

Gogar, archaeological and historical evidence for a lost medieval parish near Edinburgh

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ABSTRACT

The parish of Gogar, located just to the west of Edinburgh, ceased to exist shortly after the Reformation. The name 'Gogar' survives in various modern place-names but extensive recent development has obliterated most of the historic topography of the former parish. Redevelopment of the site of the former Gogarburn Hospital for the new global headquarters of the Royal Bank of Scotland led to archaeological investigations in 2003 that identified part of the medieval fermtoun of Nether Gogar. The results of the archaeological investigations have been combined here with historical research to present a reconstruction of the 'lost' parish, focusing on evidence for the fermtoun of Nether Gogar in the medieval period (AD 1200–1600).

INTRODUCTION

THE LOST MEDIEVAL PARISH OF GOGAR

Leave Edinburgh on the A8 Glasgow Road and, for the short distance between the west end of the city bypass and the turn-off for the airport (a little over 2km), you pass a cluster of place-names incorporating the word 'Gogar' (illus 1). The Gogar Roundabout at the end of the bypass is possibly the most recent, but other names demonstrate a greater antiquity for the word. For example, there is the new Royal Bank of Scotland global headquarters at Gogarburn, opened in 2005. From 1929 to 1999, Gogarburn was well known in Edinburgh as a hospital, acquiring its name because it was located in the grounds of Gogarburn House, a substantial villa dating from about 1893. The name was originally borrowed from the Gogar Burn, which flows in front of the villa, and this name can be traced back to the 16th century. The origin of the place-name

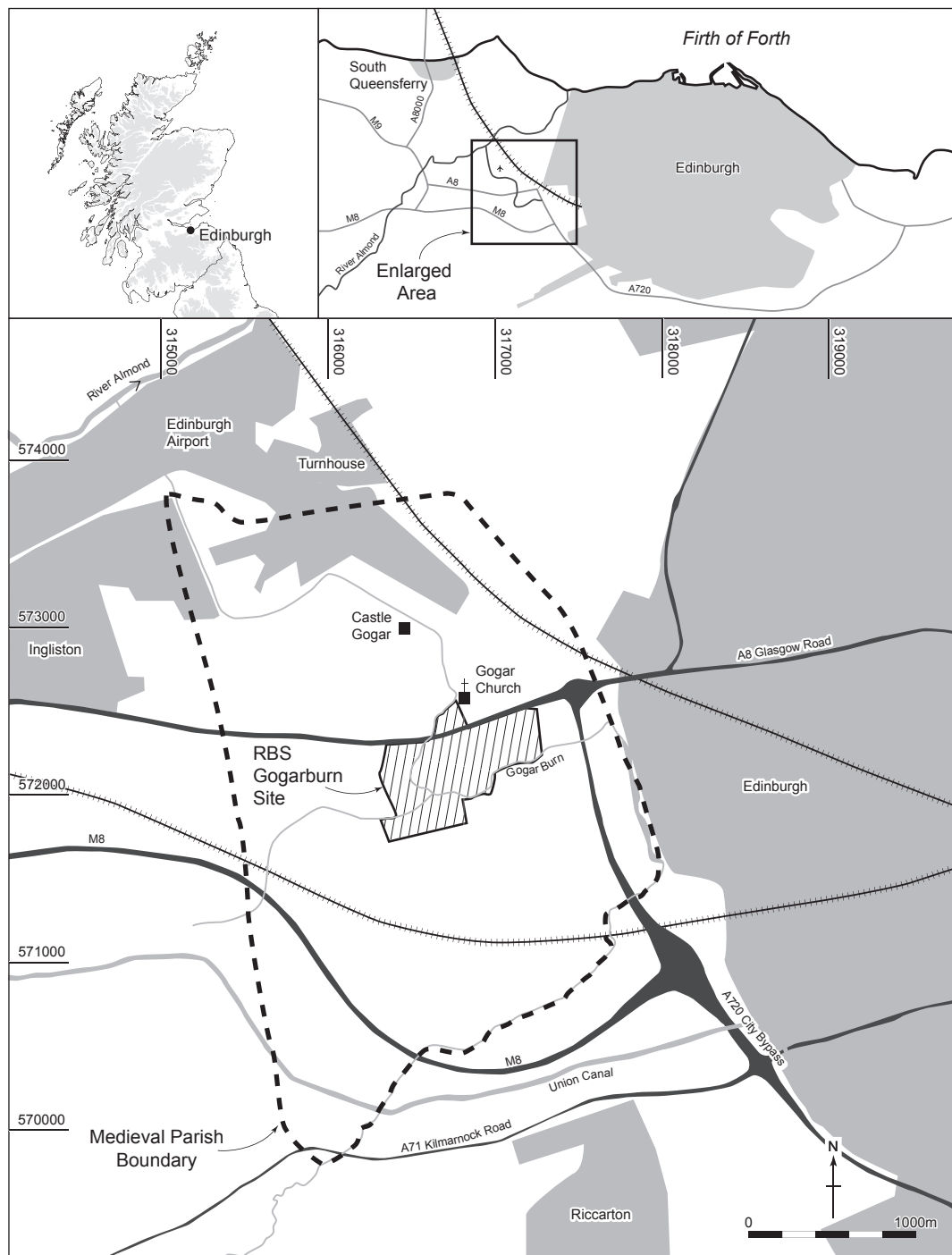
'Gogar' is much earlier than this and Watson (1926, 210) identifies an Early Celtic linguistic root for the word. The meaning is apparently topographical, referring to a small spur or other distinct piece of land; the location of this landscape feature is now obscure. Gogar enters the surviving written record as a landholding in a charter of King William I (r. 1165–1214), which was issued at Linlithgow sometime between 1165 and 1174 (Barrow 1971, no 125). This charter is a confirmation or re-granting of an earlier royal gift to the knight, Ralph de Graham. The history of the lands and parish of Gogar can then be traced in some detail through surviving documents up to the present day.

