearly, the garden cannot relate to the period in between. On balance, and considering all of the above comments, it seems most likely that the garden does relate to the Italian Renaissance notion of the late 16th or early 17th century, prior to the Gordon's resourceless period of the mid 17th century. From the middle to the end of the 16th century the Gordon's were at the height of their power and investing in a remarkable fountain. This must be seen as a likely context for a period of extensive landscape design incorporating a 'wilderness' garden with an associated and intricate design of 'cascading' ponds and walkways. It also appears to have formed only one part of a much more extensive elite landscape, parts of which survive throughout the FCS holdings of Deer Park, Whiteash, Ordiquish and even Castlehill and Stynie. In the last two mentioned woodlands, the plantation 'clumps' recognised as 'I' in Figure 7 extend west of the Spey. It is likely, however, that the Stynie ones relate to a short period of Gordon occupancy of the Urquhart estate between the first half of the 18th century and the end of the 1700s when they relinquished those holdings. The recognised area of design extends, therefore, at its maximum extents, 10km north to south by 7km east to west and incorporates a major river.

It is probably more appropriate to see an earlier hunting territory pertaining to Gordon Castle along the lines of the large upland hunting reserves recognised by Winchester with respect to Cumbria. (2007). These sit in distinction to the more restricted lowland enclosures, such as might be in evidence at Kinnoir. Old and New Forest in the Clashindarroch perhaps suggesting a similar environment and management regime for Strathbogie.

One final piece of water management that was created in the 19th century later is worth noting.

This saw the water from the Litch's burn returned to its former course and added to by water taken from the Burn of Fochabers. In other words, an almost complete reversal of the former diversion! This was in order to supply water to the sawmill on the estate and it continues to flow today. This 19th century lade and associated aquaducts will be returned to later in another context. But, before leaving this discussion of surviving elements of elite landscapes within the Conservancy it might be worth considering the evidence from Drumtochty Forest as well as one or two other solitary earthworks that may represent only very vestigial remnants of similar landscapes.

Figure 10. 1st Edition OS map showing Glensaugh, Friars Glen and Drumtochty Castle.

Drumtochty Forest

Drumtochty Forest contains Drumtochty Castle, a 19th century construction, Friars Glen, the site of Carmelite holdings in the 15th and 16th centuries, and the site of a further probable castle (Figure 10). The royal hunting park of Kincardine lays just to the west of the Ferdun Water at the extreme bottom left of the figure, with the former county town and royal castle of Kincardine just south of that. In other words, though the situation today seems remote, from at least the 12th century till the 16th it was not without consequence. In terms of understanding the landscape and how it relates to the documentary evidence is, however, slightly vague. The initial grant to the Carmelites of Aberdeen in 1403 refers to the 'lands of Glensaucht' (Anderson, 1909, 24). Glensaucht lays at the west end of Strathfinella, near where it meets the Ferdun Water. The ridge lies at around 250 metres above O.D. upon soils of the Strichen association. The ridge has a southern aspect and is well sheltered from the north. The inclusion of some brown forest soils amongst the gleys has resulted in limited areas of arable amongst a broad range of permanent pasture. In other words, the deeper soils on some of the level parts of the ridge can be quite agriculturally productive. This situation pertains eastwards along the Brae of Bervie almost to the coast at Stonehaven.

The historical situation is made slightly clearer by a charter of sale of Little Glensaucht by the Carmelites in 1411-12 (*ibid.*, 26). A subsequent charter of 1459 grants the Carmelites all the rights held by one Alexander Strathauchine to his lands of *Glensalch*. One reading of these charters might lead to the conclusion that the first concerned all the lands of *Glensaucht* whilst the second alienated *Little*

Glensaucht only. The third entry is clarifed by an 'obligation' of 1445-46 that shows that the Carmelites had merely set their lands to Alexander for an annual rent. An entry in the Book of the Great Seal for 1473 (Paul, 1984, 1147) tells us that the lands of *Glensauch* comprised a barony and that they were subinfeudated to Thomas de Guthre. In 1565, in consequence of the Reformation, the lands, "*of Easter Glensaucht alias the Friars' Glen*" were granted to James Keyth, styled 'of *Drumtochter*' (Anderson, 1909, 99). There remains the question of whom possessed the lands of the western half of Glensaugh.

For the present purposes there are some conclusions that may be drawn to help with the identification of parts of the landscape belonging to FCS. That Glensaugh in its entirety formed a barony seems to be in no doubt. That a 'splitting' of the township occurred at some point, rendering a 'Little' or 'Easter' Glensaugh that incorporated the Friars' Glen. That no place-name evidence for the smaller Glensaugh survive today is interesting but might be explicable with reference to Figure 10. The field systems incorporating present-day Glensaugh and 'Bows' appear to form a single ovoid entity. It might be suggested that 'Bows' is, in reality, the missing Little/Easter Glensaucht. Bows presumably relates to the gaelic word for 'cow' and suggests a farm based more upon pastoral activities. The enclosures stretching eastwards towards Friars' Glen might then be seen as further outsets - perhaps occassioned by the Carmelites. This would explain the apparent lack of a fermtoun in the vicinity of Friars' Glen.

The next question to be considered would then be where the lands of the Barony of Glensuagh stopped and the lands of Drumtochty started. The 'ridge' of '*tochty*' is likely to be that feature lying east of the present castle, perhaps near the present Mains of Drumtochty. Drumtochty is referred to as a '*ville*' (manor) in the Book of the Great Seal for 1440 (Paul, 1984, 251) but no further details are given. In 1633 (*ibid*., 2146) a grant consisted of the 'lands of *Drumtocktie*, with mill, granary, mill lands with the *villam* (manor) and lands of *Freirsglen* called *Eister Glensauche*...' Although it is not possible to be certain that the lands of Drumtochty met the lands of Easter Glensaugh, it seems likely. This conclusion might be further enhanced by the mention of the mill on the lands of Drumtochty. The Dhulin Burn supplies an excellent water source for a mill and was so used in early modern times to power a sawmill. (An older lade lying on the east side of the burn may or may not relate to the 17th century mill). The steep gulley of the Dhulin Burn would supply the obvious boundary between the lands of Drumtochty and Easter Glensaugh - Friars Glen lying less than a kilometre to the west. The importance in this location for the boundary between the manor and the barony is that the earthworks that appear to be the remains of a castle stance (and so-named on the 1st edition OS map) lie on the Glensaugh side of the boundary. This might suggest that the Old Castle may relate to the Barony of Glensaugh and have nothing to do with Drumtochty.

One other name on the 1st edition OS map is interesting; this is 'Friarsglen Park'. It seems unlikely that the 'park' epithet is modern usage and more likely that it refers to an actual deer park. A small baronial castle with associated deer park so close to the extensive royal demesne should not be considered unlikely. And when the deer were removed, the pasture could be re-utilised as enclosures for a cattle business bringing a ready income to the friars. It is noteworthy that the enclosure boundaries shown on the 1st and 2nd edition OS maps do not exactly correspond with those still visible. In many instances they cover a reduced area. It appears that the earthworks describe a former set of enclosures, partly re-used (Figure 11).

Placenames in the area are worth consideration. The enclosure lying between the old castle and Friarsglen Park is known as Colt Moss - suggesting a possible equine link - whilst the haughland below is known as Duncan's Pade. This is either a reference to Duncan's 'pad' - an abbreviated form for a 'path' or 'route', though this seems unlikely. The royal deer course at Clarendon House was known as the 'pady' (paddock) and noted as such on a 17th century plan (Creighton, 2009, 152). Though hardly a local parallel, the occurrence of this unusual term so near to the great royal park arouses curiosity at the least. A similar name down by stonehaven harbour notes 'Steel's Pade' (1st edition OS), though quite what area this refers to is not certain. Pad might simply be an abbreviation for paddock. More locally, the annual fair

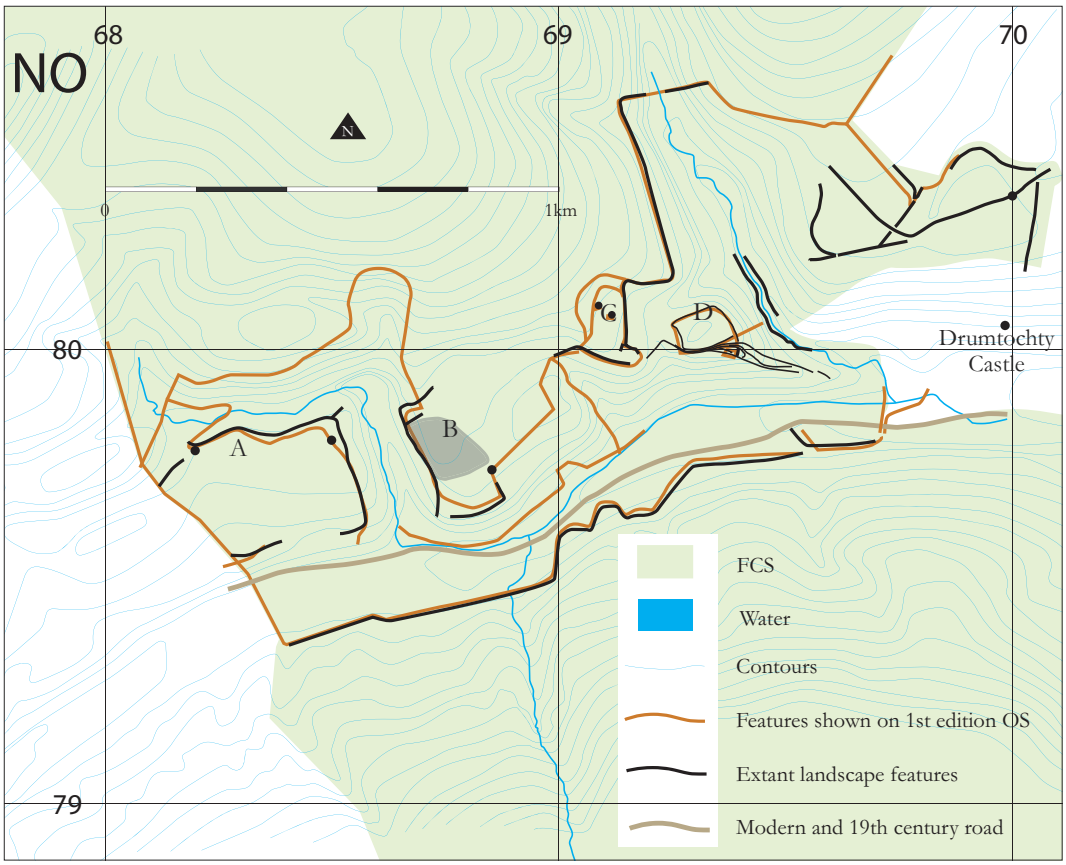

Figure 11. 19th century map evidence and extant earthwork features in Strathfinella, Drumtochty Forest.

of St. Palladius on the 6th July was known as 'Pade fayr', though it is difficult to see an obvious link there. As ever, place-name evidence requires delicate treatment!

Returning to the earthwork evidence, three enclosure areas stand out as deserving of attention, lettered A, B and C on Figure 11. The extensive 19th century linear boundaries appear to mark plantations associated with the development of Drumtochty Castle in the 19th century. In many instances these features appear to coincide with the standing banks and ditches. Slight discrepancies are likely to have arisen during the surveying process. Those carried out on the extant features were made by using a handheld GPS and, under dense woodland cover, innaccuracies are likely to have occurred. Notwithstanding those limitations it can be seen that in several important respects the two surveys do not coincide. Consideration of the 2nd edition OS maps indicates that no change occurred in the alignment between the dates of the 1st and 2nd edition surveys. Subsequent alteration after that is most unlikely. One possible conclusion might be that the plantation boundary appearing on the 1st edition map utilised some earlier features, 'rounding-off' some corners where appropriate. The county SMR notes that there is a tradition of the remains of a small farm with barn and byre in the vicinity (NO67NE0013). Possible structural remains have been noted in enclosure A at the west end of the north side and on the north-east corner. However, the coincidence with the line of the 19th century plantation bank at the latter location suggests that it might be a remnant of that. It might be worth considering whether what is being referred to are the remains of two structures shown on the 1st edition OS in the small enclosed area at C. Footings can still be made out along with scraps of 19th century

pottery. At the north-east corner of enclosure A a projecting linear bank heads towards the scarp and would appear to have little relevance to the plantation design. On the south side of the enclosure the earthwork clearly turns to continue along the top of the scarp whilst the 19th century feature heads down the scarp towards the road. This whole area presents a fine fairly level expanse tilted towards the south.

Area B also equates fairly well with the plantation boundary except in the south-west corner, where the banks head down the slope rather than following the contour, and in the north-west where there is an additional inner bank not noted on the 19th century map. This area appears to contain rigs with a wavelength of approximately 7m - 8m between heads. At the south-east corner of this rigged area stands the slight remains of a turf-built structure measuring approximately 5m x 3m internally. Again, this area presents a broad level area and is known as Colt Moss.

Area D includes the small rectangular enclosure noted as the 'Old Castle' on the 1st edition OS and with 'Castle Hill' rising up behind. A larger enclosure surrounds another failry level hilltop area just to the north. This is separated from the 'Old Castle' by a monstrously deep hollow-way heading down the line of the ridge to meet the present forestry track near the bottom. This deep hollow-way appears to have superceded an older one that wound its way up the ridge slightly to the south. This is further bounded to the south by a linear bank running up the top of the steep scarp to the south. This final feature looks more like a 19th century linear bank but, strangely, is not shown on the OS maps. In fact, it appears to be only the deep hollow-way that is depicted there. The 'Old Castle' is shown as a rectangle on the OS maps. The situation on the ground is rather more complicated and hampered by fairly dense tree growth. The older hollow-way skirts a linear bank on its southern side but is cut by the later hollow-way whilst the linear bank continues. This then joins the southernmost linear bank which has the appearance of being a later feature (though it might not be). The eastern end of the original bank curves southwards to cut off the spur of the hill with the help of an eastern ditch. Lying west of this is a further cross-bank with eastern ditch, also helping to cut off this spur. West of this is a linear bank that is difficult to rationalise without intrusive study.

Site D certainly has all the makings of a castle site and its siting invites comparison with the suggested earlier castle site at Fochabers. That Glensaugh was a barony adds further to the suggestion that there should be a lordly residence in the area. Its position would certainly afford dramatic views down the length of Strathfinella as well as eastwards down Glenfarquhar. From a distance it would have presented a dramatic and romantic image. Creighton has discussed at length the value of landscape design to the medieval minds of many of the elite (2009). With the royal park and castle of Kincardine lying so close to the west this castle might have been well-positioned to supply additional 'lodgings' for the king's guests. (Though with the county town being so close, this may not have been an important consideration). But, what of the enclosures west of the 'Old Castle'? Area A is referred to as a 'park' and it is not impossible that it may well have functioned as a small 'entertainment' park overseen by the friars. The rig and furrow in area B may relate to the 19th century buildings at C, though this is not certain and they are more likely to pre-date that period. The small turf-built structure close to the rigs might suggest that earlier, arrangement.

Pitfichie Forest: Balvack Wood

A well-preserved length of linear bank with ditch survives within the small area of woodland known as Balvack Wood. (Photo. 4 and Figure 12). It is presumably related to the Castle and policies of Cluny that lies approximately 1 kilometre to the south-east. A small farmstead known as Park Lea lies just north of the wood but, otherwise, there is no known attribution of a park in the area. It is difficult to see what other purpose this massive enclosure bank and ditch had. Its course may be perpetuated by a straightened but deep drainage feature to the north-east. No bank survives there, however.

The area apparently given over to parkland appears to sit within a patch of poorer soils. On

Photo 4. Linear bank and ditch in Balvack Wood.

the valley floor is a rich strip of alluvium within which Cluny Castle is positioned. The drifts above this derive from granitic rocks and belong to the Contesswells/ Dalbeattie/ Priestlaw associations and comprise brown forest soils with humus-iron podzols and and gleys. Above this and in association with the embanked area are soils of the same association but lacking the brown forest soils component and comprising mainly peaty gleys and peat. The vegetation, therefore, is more likely to err towards rush pastures, sedge mires and bog heather moor (though, clearly, trees will grow well enough).

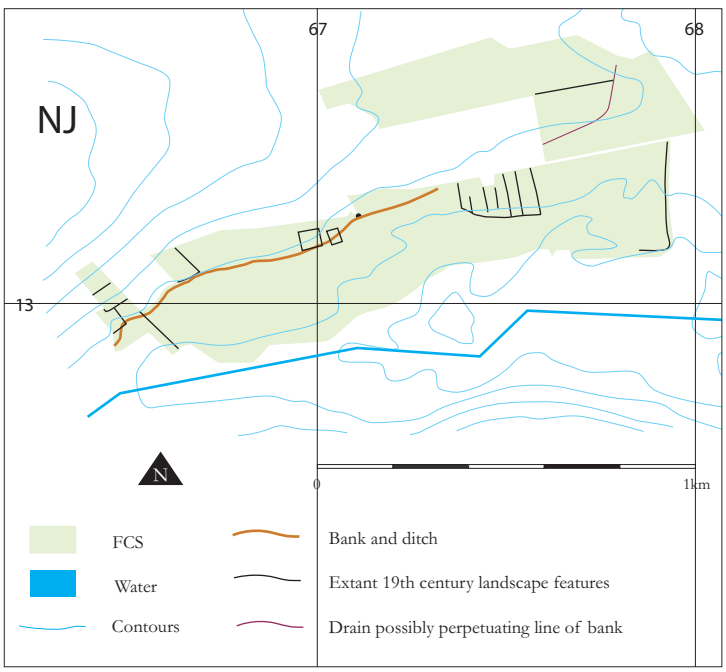

Figure 12. Linear bank and ditch at Balvack Wood.

Wood of Mulderie

Finally, moving back up towards Fochabers but seemingly on a different estate, is the small wooded hill of Mulderie. This straddled the watershed that seems to have separated the two polities of the Earldom of Enzie from the lands of the Earl Marischal, though this area was presumably included on the edge of the holdings of the latter. This seems to have been a fairly common siting for medieval parks (Rowe, 2007, 135; 143-5). One set of earthworks in particular warrant attention. They sit above the farmstead of Parkfoot and comprise a substantial double bank with internal ditch (Photo. 5). As with other 19th century plantations, it appears that earlier features may have been re-used. In this way, earlier enclosures may have frequently been fossilised within a redesigned 19th century landscape. Double bank and ditches in park formations are known from Caerlaverock Castle, Dumfries (Creighton, 2009, 138).

On the north side of the hill is the small farmstead of 'Backpark' also alluding to the orientation of the parkland. William Keith the Earl Marischal was certainly said to have held 'woods, parks and forests' in Over and Nether Keith in 1592 (Paul, 1984, 745) though their location is unverified. The Hill of Mulderie is a limited outcrop of granitically-derived drifts of the same soil association as at Balvack. The hill itself is a granitic intrusion. Here it is surrounded by soils form the North Mormond/Orton

Photo 5. Double-banked enclosure feature with internal ditch in the Wood of Mulderie.

association and derived from Old Red Sandstone sediments and rocks. Although comprising humus-iron podzols, peaty podzols and gleys they can be drained and worked to good advantage. However, as is now evident in the area, they will quickly revert to rush pastures and sedge moors if not maintained. The granitic hill itself, comprising a similar blend of peaty podzols and gleys, lends itself to bog heather moor, native pinewoods and drier heather moor on the thin soils of the top of the hill. Its contours restrict viable productive areas to limited zones. It is interesting to note that in these last two examples, Mulderie and Balvack, consideration of agricultural potential may have led to the choice of the proposed parks. This has been noted for parks and chases in Cumbria (Winchester, 2007, 169). At other times, however, parks are seen to have been constructed without recourse to such economic onsiderations and was certainly the case when reaching many post-enlightenment landscape decisions (Shepherd, 2011, 3).

Pre-modern Lades:

A 'lade' may be said to be a man-made feature carrying water for purposes other than drainage alone. One common purpose might be the supply of water for a mill. The North-east is littered with examples of lades constructed for the provisioning of small threshing mills during the course of the 19th century. Most of these are depicted on the 1st and 2nd edition OS maps and need not detain us here. These well-recorded features apart, it is clear that the existence of lades will be granting insights into other associated settlement features or methods of landscape management that might otherwise remain hidden. These might include hitherto unknown corn, saw or walk mills, designed landscapes, irrigation and other catalysts for ground productivity, such as water meadows, or for quarrying purposes.

A number of lades occur throughout FCS lands. Some are noted on the 1st edition OS map. Were it not for them also being recorded on 18th century estate plans, they would be assumed to have been constructs of the 19th century. This must be born in mind when considering other '19th century' features in areas for which earlier estate plan representations fail to survive or were never produced.

Clashindarroch Forest

Two surviving lades run down either side of the Burn of Brockholes though neither is depicted on the 1st edition OS map. They are shown on an 18th century estate plan (RHP 2267) and annotated 'water draught' (Figure 13). The fields into which they run are noted as being 'with command of water'. Irrigation systems in the North-east may seem to be slightly superfluous but agricultural advisers of the first half of the 18th century appear to have regarded the practice highly. Even 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). The mechanism was one of 'catchworks' carrying the water along the contour and overflowing it above the field to be 'improved'. Such a system was widespread in other parts of Britain where the process was also used to manure the land via the water draft. This system was also used for urban sewage disposal in Edinburgh from 1760 (Taylor, 2007, 28-9).

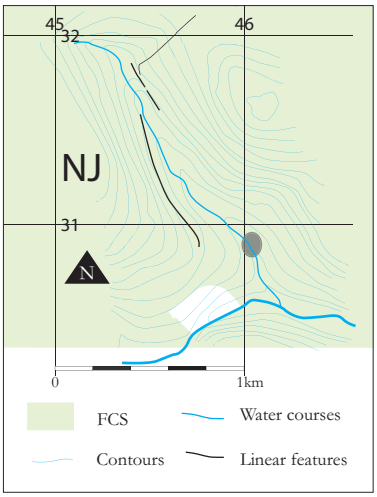

Figure 13. Lades in Finglenny.

The fields of Brockholes and Finglenny sit right on the edge of brown forest soils of the Foudland series before they merge with the peaty podzols, peats and peaty gleys slightly higher up the slope. These fields sit just below the 300 metre mark but lie in a sheltered, south-facing glen. The land appears to have still been productive into the early 20th century, though the draughts had fallen into disuse by then.

The western lade can still be traced for most of its course - in places overlain by 19th century dykes. The northern part of the eastern lade is visible but the southern part, at time of writing, is under young and impenetrable sitka spruce. What is noteworthy in the visible section is how an aquaduct must have been used to cross a strype approximately 6m deep and 10m wide. Fortunately, a lade dating from the 19th century and used to carry water to the Gordon Castle saw-mill is still functioning and gives some idea of the type of structure that would have been used (Photo 6). The lade at Finglenny was depicted as in use in the 1770s and the Gordon Castle one is shown on the 1st edition OS map. They are both likely to have arisen from the same local skills base and demonstrates that this technology predates the period of the 'improvements'.

Other irrigation lades survive in the Clashindarroch Forest and illustrates that the Finglenny ones were only part of a much more widely used system. An extensive lade running for well over 2kms survives at Drumferg (NJ 4515 3295 - NJ 4738 3396). It is shown on an estate plan (RHP 2254) where it appears to be taking water to the fields rather than the fermtoun. It shares the same soil type as Finglenny and the lade runs close to the 280 metre contour along a south-facing slope. The 1st edition OS map suggests that it may have been extended to take it closer to the 'rationalised' 19th century replacement farm. Another short stretch is visible further into the forest at Craigwater (NJ 4266 3107 - NJ 4282 3112). The lade lies just less than a kilometre west of the farmstead and may well have carried water to the 18th century fields (RHP 2254), though it is not depicted on that plan. This time it sits higher at around the 350 metre


Photo 6. Lade aquaduct at Gordon Castle.

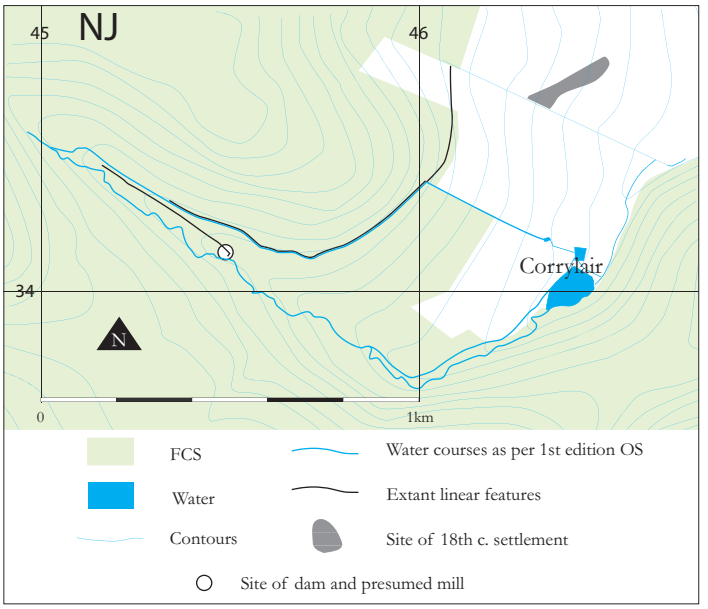

Figure 14. Lades at Corrylair.

contour but, again, in a sheltered glen with a south-eastern aspect. A further lade appears to be shown shown on the south side of the Craigwater but this cannot now be found. On the 1st edition OS map there is no sign of the lades and the 18th century fields had fallen out of use leaving an isolated, small, unroofed structure. The soils here are considered to be capable of supporting little more than boreal heather moor, blanket or upland blanket bog. However, this site demonstrates that localised micro-zones could be quite capable of supporting pre-modern farming regimes.

At Corrylair a 'mill lead' supplying water to the early modern farm of Corrylair and shown on the 1st edition OS map lies north of an older lade (NJ 4520 3433 - NJ 4550 3410)(Figure 14). This latter appears to feed a relict dam at NJ 4550 3410. It empties into this area at a height suggestive of an overshot wheel. No definite documentary references confirm the existence of a mill here after 1600, though a vague charter reference for 1511 may suggest a mill and 'fishings' (Paul, 1984, 775). It is ambiguous as Corrylair sits at the end of list of place-names in Strathbogie with the reference to mill and fishings being straight after. Therefore, the reference may not be to Corrylair at all but to one of the earlier places noted in the list. (It is unfortunate that no detailed estate plans survive for this part of the estate). That such mills might escape reference in the rentals, though surprising considering their obvious value, is suggested by the reference to the 'Old Stance of the Miln of Cormellat' noted on an estate plan (RHP 2254). This, presumably, equipped the fermtouns of Longley, Garbet, Stonerives and Bogancloch. The existence of this mill can be in little doubt though, sadly, all that remains there are slight traces of the lade (NJ 4351 2794). These do, however, also suggest either a 'breast-shot' or 'over-shot' mill. If such mills did exist but do not appear in the rentals, some explanation must be sought. It might be conceivable that, as some fermtouns were so remote from the main estate mills, dispensation may have been granted to them to build and manage their own mills. Clearly, this is mere speculation and no evidence, other than landscape and cartographic, suggests such possible behaviour.

At Corrylair a further linear feature survives upstream from the dams but between the older lade and the burn, sitting at the base of the scarp and surrounding a level area of haugh land. These features occur frequently and will be returned to later. They are suggestive of water management in order to drown areas of haughland, possibly to create basic forms of 'water-meadows'. Returning to the 'mill lead' noted on the 1st edition plan, there are issues of practicality that surround this interpretation. Most serious is the fact that its physical survival extends well beyond where it is shown on the 1st edition map. Its present end-point would deliver water beyond the point at which it could have been of use to Corrylair in the 19th century. Two possibilities present themselves. Firstly, it may have been used as another field irrigation lade by the fermtoun of Corrylair. Or, secondly, it may have supplied water to the deserted fermtoun shown on the poor quality estate plan (RHP 2288) and forming an 'end' of Wester Tillathrowie. Though having access to a smaller burn nearby, the supply would not have been as consistent

as that emanating from the Killin Burn leading to Corrylair. This feature lays at the 290 metre contour and amongst Foudland Series soils considered suitable for arable and permanent pasture. Corrylair sits in a sheltered south-east facing position

Photo 7. Northernmost lade in FCS wood near Rathven.

Rathven, Buckie

In a small area of woodland near to Rathven, near to Buckie the Moray coast, substantial lades may reflect water acquisition for a manorial site centred on the village of Rathven (see Photo. 7). The church at Rathven may be suggested as an early 'anet' or 'mother' church for the locality, the name 'Fordannet' occurring as a crossing point of the Rannas Burn just south-east of the FCS woodlands. Three water courses within and on the boundary of the woodland suggest a quite complicated management scheme and one that has probably seen a number of redesigns with all three courses showing signs of canalisation. The southernmost is the Burn of Rannes/Rathven and itself feeds a mill dam at Rathven. The 1st edition OS map shows a feed from this to a series of ornamental garden enclosures surrounding the Manse. Its layout suggests a possible earlier lordly residence creating the standardised manorial package of lordly residence, church and mill. In this instance seemingly within a nucleated settlement. The 18th century elite residence attached to Rathven was the house of Rannes that lies to the south-east of the FCS wood, just beyond the Fordannet Bridge. The middle lade was controlled by a sluice laying east of the FCS woodland. The upper lade also appears to have had a sluice mechanism (see the black spot on Figure 15) with a revetment for the bank around it surviving as a stone lining. The upper lade appears to have supplied the 'Corn Mill' noted at Rathven on the 1st edition OS map. This appears to have been a later addition as shown by a lower mill dam that seems to have been redundant by that time. That lower dam would have been fed by either the middle or lowest lade, though it is suggested that the lowest one was later than the middle course. The feed to this at its east end is simply via a drain running down the side of the road that cuts awkwardly across the grain of the contours. Further documentary research would be required to clarify the picture though its multi-layered development is quite clear. Finally, with regard to this woodland, the linear feature running north-eastwards from the lades is also worthy of attention. It comprises a substantial bank with ditches either side which appears to follow the line of the old road from Fochabers to Cullen noted on a plan of 1805 (RHP 46014).

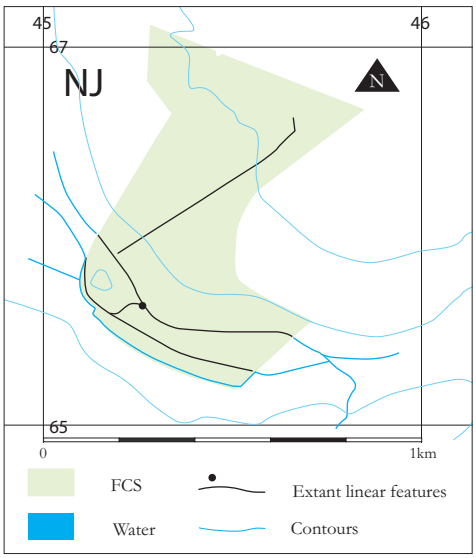

Figure 15. Lades near Rathven.

Regarding the geology of this site, the soils of the Durnhill Series noted here appear to comprise peaty podzols, some humus-iron podzols and gleys giving

heather moorland, rush pastures and sedge mires. The extensive drainage of the area has, however, created a fairly resilient agricultural landscape which sits at the western end of a tongue of more readily worked podzols and gleys of the Corby/Boyndie/Dinnet Series. Rathven is situated at approximately 35 metres above O.D. at the west end of a fairly exposed low east-west ridge near to the Moray coastline. The durability of the local soils should be seen in the long history of settlement around Rathven since at least medieval times. A rich array of prehistoric monuments appears to attest to an even greater longevity.

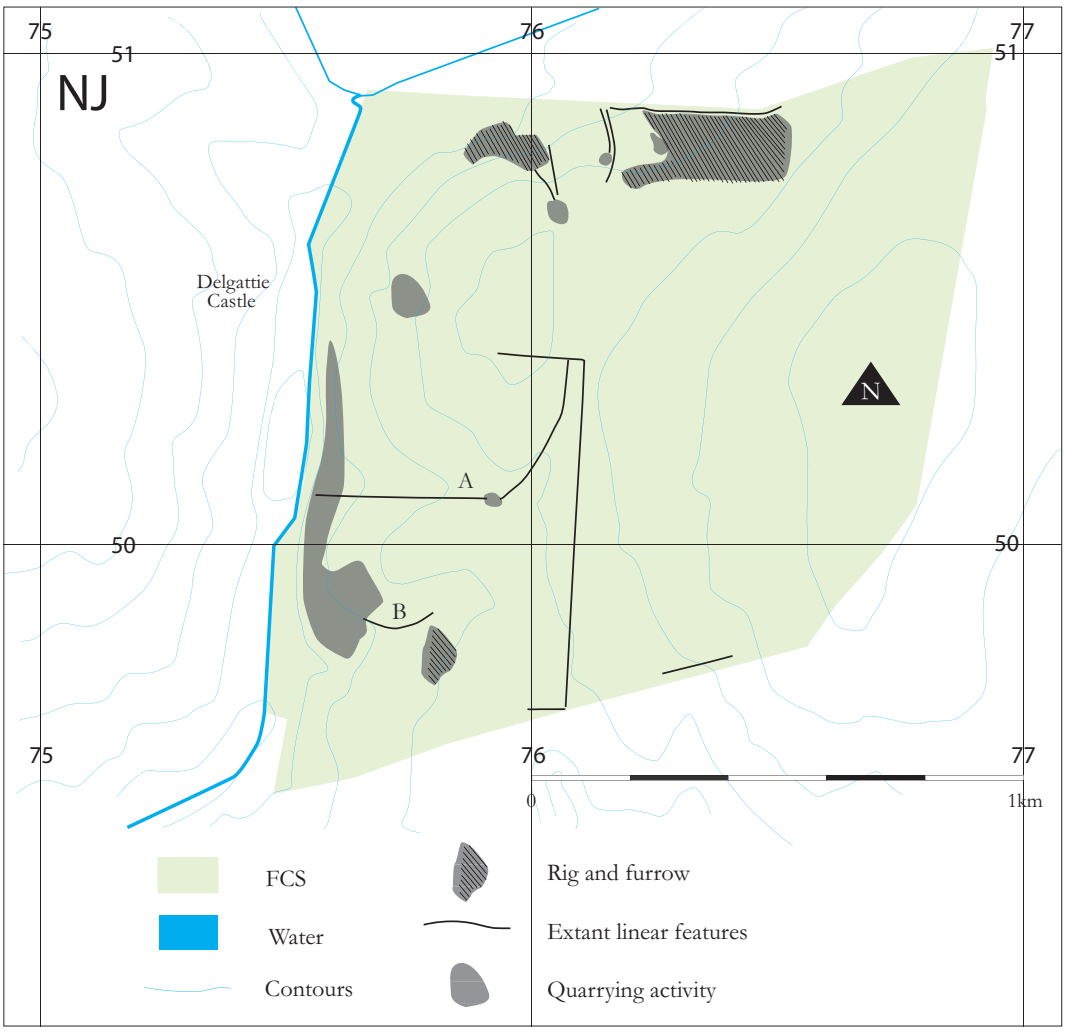

Figure 16. Delgaty Wood showing relict archaeological features.

Delgaty

A further use of lades was in association with stone quarrying. At Delgaty quarrying activity appears to have been carried out there since the 1300s (RH4/125) but became industrialised in the 18th century. Stone from here was said to have been used to build Fyvie Castle (RCAHMS, NJ75SE0015). The last surviving large quarry was 'Conns Quarry' which sits at the southern end of the quarrying strip on the west side of the wood (and around which can be seen the platforms for the cranes noted on the

1st edition OS map). Stretching north from here are series of small quarrying interventions which, presumably, relate to earlier activity. Further smaller quarries are scattered throughout the wood. For present purposes the interesting features are those with 'lade' characteristics and annotated 'A' and 'B' on Figure 16. The linear drain 'A' is shown on the 1st and 2nd editions of the OS maps as extending only slightly to the west of the grey blob where it turns to run due west. This area appears to be a dam, though it is not shown as such on the OS maps. On the ground its full length can be traced leading down within the earlier quarrying areas along the western scarp of the wood. Along its course is a further possible area of damming, though this remains uncertain. Its purpose is unclear but it is more likely to have formed a part of the quarrying landscape than anything else. One suggestion may be that water was required for cleaning some of the stone prior to carriage. The feature 'B' likewise appears to be coincident with the quarrying area but is a much slighter feature than 'A'. That it was not related to the final phase of quarrying activity can be shown by its path having been blocked by one of the crane platforms mentioned earlier. These vague linear features may, therefore, be integral parts of the earlier quarrying landscape of Delgaty Wood.

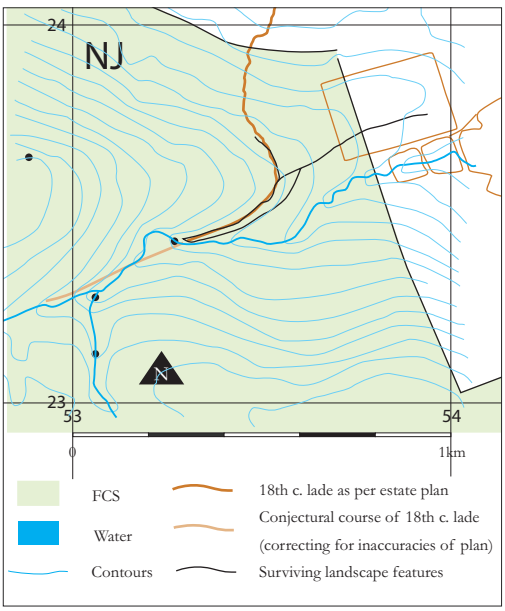

Figure 17. Watercourses in Correen Forest.

Returning to the theme of 'lost' mill sites, Correen and Drumtochty Forests supply two good examples. An earlier lade may be seen running to the east of the Dhulin burn towards the site of Drumtochty Castle on Figure 10. The longer one on the west side of the burn fed the saw-mill known from 19th century maps. It may be that the remains of the earlier lade relate to the mill noted in 17th century charters referring to the holdings of Drumtochty. On the northern side of Correen Forest an estate plan (RHP 14753) shows a lade heading northwards in the direction of Tillyangus (Figure 17). Its course at its western end is largely conjectural and based upon the plan's innaccurate rendition of landscape features. (This occurred as these features lay at the extremity of the plan and were merely sketched-in rather than surveyed as accurately as was the farmed and settled portion of the estate). It can be noted that the house of Knockespock, lying to the east of FCS woodland and within its embanked boundary, utilised the first part of the earlier lade in order to feed the 19th century landscaping displayed on the 1st edition OS map. Quite why the lower lade was required is a puzzle. Possibly a faster flow ensured that less silting and maintenance was required. Further upstream lay two dams that acted as reservoirs for the system. That these are not shown on the OS map suggests that they formed part of the original system. That the 'irrigation' systems appear not generally to have been supplied with such dams may suggest that the purpose of this lade may have been for a former mill site, as at Corrylair. This remains, however, unproven.

Other Irrigation Works:

Other 'water-reliant' features survive across the national forest estate in the North-east. These appear to suggest a pre-modern and otherwise-unattested interest in water-management for a different purpose to those discussed above and may be likened to a basic form of 'water-meadow'. The suggestion being made here is that areas of haughland were embanked on the water-side and supplied with a drain

at the bottom of the enfolding scarp. A channel with sluice at the upstream end coupled with a damming of the river below the haugh would ensure a steady flow across the enclosed area. As discussed by Williamson and Cook (2007, 1-7), a range of benefits could be accrued by keeping the ground watered throughout the coldest months. With respect to the North-east, probably the most important would be to keep the temperature of the ground up to enable an early 'bite' for livestock coupled with the possibility of adding silt from flooding to improve the soil quality. (It must not be forgotten that the former may also have been an important purpose for the catchworks discussed earlier).

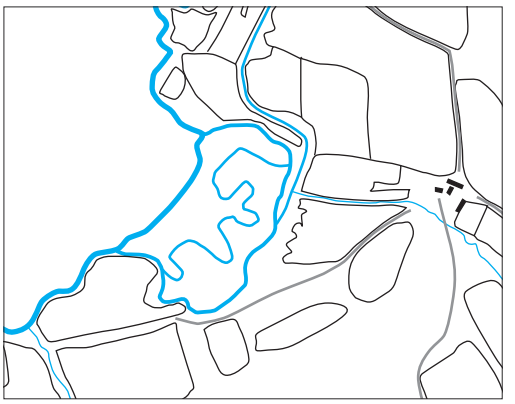

Figure 18. Possible designed waterscape at Barflat, near Rhynie on the River Bogie.

Cartographic evidence from around the area also suggests the design of waterways to achieve these ends. The ribboned and meandering streams at Milntown of Noth on Figure 3 are hard to explain without positing possible design. Similarly, the haughland near to Barflat on the Bogie have a designed appearance (Figure 18). Within the FCS lands in the area, the most seemingly intact example so far noted lies in the Clashindarroch Forest and known as Gordon's Haugh (Figure 19). The fact that it has a specific name possibly marks it out as of significance locally - most areas of haughland in the area do not possess individual names. The haughland comprises a 'back drain' running beneath a steep scarp. At the broad eastern end of the haugh, this drain is fed by channels running back from the embanked waterside. Because of their orientation these are difficult to see as natural, water-formed features. Near the eastern end where the water could drain out into the Kirkney Water is a deep pit of unknown purpose. The extreme western end of the haughland comprises a platform with indeterminate linear features. Between this and the main 'rigs' at the east end is at least one 'drain' running parallel to the burn. It must be remembered that this area has been afforested and the surviving features, lying in damp ground, have been disfigured by machinery in the past.

Similar earthworks, though smaller in extent, are known from other forests in the North-east. At Fetteresso (centred on NO 7668 8765) is an area of haugh enclosed by a stone-faced dyke on the landward side, beneath a steep scarp and with an associated drain. The riverside of the Cowie Water comprises a linear bank. The area may contain rigs with a wavelength of approximately 12 metres but the area has been marred by the construction of an early modern trackway and by forestry ploughing. Near the middle and lying south of the trackway is what appears to be a raised platform with possible structural remains. It may recall the platform at the west end of Gordon's Haugh or be no more than coincidentally and superficially similar. This feature is not shown on the OS maps. Lying less than two hundred metres away to the north-east on the north side of a tributary of the Cowie Water, the Dumer Burn, is a similar feature (NO 7676 8783). Here a small area of haughland is again enclosed on its landward side by a dyke at the bottom of a steep scarp with what appears to be a drainage gulley in front. There is a suggestion of a rigged surface though this might be simple attrition - the same caveats concerning forestry damage apply. The 'dyke' has more of the appearance of a revetment in this instance. The footings of a small building measuring approximately 10m x 5m externally sit at the west end of this piece of haugh and would appear to be associated with the enclosure. A third example from Fetteresso also comes from the bank of the Cowie Water. This time it involves a small structure with stone footings measuring approximately 12m x 4m externally and depicted unroofed on the 1st edition OS map (NO 7734 8793). Internally it appears to measure approx. 2.5m. Its small size would suggest an animal byre. There is a possible drain or culvert at the west end and the entrance seems to be in the NE

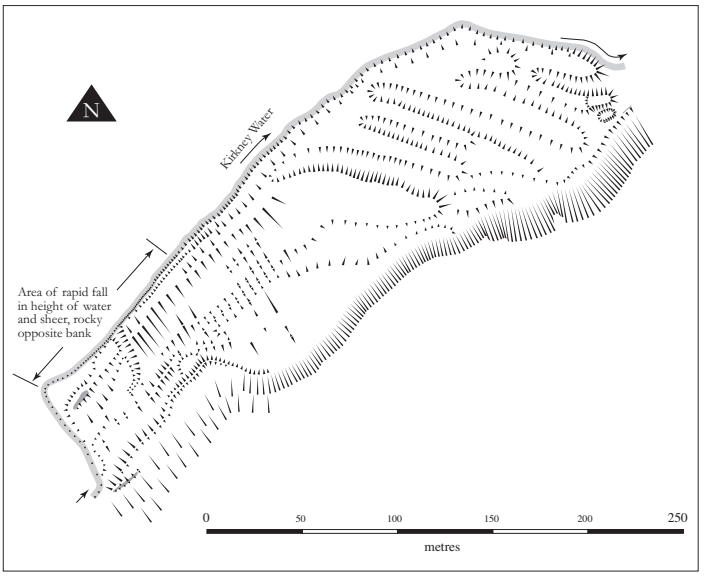

Figure 19. Gordon's Haugh, Clashindarroch Forest.

corner of the short side. The walls appear to have been little taller than at present, that is approximately 1m above present ground level. There is the possibility that the west end was stone gabled though the east (door end) appears not to have been. The building stands parallel to the river in a small but long piece of haughland with a bank between it and the river and a further rear bank at the foot of the slope behind the haugh. The rear bank runs to the river bank at NO 7751 8797 where there is now a drain. The riverside bank extends to NO 7769 8794 where the river is full of massive boulders, unlike anything else in the near vicinity. Running the full length behind the riverside bank is what appears to be a very long rig. Were the river to be blocked at the point where the riverside bank stops, the haughland might be easily flooded.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that these three areas of haughland within such short distances of each other do not reflect similar designs and purpose. Two of the three have associated buildings with the third possessing a possible platform with associated structural remains. That the two surviving buildings are so small suggests their use as something other than human habitation. That there appears to be possible evidence of rigging in all three areas suggests a further possible similar feature. These structures might find further parallels, also on the floodplain of the Cowie Water, at Brucklaw (NO 7467 8772) where two structures approximately 9m x 3m internally sit close together below the agricultural fields of the farmstead alongside floodable haughland. In this instance no associated enclosures have been noted.

It might not be coincidental that these two areas of survival - in the Clashindarroch and Fetteresso Forests - both contain extensive settlement remains that have survived through not being agriculturally utilised between their desertion and forestation. In other areas, after the arrival of cost-efficient drainage strategies, haughland has become prime arable land. Any relict features in these locations generally having been swept away long ago.

It is probably the case that all of the features noted above in this section would occasion little notice within an SMR or HER. When collated and viewed as groups, either within their own broader landscape contexts, or, as comparative sites across the region, they develop an importance probably far greater than the sum of their parts might allow. A similar observation may also be relevant to the next collection.

Cairnfields and Field Systems

As with the linear features described above, scatters of cairns and small areas of field remains excite little interest as individual entities. But, when taken as a group and cross-referenced, they may hold out the promise of adding detail to the picture supplied by the more oft-cited extensive remains. The latter often share similarities owing to the specific mechanisms surrounding their survival. In other words,

those landscapes of which we are most aware from the literature may not be representative of the original dataset. In Scotland, in particular, many occur in upland situations and survive owing to a particular set of conditions common to most within that group. What is lacking is a broad dataset from a range of topographies and periods. From this broader dataset we may have to be less fussy and accept what meagre helpings are offered. It is suggested that some of the following may be seen as supplying evidence to bulk out this limited population and that comparison between the group does indeed suggest a wider range of land-use strategies and designs not necessarily apparent within the better-known (though individually more complete) datasets.

Cairnfields:

Clearance cairns survive in number differentially across the National Forest Estate in the North-east. Clearly there is a relationship between stoney and less stoney ground, though the distribution may suggest that the reason is not quite such a simple geological correlation. (See discussion below). The distribution of hut circles as evidenced by stone foundations appears to correspond fairly well to the distribution of cairns and to be most concentrated in the river systems of the Don and Dee.