Despite this long history, the modern visitor to Gogar will struggle to gain any real sense of place. Gogar is no longer a coherent landholding and the parish ceased to exist soon after the Reformation. The traditional fermtouns of Over and Nether Gogar have been replaced

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ILLUS 1 Present day Gogar. Location and principal features

by 'improved' farmsteadings and 19th-century suburban villas. Major transport links dissect the farmland: the historic road to Glasgow (now the A8) has been augmented by two railway lines, the M8 motorway and the A720 Edinburgh city bypass. The north end of the former parish became RAF Turnhouse during World War II and it remains part of the rapidly expanding Edinburgh Airport. To the east, the Edinburgh conurbation has already occupied all of the land up to the boundary set by the 1980s city bypass, totally erasing any visible traces of the former Gogar Loch. The remaining agricultural land is protected within the Edinburgh Greenbelt but development pressure is persistent and strong.

There remain two places where a fragment of pre-Modern Gogar can be appreciated. Castle Gogar, now located at the end of the main runway of the World War II Turnhouse airfield, is an L-plan mansion dating from 1625 that incorporates the remains of an earlier building (Gifford et al 1984, 590 and Plate 61). The second survivor is Gogar Church and graveyard. The medieval church was largely demolished after the Reformation but the site survived as a burial ground and part of the church was retained as a burial aisle. A new church was built on the same site in 1890–1, incorporating the surviving medieval wall fabric (Gifford et al 1984, 588). The graveyard contains 18th-century headstones and these, together with the church, provide a tangible link to the historic core of the lost parish.

GOGARBURN: THE ROYAL BANK OF SCOTLAND GLOBAL HEADQUARTERS PROJECT

After its closure in 1999 the former Gogarburn Hospital was acquired by the Royal Bank of Scotland as the site for its new global headquarters. Redevelopment work ultimately affected not only the whole of the lands of Gogarburn but also the adjacent property of Gogar Park to the east and land on the north side of the A8 Glasgow Road (NT 168 725). This was a considerable area measuring roughly 1km

west to east and up to 700m north to south. The archaeological potential of this area was assessed as part of an Environmental Impact Assessment in 2001. This concluded that the site of Nether Gogar, one of the two former fermtouns of Gogar was located on the line of the Glasgow Road, close to the site of the medieval church. It was therefore likely to be affected by development works, if any archaeological remains survived below ground.

A programme of archaeological investigations was carried out by Headland Archaeology on behalf of the Royal Bank of Scotland during the early stages of the redevelopment, working to a brief set by the City of Edinburgh Council Archaeology Service. This programme of work included the detailed recording of the 20th-century hospital buildings prior to demolition, Gogarburn House before its refurbishment and other 19th-century buildings not retained during the redevelopment. These aspects of the site are not the subject of the present paper but a full archive for the project may be consulted in the NMRS.

The principal archaeological discoveries were features dating to the medieval period. Part of a settlement of medieval date was encountered, as predicted, on the north side of the Glasgow Road. In addition, cultivation rigs were noted in the grounds of both Gogarburn House and Gogar Park with medieval pottery in the soil-filled furrows. These discoveries provided the starting point for a programme of archaeological research on medieval Gogar by Headland Archaeology. This included analysis of pottery and carbonised plant remains, and radiocarbon dating of the excavated features. Archaeological investigations were complemented by historical research, the work of Richard Oram and Alasdair Ross.

Together, the archaeological and historic evidence provide a valuable insight into the life of a small rural parish in Midlothian in the medieval period. The aim of this paper is to present our understanding of medieval Gogar, based on the evidence gathered, paying particular attention to

the (at times) contradictory archaeological and historical evidence relating to Nether Gogar.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

A SUMMARY OF THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The documentary records of the lands of Gogar in Midlothian, although fragmentary for much of the central medieval period, preserve a remarkable picture of the complex history of the development of an agricultural community in lowland Scotland from the 12th to 19th centuries. While there is no surviving documentary evidence for the origins and early development of the lordship, or its underlying social and economic structures, enough can be identified in the record to reveal the basic pattern of settlement and its components, and point towards the nature of its economic organisation and exploitation regime. From the 14th century onwards, and with growing clarity from the later 15th century through to the 17th century, it is possible to trace how this property was systematically exploited by a series of absentee lairds, subdivided into a number of lesser holdings, and burdened increasingly with a series of overlapping and sometimes conflicting legal contracts and settlements, which reveal not only the detailed workings of the local community but also shed considerable light on the financial practices of the time.