Banchory Woods and Blackhall Forest

Deeside is littered with the remains of cairnfields and hut circles. This should occasion no great surprise owing to the quality of the environmental attributes of the area. But, as noted above, this is clearly a lowland environment within which archaeological survival is far more sparodic than in the upland zone. Forestry Commission lands around the prime, multi-purpose location of Banchory therefore contain a useful dataset. Figure 20 shows the largely community woodlands immediately north of the town of Banchory. The town abuts the woodland on the southern and eastern sides with chunks of farmland and the town's hospital resulting in large gaps in the woodland cover. The hospital site appears to have removed a large central section of an extensive cairnfield (Area A). This is an interesting area as it is fairly certain that the full extent of it can be recognised with almost all of its boundaries lying within forestry lands. Outwith the area of cairns the land is less agriculturally friendly with bogs on the north-east and east and more rocky and broken ground to the north, west and south-east sides. To the south-west, lies more fertile ground which may have seen subsequent agricultural use and consequent clearance of the cairns. The area of the cairns was slightly isolated from the town lands by the construction of the now defunct railway line which has left its line curving sinuously through the woodlands (marked 'R' on the figure). This, in its turn, may have added to the survival prospects of the archaeological remains in this area.

The soils are of the Countesswells/Dalbeattie/Priestlaw association derived from granitic drifts and comprise brown forest soils, humus-iron podzols and gleys. These underlying geological drifts belong to the Banchory till formation containing glacial outwash of sands and gravels. (British Geological Survey, www.bgs.ac.uk, hereafter BGS). Such formations can result in areas of free-draining subsoils interspersed with less porous peats and gleys. In other words, resulting in restricted areas of easily-worked and managed soils.

The cairnfield 'A' sits on the south-west slopes of a gentle hill with only one small length of possible linear boundary noted (just north of the railway line). Just within its north-west boundary is a group of features with a hollow-way approaching from/leading to the north-west. This group of features contains a variety of forms, one of which having been suggested in the past as being a long cairn. This is probably incorrect as the remains appear to conform to a perfectly reasonable group of four agricultural buildings. (The original suggestion may have been made when the woodland was more dense and the full extent of the remains not as evident). On the top of the hill at the extreme edge of the cairnfield lie the remains of a (probably) earlier feature that may well also be related to settlement rather

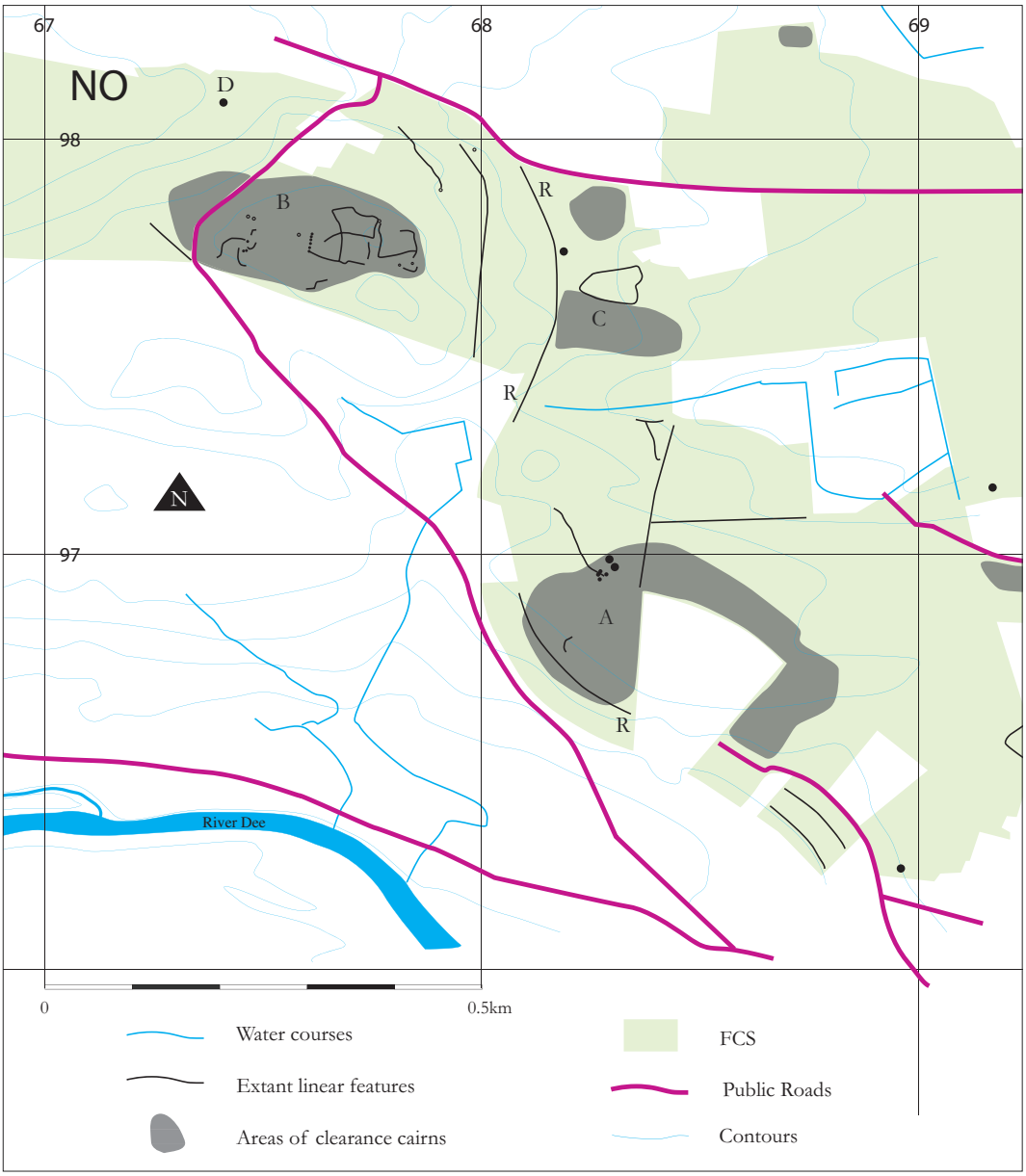

Figure 20. Cairnfields and other features in Banchory Woods.

than ceremonial use. Its poor survival makes a positive recognition impossible without intrusive work. It is tempting to see this area of cairnfield as being related to the settlement remains. If so, it holds out the possibility of a complete settlement with attendant environmental evidence dated to whatever period the structures might turn out to be. Their rectilineal form suggests this not to be prehistoric though they are unrelated to any known later historical settlement.

Area 'B' presents a rather different picture. Again, it is a restricted area of cairns though, this time, adjoining the historic farmstead (perhaps fermtoun) of East Brathens, still in existence as a dwelling. The area also contains an irregular field system at the east end with the suggestion of a further system

to the west. The eastern system is bounded on its western edge by a north/south row of cairns arranged in a straight line. Immediately west of this sits a feature that has been described as a ring cairn though might also be considered as a possible kiln. At the north-east side is what appears to be a small pen or hut at the end of a funnel-like drove. Just north of the western 'fields' are two hollow circular features measuring approximately 4 metres in diameter. These may be small huts but are just as likely to be ring cairns, given their topographical siting. North of the cairnfield and down a steepish slope at 'D' sits what appears to be a later medieval farmstead. This appears completely unrelated to the cairnfield and associated features. The cairnfield and field systems at 'B', therefore, give the appearance of belonging to an earlier (possibly prehistoric) period than cairnfield 'A'. It is, however, only by way of the associated discrete features that this suggestion may be made.

The straight line of cairns appearing to delimit the western extent of the field system may find an interesting parallel at Cairnshee in Durris Woods (east from NO 7371 9352). Here the cairns appear to define the northern limit of an extensive cairnfield surrounding a large roundhouse of approximately 17 metres diameter. No linear features or fields have so far been recognised here.

Cairnfield 'C' lacks the diagnostic features accompanying 'A' and 'B' with only one irregular, probably post-medieval enclosure abutting it to the north. Beyond this is a sub-circular enclosure measuring approximately 23 metres across and beyond that and close to the modern road is a series of field boundaries (as yet unplanned) with a possible structural element near the centre. These may have formed a western extension to the fields of the pre-modern Newton of Leys (still extant). On balance, therefore, the cairnfield could be considered as forming part of the outfields of Newton of Leys or as a residual feature pertaining to an earlier period of settlement overlain by the later Medieval settlement.

A further set of of cairns lying immediately south of the Dee at Banchory in Blackhall Forest appear to tell a different story. This well-defined group of large cairns - many being almost 7 metres across - are remarkably steep-sided. They sit high up on the south side of a ridge overlooking a very steep scarp. To the north, there are no settlements in the forest before the River Dee and this area of ground seems most likely only to have been cultivated by the fermtouns lying to the south. As Figure 21 shows, this would have been an arduous enterprise. The evidence of the cairns being well-preserved and large for the area of ground cultivable suggests that these lands were brought into production during a period of population stress. The altitude and exposure might suggest a period of beneficial climate. They appear to sit within a restricted area of brown forest soils said to be at the junction of two soil associations: the granitic drifts of the Countesswells/ Dalbeattie/ Priestlaw group of the scarp and the Dalradian derivatives of the Strichen association on the hilltop. The underlying bedrock is a metamorphosed sedimentary complex of the Queen's Hill Formation (BGS).

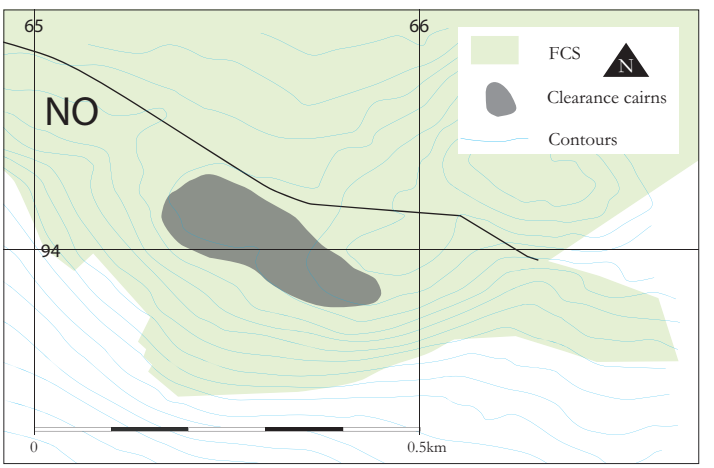

Figure 21. Clearance cairnfield in Blackhall Forest.

The three sets of clearance cairns found in FCS woods around Banchory all appear to have a different social history attached to them. Single kinds of archaeological evidence, therefore, should not automatically be grouped as though conforming to single formative types or periods.

That single sites may similarly yield patterns relating to different periods might also be seen at the scheduled site of the Slacks, Kirkhill Forest (centred upon NJ 8430 1430). This also perches on the edge of the Countesswells /Dalbeattie/Priestlaw association of granitic-derived drifts containing areas of brown forest soils. Topographically, the site sits on a hilltop at about 180 metres above OD and, during many periods, would have been deemed quite exposed and marginal. On the other hand, its siting also might be seen to be dominating the surrounding land, as evidenced by the siting here of the massive monumental cairn. Amongst this cairnfield are two morphologically-distinct sets of clearance cairn. within the general scatter of the cairns there is a small discrete group comprising smaller but more steeply-sided cairns. These suggest a separate period of construction from the rest, though the whole site appears to have a prehistoric basis, suggested by a range of associated roundhouses and large monumental cairn. Also present are cairns that appear to be almost 'linked' into what might be termed 'proto-dykes'. With the eye of faith these may also seem to define open, cairn-free areas. This might be seen to be the process of clearance that lead, eventually, to defined enclosures, though excavation would be required to test that notion. Such features also appear in Monaughty Forest (Figure 22). As in the case at Blackhall, a discrete cluster of clearance cairns sits atop a high ridge overlooking a scarp to the south with a dip-slope to the north. In this instance the cairns are much smaller and also appear to be prehistoric in origin owing to the nature of their nearest associated archaeological features. Hut circles, linear features and probable ring cairn lay along the ridge to the west. Some of these cairns also appear to 'link' and their disposition seems to suggest discrete linear arrangements in some instances. This site was recognised only recently (yesterday, as this is being written!) in an area of clear-felling. This work has scoured the surface in some areas revealing the cairns. Thick brash still covers much of the site and the plotted features are, therefore, only partial though probably representative of the site as a whole. The clearfell area extended beyond the limit of the cairns on the south, west and east sides and the cairn density appeared to be thinning towards the north near the limit of the felling work. A possible hut circle sits on the western edge of the site, just off of the top of the ridge on its southern slope. The eastern extent of the site appears to be marked by a large boulder to the north-east and a large earthfast rock at the extreme eastern point. Both are marked in grey on Figure 22.

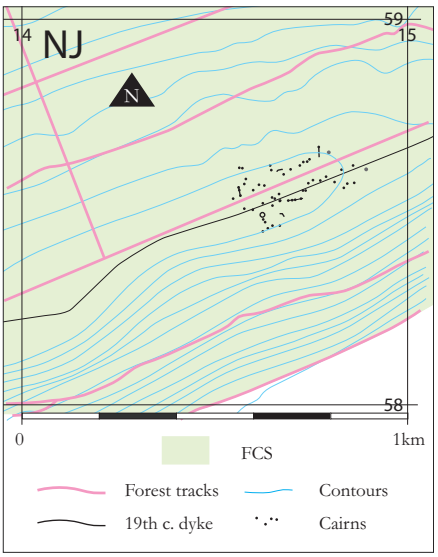

Figure 22. Clearance cairnfield in Monaughty Forest.

These features again appear to sit at the junction of two defined soil associations: the North Mormond/Orton association on the dip slope to the north and the Dalradian-derived drifts of the Strichen association on the steep south-facing scarp. The latter are seen to contain brown forest soils within the humus-iron podzols and gleys which are not accorded a presence amongst the former association. This pattern of liminal soil zones should probably come as no surprise but is interesting to note in practice. It suggests that, at certain times, very small patches of different soil types were recognised and utilised. It is also instructive that two types of topographically-similar cairnfields can be seen to belong to two widely-separated periods in time. Slacks and Monaughty to a prehistoric horizon and Blackhall more likely belonging to a much later Medieval period. Though there are morphological differences in these instances, it might be suggested that in other examples these differences might be masked and misleading conclusions deduced concerning their apparent archaeological timeframe.

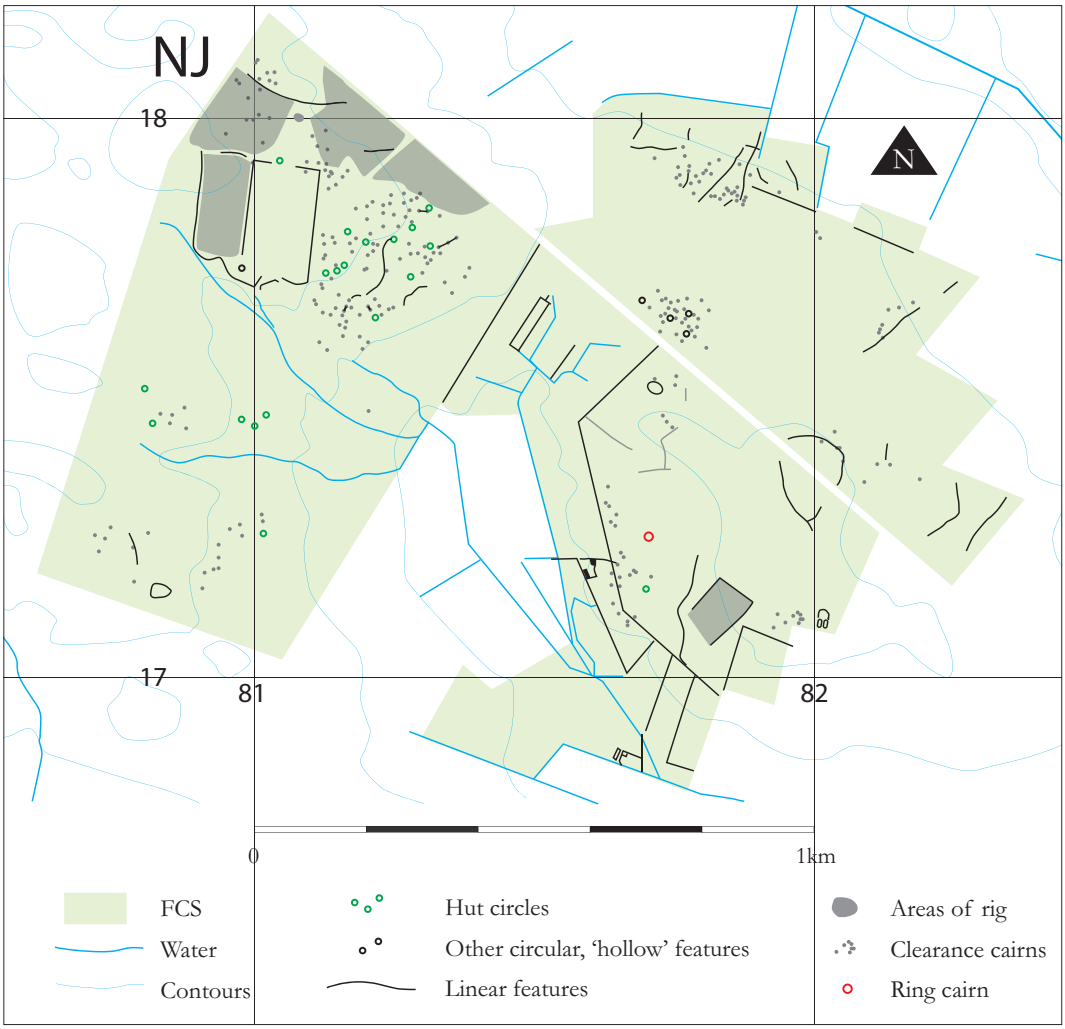

Figure 23. Balbithan Wood showing relict archaeological features.

Balbithan

The impressive palimpsest of multi-period features at Balbithan (part of which is scheduled) contains what appear to be a number of discrete cairnfields associated with hut circles, a limited number of linear features and one curvilinear enclosure lying to the east of the wood and cut by the 19th century road (Figure 23). But, notable variation does occur. The central southern gap between the two halves of the woodland block contains part of a golf course. This hollowed area through which the burns drain is surrounded by hut circles associated with clearance cairns and, at the northern end of these drainage features, by an early modern farmstead and field system. This may have removed some earlier features. North of the road on the ridge is a further dense scatter associated with four very small hollow, circular features. These might be either small huts or ring cairns. Along the northern edge of the wood is a dense concentration of clearance cairns but no apparent hut circles (though the ground is badly damaged here and that absence may be more apparent than real). These may be related to the linear features. A small scatter lies south-east from these and a few lie near to the large sub-circular enclosure cut by the road. South of these lie another small group that appear to be associated with a later sub-rectangular dwelling

of possible medieval date. In fact, others of these cairns might also be associated with later periods of land-use. The group of cairns lying to the east of the golf course near to the impressive ring cairn are just as likely to be related to the small farmstead down the slope from them than to the rather dubious hut circle south of the cairn. Similarly, in the south-west part of the woodland (west of the golf course) those cairns may be related to what may be an enclosed settlement feature defined by a sub-oval perimeter at NJ 8083 1715. Such ovoid features occur elsewhere in forestry grounds, such as in Cairnshee Wood (see below). Finally, the clearance cairns in the north-west corner are scattered amongst the rigs and might equally relate to that late pre-modern period of land utilisation. Clearly, conclusions cannot be drawn from form alone.

The whole of this quite limited area of woodland might always have been rather marginal in comparison with its surroundings. This raises questions concerning its apparent popularity. To the north lay the brown forest soils of the Tarves association, south and east lay a band of free-draining sands and gravels of the Corby/Boyndie/Dinnet association and, to the west, the occurrence of brown forest soils amongst the humus-iron podzols and gleys of the Countesswells/Dalbeattie/Priestlaw association. The area itself comprises peaty gleys, humic gleys and peats of the last-mentioned association. It might be suggested that the area was only used during periods of general high population. The number of clearance cairns certainly suggests that land was being used for growing crops rather than just for pastoral activities. It might also suggest that limited areas of production were more viable within a small-scale agricultural production environment. Small family-oriented land improvement schemes appear to have been an option. On the other hand, it is difficult to quantify, without environmental sampling, the degree to which land has become less agriculturally-viable in the intervening period and by what processes. Have the brown forest soils, that may have been previously present, decayed through poor land management or over-expolitation in the past?

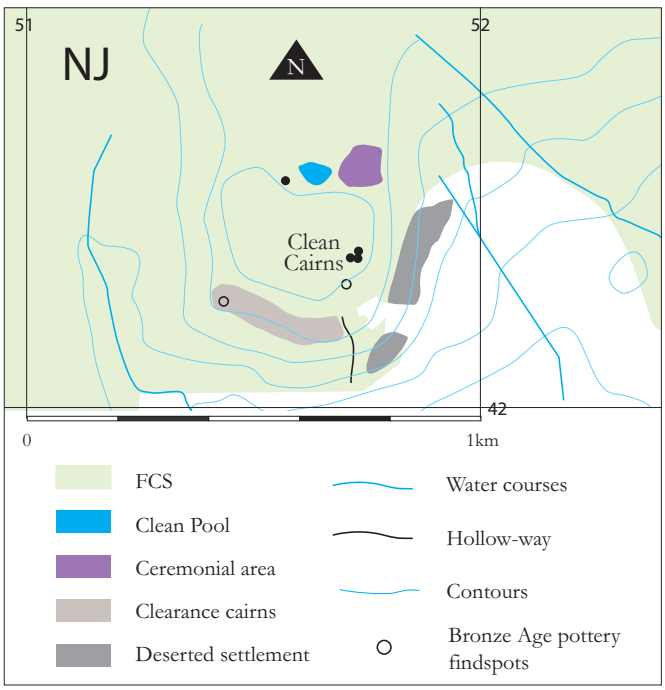

Figure 24. Site of Clean Pool ceremonial complex, Bin forest.

Clean Pool

A final case of potential mistaken identity can be demonstrated by the Clean Pool site in the Bin forest. The name itself appears to have been a product of mistaken identity in its own right (Figure 24). A pool shown on the 1st edition OS map is identified as 'Clean Pool'. But, the forest road running below it to the west was known to recent foresters as the 'Peel Road'. A local story has arisen noting that the pool was used by local participants returning from the Battle of Culloden and that they paused there to wash before returning to Huntly. (Quite why they should do that remains an unanswered mystery!). The early modern farmstead of Clean Brae replaced an earlier fermtoun scattered along the spring line below Clean Pool and known as Clune. This is referenced in a charter of 1535 (Paul,

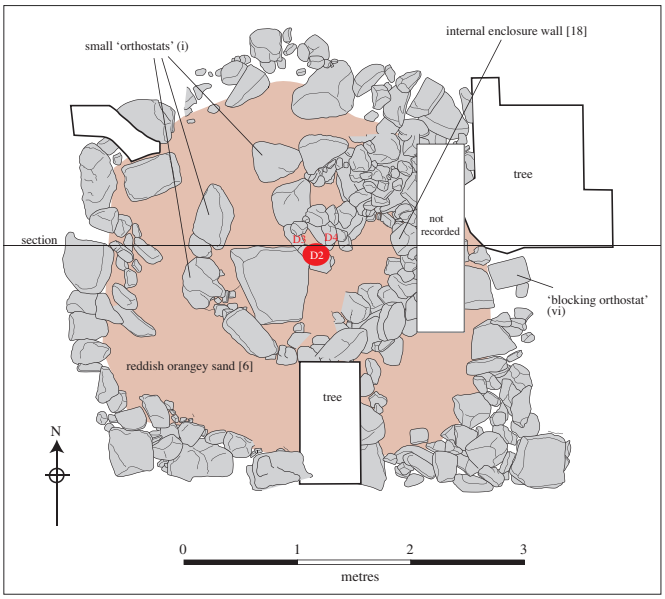

Figure 25. Phase 4 of an Early Bronze Age ceremonial monument at Clean Pool in the Bin Forest.

1984, 1453) along with a note referring to "'*lee Pele*" and fields of Clune'. It has latterly been assumed that the 'Peel Road' was a corrupt version of the 'pool road' prior to the recognition of that charter. This charter now suggests that term 'Peel' is a correct memory of an otherwise frustratingly unknown feature and that there is no connection with the pool at all. This was simply a back-formation garnered relatively recently in order to explain an ill-understood reference.

But, returning to the archaeology, during preparation work for replanting, discrete scatters of stones were noted. Nothing was formerly visible in this area either when as mature forest or once clear-felled prior to site preparation for replanting. It was assumed that these scatters represented either clearance cairns of the remains of former dykes extending onto the ridge from the fields of Clune below. A 'strip and record' project was undertaken in order to record parts of the site prior to replanting and in order to encourage the local community to engage with their archaeological heritage. After stripping and recording 300 square metres the linear features failed to materialise but a number of cairns became apparent. After discussion with the county archaeologist, one was chosen for excavation, anticipating it to be unlikely to be more than a simple clearance cairn. The results showed it to be a very small ceremonial monument of late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age date that had undergone a complicated series of lives and was seemingly connected spatially to the other unexcavated examples on the ridge (Figure 25). Attention might also be drawn to the existence of three large cairns overlooking the ceremonial area and to question whether they formed a part of the same contemporary cultural landscape. Finds of pottery have also been located across the hill and flints discovered within the area of the deserted fermtoun of Clune.

The soils are of the Insch association with the underlying geology belonging to the Huntly-Knock gabbroic group (BGS). The soil of the area of the cairns is now very thin but, as seen in the excavation, there appears to have been a lot of prehistoric earth-moving taking place on the ridge. There might always also be the possibility of soil removal for 'plaggen' improvement purposes lower down the slope. However, this has not so far been demonstrated.

A cairnfield located down the hill from the Whitehills stone circle in Pitfichie Forest may be a similar type site. The cairns appear to be similarly-sized and their position - overlooked by a larger monument, may be reminiscent of the Clean Pool situation. Excavation alone could answer that question.

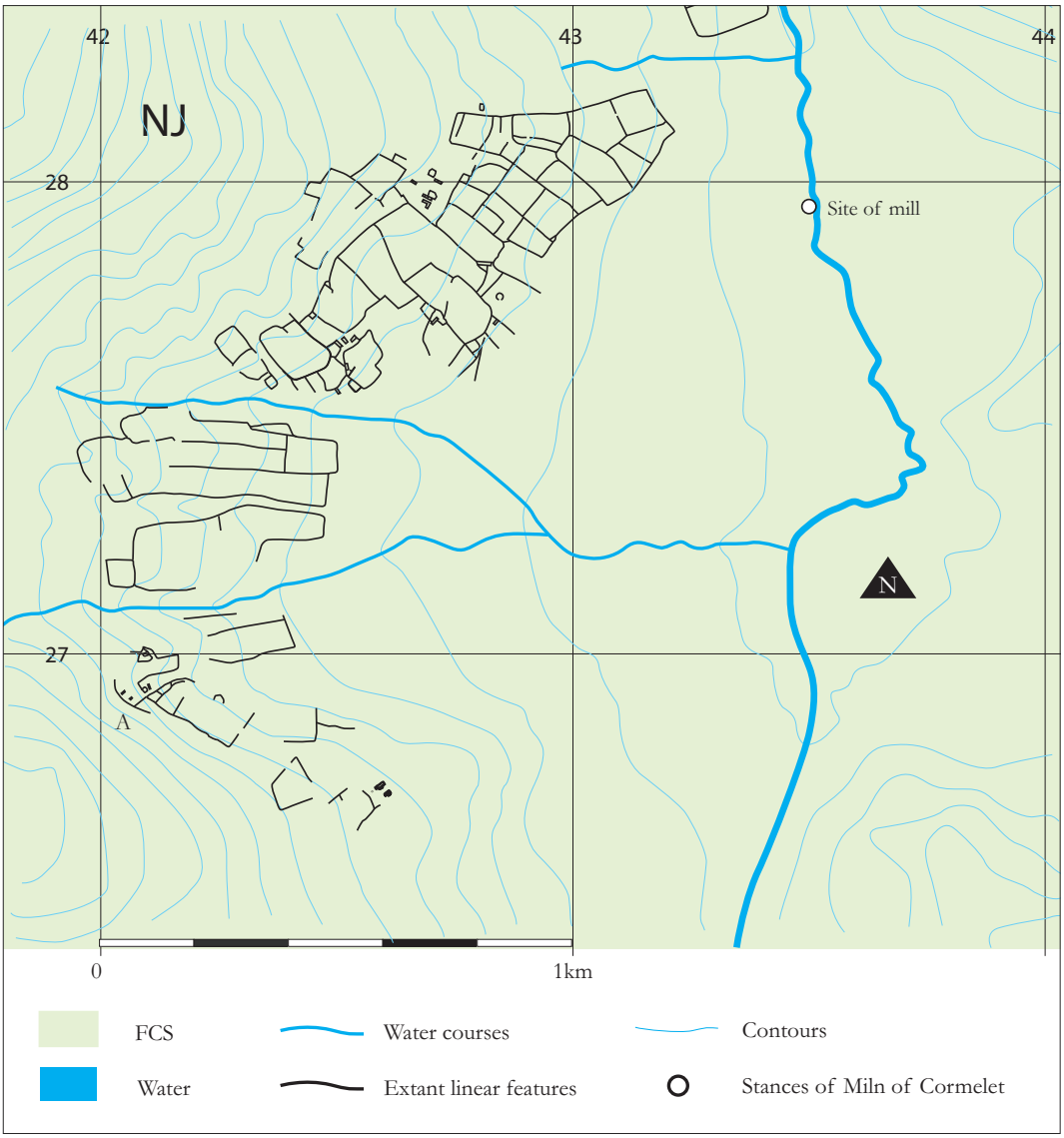

Figure 26. Some of the relict field systems and settlements recorded within the Clashindarroch Forest.

Fields:

Field systems have been briefly touched upon with regard to the cairnfields. This section will consider the range of types surviving in the North-east FCS woodlands from a range of periods across a variety of topographies.

Clashindarroch Forest

The sheer scale of the relict field systems in the Clashindarroch Forest gives pause for wonder (Figure 26). They represent the only sheep clearance casualties in the Lordship of Huntly and the subsequent under-utilisation of the area prior to forestation in the 1950s has ensured their survival. Plantation processes in the 1950s were largely manual and the high quality of the former lands meant

that heavy machinery was not essential for ground preparation. Only latterly have the majority of the core former cultivated fields come under threat from heavy machinery.

The area might be described as sitting on the boundary between upland and lowland ecologies. It is noteworthy that the common upland trait of head dykes surrounding core agricultural open fields does not appear to apply here. The head dykes are absent and all the fields are enclosed by feal dykes. However, one section of curving dyke behind the farmstead of Little Blackmiddens may suggest that an earlier system had been supplanted by the later enclosed pattern (see 'A' on Figure 26). The enclosed fields also appear to have been designed with a view to drainage as noted earlier at Milntown of Noth (Figure 3). It has been suggested elsewhere that these field systems possibly relate to the late 15th or early 16th centuries (Shepherd, 2007, 73). Geologically, the area contains iron-rich olivine-gabbro defined as Insch Pluton (BGS). The soils belong to the Insch series and comprise peaty gleys with some brown forest soils with gleying. But, the area adjoins parcels of land of the same association but which contains a greater abundance of brown forest soils. Land improvement can also be attested for the area with areas of 'plaggen' soils being moved to improve certain areas and thereby leaving other areas impoverished.

The importance of these settlements and fields is that they are related to a form of lowland ecology that rarely survives in the archaeological record owing to subsequent farming developments. Though not as 'arably productive' as the fermtouns nearer to Huntly, they do, nonetheless appear to have warranted a mill, presumably for the grinding of grain, noted as out of use on an 18th century estate plan (RHP 2254) (see Figure 26). Its absence from rentals is unusual as noted above. Most of the field boundaries and settlements visible on the ground are shown on the estate plans relating to the area but there are absentees. And as the plan was drawn on the eve of the area's abandonment, it seems unlikely that they post-date its production. A plan, undated but of the early 19th century, shows the area virtually deserted by that time (RHP 2255). With respect to the missing field dykes, they are all in a poorer state of preservation than nearby planned examples. This suggests they were already redundant by the time of the estate plans drawn in the 1770s along as were some of the accompanying settlements (Shepherd, 2012, 51).

The fields also demonstrate that enclosure was not only a product of the early modern regime in the area and that where stock control was an important part of the ecology, enclosures may have dominated. That this was the case in this area after the 1600s is documented by the rental evidence showing that rents were mainly paid in products of a pastoral ecology. The same story is also suggested by the demise of the mill, though this might also speak of an ealrlier period of grain production.

Fetteresso

The fields north of the Cowie Water in Fetteresso Forest make an interesting comparison for the evidence from the Clashindarroch (Figure 27). These are also enclosed fields apparently predating the 19th century. Charter evidence records settlements at Stonehouse, Hobseat, Brucklaw and 'Watterheid of Glencowie' in 1592 along with a '*fortalico et manerie*' at the head of the glen at Mergie (Paul, 1984, 2124). A single surviving roundhouse beside a small scatter of clearance cairns above the West Dummer Burn just to the north-east of Hobseat (A) demonstrate how much of this settled land may have had a much longer history. The more recent practices possibly having removed almost all surface indications of the older settlements. One possible relict feature may be the oval form bisected by the modern forest track at 'B'.

Geologically the underlying rocks are metamorphic and said to belong to the Glen Effock Schist Formation (BGS). In terms of the soils, they belong to the Countesswells/Dalbeatti/Priestlaw association and comprise peaty podzols, some humus-iron podzols and gleys. Not a very inspiring mix that is noted as generating bog heather moor and native pinewoods. It might be suggested that a fair degree of effort was required to improve that mix. The slopes and hilltops above comprise largely blanket peat.

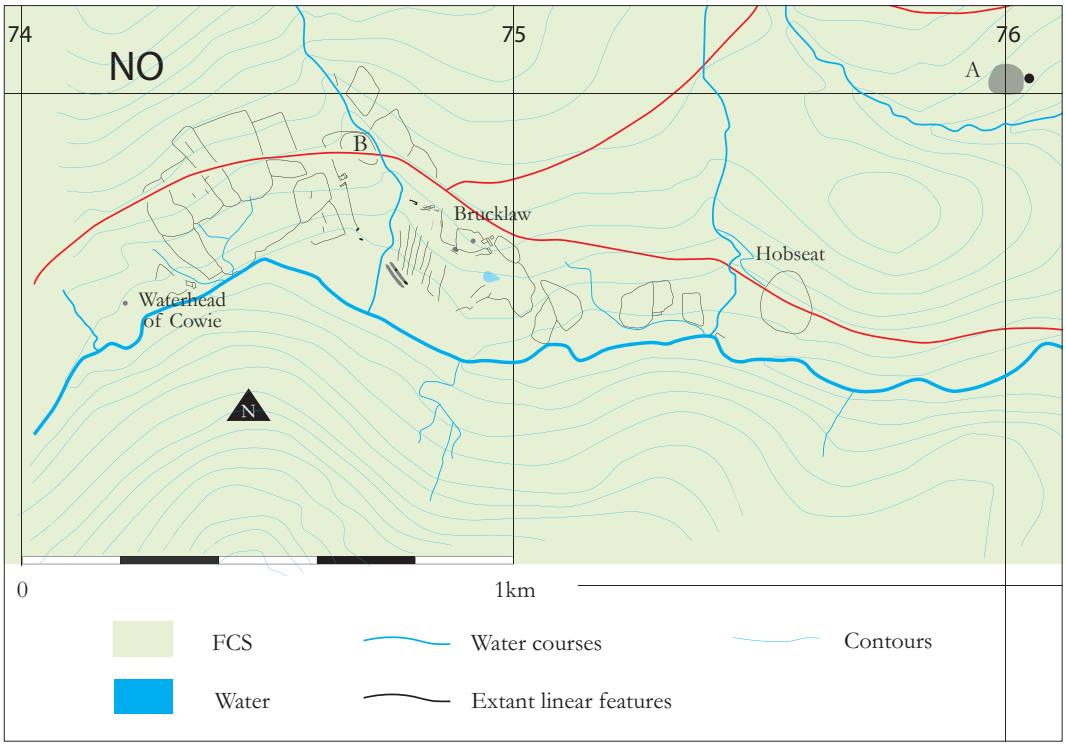

Figure 27. Field systems along the Cowie Water, Fetteresso Forest.

Whereas the farmsteads and touns of the Clashindarroch were removed to make way for sheep and shooting parties, the demise of the settlements of the Cowie Water appear to have been simple cases of long-term decline, probably occasioned by changing patterns of routeways, themselves attendant on altering economic trends. Droveroads crossed north and south across the Cowie in the 17th and 18th centuries and these would have helped to link the area to the the wider world. Prior to that, within the more localised economic world of the middle ages, the glen was probably virtually self-sufficient, forming just one ecological sub-zone within the large lordship centred upon Dunnottar and Fetteresso. From 1800 onwards, especially during economically poorer times, the settlements furthest up the glen would have become seen to be less viable. Any new 19th century farmsteads appear to have been constructed no further west than Stonehouse. The areas around Waterhead, Brucklaw and Hobseat saw no taking in of new ground as occurred at Bennachie or Correnie. Even to land-hungry people of that century it perhaps appeared too remote.

The field systems of the surviving original settlements do not conform to the usual 19th century rigid rectilinearity. This suggests that the tenants simply carried on with what they had inherited. However, some new architectural forms were included in the building designs. Waterhead, although small, does appear to have followed the new 19th century style of construction, possibly replacing an earlier site lying further to the west. Brucklaw similarly appears to have moved to a new location a short distance to the east. The former structure survives as footings for a single range of buildings centred upon a distinctive rocky outcrop. Quartz appears to have been used to face the central structure positioned on the outcrop and marking it out as a structure of some importance. The name 'Brucklaw' (if faithfully recalling its orginal name) itself suggests an earlier legal pre-eminence that clearly declined through time. The 19th century Brucklaw comprised a new farmstead based upon a courtyard design. Hobseat appears to have become a place of some pretensions during the 19th century and seemingly ended life as a form

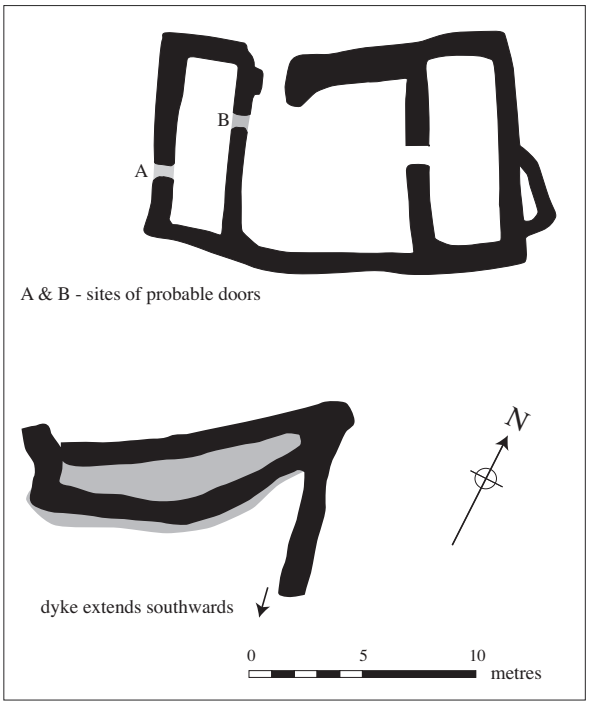

Figure 28. Enclosure and associated structures west of the Burn of Anaquhat.

of shooting lodge. The oval perimeter is well-made and a lade appears to have brought water directly to the site through a brick-lined aperture in the enclosing dyke. Only Hobseat appears to have retained roofed buildings by the time of the 1st edition OS. All of the buildings associated with Brucklaw and Waterhead are depicted as unroofed.

It is interesting to note that the fields of Brucklaw sit mainly on the west side of the Burn of Anaquhat. It is possible that earlier settlement features have been removed during the alteration to the field layout through time. Between Waterhead and the burn there is only one remaining feature. This is shown as a single open enclosure. In reality, it contains two buildings at either end of an open space (Figure 28). To the south it is abutted by a further platform suggesting that this plan is only the end result of a more complicated building history. Down the slope from this structure are the remains of at least two further buildings predating and not recorded on the 1st edition map. One measures 9m x 3.5m internally whilst the second was 3.5m wide but of indeterminate length as the end walls have been ploughed away. A possible third building sits nearby but this has been even more badly affected by ploughing. Their position hard by the floodplain begs comparison with other sites noted along with Cowie and discussed above. As noted there, Waterhead also has further earlier structural features lying to the west of the 19th century farmstead.

Within some of the enclosures, which are generally aligned down the slope, are further linear clearance heaps also running down the slope. This would seem to suggest that at least some of the fields were ploughed, hence the clearance, and that the direction of ploughing was downslope. A larger enclosure with small water channels suggests a stock enclosure with an entrance at the north-east corner. East of the burn on the floodplain two broad rigs survive. It is likely that there would have been more but forestry work in the soft soils will have degraded them beyond recognition. Above these are broad lynchetted shelves running slightly across the slope. Their downslope edges comprise substantial clearance, presumably from the lynchets themselves. The stone clearance is deepest at the bottom of the slope, as would be anticipated. Further west the ground becomes more broken and the enclosures more irregular and piecemeal. A boggy area at the bottom of a steep slope south of the 19th century farm of Brucklaw may have been a pond for the use of stock.

The evidence from the fields might, therefore, suggest a mixed agricultural economy not unlike that suggested for the Clashindarroch in its 17th century phase. However, the haughland ecology was not available to the inhabitants of the Clashindarroch and on the Cowie this seems to have been an important component. Rigs can be seen to have been ploughed upon it and small buildings constructed in association. These are most likely to have been used for stock with the haughland providing a first 'bite' in early spring.

Rosarie drains

The fields in the Clashindarroch comprised mainly turf with some cleared stone; those in Fetteresso were stone. In Rosarie, on the other hand, stone forms a very small part of the geology. In these situations ditches provided the double function of drainage and enclosure. Within a pre-modern environment without access to stone, boundaries could be made of feal (turf) or be dug. The latter having the extra benefit of draining the land as well. In many parts of Britain, ditched enclosures gave way in time to upstanding boundaries. Pre-modern enclosures made of stone or turf are usually curvilinear in form but estate plans showing areas of flat, stone-free land, such as on a plan dated 1783 of Urquhart in Moray (MS3175/RHP/31339) show field forms that are rectilineal and regular. Ergonomically, whilst ovoid enclosure boundaries surround more area per linear metre than rectilineal forms, this advantage is lost in flattish ground requiring drainage as the shortest line between two points - inflow and outflow - is a straight line. Many instances exist in FCS lands of this type of landscape. These appear to be areas accomodating the farmsteads created by 19th century 'improving leases'. Generous terms were granted on the lease whilst the land was being improved but the cost rose thereafter. The harsh reality was that many farmers having improved the land could not afford to take on the lease at full cost and were forced to start all over again with a new improving lease. It is also noticable that most of the land taken in during that process, often in the early 1800s when agricultural incomes were high, soon reverted to rough land and ultimately in some cases, such as Rosarie, to forestation.

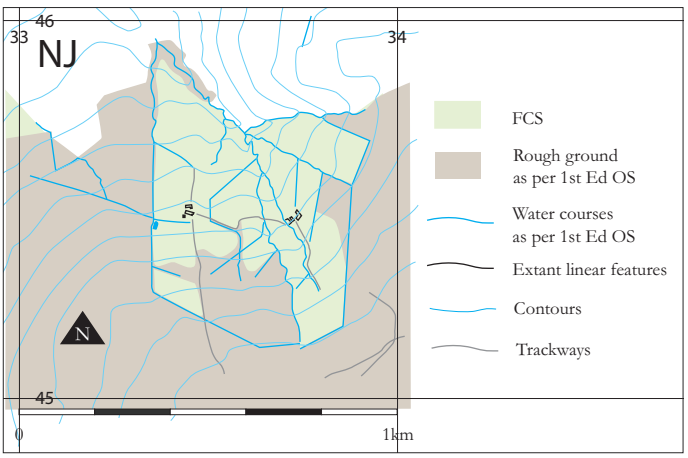

Figure 29. Farmsteads of Shians and Greenhills in Rosarie Forest.

Whilst it is fairly easy, in the North-east, to determine pre-modern dykes from early modern ones, estimating the date of a drainage pattern is not so simple. As noted above, there is a general assumption that all of the linear drains shown on the 1st edition OS map relate to early modern 'improvement'. But this should perhaps not be accepted uncritically. The farmstead of Shians (Figure 29) has a Gaelic name that would seem to suggest a long ancestry. It sits on a north facing slope overlooking very rich loamy soils. The soil is of the Strichen association and derived from Dalradian schists. The map unit 497 suggests gleys, humic gleys, peaty gleys and humus-iron podzols. The vegetation is said to err towards rush pastures and sedge mires, though arable and permanent pasture may be possible. In fact, the area of the fields is one of deep rich soils. It may be that these have been dramatically enhanced by human agency over the years.

The adjacent farmstead to the east, Greenhill, is clearly a later intrusion on the poorer land and its buildings entirely in stone contrast with the older tradition of turf walls employed in some of the buildings at Shians. The 'kite-shaped' enclosure surrounding both corresponds to a traditional 'head dyke' in that it encloses the arable component of the farm from the upland grazing by means of an external drain and internal bank formed from the upcast - though little of that now survives. Its shape has been occasioned by the natural drainage channels into which the ditches run but the shape has kept as close to the arcing head dyke shape as the draining technology sensibly permits. At the southern end, the ditches don't quite meet, leaving an access for stock. Is this, therefore, really an 'improvement' landscape or something older? Within the enclosure, the OS map shows that not all of the ground is arable and

that the divisions often reflect the position of drains. In fact, many of the sub-divisions within the kite-shaped enclosure are surprisingly erratic and lack the uniformity more generally anticipated in 19th century planning regimes.