The result is a record that is remarkably rich and complex, which traces the emergence, decay and disintegration of the medieval social order, its refashioning and reorganisation in the post-Reformation period, and the first moves in the 17th century towards a new style of lordship and management which heralded the arrival of the so-called 'Improvement' era in the following century. What follows here is a summary of results of detailed historical research undertaken as part of the RBS Gogarburn headquarters project. More details and full references to primary sources are available in an archive report

which has been lodged in the NMRS (Oram & Ross nd).

Gogar first appears in the historical record in a charter issued between 1165 and 1174, in which William I confirmed an earlier gift of an estate comprising Cousland, Pentland and Gogar to Ralph de Graham, a knight whose family had been amongst the aristocratic colonists attracted from England during the reign of David I (1124–53). Ralph de Graham's estate was scattered between three separate locations, an unusual arrangement at this date. Cousland appears to have been the most important of his holdings, whereas Gogar seems to have been regarded from the outset as an alienable and peripheral portion of a portfolio which could be disposed of or broken up at will. It was never the caput of an estate, and by the early 14th century, when it next appears in records, and probably already by the mid-1200s, it had been subdivided.

The most likely context for the division of Gogar, and the addition of the two halves to the estates of different lords, would be the marriages of two heiresses who inherited parts of the estate. Over Gogar appears to have been the more important half, since it possessed the sole mill, to which the inhabitants of the lesser half, known as Nether Gogar, would have been thirled. By 1321–2, Over Gogar formed part of the estate of Sir John de Vaux, the lord of Dirleton. In 1409, descendants of de Vaux still owned a number of husbandlands and a mill, and Over Gogar also included a tenement claimed by Sir John de Seton, and a group of tenements held by the Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem. Nether Gogar is mentioned in the accounts of Edward III's (1327–77) administration of Lothian in 1335–6, when it was forfeited by John of Restalrig, whose principal seat was at Lochend Castle, near Leith.

The documentation directly relevant to Gogar increases in volume and detail from the early 15th century. The Lauder family of Hatton acquired Over Gogar at this time. The Lauders were associates of the Black Douglasses, and when James II (1437–60) attacked Douglas

interests after his murder of Earl William in 1452, their lands at Gogar were temporarily forfeited and granted to the queen. Documents from this period name the Haliburton family as principal subtenants, but neither they nor the Lauder family were resident at Gogar. Nether Gogar remained a peripheral part of the estate of the Logan family, the descendants of John of Restalrig.

By 1500 the landholding arrangements in Gogar were becoming increasingly complex. A pattern of free tenancies in multiple-tenancy fermtouns was well established, covered by a confusing pattern of overlapping and interlocking lordships and tenancies. None of the feudal superiors seems ever to have been resident there, and at times multiple levels of lordship were installed between an absentee laird and sitting tenants, as when Christina Levington was given life rent possession of Nether Gogar in 1490. In the late medieval period, lairds were increasingly resorting to wadsetting or mortgaging their lands to raise funds, and mortgages were often converted into ownership when they were unable to settle their debts. Some of the complexities of these arrangements are apparent in the documents recording the sale in 1555 of Robert Logan's lands in Nether Gogar to Master Robert Richardson, which effectively ended the Logans' involvement with Gogar. Richardson, a graduate of the University of St Andrews, started his career in 1549 when he was presented to the vicarage of Dunsyre, probably as a consequence of securing the position of comptroller clerk in the Treasurer's office. He rose rapidly, receiving the vicarage of Eckford before 1552 and in that year was provided by the pope to the Archdeaconry of Teviotdale. Two years later, when Gilbert Kennedy, 3rd earl of Cassillis, was appointed treasurer, Richardson received further advancement when Cassillis effectively appointed him his lieutenant. It was probably as a reward for his services that he was nominated by the Crown as commendator of the priory of St Mary's Isle near Kirkcudbright from 30 March 1558, an office which he held,