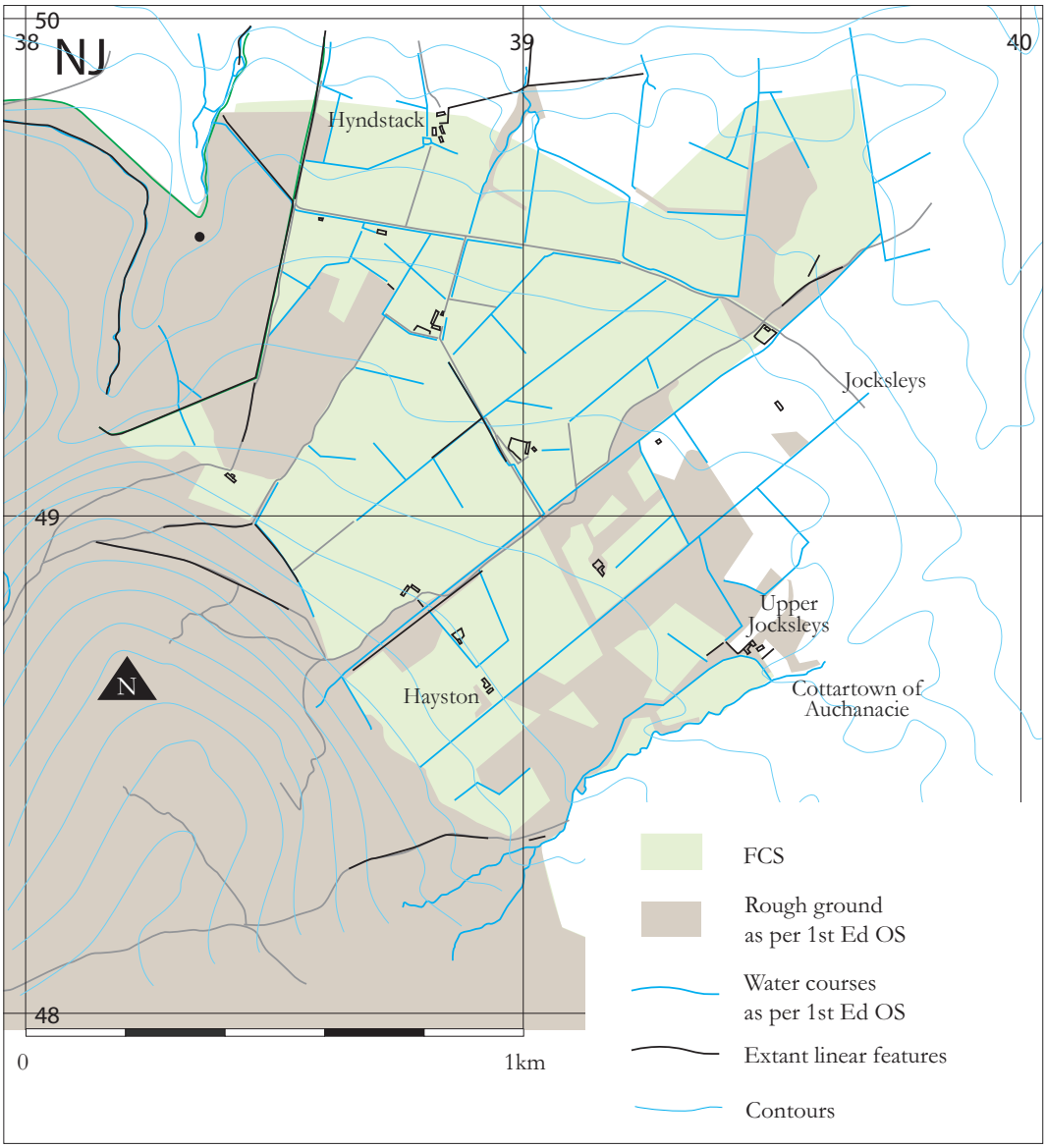

Figure 30. Farmsteads on the Moor of Auchanacie in Rosarie Forest.

Similar questions arise concerning the Moor of Auchanacie (Figure 30). The landscape appears to be a typical 'improvement' scene and most of it clearly is just that. However, the settlement at the extreme edge of the FCS lands, Hyndstack, is clearly pre-modern in its scattered layout of buildings contrasting with the courtyard plan of the farmstead to the south. (Though this is not to say that courtyard pland did not exist in the pre-modern period as evidenced by numerous 18th century estate plans). Although Hyndstack appears to have sat amongst regular 19th century fields it was abandoned

by the time of the 2nd edition OS with the fields having reverted to rough pasture and furze. In fact, out of the 9 probable habitation sites shown in this area on the 1st edition map, 2 had already fallen out of use by the time of its survey (1867) and, by the time of the 2nd edition revision in 1902 only one farmstead, Hayston, survived. Apart from its fields, all others had reverted to rough grazing and furze. Its name also requires comment with the '-ton' suffix creating an unusual 19th century name. It is unfortunately not named on the 1st edition map for comparison.

Looking to the southern half of the plan, the OS records rather more areas of rough ground unenclosed from its adjacent worked land. In most instances these rough patches conform to the same drainage pattern as the surrounding parcels, running parallel with the recorded drains. These field systems are unlikely to date to before the very end of the 18th century but their apparent lines of disrepair follow fairly precisely and parallel to the functioning drains. One remarkably straight alignment runs parallel to and south of the drain leading to the mill dam at Jocksleys. This is not shown as a drain though its course suggests that at one time it had been. Furthermore, the mid 19th century drain to Jocksleys is also seen to cut through an earlier field pattern lying on the north side of the putative drain. This may indicate that an earlier pattern of drainage and fields underlies the mid 19th century picture noted on the 1st edition map. That the alignment was maintained by the subsequent system is quite apparent. Finally, in this context, it might be worth noting the proximity of the Cottertown of Auchanancie lying just to the south of Jock's Burn. Might some of these smaller enclosures been outfields associatd with this cottar township? The access route to Upper Jocksleys - the farmstead ultimately utilising this area - was accessed from the cottartown across the burn rather than from the main farmstead of Jocksleys.

The field systems delimited by ditches in the Rosarie woodlands may predominantly date to the early modern period. However, it should also be noted that this area can be seen to demonstrate an element of dynamic change. That some of the elements may pre-date the 19th century is a possibility. Whilst pre-modern field systems often demonstrate a lack of the rigid regularity that characterises early modern and modern field planning should not blind us to the idea that pre-modern systems could be highly regular, especially in stone-free, boggy environments. Estate plans, as noted above, can demonstrate this. It might well be that the area of the Moor of Auchanacie saw piecemeal enclosure at an earlier period and that some of the present drains may have a longer ancestry than might first be imagined. The soils are similar to those at Shians, i.e. of the Strichen series but defined as map unit 498 which contains a smattering of brown forest soils amongst the iron-humus podzols and gleys. The reality is that, owing to the fairly flat profile of the area, there is a tendancy to waterlogging and the necessity for drains to make the land workable. Lack of maintenance of the drains would quickly result in a return to waterlogged and boggy conditions.

Bunzeach shielings

Shieldings may appear to be an unusual category to include in a section on field systems. But, within the forest of the Bunzeach survived an extensive range of sites that suggest that the single umbrella term of 'shielings' might not be sufficient to account for the range of observations (Figure 31). An estate plan in the University of Aberdeen Special Collections (MS 2769/1/131/6) shows the situation at about 1776 and many of the features are still recognisable on the ground.

All of the 'winter touns' pertaining to the shielings named lie just north of the Bunzeach along the strath of the Don. The hill of the Bunzeach (Bad an Teachdaire) itself appears to have been considered appended to the settlements lying to the east as no shielings from the north occur in this area. The wards and enclosures of Craigydu and Chappeltoun as well as the goat cott of Ballychylack attest to this. It is notable, however, that the mosses on the south-west side of Bad an Teachdaire appear to have been utilised from both sides of the hill, though the plan suggests that these were also in the process of being acquired by individuals. A part of the Moss of Ardgeith was recorded as having been purchased by the Minister of Towie from Captain Forbes. The plan may well have been drawn with the

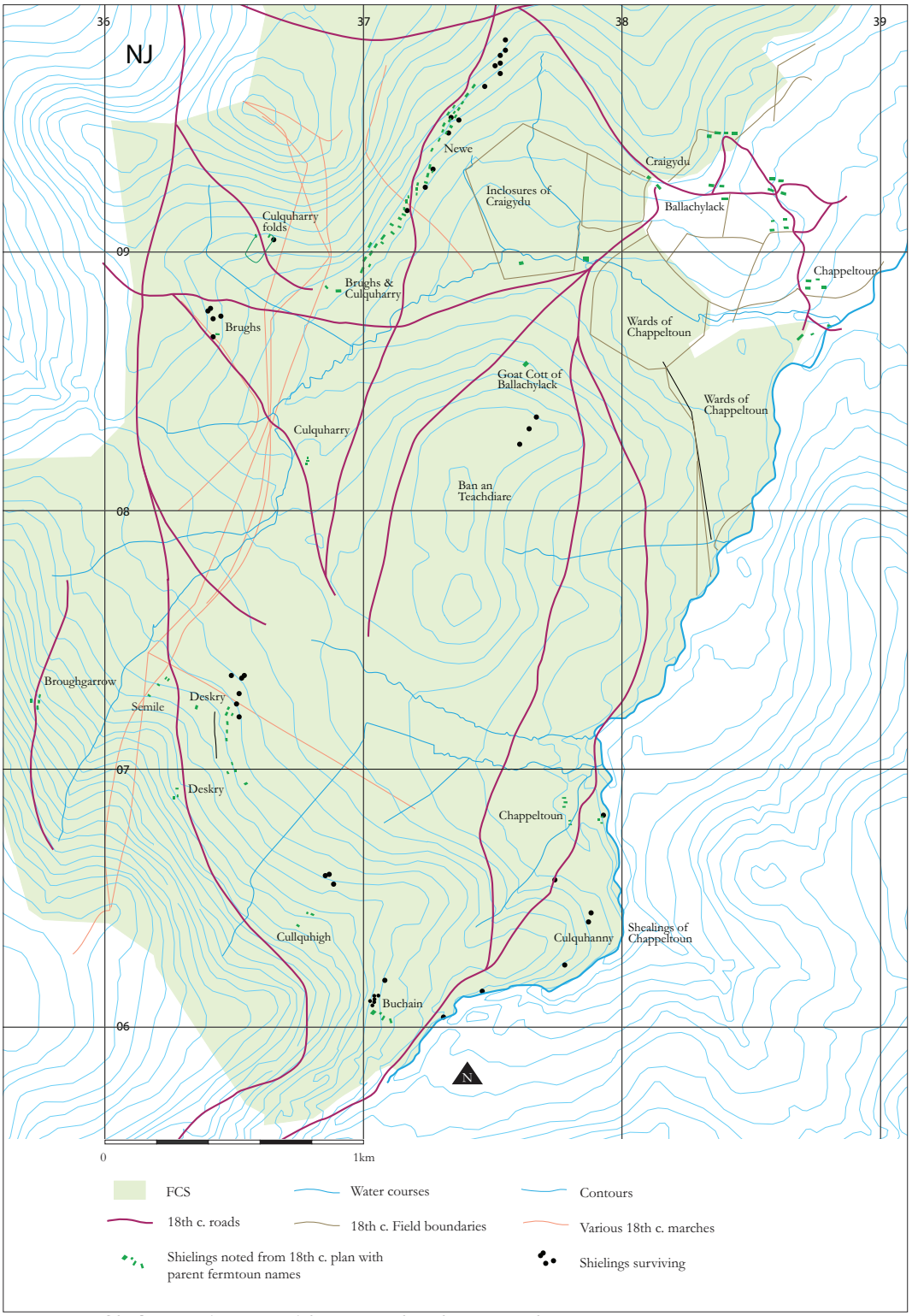

Figure 31. Shielings and associated features within the Bunzeach Forest.

purpose of dividing this particular commonty as suggested by the numerous amendments to the march boundaries. The very slight differences in the ammended lines across what was to become no more than a playground for the owners suggests a particular mentality perhaps redolent of the age.

Consideration of the archaeological remains reveals a variety of structural forms and features and, along with the track network, suggests this area not simpy to have been a remote site of summer pasture. The long north-south route passing up the west side of the area was known as the 'High Road' and ran between Morven and Strathdon, in effect, linking the major east-west river systems of the Don and the Dee. A branch running up the east side of the area connected with the Don further eastwards. The intensive line of shielings belonging to Newe, Brux and Culquharry in the north of the area suggests that large numbers of people and animals were involved in the pasturage. In fact, the settlement was more nucleated than the 'winter-touns'. A similar nucleation belonging to the toun of Deskry appears further to the south. This settlement had at least one linear dyke running behind the shielings which is not shown on the estate plan.

The estate plan appears to show buildings of different sizes. This may be thought to be simply a lack of attention to detail except that the remains do vary considerably in size. The huts noted as belonging to Culquhigh (presumably Culquharry) south of the Deskry ones appear to show an interesting change through time. These are shown as quite small huts on the plan and the three surviving members are small in the final form. One measures approximately 5m x 2m internally, one 3m x 2.5m and one is so mashed that no approximation would be safe. However, the middle one noted here does originally appear to have been a much longer structure measuring as much as 12m x 2.5m internally. There is also the suggestion that it may have had associated yards now surviving as vague tumbled and robbed remains. The surviving element of this structure appears to have used stone from the former longer structure to create a hut with more robust walls at one end of the former building. Although oriented slightly differently to the plan the three structures noted on the ground do appear to be those shown.

South of these is another collection of huts related to the settlement of Buchain. The parent settlement of this shieling is slightly more problematic to place. A collection of four huts is shown on the plan though more features are actually present. What can be seen on the ground is 4 single huts, one pen with an 'annexe' and a small pen or fank. Possibly, therefore, only huts were noted and the pens not recorded. Further north-east from this group stands a larger multi-celled enclosure. This is a substantial structure and its absence from the estate plan is a slight puzzle, as is its function and association, if any, with the huts.

In the area of the shielings of Culquhanny (also presumably Culquharry) to the east is a stone enclosure with a diameter of approximately 16m and that appears to contain small, internal features built against the inside of the enclosure. On the estate plan there are no individual huts shown, only the area noted as pertaining to the shielings of Culquhanny. Near to the enclosure is a small, slightly hollowed, 'cairn' with a diameter of approximately 4m sitting atop a slight knoll. Its function is uncertain but it does not appear to be a shieling hut. North-west of these remains and sitting along the line of one of the major routeways is another circular enclosure with a diameter of approximately 15m. The walls appear to be approx. 2m thick, though tumbled, and there appear to be two 'intra-mural' pens of huts. This feature appears to have a fair deal in common with that noted above but is not, apparently, shown on the estate plan.

Moving to the north of the area, the most westerly of the shielings of Brux are depicted as a single hut. One was noted in isolation but a further 4 were also noted lying slightly to the north. These were small features and were possibly out of use by the time of the estate plan survey. North-east are the 'folds' of Culquharry. The remains of one strucure has recenlty been located along with a short length of the dyke shown on the plan. These folds would have held a fair quantity of stock and were perhaps used to gather them before driving back down to the 'winter-toun'. Such a structure would be in keeping with the previously noted size of the summer settlement lying to the east of this feature. As

a final note regarding this long, linear settlement, the size variation implicit on the plan can again be seen to be related to the physical remains. The southernmost large feature does appear to be represented by a substantial building standing alongside the present forest track.

The substantial size of some of the buildings coupled with the variety of pens and enclosures may suggest something slightly more complex than a selection of scattered small huts and pens. The linear boundary west of the central Deskry shielings is also unusual in this context. It might be suggested that some of these sites may have been developing into more permanent settlement areas but that this development was curtailed. In the Clashindarroch Forest the small farmstead of Craigwater (NJ 4329 3120) appears to have developed in the area formerly used as a summer grazing site. Shieling huts and pens lie a short distance west of the later farmstead (NJ 4310 3111). The 'Culquhigh' shieling noted above may well be such an instance. A former longer dwelling was ultimately reduced in size to that of one of the more conventional 'huts'. Other dwellings on the Bunzeach also seem to suggest rather more permanent structures whilst the enclosures with internal structures also suggests some further specialised purpose. The remains in the Bunzeach, therefore, suggest that a 'catch-all' phrase of 'shielings' does not do justice to the range of functionality of the features recognisable nor to the depth of time that may be represented by them. There are many questions that might be answered regarding past ecologies by these remains. Although much has been lost since the drawing of the estate plan, a significant range still survives.

The soils od the bunzeach belong to the Insch series and comprise the usual mix of humus-iron podzols, gleys and brown forest soils. The bedrock is Morven-Cabrach Gabbro with an overlying till of sands and gravels in parts (BGS). It is very evident that localised soils and topography played an important part in the choice of sites. Well-drained gentle slopes with a thinner soil were preferred to the more generous but wetter soils of the hollows. Aspect was also of importance with south and south-east facing slopes preferred. Even the seemingly better soils of the western, gentle slopes of Bad an Teachdaire were ignored.

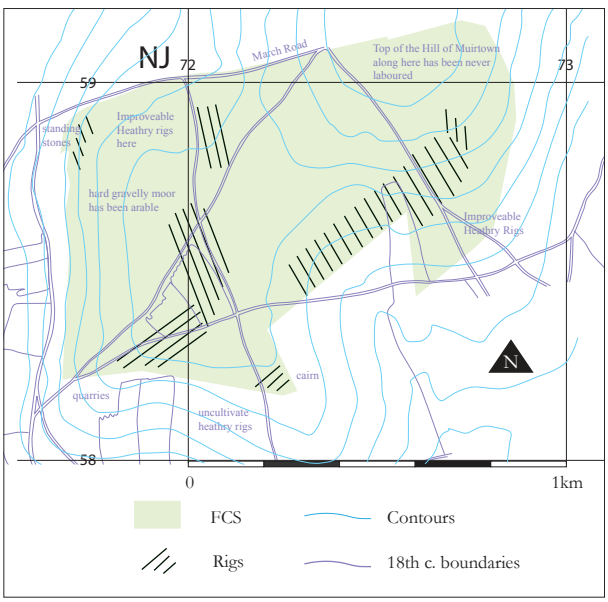

Figure 32. Rigged field systems in Balchers Woodland.

Balchers and rigs

A quite rare survival of an open field system underlies the small woodland of Balchers near to Turriff. These are the remains of an open, unenclosed field pattern that lay above the limit of the 18th century fields depicted on an estate plan dated 1768 (MS3175/RHP/31467/2). Their presence is indicated in the annotation referring to them as, for example, 'Improvable heathry rigs' (Figure 32). This would indicate that they had been out of use for some time but that the ground was once more being viewed as viable. In reality this improvement did not occur and by the time of the 1st edition OS the area had become plantation that covered much the same area as does the present FCS woodlands. The extensive nature of the remains with individual parcels of rigs abutting others at oblique angles at the headlands suggests that these

were no mere 'outfields' but formed part of an extensive open field system. Population levels in the area are unlikely to have required this level of exploitation during or after the various problems of the 14th century: worsening climate, plague and the 'herschip' of Robert Bruce. It might be suggested, therefore, that they may belong to the later 13th century.

The soils of the area belong to the Foudland series and are characterised by humus-iron podzols, some brown forest soils, gleys and peaty podzols formed over a metamorphic bedrock. The whole area provides an abundance of rich arable lands when well-tended. As can be seen by Figure 32, Balchers Wood covers a fairly level plateau. In an area of abundant rich soils, it is likely that some areas were considered less valuable as arable and of greater benefit to the local economy as essential grazing lands. Along the coastal plain of the North-east the extensive upland pasture so common to many parts of the north may have been viewed as an absent luxury. In this respect, the north-east plain may have shared greater similarities with communities further south than with its western neighbours.

It would appear that some of the 18th century roads cut across the rigs although caution has to be exercised. The estate plan has been overlayed on the present plan and there might well be some error in that process. Also, the roads may not have been sketched in that accurately during the surveying process as they were, after all, simply cutting across open hill country at that time. It is interesting to note, however, that the easternmost routeway may well have been aligned along the former field layout and, therefore, may also be a genuine residual feature surviving into the 18th century. Also, the 'March Road' had gone out of use by the mid 19th century but, even now, the shape of the woodland boundary records that former road faithfully and a slight 'kink' in the boundary near the north-eastern end shows the final width of the road that had formerly run along there.

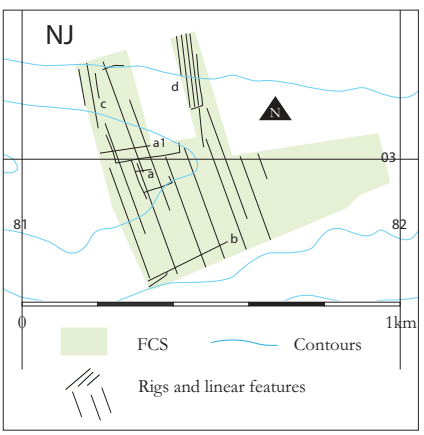

Figure 33. Rigged field systems in Baads Woodland.

Baads

A further example of former open fields lies in the small patch of woodland at Baads. This is particularly helpful as it appears to demonstrate a palimpsest of field remains from at least three periods (Figure 33). The latest and present field layout was laid down in the 19th century as shown on the 1st edition OS map. Within the woodland area three further banks and ditches from that period (a1, a and b) survive. Their orientation with regard to the other boundaries might suggest that they are left over from a previous period. However, 'a1' and 'a' appear to align with the present woodland boundary to the east and so may have been instrumental in aligning the new layout. This suggestion may be further supported by the other features that adjoin and abut 'a1' and 'a' as well as a longer north-south bank lying further to the east. Their orientations all appear to respect the layout of 'a1', 'a' and 'b' but are not shown on the 1st edition OS map on which all these areas are shown as either wooded or rough grazing. It is suggested, therefore, that these features formed part of an enclosed landscape preceding the 19th century enclosures.

Underlying these features are a series of rigs with wavelengths varying between 8 and 10 metres from rig top to rig top. The rigs extend across the whole length of the site and demonstrate that their minimum lengths were in the order of 630 metres. At the north-west they meet another series running at a slightly oblique angle and separated from the first rigs by a bank (c). No sign of a headland survives and the rigs do not appear to possess the characteristic 'S'-shape usually associated with this method of ploughing, though this may be a result of this area simply being in the middle of the field. This would clearly indicate an overall length of considerably more than the 630 metres. The use of the common

'furlong' of 220 yards in field layout can be exemplified within the North-east, for example at Slioch, near Huntly (Shepherd, 2007, e.g. Figure 4). The length of these might require a consideration for the area of the so-called 'long lands' that could achieve lengths of over 1.5 kms and clearly indicative of landscape planning on a grand scale (Parry, 2006, 122). A third set of enclosed rigs (d) adjoin the first series in the north-east corner and these might fuel the suggestion that the first set has been overlain by a subsequent pattern of enclosed rigs. This north-eastern set comprises much better preserved rigs with a wavelength of approximately 10 metres though, again, with no obvious headland.

One other indication that the first and, apparently, underlying series of rigs pertains to an earlier period is the morphology of the rigs. This varies across the site such that at the east side of the series the rigs are little more than banks with the furrows represented by broad level areas in between. This may simply be a product of survival but it does not really look like that. It is more suggestive of a variation in ploughing practice and field management. (One small area of parallel banks defining arable areas approximately 13 metres in width occurs in Leschangie Wood (NJ 7423 1420) and this may provide a possible parallel).

Baads sits on a low north-facing ridge overlooking the rich alluvial fill of the Leuchar Burn. Its soils comprise those associated with the Countesswells/Dalbeattie/Priestlaw series common across the area. With good drainage and management they can produce good arable ground. But, with good drainage, the alluvial soils to the north would have produced better. It is to be wondered whether those areas were ever used for such or that they were considered more valuable as meadow land in an area of restricted upland resources.

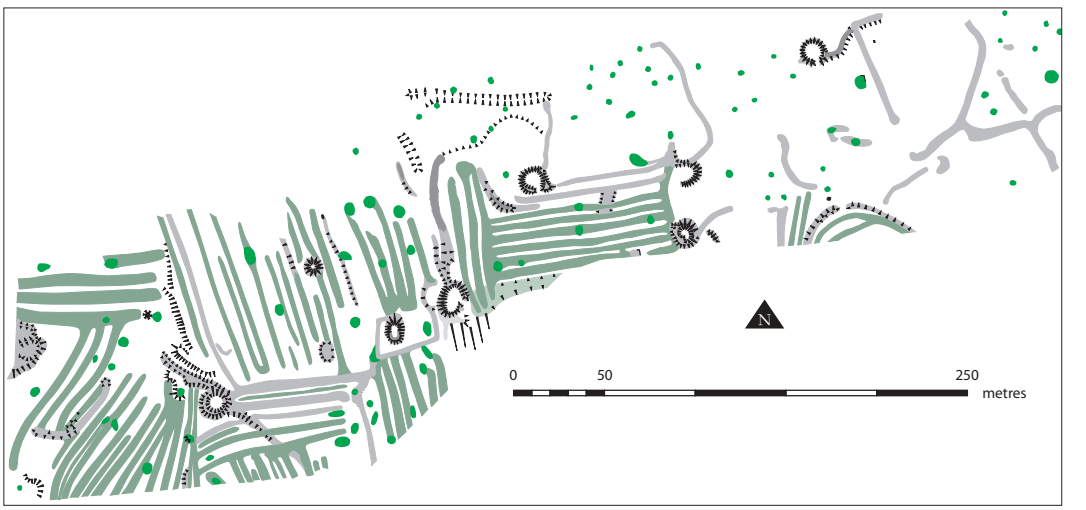

Figure 34. Rigs and settlement features at Easterhill.