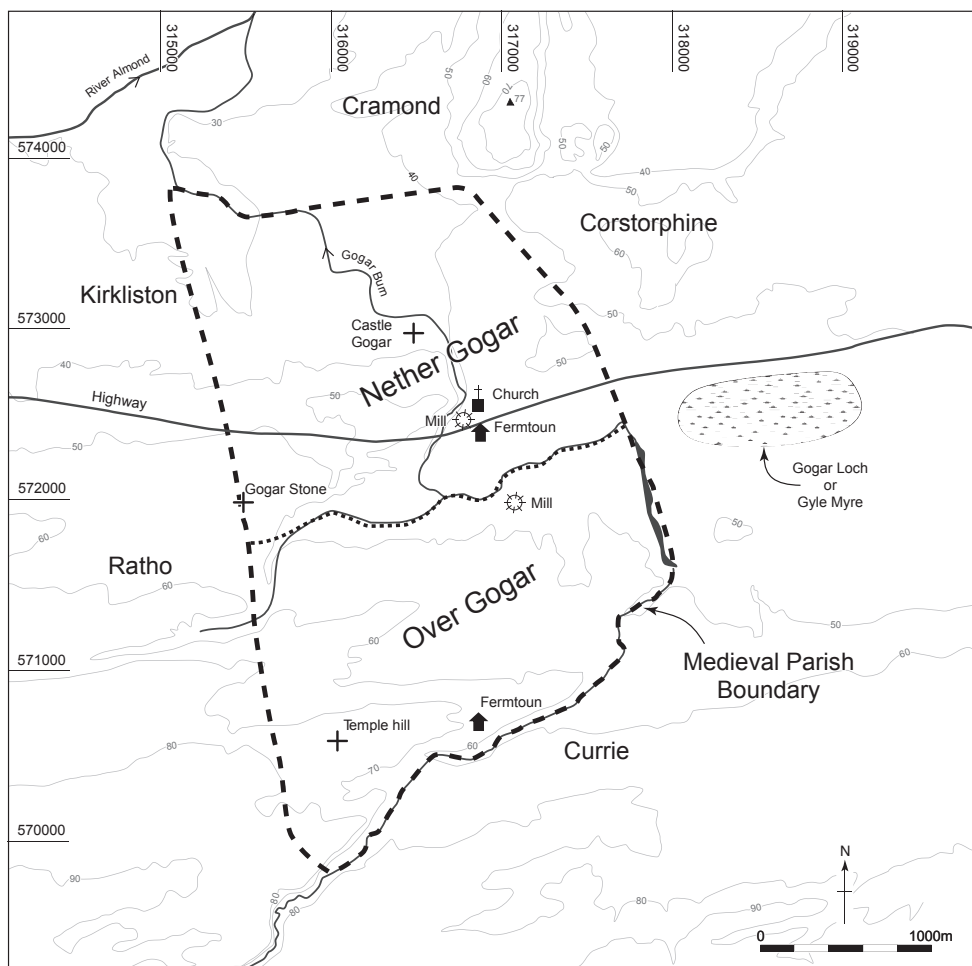
despite his quick adherence to the Protestant party in 1560, until his resignation of the office with a reservation of the fruits on 29 September 1566 (RSS, v, nos 379, 3078). His appointment as treasurer followed the death of Cassillis in November 1558, but he continued to be described simply as Clerk of Treasury and was effectively acting treasurer only until the confirmation of his appointment from 5 March 1561. An active acquirer of property, he built up a substantial estate in Fife, East Lothian and Midlothian in the early 1560s, much of it from former ecclesiastical lands and financed from his substantial income. He then proceeded to dispose of it to his tenants for a substantial profit from 1565 onwards. He died sometime in the summer or autumn of 1578. The Lauder family also sold the demesne lands of Over Gogar to James Aikenhead in 1531.

The parish of Gogar was a free parsonage for most of the pre-Reformation period, unlike the majority of parishes in Scotland where landowners were persuaded to give control of the church over to various religious houses. As a result of this freedom from appropriation, very few early records survive, and there is no evidence of the date of the parish foundation, which is first mentioned in 1247, when the church was reconsecrated by the Bishop of St Andrews. In the early 15th century, appointees to the parish were mostly ambitious relatives or political associates of the patrons of the church, who held several posts in the church and, in a situation paralleling the secular lordship, would have lived as absentees while exploiting the teinds from the parish. Later, appropriation by lay lords made inroads into the revenues of the parish. In 1444, part of the teinds were appropriated by the collegiate church of Corstorphine, and the remainder was appropriated by the church of the Holy Trinity of Edinburgh shortly afterwards. Following a common practice, church lands and rights to the teinds from the parish were subsequently leased to feuars in return for money rents. The glebe, known as 'the Kirklands' was feued by 1567,

when John Learmonth, the parson and vicar of Gogar, confirmed a complex arrangement of feuferme deals, that gives some idea of the size of individual tenants' holdings. The Medieval parish was eventually dismantled, with Nether Gogar joined to Corstorphine in 1599, and two other parts of the defunct parish were attached to Kirkliston and Ratho. The church itself probably fell into disuse at this time, though the burial ground remained in use.

From the late 16th century onwards, Gogar presents a picture of landownership shifting out of the control of the feudal lords and being

consolidated in the hands of the emerging gentry class. Adam Couper, a clerk of Session, started to buy out the wadsets linked to various properties in Nether Gogar towards the end of the 16th century and accumulated a significant estate. However, the Couper family became heavily indebted and were forced to borrow against the rents from Nether Gogar, and eventually sell the estate at auction. It was bought by Andrew Myreton, who converted it into a barony in 1701 with the addition of other lands he had purchased in the area. His son, Sir Robert Myreton, was responsible for far-reaching reorganisation and



ILLUS 2 Medieval Gogar. A reconstruction based on archaeological and historical evidence

improvements from 1717 which drastically altered the landscape of Gogar.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF MEDIEVAL GOGAR (AD 1200–1600)

Surviving documents provide a wealth of information about people, places and activities in medieval Gogar but, as is often the case, the mapping of this information is a considerable challenge if it is to be reliably linked to contemporary archaeological data.

The earliest surviving map including Gogar is the 1630 Hondius engraving of Pont's late 16th-century survey (Pont 1630). This just falls within our period of interest but it is not sufficiently detailed to be of any real value. A manuscript map by Adair (Adair 1682) records Gogar with some detail and accuracy but, as is typical for so much of Scotland, it is the Military Survey of 1747–55 that provides the first comprehensive and detailed map (Roy 1747–55). No large-scale 18th-century estate plans of Gogar have been traced so information on the location of early field names (often included on such plans) is not available. This is particularly unfortunate because a perambulation survives for the boundaries of Nether Gogar from 1685 (NAS, GD193/708). Perambulations contain detailed descriptions of local topography and landmarks used to define boundaries of landholdings but, in the present case, only a minority of the places can be accurately located in the modern landscape. Accepting the limitations of the evidence, *illus 2* offers a reconstruction of the lands and parish of Gogar in the medieval period between AD 1200, when surviving records begin, and AD 1600, when the parish ceased to exist.

Gogar was not a large land area, apparently extending for no more than 4km from north to south and 2.5km from east to west. The relief is subdued but the land gradually rises north to south, from a low gravel terrace beside the River Almond at 30m OD to low till-covered hills rising to 80m OD. The most pronounced physical features are created by the Gogar Burn, which

follows a sinuous course through the parish with modest but steep-sided valleys cutting into the low hills in two places.

Gogar bordered on five other parishes: Ratho and Kirkliston to the west, Currie to the south, Corstorphine to the east and Cramond to the north. The former limits of the parish are partially preserved in current parish boundaries or follow natural landscape boundaries, and we can be confident about its location in these areas; elsewhere the position is less clear. The southern half of Gogar was taken into Ratho parish in 1599 and its southern and eastern boundary with Currie and Corstorphine is preserved in present-day parish boundaries, following the Gogar Burn. Most of the northern half of Gogar parish was taken into Corstorphine at the same time, and the northern boundary with Cramond survives, again partially following the Gogar Burn. The western limit of Gogar is not so easy to establish but can probably be fixed at one point by the existence of the 'Gogar Stone' (NMRS site NT17SE 8). This is a 1.1m-high standing stone, presumably of prehistoric date, that is referred to in the 1685 perambulation of Nether Gogar. The use of ancient sites as landmarks is a well-recognised phenomenon and, in this case, the traditional name for the standing stone reinforces its later use as a march stone for Gogar.

It may be noted that the boundaries of Gogar as shown in *illus 2* place the Gogar Loch outside the limits of the parish. This is the only recorded 'Gogar' place-name outside the medieval parish and therefore deserves some comment. Use of this name has not been traced back before 1735 when it appears on a published engraving of Adair's 1682 manuscript map of Midlothian (Adair 1682). The original manuscript map does not name the loch, nor is it certain that Adair even mapped the feature as a loch; he may have depicted a marsh. Whilst a loch clearly existed early in the post-glacial period (Mitchell, G H & Mykura, W 1980), the status of the 'Gogar Loch' as a permanent water body is doubtful by the historic period. It clearly continued to be at least seasonally flooded into the 19th century

(OSA 244–5), and the Statistical Account for Corstorphine records the name for the area as the ‘Goyle Myre’ (the present-day place-name ‘Gyle’). This name is more appropriate both for the place and nature of the ground. The ‘Gogar Loch’ may be no more than a map engraver’s invention at a time when this area lay within the post-medieval Barony of Gogar.

The principal medieval division of the parish of Gogar into Nether and Over Gogar can be identified from the 1685 perambulation, which preserves the line of what was a much earlier division (illus 2). The southern boundary of Nether Gogar is described in the perambulation as follows, starting at the Gogar Stone:

and from thence leading south alongst the march untill it come to the strype or burn which comes from Rathobyres loch and from thence south [should be east] all alongst down the strype to Gogar burne and then leading east alongst Gogar burne untill it come to the east syde of the piece land called the Killmoon

All of these places can be clearly identified on the modern OS map with the exception of ‘Killmoon’ which survives as a field name ‘Kilmun’s Park’, immediately to the east of Gogar Park (see notes for NMRS site NT17SE 4). As with the parish boundary, the medieval landowners made use of watercourses to provide readily defined and fixed boundaries to units of land.

Both Nether and Over Gogar comprised a number of arable agricultural tenancies, in turn subdivided between lesser tenants, but the detailed location of these holdings cannot now be recovered. One minor exception is the location of the property held by the Knights Templar and, after their suppression in 1307, by the Knights of St John. This is first documented in a charter of 1409 (RMS, i, no 934) and was held by the Knights of St John up to the Reformation. It appears in a rental of the Knights’ lands for 1539–40 as ‘in wuer [over] gogar ane land’ (Cowan 1983: 23). This must be the land named ‘Templehill’ on the Military Survey of Scotland (Roy 1747–55), which is

correctly located within Over Gogar. Details of land-use in these holdings is largely lacking. It is clear from the historical records that arable agriculture dominated the landscape by the late medieval period, and the Military Survey maps a pre-improvement landscape in the mid-18th century covered in unenclosed ridged fields. It would be wrong to assume that this picture can be translated back to the 13th and 14th centuries, but there are no medieval references to features such as woodland, meadow, moor or peat mosses that would challenge this assumption. The modern place-name ‘Gogar Moor’ in the higher south-west corner of the parish (close to the site of Templehill) suggests that other land-uses did exist in the past, but this name is first recorded on 19th-century maps. Some pasture must have existed, at least for domestic livestock, and the most likely location for this is the floodable land along the Gogar Burn. Seasonal grazing or hay meadows probably already existed in the ‘Goyle Myre’ although it is not certain that the inhabitants of Gogar would have had rights to use this valuable resource.