Easterhill

Finally, before, leaving the subject of rigs and field systems, attention should be drawn to the scheduled site at Easterhill (Figure 34). The site lies just on the edge of an area of woodland and has been left abandoned after a slight withdrawal of the agricultural land in the early 19th century. Its topography and soils are almost identical to those of Baads sited less than two kilometres away to the east-south-east.

Easterhill provides the upper fringe of the pre-modern landscape. The rigs appear to weave around and amongst features from an earlier period though exact relationships cannot be assumed without excavation. Scattered clearance cairns also sit amongst and beyond the rigs pointing to further former patches of arable, in some cases, enclosed by linear banks or dykes. The building platforms would

appear to be prehistoric and seem to have been avoided by the rigs. This is also a pattern found elsewhere at Balbithan Woods and at Brownside Wood near Aberchirder (NJ 6795 5433). It suggests that a certain respect for ancient features within the landscape pervaded the pre-modern mindset in the North-east.

At Easterhill a broad range of rig widths can be seen. In this instance the limited nature of the survivals and their peripheral positioning at the edge of a larger fieldscape makes drawing inferences from their form quite hazardous. However, in other woodlands larger areas of surviving rig makes observation of their differences less uncertain. Rigs vary between 5m and 12m and with all widths in between. (At Gight just about every width conceivable between these limits seems to put in an appearance). Whether this relates to a simple process of dividing an area of land between a certain number of people in the most equitable fashion, or whether the variations relate to crops sown is open to speculation. In some instances, as at South Balnoon (NJ 6507 4243 - NJ 6482 4252), the width of the rigs appear to vary within the same field. At Ordhill near Peterculter (Aberdeen Woods, centred upon NJ 8225 0055) the rigs show the following spacing: 5m, 6m, 7m, 7m, 10m, 10m, 8m, 10m, 7m, 8m, 10m, 9m, 9m, 9m, 9m, 9m, 5m, 6m. Some rigs a clearly parts of open fields whilst others are enclosed by linear banks, as has already been noted at Baads.

The foregoing case studies demonstrates that amongst the classes of archaeological features that frequently fail to achieve legal protection exists a surprising wealth of data. This information has the capacity to reveal the histories of the largest proportion of past populations rather than the castellated trappings of the elite few. Encased within these remains is a vast array of environmental evidence. Buried soils beneath the various dykes, banks and rigs will have sealed chemical, floral and faunal evidence of past ecologies present before the construction of those features. This evidence can supply critical detail concerning what crops were being grown during different periods and within what type of ecological environment. This broad expanse of agricultural and environmental evidence can only be found within these types of site.

Forest Area Settlement Statistics

At this point it seems appropriate to consider a brief statistical overview of the woodland blocks in the North-east. An appropriate way to approach this might be through comparing the river systems comprising the study area.

Figure 35 shows the catchment areas defined by the watersheds. As noted previously, FCS land is not scattered uniformly across the North-east and neither, it should be added, is woodland in general. The North-east plain is predominantly given over to grain production. Recent government carbon policies are, however, having an affect upon this picture with grant-aided woodland appearing more commonly across the former farmlands. The catchments of the Ugie (North and South) and the Ythan contain little FCS woodland. The main river catchments, therefore, might be identified as being the Deveron, Bogie and Isla; the Don and Urie; and the River Dee. Woodlands lying north-west and south of these systems have been categorised as the 'Spey and west' and 'Cowie Water and south'. This is because, although there are other river catchments, such as the Lossie and Findhorn in Moray, the limited areal extent of Moray and Aberdeenshire FCS woodlands in these regions would seem not to justify the creation of further 'sub-zones'. A complete tabulated breakdown of the occurrence of certain site types are included as Appendix A. For this brief disucussion, the totals only are shown in Figure 36.

The breakdown of sites between the six groups results in a fairly even split between five of the classes. The 'shielings' group is almost inconsequential other than for its high representation in the Don and Urie area owing to the groups within the Bunzeach Forest. Apart from this class each of the others accounts for approximately a fifth of the total number of sites. When these are compared between the

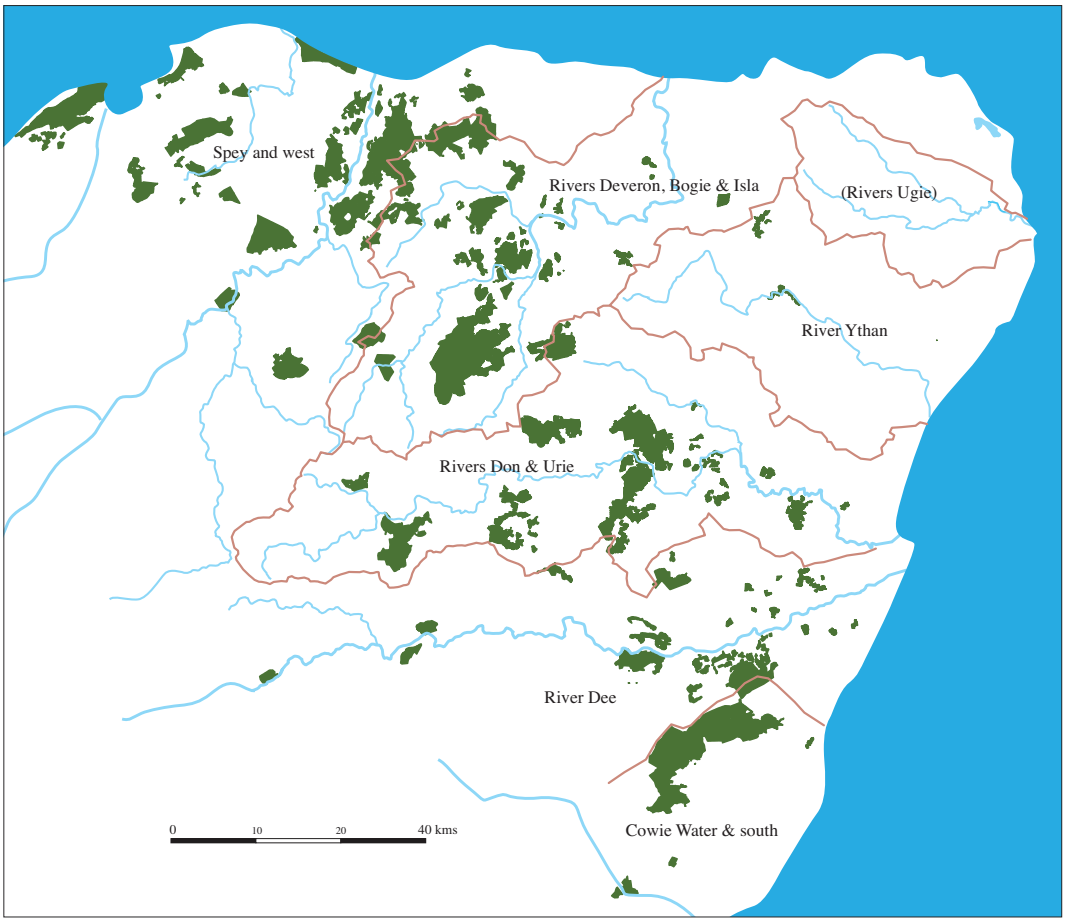

Figure 35. River catchment zones in the North-east.

different areas there is a significant degree of variation. Within the areas of the Don, Urie and Dee the hut circles and cairnfields account for more than half of the recognised features. Within the other areas these groups account for no more than 20% of the observations. In contrast, the pre-modern field bank systems and pre-moden settlements within the area of the Deveron and its tributaries and the Cowie and southern area acount for around 65% of the observations. This compares with around 30% for the Don, Urie and Dee areas. Apart from the exceptional 53% for the small wooded area of the Ythan, the rigs account for a fairly limited range of observations between the areas of between 9% and 22%. This flattens to between 15% and 17% between the catchment areas of the Deveron, Don and Dee.

These sets of figures beg a range of interesting questions. At either end of the study area, the north-west and the south, the number of observations is fairly even: 33 and 37. Within these areas the breakdown of observations also follows a similar pattern, though with a slight over-abundance of rigs in the southern area compared with a slight enhanced number of hut circles in the north-west. Between the three largest groupings there appears to be a noticeable split between the Don and Dee area on the one hand and the Deveron and tributaries area on the other. In the latter the prehistoric remains appear to be heavily under-represented whilst, in the Don and Dee catchments the late- and post-medieval settlement remains seem to be restricted in the survival of evidence. The evidence for farmed land in the guise of rigs is fairly evenly distributed across the three areas. But, as we have seen, it is difficult to

River System	Hut Circles	Cairnfields	Pre-modern Field bank Systems	Shieling Sites	Pre-modern Settlements	Rigs (sets of)	Minimum Total
Spey & West	4 12%	3 9%	8 24%	1 3%	14 - 22 42%	3 9%	33 99%
Deveron, Bogie, Isla	7 6.5%	13 12%	36 - 39 33.5%	2 2%	33 - 43 31%	16 15%	107 100%
Ythan	1 6%	2 12%	3 - 4 18%	1 6%	1 - 4 6%	9 53%	17 101%
Don, Urie w/o shiels	49 - 56 32% 35%	32 - 34 21% 23%	17 - 19 11% 12%	12 8% 0%	20 - 32 13% 14%	22 14% 16%	152 99% 100%
Dee	28 - 30 20%	42 - 44 30%	24 - 29 17%	0 0%	21 - 28 15%	25 - 27 17%	140 99%
Cowie & South	2 - 3 5%	3 8%	11 - 14 30%	0 0%	13 - 15 35%	8 22%	37 100%
Total (min)	91 18.5%	95 19.5%	99 20%	16 3%	102 21%	83 17%	486 99%

Figure 36. Monument type survivals within each river catchment area.

distinguish to which period either cairnfields or linear features belong; they might both be indicative of either prehistoric or medieval settlement. The settlement remains themselves do, however, suggest that there is indeed a significant inbalance between the areas with the Deveron area well represented by pre-modern settlements and the Don and Dee better represented by hut circles.

The reasons for the observed inbalance are likely to be many and varied and a close analysis would be required to explore those reasons in depth. One or two initial suggestions may be attempted here, however. The absence of hut circles in the Deveron catchment is more likley to reflect a different building tradition rather than an absence of population. Walls of timber, wattle or turf would leave less trace than the robust stone as used in the Don and Dee areas for the construction of roundhouses. The lower number of clearance cairns would also point to the over-abundance of stone within the 'marginal' lands whence much of the evidence from the Don and Dee derives. This then leaves the problem of the under-representation of pre-modern settlements in the Don and Dee areas or, conversely, the over-representation in the Deveron area. That the former is more likely to be the case can be seen by comparison with the north-western and southern areas which share even higher percentages of pre-modern settlement survival than for the Deveron area. Why then are the Don and Dee under-represented?

As surviving features generally represent areas of subsequent abandonment, it may be the case that land was not abandoned to the same extent in the areas of the Don and Dee during the late 18th and 19th centuries as it was in other areas. One suggestion might be made regarding the development of Aberdeen and its hinterland and the development of a good transport network linking these areas to the city. The more peripheral areas would not have enjoyed the benefit of those links and the additional cost of transportation during the process of the centralising of the economy would have placed too great a strain on their ability to compete. Other factors may well be found to explain the observations of differential survival across the North-east, but the changing economy may have had a significant effect, at least for the more recent periods.

Trackways and Hollow-ways: Bogs and Quarries and other Resource Management

A frequently under-utilised element of landscape survival is that which links communities and resources in a pattern of routeways of varying local, regional and national importance. It has been noted above how variations in these patterns have had significant effects on local communities and local land-use. Past transport networks can survive as a variety of landscape features. It was noted at Balchers how a slight kink in the present woodland boundary indicates the line of the former 'March Road'. Earthwork survivals can include embankments, revetments, drains or hollowed-ways. Sometimes, as at Dunnottar (see below), the recognition of a single culvert with no apparent purpose can suggest the existence of a formerly unknown routeway.

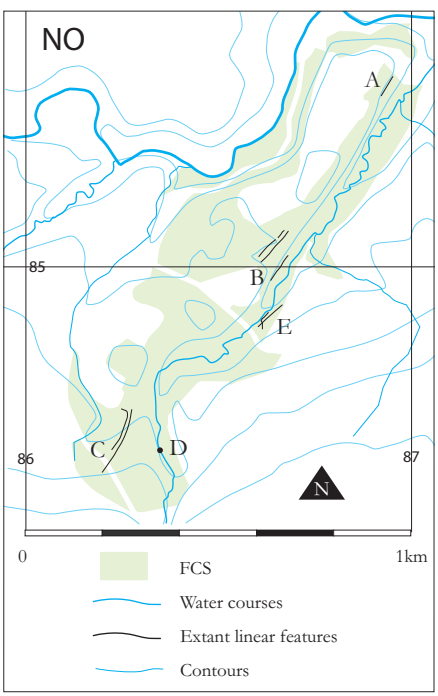

Figure 37. Routeway remains in Dunnottar Woods.

Dunnottar

A range of routeway-like features occur in this woodland. Although as features three sections that appear dissimilar in their present state, may well all derive from the same 18th century route noted on Roy's Military Map of Scotland, surveyed in the 1740s. This shows a road running southwards from Stonehaven along the west side of the steep cut of the Burn of Glaslaw. This road was out of use by the time of the 1st edition OS map and the small settlement of Chapple, through the fields of which it had passed, had become subsumed within the gardenscape of the late 18th century House of Dunnottar (Figure 37). The northern end of the road is now marked by a single linear bank whilst the rest of the road appears to be covered by hillwash (A). The middle section (B) is even more masked, presumably by hillwash, and all that can now be seen is a small lynchet. These two sections survived as a path to be included on the 1st edition OS map. It had disappeared by the time of the 2nd edition revision of 1902. However, the route was still noted as a thoroughfare passing between two remaining buildings of Chapple on Thomson's 1832 map. It seems clear, therefore, that this road and the remaining buildings of Chapple went out of use between c.1832 and the survey for the 1st edition which occurred in 1865. On the other hand, an alternative feature comprising two banks

with a, presumably, later drain in the middle, can be seen on top of the ridge above the lynchet at 'B'. This may also be proposed as a possible course of the former road. Its form may be more appropriate to the remaining section at 'C'. This southern part of what is presumed to be the same road survives in better condition. It runs slightly to the east of the entrance to the former House of Dunnottar and its eastern bank is cut by the present road, thus demonstrating its existence prior to the latter's construction. This section of road comprises embankments separated by a width of approximately 8 metres. This appears to be about the same as the 'King's Road' near Fochabers (see below) but wider by 2m than the excavated 18th century road near Castle Forbes at Keig (Bennachie, Landscapes Fieldwork Group, 2013, 86). Ditches appear to be external to the banks, though this would need confirmation. This is in contrast to the Keig road which had internal drains, thus reducing the actual usable width of the road to little more than 4 metres.

Photo 8. Outflow of culvert with revetment to its left, Dunnottar.

Two further routeways can be seen in Dunnottar Woods. At 'D' is a ford which survived to provide a drinking place for stock held in the fields to the east. A trackway route can still be seen approaching from that direction. However, to the west of the ford the line of a routeway passing up the hill from the ford can also be made out. This suggests its original function. A more unique survival occurs at 'E'. After severe rains in the winter of 2012/13, a forestry conservationist noted a recently-exposed stone-made culvert that appeared to have no relationship to any other surviving features (Photo. 8). Further investigation along the line of the riverbank northwards showed that it had been revetted. A lynchetted trackway could then be made out running north across the slope from where the revetment ended. The culvert, therefore, appears to have been made to divert a small strype beneath this formerly unknown road which had been revetted along the burn side. The strype had been filled in during the process of building the 19th century bridge across the burn. The heavy rains had found their way back down the old course, removing much of the bridge's embankment and reinvigorating the culvert. The construction of the culvert marks this road as being of at least local significance. Its failure to be depicted on Roy's map suggests that it may well have fallen out of use by the 1740s, having been replaced by the western road from Stonehaven through Chapple.

Gartly

Whilst the surviving road features within Dunnottar Woods suggest well-made structures with even well-engineered culverting and revetting, the trackways across Gartly Moor are of a different kind. They take the form of hollow-ways, sometimes of quite massive proportions. It is most interesting that many of them seem to have played no part in the extensive slate quarrying activities that took place on the moor during the 19th century. They generally seem to be more concerned with giving access across the moor or to resources other than slate, such as peat (Figure 38).

The slate quarries appear to have been serviced by trackways entering the moor from the closest access points. The quarries on Wishach Hill on the east side of the moor had fallen out of use by the time of the 2nd edition of the OS map and the access tracks from the public road to the east were not depicted. The quarries are shown as 'old quarries'. This is the side of the hill closest to the important

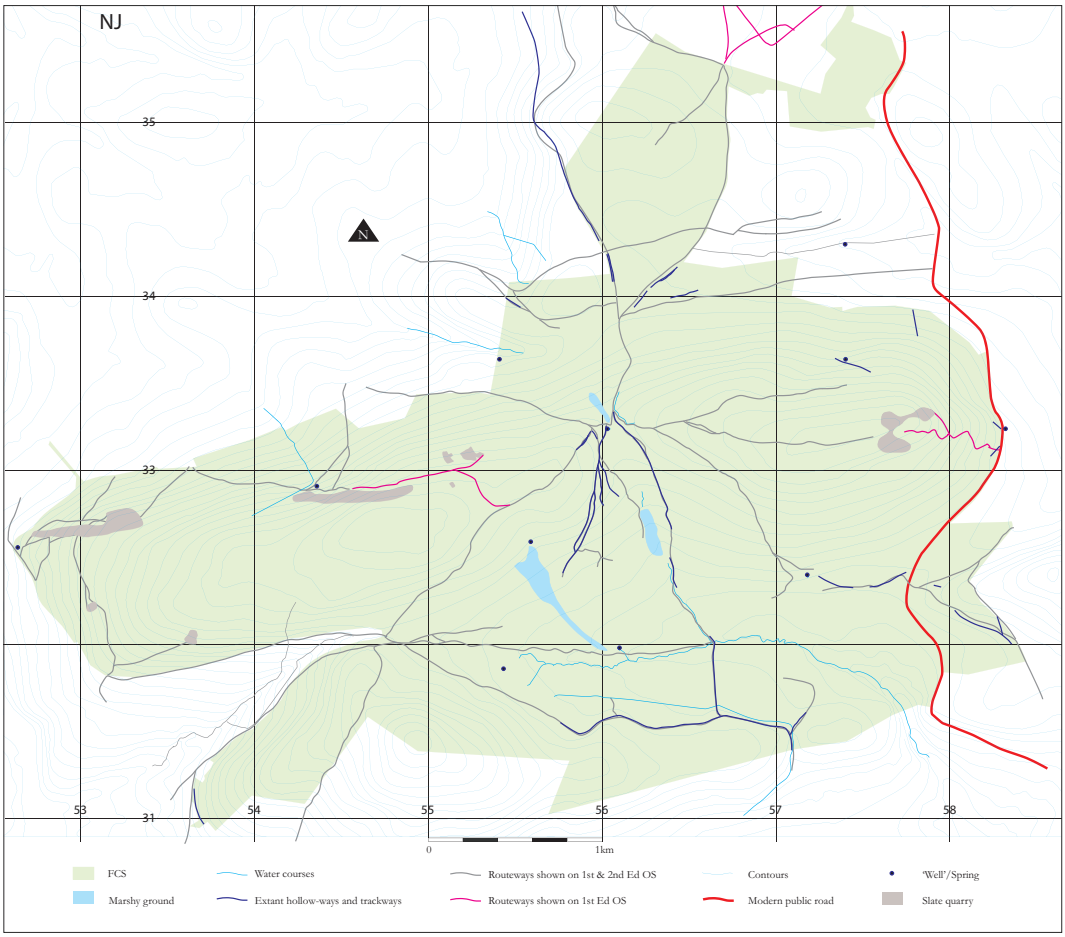

Figure 38. Trackways and wells on Gartly Moor.

Foudland industry and would appear to have been a western extension of those works. Haining Quarry just west of centre of the moor was accessed from the north and west, though an eastern track linking to the central track network had existed at the time of the 1st edition OS survey. This had subsequently fallen out of use indicating that the quarry was only being accessed from the north or the west. The Corskie quarries on the western part of the moor were only accessed from that end of the moor. It is also noticeable that the trackways accessing the quarries rarely demonstrate the depth of hollowing that the 'non-quarry' routeways show. Presumably for practical purposes a solid and level cart track was required to move the slate off of the hill efficiently. It does also suggest, however, that some of the 'non-quarry' routeways may be of a significant age.

The central saddle of Gartly Moor appears to have acted as a hub for the local route network. Trackways from all directions appear to converge at that natural crossing point linking Huntly, at the core of Strathbogie, with the lands of the Garioch to the south. Historically, the east-west ridge over which these routes pass marked a boundary between the Leith Hall and Leslie estates to the south and the Duke of Gordon's to the north. Earlier, during the 13th and 14th centuries, the picture is less clear. The church at Drumblade, a couple of miles north of Gartly Moor, was dependant upon a 'mother' church at Kinkell in the Garioch. Also, the place-name 'Newtongarry', next to Drumblade, suggests a possible tenurial link between the two areas. The Barony of Drumblade appears to have been in the gift

of the Earl of Mar and Garioch in 1425 (Antiq. Abdn. & Banff, 1857, 517) with a "sixth part of the lands of Gerry" (amongst others) being granted to Alexander Seton, Lord Gordon. Such a connection may well account for the routeway with the present-day successor passing not far to the east. Where this north-south route leaves the present woodland at the northern end, its lynchetted course can be seen hugging the contours through the modern pasture lands.

Though there was clearly an important north-south route over the Moor, there are also a couple of distinctive east-west ones. In the north a routeway links the farmsteads of Glennieston and Stodfold on the extreme east side of the historic parish of the Barony of Gartly to their parish neighbours on the west side of the moor. On the south side of the moor two tracks running up either side of the Glen of Cults in the west linked that part of the parish of Kennethmont with its neighbours south of the moor via a well-defined trackway. This route ran near to the apparent fertility site of Melsach Well which lay slightly to the south but, sadly, which can not at present be securely relocated. A number of other named wells occur across the moor. Most are near to routeways and it may be suggested that the others, likewise, originally lay next to trackways. Todhole Well on the north-east shoulder of the moor sits by a section of well-defined hollow-way that had clearly fallen out of use by the 19th century. It is not known how many other wells apart from Melsach had local ceremonial connections, but a number of them were considered locally to be 'healing' wells.

Within the centre of the moor a number of trackways fan out from the saddle of the hills, spreading southwards and stopping at peat mosses. These mosses appear to have been being used by the residents of the Barony of Gartly dwelling north-west of the moor. The Melsach Burn running east-west from Melsach Well appears to have defined a southern march with the inhabitants of Kennethmont having access to the substantial Wardhouse Moss lying to the south of this burn.

The recording of relict trackways and hollow-ways can inform us about how past communities interlinked and how they acquired local resources. They can also inform about longer distance trading patterns and polities and how these may have altered through time. Excavation can show developmental trends and test historically-based assumptions that may turn out to be erroneous. In short, they are an archaeological landscape resource that is frequently overlooked.

Castlehill

As well as the 'folk' routes that developed through time and changed according to local needs, there were those centrally-organised routeways, sometimes known as 'The King's Roads'. Burghal records tend to note them passing through market towns, such as the 'King's Highway' noted in a charter pertaining to the lands of Henry Chawmer in Kintore c.1498 (REA, I, 340-1). One section apparently surviving in earthwork form may be seen in Castlehill Wood just west of Fochabers (Figure 39). The section noted on the 1st edition OS had gone out of use and survived simply as a trackway through an area of woodland. It was delimited to either side by a dyke on the north side and the woodland edge on the south. These features defined a strip of land far wider than the trackway that wobbled its way along this droveway. By the time of the 1st edition map this droveway had been closed off at its eastern end. The 19th century road followed roughly the southern of the two modern roads and which still survives today as a minor public road. The modern main road, after the junction with this minor road, has intriguingly reverted to the 18th century route.