The parish church of medieval Gogar can be confidently mapped at the site of its 19th-century successor where it was located from at least the middle of the 13th century. Two water mills can be identified in existence before 1600. These are discussed in more detail later in this paper but their locations may be noted here. The earlier mill was located in Over Gogar and appears to have been the only mill in Gogar until the 16th century when a ‘new’ mill was constructed in Nether Gogar. One other readily located building was also added in Nether Gogar in the 16th century: Castle Gogar. A recent examination of the extant L-plan mansion of 1625, during renovation works, concluded that it contains the remains of an earlier building within the current west block (Geddes 2006). This building was probably a square tower with a vaulted basement, a hall and chamber above. The earliest identified document that refers to this building dates from 1550 (RMS, iii, no 2882) and the surviving fabric could be 16th-

century in date (Geddes 2006). It may be noted that references to a much earlier origin for Castle Gogar (see notes for NMRS Site NT17SE 9) have not been confirmed by our historical research. In this context, Castle Gogar should be interpreted as a late-medieval residence for a member of the increasingly prosperous mercantile class of Edinburgh, not a medieval manorial centre for a landed estate. Medieval Gogar lacked any such manorial centre (in Nether and Over Gogar), reflecting the minor role that Gogar played in the wider landholdings of its owners.

Apart from the residences of the elite, contemporary documentary evidence for the location of medieval settlement is slight so later maps must be relied upon to provide some insight. Seventeenth-century mapping by Adair records two settlements, one in Over and one in Nether Gogar, but the history and origins of these settlements are not known. It is assumed that these are the traditional locations of medieval *fermtouns* for the two principal landholdings in Gogar (an assumption that is supported by archaeological evidence presented below).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT GOGARBURN

THE MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT

The majority of development work required for the RBS headquarters project was located on the south side of the Glasgow Road in the grounds of Gogarburn House and Gogar Park. On the north side of the road, a field was acquired to accommodate the end of a new road bridge, forming part of the access to the headquarters (illus 1). The field, roughly triangular in shape, was bounded on the south by the Glasgow Road and on the east by the supposed site of the *fermtoun* of Nether Gogar and the remains of the medieval Gogar Church. The Gogar Burn flowed along the north-west side at the foot of a steep slope. Archaeological evaluation of this field revealed features of medieval date. Subsequent excavation exposed a concentration of cut

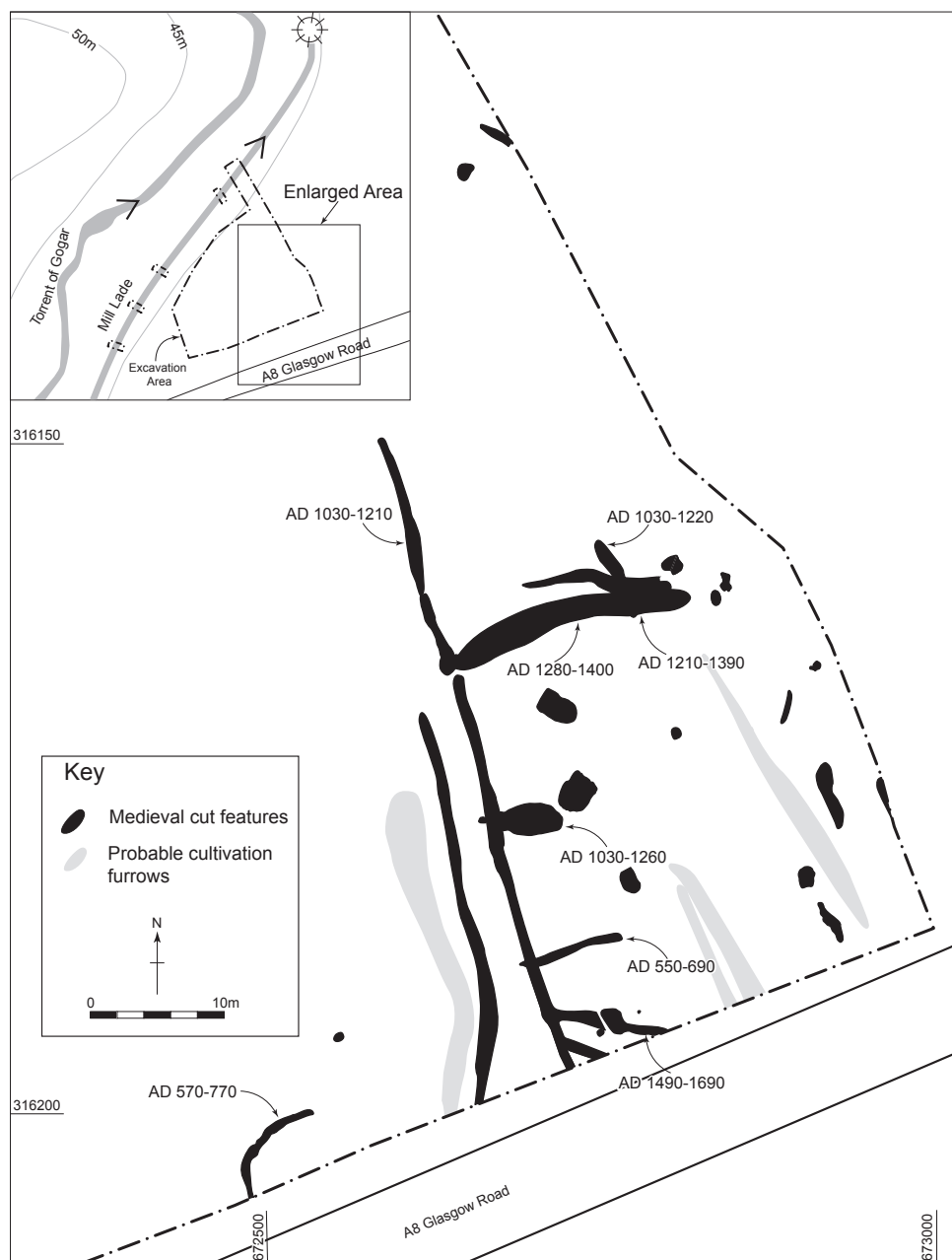
features: pits, ditches, gullies, in an area roughly 1250m² in extent (illus 3). These were located in the south-east corner of the field on the higher, level ground. Further to the north-west, on the steep slope above the Gogar Burn, a substantial ditch was found. This ran along the contour of the slope and was identified as a mill lade.