It was anticipated that the route of the old road through the FCS woodlands, if it existed at all, would be on the line of 1st edition portion extended eastwards. As nothing was initially found in this area, it was considered that the course of the road had been destroyed. However, whilst considering another stretch of enclosure dyke curving east-west across the wood, it was noted that further linear features lay to the south of it. These took the form of two very slight parallel banks separated by a distance of approximately 8 metres. This followed the line of a 19th century trackway through the wood but is clearly more substantial than a simple farm or woodland track. It also appeared that the linear

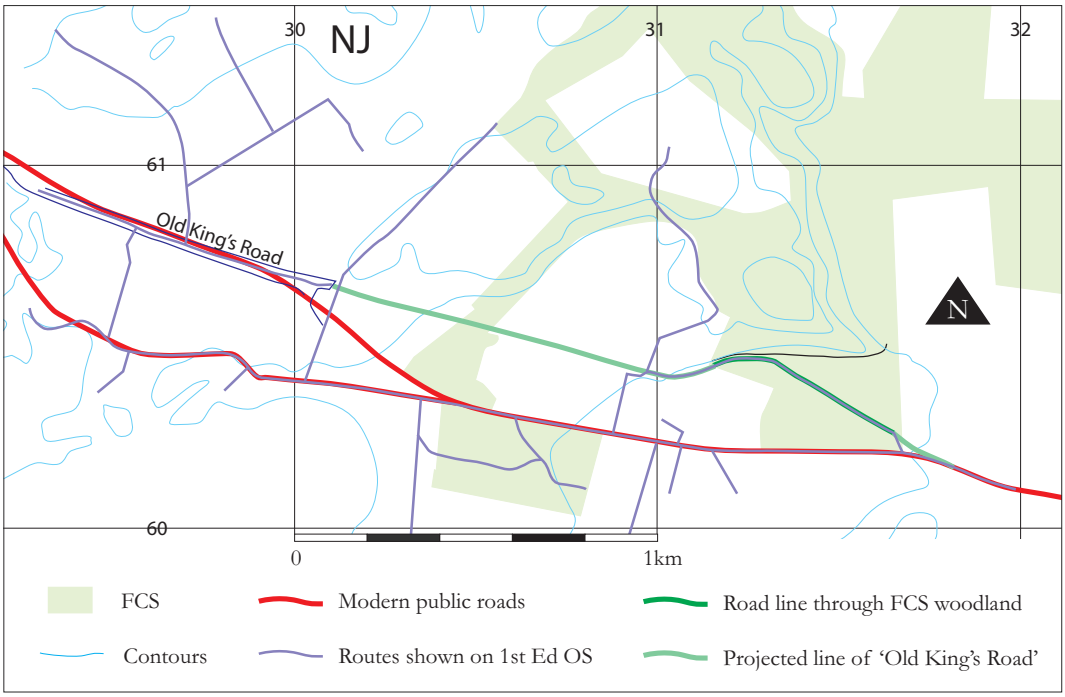

Figure 39. Reconstructed route of the 'Old King's Road' between Elgin and Fochabers.

bank north of the road had been constructed so as to respect the road rather than the other way round. It is unlikely that a minor trackway would have taken precedence over the line of a substantial linear earthwork. Moreover, the linear bank is considered to be pre-modern, probably 18th century, in construction. Were the embanked feature to be the 'Old King's Road', the linear bank would have been required to respect its course. Topographical considerations also help to explain the loop to the north from the anticipated course. Were this loop not followed, the road would have had to cross an area of boggy ground as well as a relatively broken bit of ground. Whilst certainly not insurmountable, the slight deviation would have been much simpler. This course also avoided a slight hill which, again, whilst not severe, any extra work was avoided by using the more indirect course. At the eastern end where the road exits the wood, if the line were projected, it would have lead directly onto the modern road line. The 19th century kink to the south was a later alteration, probably enacted to avoid cutting across the corner of the adjacent field.

Another trackway showing a range of sophisticated features runs up the eastern side of the Wood of Orton in Teindland Forest (NJ 3091 5437 - 3118 5356) just to the west of the River Spey. The trackway is not shown on the 1st edition OS and was presumably out of use by that time. It conforms fairly rigorously to the same contour along the side of the hill and, therefore, seems to have been built with energy expenditure in mind. It is noteworthy that there appears to have been plans to build a canal linking Rothes to Garmouth noted on a plan dated 1810 (RHP 94364). The trackway is revetted in parts and cart width. It would also have had to have spanned some quite substantial strypes and gulleys. No stone survives indicating stone bridges and it seems most likely that the gulfs were spanned using the same woodworking techniques noted for the aquaduct at Fochabers and as required in the Clashindarroch Forest for the water draughts. Were the track constructed lower down the hillside, the bridges required would have had to have been considerably wider. It is possible that the effort expended was made viable by the illicit whisky trade. This trackway would have been ideally placed to get the whiskies of the Cabrach, Glenlivet and further up the Spey to the coast at Garmouth along the most direct route. There

are interesting parallels between this route with its revetting and parts of the military roads constructed through the north of Scotland during the course of the 18th century.

Anomalous Settlement Features

The final 'grouping' of archaeological features is rather a miscellany. It illustrates how many sites cannot be placed in particular categories as it is simply not known what to make of them. It has been noted above that, even when categories are considered fairly prescriptive, the classifications can frequently mask great variation. Most of the following examples will defy positive classification until such time as geophysical or other more intrusive methods are employed upon them.

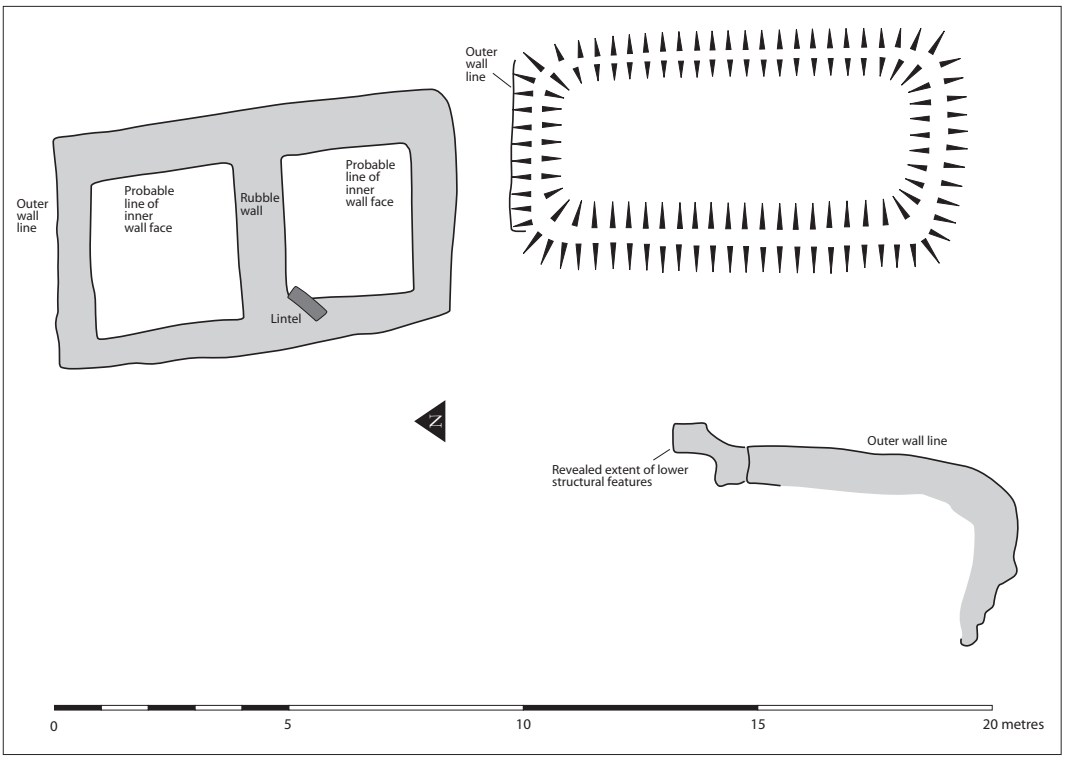

Figure 40. Building remains on the Hill of Pittengoggie above the Cowie Water, Fetteresso Forest.

Pittengoggie (NO 7345 8648)

Although it is fairly clear that the remains at Pittengoggie are rectilineal buildings, their siting is rather unusual. They sit high on a ridge overlooking the Cowie Water from the south. The scarp down to the river is very steep and the settlement seems unlikely to be associated with those along the waterside noted above. The surviving turf-covered walls of the building at the top right of Figure 40 are depicted as an unroofed structure on the 1st edition OS. The other two buildings appear to be older and were only found during the course of forestry work (see below). The building in the upper left of the figure is clearly a parallelogram rather than a true rectangle. It is so far out of true that those responsible for building it clearly did not envisage any roofing difficulties arising as a result. This might be taken to suggest that the building had a hipped roof as a gable end may have resulted in a tendancy for the roofline to twist through differential pressure. The second earlier building only partially survives with the western

side having succumbed to the steep scarp and earlier forestry activities sometime in the past. The foundation courses of the earlier buildings were made of well-laid substantial stones of which this part of the hill does not have an abundance. The walls above these may have been robbed of stone for the construction of the later building. As there were two earlier buildings and the later building was not that substantial itself, the walls of the earlier ones could never have been built to full height. It is more likely that they were turf-built.

A clue to the later building may be provided by the former existence of a droving route that crossed the Cowie below these structures and passed only a few metres downslope of them. The later building may, therefore, have been a form of 'bothy' or shelter sitting at a convenient mid-way point between two stretches of inhospitable uplands. This itself interesting as not much evidence survives for these types of shelters. Most are likely to have been fairly insubstantial features and, with the passing of the droving trade in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, they are likely to have disappeared with little notice. Their position in remote areas and their insubstantial construction may have militated against their survival. However that remoteness and subsequent abandonment might well mean that more survive yet to be found.

If the later structure may be seen to possibly relate to the droving trade, what might be made of the earlier features? They also may have been droving-related and the later building a simple replacement. On the other hand, they may have had a different economic imperative. The soils are of the Strichen association and described as capable of supporting boreal and Atlantic heather moor, bog heather moor with blanket and upland blanket bog. Though hardly the best agricultural land and decidedly open to the elements, the area may have provided areas of reasonable mixed animal grazing in the past. Environmental study would be needed to determine whether the area may have been degraded by over-grazing in the past. But, this does introduce a further under-explored aspect of agricultural history in the North-east. Scotland was a large producer of wool for the continental markets and Aberdeen, on the east coast, is likely to have been a serious exporter. The Registrum Aberdonensis notes what appears to have been a fairly extensive use of the Correen Hills for such a purpose. This evidence is only extant owing to a boundary dispute between Lord Forbes and the Bishop of Aberdeen in the mid 15th century (REA, I, 248-9) in which Sir John Brown's sheepcotes in the lands of Terpersie are mentioned. There is likely to be evidence for these shepherding sites and sheepcotes lurking amongst the heather but, as yet, few have come to light.

It is clear that a whole raft of possible explanations could be made to explain the rather extreme siting of the buildings at Pittengoggie. As yet they are simply another illustration of how little we understand of much of the evidence we do possess.

Glackhead (NJ 4435 2797)

The slight enclosures at Glackhead suggest how many other such features may have been lost over time. Their survival is quite remarkable and, were they not noted, subsequent forestry work would have removed them completely. Slight turf banks link rocky outcrops to create small enclosures. As with the earlier buildings at Pittengoggie, there is no indication of their age. However, once recognised, it has been possible to identify further sites employing the same principle of construction within the locality. Though, at the moment, they do seem to have a restricted distribution with no similar sites yet recognised in any FCS North-east forest outwith the Clashindarroch with the exception of one small feature in Kinnoir Woods (NJ 5418 4112). And this still falls within Strathbogie. It is possible that now they have been recognised here, their distribution will be found to extend further. So far, none of these features hve been found depicted on the late 18th century estate plans and all were, presumably, out of use by that time. That one of these sets of features at Garbet (see below) is associated with rectilineal buildings suggests that the tradition did at least extend into the medieval period. But, that is about as far as the dating evidence goes at the present time.

There are two distinct focii of features at Glackhead (Figure 41). The eastern one is far more robust than the western group. It consists of a sub-divided, sub-rectangular enclosure. In this instance, the outcrops are linked by substantial boulder walls instead of the slight earthen banks of the western group. This may place a slight question mark over their possible contemporaneity, though the basic styles are similar as are the irregular shapes enclosed. The northern side of the east enclosure has been damaged by the insertion of a telephone relay box and by the laying of a telephone cable through the structure. No entrances are readily recognisable and the break in the western wall is where the telephone cable passes. This, therefore, may have been an oportunistic use of an original break or the cause of the break. It is noteworthy, however, that no obvious large stones appear to have been moved in order to permit the laying of the cable there. In the area of the relay box, the stones moved to accommodate it are very evident.

The function of this eastern enclosure is not readily comprehensible. Its solid structure might suggest it to be something more than a simple animal pen though its irregular form would make assigning it to any particular recognisable form of dwelling difficult. Whether it was a composite structure of building plus yard(s) is, perhaps, another possibility.

The western group of structures may be simpler to determine in that it is difficult to see any of them being dwellings, though the small 'pen' in the north-west corner of the lower enclosure in Figure 40 might, conceivably, have been roofed. This sub-divided enclosure with pen is the best surviving element of this group and was the first one recognised.

Figure 41. Enclosures and associated features at Glackhead in the Clashindarroch Forest.

The linear banks linking the outcrops on the west side of the rocky outcrops are very ephemeral features. The central area north of the outcropping is still covered by substantial amounts of brash from the felling of the area and the limit of the features on this side cannot be accurately gauged. Though they

can have extended in this form for little more than a dozen metres, after which distance the brash quantity lessens. However, owing to the fragility of the remains, it is not impossible that other features in the softer soils away from the rocky outcrops have been destroyed at an earlier date. It is difficult to work out what these small enclosures west of the rocky outcrops might have been. One possiblity that might be considered is that they represent small 'garden' areas with a gently-sloping south-facing aspect. They would have been sheltered from winds by the rocky outcrops that surround the area. The depth of soil on what is, after all, a rock outcrop suggests that it is likely to have been brought in for some purpose. Furthermore, the size of the linear features that remain suggest that they can never had stood to any appreciable height and that demarcation rather than the exclusion or enclosure of stock is more likely to have been their purpose.

There is a forestry track just north of these remains on the other side of which are a few further similar linear banks running between outcrops. They enclose larger areas that might well be termed fields and appear to have been more robust than the banks just discussed. It appears, therefore, that these various elements form parts of a larger landscape comprising possible dwellings, small stock enclosures, pens, possible 'garden' plots and small fields. As noted above, to what period these remains belong is completely speculative.

Consideration of the drift geology paints a picture similar to that seen at Pittengoggie, with the soil survey appearing to suggest no possible use for the area. It sits at an unpromising division between two soil types of the Insch series which are both considered inappropriate for any type of agriculture. But, there clearly are enclosures that were constructed for a set of purposes. Again, environmental sampling would be required to shed light across this issue and to test whether a degradation of soils had occurred in the past.

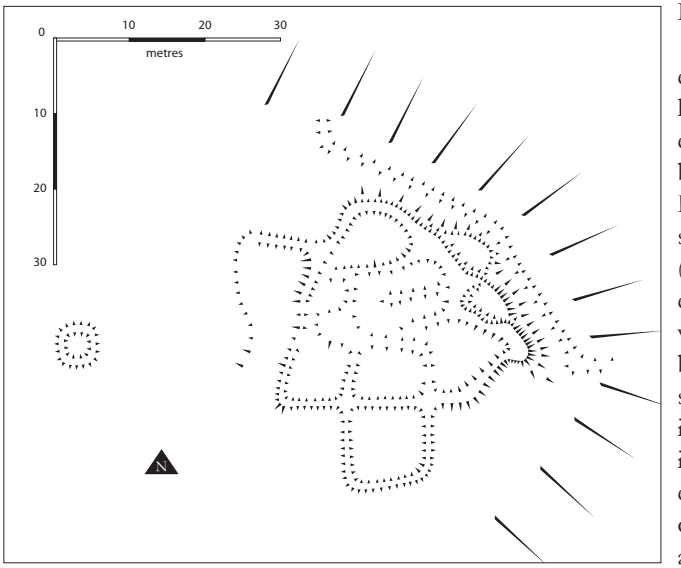

Figure 42. Sub-divided enclosure at Little Blackmiddens in the Clashindarroch Forest.

Little Blackmiddens

This site sits on a rocky eminence at the end of a ridge. The land falls away steeply on the north, east and south sides with the ridge being fairly level to the west (see Figure 42). The later enclosed fields shown on an 18th century estate plan (RHP 2254) run up to just below the enclosures on the north-east side where the scarp is least steep. The banks stop below the final and steepest incline. The main enclosure is almost triangular in shape with internal divisions. The rectilineal enclosure along the southern side that cuts the triangular shape may be a later addition, unrelated to the original function. On the north-east side of the triangle are two small enclosures sitting below and against the main embankment. On the north-west side of the triangle are the partial remains of a further enclosure. Further west still is a small, insubstantial, hollowed-centre subcircular feature of unknown purpose. Within the centre of the main triangular enclosure is a rectilineal form that might indicate the remains of a building.

The structure has been partially ploughed for forestry and, in the past, has been used as an extraction route. Its state of survival has, therefore, been somewhat compromised. It has survived as well as it has owing to the use of linking rocky outcrops by dykes which, on the north sides, themselves comprise substantial boulders. The southern side has been most badly damaged by ploughing and in places the line of the bank is hard to discern. With respect to the small isolated structure, a kiln might commend itself as one possibility amongst others.

If the internal rectilineal feature is the relict remains of a building, it might be assumed that the enclosure might belong to medieval or later periods. But, if not a building, there is no dating evidence apart from the fact that it appears to have been disregarded by the time of the estate plan survey and so must predate that. It location on the end of a fairly level ridge and overlooking steep scarps suggests a purposeful choice of site; possibly for defensive purposes. Its exposed position is hardly likely to recomend itself as the siting for a mundane farmstead. The pre-modern farmstead of Little Blackmiddens lay in a sheltered hollow a couple of hundred metres away to the south-west. The utilisation of rocky outcrops may link it culturally to the enclosures at Glackhead, though it might be more appropriate to see such an architectural approach, in this case, being no more than opportunism. In other words, there is no reason to link Little Blackmiddens to Glackhead either architecturally or culturally.

Garbet

This settlement has been quite extensively discussed in a previous paper (Shepherd, 2012) but the main points require mention here in this overview of anomalous and 'quirky' sites within the National Forest Estate. It sits on a fairly prominent outcrop overlooking rich south-east facing farmland below. In this respect there may be a certain congruence between this site and Little Blackmiddens which lies little more than a kilometre away to the south-west (refer to Figure 26). Their topographic siting sets them apart from the other settlement sites around them which are situated on level areas amidst their fields. The other major difference between Garbet and Little Blackmiddens and the other settlements is in their enclosed nature (Figure 43). All of the other farmsteads take the form of completely unenclosed scattered buildings.

The settlement of Garbet is, like Little Blackmiddens, not depicted on the estate plan (RHP 2254) and was, presumably, out of use by that time. Further to this, there are fields lying up the slope and to the south-west of Garbet that are also not shown on the estate plan. These appear to be older than the depicted ones and seem also to have been out of use by the later 1700s. Within the settlement area there is a long-house with attached yards at the north end, a kiln barn to the south-west, a 'kail-yard' between these two and, to the east, the enclosed farmstead. The unenclosed long-house appears to demonstrate a fairly precise geometrical plan. Although this might suggest a fairly late date in the pre-modern period, it should be remembered that it was out of use by the 1770s, as demonstrated by the estate plan. It might be supposed that the well-constructed kiln barn was associated with this long-house, though it might have pertained to the enclosed farmstead or to both.

The enclosed farmstead appears to contain buildings with a less perfect geometrical layout. Indeed, the smaller structure appears to narrow at its southern end. These forms might suggest that these buildings pre-date the unenclosed long-house. The small enclosures on the north-eastern side that overlook the steepest drop are formed of turf banks connecting the rocky outcrops. In this respect this complex may share similarities with the site at Glackhead, though an argument might be made for a further similarity to Little Blackmiddens. The enclosures on the west side are quite substantially-built turf banks with, internally, an enhanced, built-up (plaggen) soil. Between the two enclosed buildings coring has suggested a made yard of compacted material. It is interesting to note that there is no external entry to this yard. There is a possible path up through the light turf-bank at 'A' which leads up a steep scarp overlooked by two substantial rock outcrops. Any other access would have to have been via the north end of the larger building which, in turn, could only have been accessed through a narrow breach

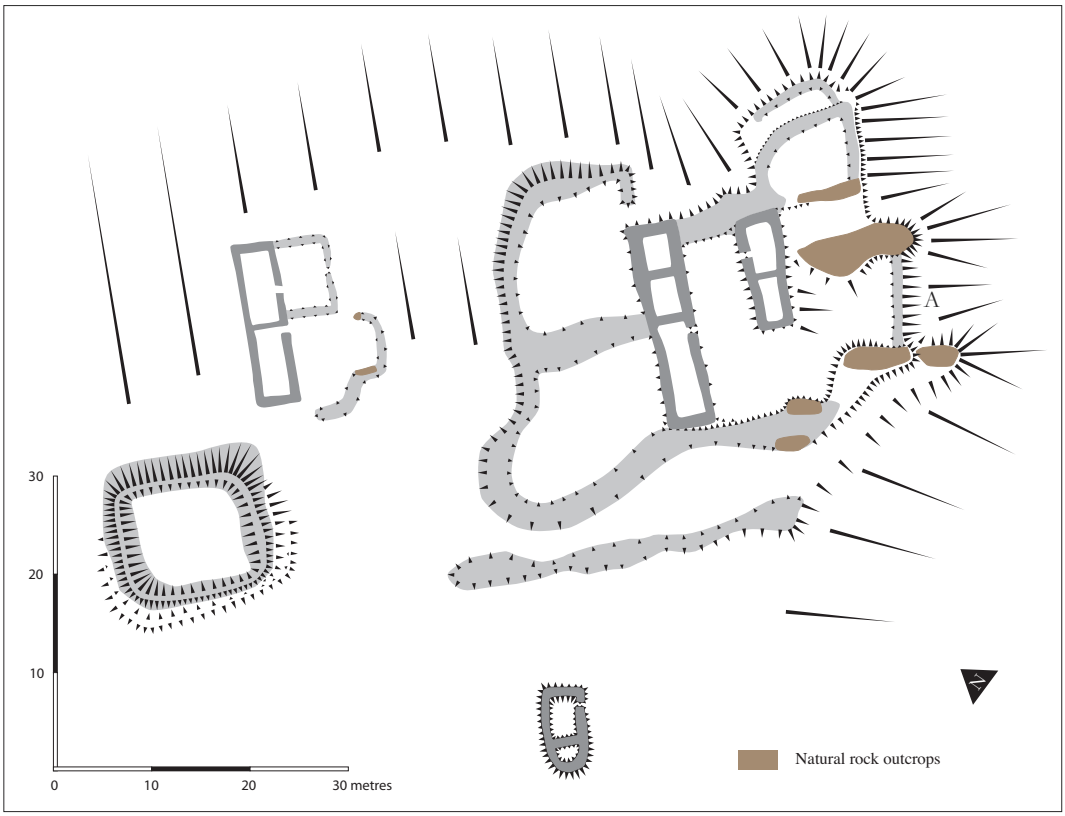

Figure 43. Enclosures and settlement remains at Garbet in the Clashindarroch Forest.

between the substantial bank and the building itself. The small turf-enclosed 'annexe' on the outside of the enclosure along the north-east side might bare comparison with the similar appended features at Little Blackmiddens. The soils are as reported for the field system above. Here, however, there is clear evidence for the improvement of soils in some areas at least.