What follows here is a summary of the findings of the excavation and subsequent analyses. Full details of the results of this work are contained in the project archive, deposited in the NMRS.

Early medieval activity

All of the artefact evidence and the majority of the radiocarbon dates indicate that this site was occupied in the medieval period with some later use. It was therefore a surprise when two of the radiocarbon samples returned very early medieval dates (Table 1). Wheat grain from a short ditch dated from AD 550–690 (SUERC-6693), and willow charcoal from an isolated curving ditch dated from AD 570–770 (SUERC-6700). Both of these features also contained pottery of high medieval date so it must be assumed that either the pottery is intrusive or the carbon is residual. There is no conclusive evidence to support either assumption so a cautious interpretation is that there was early medieval occupation of some nature in this area.

These two early radiocarbon dates are contemporary and pre-date the later radiocarbon dates by at least 260 years (none of the calibrated age ranges fall between AD 770 and AD 1030). This suggests that we are not dealing with an early medieval origin for the identified medieval settlement as there is a clear break in the chronology. Alternatively, it is possible that these two early dates are connected with late use of an enclosed prehistoric settlement, less than 200m away on the opposite bank of the Gogar Burn. This site (NMRS NT17SE 56) has only been recorded as a cropmark but is a substantial double-ditched enclosure, assumed to be of Iron Age date. The 6th and 7th centuries AD were



ILLUS 3 Gogarburn. Medieval settlement remains on north side of A8

periods of significant change in the pattern of settlement in the Lothians, driven at least in part by the extension of Northumbrian Anglian

control into the area, with most Iron Age settlement sites falling into disuse by this time. Anglian settlement is archaeologically attested

close to Gogar by the 7th century AD with a pallisaded hilltop enclosure and Grubenhaus excavated on South Platt Hill above Ratho (Smith 1995). The historical sources agree with this date for the Anglian settlement of Midlothian (Smith 1995, 116); therefore the Gogarburn dates could reflect the presence of an otherwise undocumented Anglian settlement.

Regardless of the uncertainty over detailed interpretations, the evidence for later prehistoric, early medieval and high medieval settlement within the same locality at Gogarburn clearly points to this being a preferred place to live. The positive locational factors are assumed to be natural: a local high point and relatively well-drained site beside a watercourse.

The medieval settlement

The majority of the excavated archaeological features are believed to be medieval in date. This interpretation is based on the dominance of the finds assemblage by medieval pottery and five radiocarbon dates with calibrated age ranges between AD 1030 and AD 1400 (Table 1). That said, it must be stressed that there is almost a total lack of unambiguous stratigraphic relationships between intercutting features, and there is good evidence for the contamination of feature fills by both later intrusive and earlier residual material. This problem has already arisen with the presence of medieval pottery in features yielding early medieval radiocarbon dates (above). It also applies to examples of features containing post-medieval artefacts and medieval radiocarbon dates. As a result, it is not possible to develop a robust chronostratigraphy within the medieval period features; nor can possible examples of pre- or post-medieval features be isolated with any degree of confidence. The radiocarbon dates actually suggest two discrete periods of medieval activity: three dates have a combined calibrated age range of AD 1030 to AD 1260; the other two span the period AD 1210 to AD 1400. Accepting these rather severe constraints, it is still possible to offer some analysis and interpretation of the site.

At the most general level, the excavated features can be divided into two categories: linear ‘ditch-type’ features and ‘pit-type’ features. The linear features have a dominant north–south orientation with a few on the perpendicular east–west orientation. This creates the appearance of rectilinear enclosures, or a persistence of layout, but this may be an illusion. Some features are relatively narrow and steep-sided (ie small ditches); others are very broad and shallow, and may be the bases of cultivation furrows. Possible examples of this latter group are marked on illus 2. The ‘pit-type’ features include many small indeterminate examples and a loose cluster of larger features in the centre of the excavated area. These larger pits are irregular in plan and section and survive up to 0.9m deep; they are interpreted as small quarry holes.