This site, which in many respects, looks like a standard settlement. But, when considered in greater detail, it contains too many inconsistencies and unique features compared to the mass of pre-modern settlement sites in the vicinity to be able to permit of its categorisation amongst them. This clearly also goes for the sites at Little Blackmiddens and Glackhead. They all share certain characteristics but they all sit uncomfortably alongside the other more recognisable categories of settlement within the area.

Gight

Badiebath Wood near Methlick contains a different type of feature centred upon NJ 8280 3982. In the corner of the wood is a substantially-banked enclosure (Figure 44). It appears to be sub-rectangular in shape though its dimensions beyond the woodland are unknown. The adjoining fields have been ploughed and there is no indication of the former line of the banks. Furthermore, a brief field-walking exercise along the edge of the wood revealed no dating evidence or finds other than early modern manuring debris. An estate plan dated 1768 (RHP 711) shows the area of Badiebath Wood to have been much the same as today and no internal features are depicted within it. Clearly, all of the features within the woodland (of which there are others not illustrated here) pre-date the mid 18th century.

A further substantial linear bank and ditch runs approximately north to south across the corner

of the woodland and impinges upon the enclosure. This linear bank is mirrored across the Burn of Stonehouse to the north-east where a similar feature runs roughly east-west. The northern part of the first sits barely 100 metres from the western end of the second. It is difficult to conceive of them as being unrelated. The ditch, unusually, is on the upslope side of the linear feature. How the enclosure relates to the linear feature is unknown without excavation, though common sense might suggest that the enclosure is contemporary with or post-dates the linear feature. Had the enclosure pre-dated the linear feature it might be anticipated that the corner of the enclosure would demonstrate some disturbance.

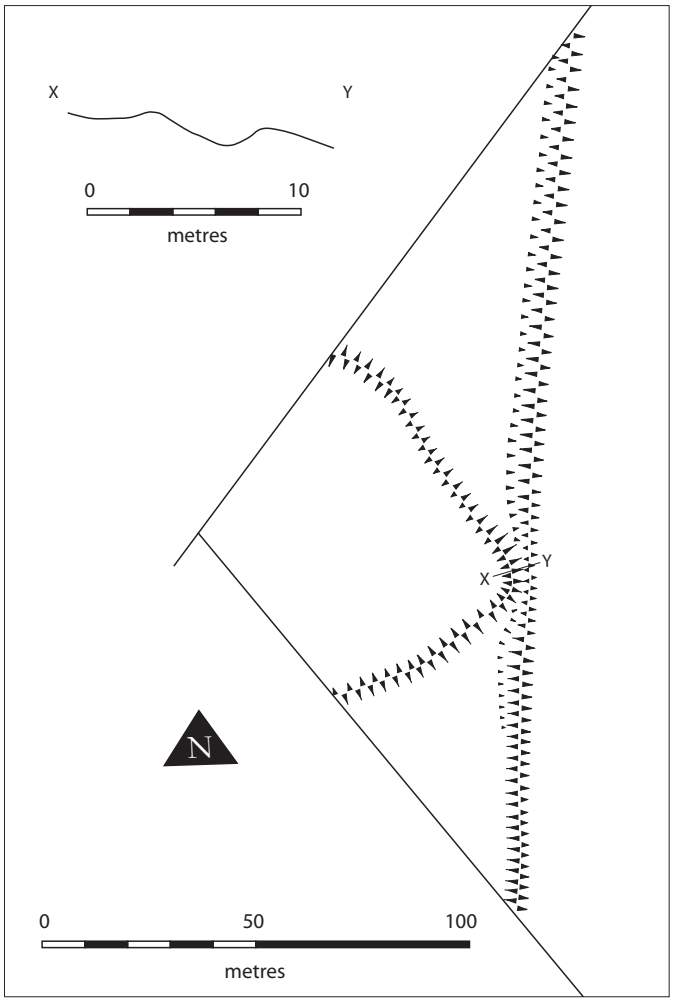

Figure 44. Enclosure and linear feature in Badiebath Wood, Gight.

The soils are of the Foudland association and are considered suitable for arable and permanent pasture. This is in evidence in the modern arable fields surrounding the woodland on all sides. As noted above, there are other features within this small area of woodland including several other linear features, a substantial roundhouse, former routeway and areas of rig and furrow. All were clearly all out of use by 1768. The routeway is also interesting as it heads north-westwards directly towards the enclosure. However, as there is no apparent break in the line of the linear feature or the enclosure, this leads to the possiblity that the routeway precedes both. As with other cited examples in this paper, a consideration of the several pieces of evidence in concert, whilst not especially noteworthy individually, suggests the potential for understanding the development of this multi-purpose landscape through time.

Scurdarg

A recent acquisition by FCS contains a number of relict landscape features that appear to relate to the late medieval estate of Lesmoir and its earlier incarnation as the *Davach* of Essie. The area should be known nationally as the site of the battle that wrested the Scottish kingship to the south of the kingdom and set in train the political changes resulting in the creation of the nation state of Scotland. The battle occurred in 1058 between Malcolm Canmore and Lulach, only months after Canmore's defeat by MacBeth at Lumphanan further south in Aberdeenshire. The core lands of Essie formed the nexus of the important barony pertaining to the Gordons of Lesmoir though its history prior to this is

shrouded in mystery pierced only by the reference to the 11th century battle. That 'Lesmoir' appears to derive from 'great fort' and that the substantial vitrified remains of the iron age fort of Tap O'Noth overlooks these land may not be entirely coincidental. The Gordons were granted the lands of Strathbogie in return for support at the Battle of Bannockburn during which the previous encumbent of the earldom backed the wrong horse.

The soil survey for the area indicates an association with the Insch series which are noted here as comprising brown forest soils, some humus-iron podzols and gleys. This is said to produce arable and permanent pasture, bent-fescue grassland and herb-rich boreal heather moor. The thinness of the soils over the rocky topography can, therefore, be seen to be the major limiting factor. The fields around are indeed rich arable lands and the thinner soils do produce good grazing.

Nestling beneath the slopes of the FCS lands sits the site of the castle of Lesmoir - now a convenient dump for the neighbouring farm. Above the castle to the south upon Gallow Hill sits a man-made mound, presumably the site of the former gallows. North of this, near to the upper edge of the hillslope and the upper limit of the cleared land, lie the remains of a couple of small structures that are shown on an 18th century estate plan. Between these and the gallows mound on a level platform sits the low, turf-covered banks of a small structure with attached 'yard'. The orientation of the building is east-west and it is possible that it may be the site of a former chapel. Its siting, dominating good agricultural lands, would be appropriate for a lordly foundation of the period between the 13th and 15th centuries as, for example, at the Chapel of Garioch. A few metres downslope to the east is a prominent standing stone. Whether this is related to the structure on the hill or not is impossible to say. It might be pertinent to note that this area of rough grazing extends southwards to the farmstead of Templeland. A connection between this name and the site in question is not impossible. On the other hand, the structures by the gallows mound may represent no more than a small agricultural byre with associated pen.

Cairnshee Wood, Durris

Finally, a brief mention should be made of two ovoid enclosures occurring in Cairnshee Wood. They appear to share certain features in common with some of the ovoid features noted above in Balbithan. One, a large oval structure with flattened ends measures approximately 14m x 9m (NO 7438 9421) is abutted by linear banks. A similar feature at Balbithan (noted above) measures approximately 18m x 8m. Also in Cainshee is a further ovoid of similar dimensions, again associated with linear banks (NO 7435 9362). Dating and purpose are impossible to understand without further investigation.

Herein lays one of the the foremost difficulties posed by this review of the 'lesser' sites on the National Forest Estate in the North-east of Scotland. How should their relative importance be determined?

Discussion

What, therefore, might be concluded archaeologically about the foregoing brief overview of the range of sites to be found on the National Forest Estate in the North-east of Scotland?

With respect to land-use a few possible conclusions might tentatively be drawn. Cairnfields that might look similar may actually be separated by long time spans. Moreover, even within the same location, different periods of use may be suggested, again possibly separated by millennia. Within the sites that appear to be prehistoric in date, by dint of their associated features, linear arrangements within the structure of the cairnfield might suggest the development of a more formalised field structure. At Banchory the juxtaposition of a linear arrangement of cairns appearing to form one side of a dyked field might demonstrate this development in operation. A similar arrangement appearing to define the

edge of a settlement associated with a roundhouse occurs at Cairnshee Wood. On the other hand, it might be argued that these lines of cairns have a different function to the linear dykes and are not simply 'work in progress'. In the very small number of instances where this design has been noted, they occur at the edge of the field system. Their purpose maybe simply to demarcate an area rather than to enclose or exclude - a task to which they are, obviously, singularly inappropriate(!). Observation of a greater number of sites might aid this discussion.

Understanding the subtle changes in land management regimes from varying points in time is difficult to demonstrate owing to the fragmented nature of the remains. The inbalance in the record between upland and lowland sites has been referred to. The prehistoric use of the marginal areas now under woodland might be seen to be indicative of population pressure on the better lands. However, the nature of some of the settlement structures upon this 'marginal' land might bring that into question. The monumental nature of the Kirkhill Forest roundhouse that overlooks Dyce Airport suggests that its position was chosen 'because of' rather than 'in spite of' its exposed topographic siting. Such a suggestion might also be ventured for the Slacks on the other side of the forest.

Moving forward in time, it has been noted that a range of settlement features exist that are both difficult to classify and impossible to date without intrusive exploration. Some of these features might well fit into that black hole that persists for the area encompassing the thousand years prior to c.1600(CE) - Yeoman's 'Invisible Centuries' (1991). Elite residences abound but next to nothing is known of how the mass of the population lived. Some of the 'ovoid' enclosures, such as at Balbithan and Cairnshee, might be cited along with the hilltop sites in the Clashindarroch. The Clashindarroch also contains a range of building types of differential proportions that might be age-specific, one such being at Burnt House Knowe (Shepherd, 2012, 63). However, regarding agricultural practices during the last part of that period, there is more evidence. The irrigation works, head drains and surviving field systems demonstrate that the 'revolution' in agriculture claimed by the 'Improvers' for themselves in their post-enlightenment idyll often resided solely in their own conceited imaginings. The land had been sustainably managed for generations and, only with the onset of capitalist farming in the early modern era, did that sustainability give way to ecological asset-stripping. The altitudinal limits of agriculture had been set in the late 17th/early 18th centuries. Subsequent gains attempted through the morally-questionable process of 'improving leases' were short-lived and rarely survive today. Modern farmed land has, in fact, withdrawn from the boundaries attained in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

The surviving sections of 'water draughts' in the Clashindarroch enable us to see aspects of the technological skill of the pre-modern era. That these lades weree aquaducted across gorges and'strypes' is demonstrable on the ground. And in Ordiquish an example of the same technology, though built later, is still functioning. This technology might also have been used to carry tracks across strypes and gorges as suggested by the remains in Teindland Forest. That pre-modern roads were not always in the parlous state suggested by authors writing (with their own personal agendas at stake) at the end of the 18th century can be suggested by the Teindland route as well as the embanked 'Old King's Road' west of Fochabers. That roads might have been well-constructed at even earlier periods might be evidenced by the culverted and revetted remains in Dunnottar Woods.

Further questions still abound, prompted by the surviving and recorded evidence. Why do rigs appear to have different wavelengths and even variable morphological forms? The narrow banks with wide flat furrows at Baads hardly seem to suit the name of 'rig and furrow'. Other sites display rigs of various wavelengths combined into groups within the same fields. What was the purpose behind this variation? Did the different widths contain different crops - either grain or fodder - or do they relate to differential allotting of the land between tenants? Also, do the very long rigs noted at Baads suggest an early division into 'long lands' only subsequently subdivided into 'furlongs'?

That pre-modern agricultural and economic dynamics through time were not one-way is also attested by the evidence. The untilled 'heathery rigs' at Balchers (and elsewhere) speak of a period of

increased expansion of the area of land under arable exploitation and its subsequent contraction. Though at what period and for what reasons are unknown. The shielings scattered across the uplands of the Bunzeach (Bad an Teachdaire) speak of hundreds of people on the move during the summer months and the remains hint at periods of possibly longer duration. Why some of these shieling sites did not develop into longer term residences, as appears to have happened at Craigwater in the Clashindarroch, is a further question awaiting further research. What economic, climatic, social or political imperatives were at work to mitigate against such a development here?

Returning to the question of elite residences and the manipulation of the landscape for aesthetic purposes, the remains in Deer Park Wood, Whiteash and Ordiquish Forest have much to say. The full panoply of lordly leisure facilities: parks, warrens and 'chases' might be glimpsed across the area. These will have been adapted and altered through time to reflect changes in wealth and fashion. Although evidence of participation within a wider set of European social conventions, their individual features, like so many others noted here, inevitably marks them out as products entirely of the North-east.

As will now be obvious, the work reported upon here has largely culminated in the recording of a range of unanticipated observations. These observations have suggested that many apparently homogenous aspects of the archaeological landscape need not be viewed in such a limited way. Enough evidence survives, albeit in fragmentary and largely unspectacular forms, to permit a greater understanding of former land management regimes ranging in time from prehistory to the early modern period. The challenge is to try to match the range of observations on the National Forest Estate with other sites across the North-east (and further afield) and thereby to begin to develop a more nuanced understanding of landscape development up to the early modern period.

Forestry Management - Past and Present

It might be noted that conservation policies are predicated upon a notional hierarchy of importance. This might occur on a national or regional level. Few (parts of two) of the sites noted above in detail have any form of legal protection, such as being scheduled. But, with respect to their collective importance in terms of supplying answers to past landscape and ecological manifestations of previous communities, they may, in certain respects, possess more potential than the protected sites. The latter will usually present narrow views of a selective (usually elite) section of society. Whilst in the guardianship of FCS the sites noted above will be afforded care and attention, if falling short of legal protection. If this stewardship by FCS is threatened and overturned by leasehold or other agreements with privately funded bodies, these sites can be expected to be destroyed and that cultural heritage denied to future generations.

In the present situation, which is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future, there is no possibility of these sites discussed above being adequately investigated. Suggestions may be made but, without recourse to robust evidence, these remain highly conjectural and possibly completely misguided. Clearly, multitudes of such sites across Britain within private woodlands are being removed each year. FCS and their counterparts across Britain do, at least, retain control of a very important representative sample. This work, hopefully, outlines the breadth of evidence that is at risk in Moray and Aberdeenshire should the present state of affairs alter. It is presumed that similar degrees of potential harm might affect other forest districts across Britain should the various Forestry Commission bodies not be permitted to continue their custodianship of these sites.

Forestry Acquisition:

FCS are still actively acquiring and disposing of land. Archaeological features relatively secure whilst in the custodianship of FCS will not necessarily enjoy that protection if the area of land in which they sit is removed from the portfolio. Recent suggestions from central government to reorganise the management of the National Forestry Estate through agreements with private corporations appear to have neglected to consider seriously the effect on the national archaeological heritage associated with those lands. As this work has hopefully demonstrated, there is much of import for our understanding of the past that lies in the extensive remains of those archaeological features inevitably overlooked when considering sites for legal protection.

Aside from these issues, FCS also hold a sizeable quantity of documentary detail concerning the acquisition of their lands - often dating to the 1930s and 1940s. A useful foray into these archives has been caried out for some of the acquisitions around Bennachie (Cumberbirch, 2013). This demonstrates well the value of such research but it is unfortunate that so much data has been lost through the various management changes within the FCS conservancies over the years. Such losses are the result of a lack of appreciation of the value of such records and should not be seen as malicious in any way. The Forestry Commission was originally organised to produce timber on an industrial scale as efficiently as possible. Only more recently has their remit altered to include a raft of landscape managment roles aimed at increasing public access, providing recreational facilities and curating the landscape for future generations. Further enskilment in understanding the potential legacies inherent within the national forestscape are ongoing and new methodologies being employed in an ongoing fashion.

FCS have themselves created new landscapes through their own developing methods of forest management. Technologies developed since the inception of the original Forestry Commission include the almost cyclopean deep ploughs. The deeply-ridged landscapes produced by those engines are themselves testimony to a new bygone age and it might be considered wise to safeguard some of those sculpted landscapes for future generations. They themselves are being eroded at a rapid rate by subsequent generations of machinery.

Archaeological Survival:

Clearly, the developmental processes affecting the landscape discussed here have not ceased. Differential practices during the period of custodianship of the Forestry Commission have also left their marks and have affected the present resource. And it is interesting to note how individuals can be seen to have affected archaeological survival during this period. For example, a small building and earth-banked enclosure can be seen at NJ 4356 2867 in the Clashindarroch Forest. It survived destruction almost miraculously when this area was planted in the 1950s. The area was deeply ploughed with the latest forestry hardware of the time but, contrary to much practice of the time, the operative (with or without instruction) chose to halt at the feature and drive around before continuing with his work. This archaeological feature was of simple earth construction and would have presented no obstacle to the machinery. A simple choice to leave a part of the landscape intact was taken. This can be contrasted with many other contemporary examples where it is hard not to imagine a sense of macho glee taken in the driving of forestry ploughs directly through the middle of former cottages. Greenbog on Bennachie (NJ 6562 2465) may be seen as an example of the latter. The important point being made is that survival of the resource must not always be assumed to be a product of direction from above - individuals frequently show their hands in the survival or otherwise of the archaeological resource.

Even more contemporary causes of differential survival can be demonstrated. Operatives working for FCS in Fetteresso have used their heavy-duty harvesting equipment to pick their ways

meticulously through an area of windblow covering an area of suspected extensive pre-modern field remains near Brucklaw on the Cowie Water. They scrutinised the ground before driving over it in order to look for the slight signs of former enclosure banks. Upon recognising these remeains, they ensured that the timber and brash was removed away from those linear features. When they had left the site, it was a simple process to survey the features using a handheld GPS and produce an accurate map to aid future management. The area is presently ready for replanting and the linear features are being safeguarded against damage during this process.

A further example of professional attention to detail occurred high on a hill across the Cowie Water on the Hill of Pittengoggie (see above). A JCB contractor noted a concentration of stones that stood out against the general background noise for the area. He called the FCS site manager who quickly suspected some archaeological feature. He notified the local conservation officer and work was halted. An archaeological inspection noted the remains of at least two structures and the area safeguarded before work continued in the area. As discussed above, these structures are interesting owing to their topographical position though the nearby former droveway might suggest a possible cause for their location.

Against the positive stories there are still those episodes that occur during which archaeological features are damaged or removed completely from the record. Some can be simple errors of judgement or breakdowns in communication. Others have to be put down to poor workmanship. Fortunately, such failings have been rare in this Conservancy in recent years and, when they have occured, appropriate lessons have, hopefully, been learnt and new practices employed in order to try to avoid repetition. But, it is worthy of note that as our landscapes continue to develop, those same statistical probabilities affecting the eventual archaeological resource available to future generations are still a vital element in the vagaries of survival.

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RHP 2276	c1770	Huntly Lodge
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Appendix: Forest Area Settlement Data

River system	Forest Area	Hut circles	Cairnfields	Pre-modern Field bank systems	Shieling sites	Pre-modern settlements	Rig (sets)	Min Total
Spey and West								
	Ben Aigan	0	0	1	0	2 to 3	0	
	Castlehill	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	Culbin	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	Dallas	3	1	1	0	0	0	
	Deer Park	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	Elchies	0	0	0	0	2	0	
	Lossie	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Maud	0	1	0	0	0	0	
	Monaughty	1	1	1	0	0	0	
	Morinsh (north)	0	0	0	0	1	0	
	Newtyle	0	0	0	1	2 to 4	0	
	Ordiquish	0	0	1	0	2	0	
	Quarrelwood	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	Rosarie (west)	0	0	1	0	2 to 5	0	
	Roseisle	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Scootmore	0	0	1	0	1 to 2	0	
	Teindland	0	0	1	0	2 to 3	0	
	Total	4	3	8	1	14 to 22	3	33
	%	12	9	24	3	42	9	99
Deveron, Bogie, Isla								
	Aultmore	0	0	0	0	1	0	
	Glenfiddich	0	0	1	1	1	0	
	Rosarie (east)	0	0	1	0	2 to 5	0	
	Keith Woods	0	1	0	0	0	0	
	Morinsh (south)	0	0	0	0	1	0	
	Sillyearn	2	2	0	0	0	0	
	Ardonald	0	1	1	0	2 to 3	0	
	Balchers	0	0	1	0	0	7	
	Bin	0	2	7	0	6	0	
	Brownside	2	1	0	0	0	2	
	Clashindarroch	1	0	13	1	12	0	
	Corniehaugh	0	1	1	0	1	0	
	Corrennie	0	1	1 to 2	0	1 to 4	0	
	Culdrain	0	0	0	0	1	0	
	Delgaty	0	0	1	0	0	3	
	Gartly (west)	0	0	0	0	2 to 3	1	
	Kinnoir	0	0	3 to 4	0	2 to 4	0	
	Lesmoir	1	2	2	0	0	0	
	Rothiemay	0	1	2 to 3	0	0	0	
	South Balnoon	0	1	0	0	0	3	
	Ittingston-Tullochbeg	1	0	2	0	1	0	
	Total	7	13	36 to 39	2	33 to 43	16	107
	%	6.5	12	33.5	2	31	15	100
River Ythan								
	Gight	1	1	2 to 3	1	1 to 3	6	
	Waggiehill	0	1	1	0	0 to 1	3	
	Total	1	2	3 to 4	1	1 to 4	9	17
	%	6	12	18	6	6	53	101
Don, Urie								
	Auchernoch	0	0	1	0	1 to 2	0	
	Balbithan	20 to 24	12	3	0	2 to 3	3	
	Bennachie	10	0	3 to 4	0	2	5	
	Bunzeach	0	0	0	12	0	0	
	Correen	2	0	2	0	2 to 3	1	
	Cushnie	2	6 to 8	0	0	2 to 4	0	
	Gartly (east)	0	0	0	0	2 to 3	1	
	Kemnay Woods	2	5	5	0	3 to 5	9	
	Kirkhill	12 to 15	7	0	0	1 to 2	2	
	Parkhill	0	1	2	0	1	0	
	Pitfichie	1	1	1 to 2	0	4 to 7	1	
	Total	49 to 56	32 to 34	17 to 19	12	20 to 32	22	152
	%	32	21	11	8	13	14	99
	% minus shielings	35	23	12	0	14	16	140 and 100
River Dee								
	Aberdeen Woods	3	11	2 to 4	0	5 to 6	4	
	Baads	0	0	2	0	0	2	
	Banchory Woods	3 to 5	8	4 to 5	0	4 to 6	7	
	Blackhall	0	5	5	0	3 to 4	0	
	Cambus o'May	2	0	0	0	1	0	
	Deeside	1	0	0	0	1	0	
	Durris	9	13 to 15	4	0	5 to 7	2	
	Lumphanan	0	1	1	0	0	0	
	Maryculter	1	1	1	0	0	1 to 2	
	Midmar	1	1	2 to 3	0	0	3	
	Peterculter	8	2	3 to 4	0	2 to 3	6 to 7	
	Total	28 to 30	42 to 44	24 to 29	0	21 to 28	25 to 27	140
	%	20	30	17	0	15	17	99
Cowie and south								
	Drumtochty	0	0	2 to 3	0	3	2	
	Dunnottar	0	0	1 to 2	0	1	0	
	Fetteresso	2 to 3	2	6	0	8 to 10	1	
	Inglismaldie	0	0	1 to 2	0	1	5	
	Meetlaw	0	1	1	0	0	0	
	Total	2 to 3	3	11 to 14	0	13 to 15	8	37
	%	5	8	30	0	35	22	100