In the absence of recognisable remains of buildings or specialised structures, it is likely that the features represent parts of tofts at the north-west edge of a settlement, enclosed by ditched boundaries. Activities of an uncertain nature have gone on within these tofts, creating a variety of pits, which have then accumulated domestic refuse. This refuse included potsherds, animal bone and ashes from domestic hearths or other fires.

Artefact and environmental evidence

The artefact assemblage was limited to several hundred sherds of pottery that are described in more detail below. The pottery was concentrated in a few features, in particular the loose cluster of larger pits and some of the linear features. The possible cultivation furrows were notable for the general rarity of pottery.

A small bone assemblage was recovered, generally in a very poor state of preservation. Neither the original pattern of spatial distribution nor the original pattern of anatomical distribution has survived in the assemblage, due to attrition caused by low pH. Only two of the larger pits had more than five identifiable bone fragments, and even in these contexts the quality of preservation was too poor to allow any meaningful analysis.

On the whole, only the most robust elements of the skeleton had survived, and the smaller species (sheep/goat, pig and dog) were represented almost exclusively by their teeth. As a result, cattle remains were the most commonly identified elements in the assemblage. No bird, fish or small mammal bone survived.

Carbonised plant remains were widely distributed through the medieval features but no examples of in situ burning or other discrete concentrations of carbonised material were identified. Grain from barley (*Hordeum* sp.) and oat (*Avena* sp.) dominated the samples. Occasional barley grains were preserved sufficiently well to distinguish the hulled variety. None of the oat grain had sufficient palea or lemma attached to identify the species present. Bread/club wheat (*Triticum aestivo-compactum*) and rye (*Secale cereale*) were also present, although the quantity recovered suggests that neither were cultivated in large quantities. Low numbers of rye grains are consistently recovered from Scottish medieval sites, yet it is difficult to identify whether this reflects weed seeds present in the cornfields or the specific cultivation of the crop. The picture is further complicated by the fact that rye could also have been deliberately sown together with either oat or wheat to produce a mixed crop ('maslin'). Unlike the rest of northern Europe, rye never became a staple in medieval Scotland. Instead, it was principally used as a source of animal fodder while its long straw was used for thatching. As the grain or straw used for such purposes would rarely come into contact with fire, it is likely that rye is under-represented in carbonised archaeological grain assemblages.

Similar biases may have affected the survival of two other crop plants, flax and peas, as neither routinely comes close to fire during processing. Two seeds of flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) and one fragment of pea (*Pisum sativum*) were recovered. Evidence for these species is generally rare from archaeological sites, except when well-preserved waterlogged deposits are present.

Weed seeds were generally rare throughout the samples. The most commonly recovered species were *Polygonum persicaria/lapathifolium* (persicaria/pale persiacria), *Rumex* spp. (dock), *Carex* sp. (sedge), *Agrostemma githago* (corn cockle). These are typical northern British ruderal/segetal taxa and are commonly recovered from archaeological deposits with remains of cereal crops; corn cockle was a particularly troublesome weed of medieval cornfields and had a deleterious effect on the properties of wheat flour (Clapham et al 1962).

Almost all of the excavated features also contained a low concentration of wood charcoal. It consisted of small round wood fragments and twiggly material and, as much of it was in a poor state of preservation, few fragments could be identified to species level. The only common species present were *Betula* sp. (birch) and *Salix* sp. (willow), which accounted for over half of the 20 identified fragments. The charcoal is interpreted as the remains of fuel wood; both willow and birch are fast-growing trees that regenerate readily after lopping or felling and are likely to have been the most widely available trees in medieval Gogar.

Later use of the site

The excavation produced very little evidence of settlement or indeed any pre-Modern activity on the site of the medieval settlement after AD 1400. There is one late radiocarbon date from a short section of ditch (SUERC-6695); unfortunately its wide calibrated age range provides little guidance to quite how recent this sample of barley grain is. If the low probability of a mid-20th-century date is rejected, it still allows a wide age range from the end of the 15th century to the beginning of the 19th century. There are very few pottery sherds of later medieval date, implying that domestic occupation in the immediate vicinity of the excavated site ended in the 14th century. If this is combined with the evidence for cultivation furrows running over the medieval features, it suggests that the function of the excavation area changed from settlement

to agriculture by AD 1400 and then remained in agricultural use to the present day.

One substantial feature was recorded that may be assigned to the post-medieval period. This is a ditch that was encountered running along the slope above the Gogar Burn, away from the focus of medieval settlement activity. It had a flat bottom, c 2m wide, but was heavily truncated by loss of sediment on its down-slope side and survived no more than 0.4m deep. The size, shape and location of this feature suggests that it was a lade, bringing water to a mill that is recorded on maps of early 19th-century date. Although very few finds were present within the fill of the lade, the pottery that was recovered dates from the 12th to the 19th centuries. This

is consistent with a feature that went out of use around the start of the 19th century.

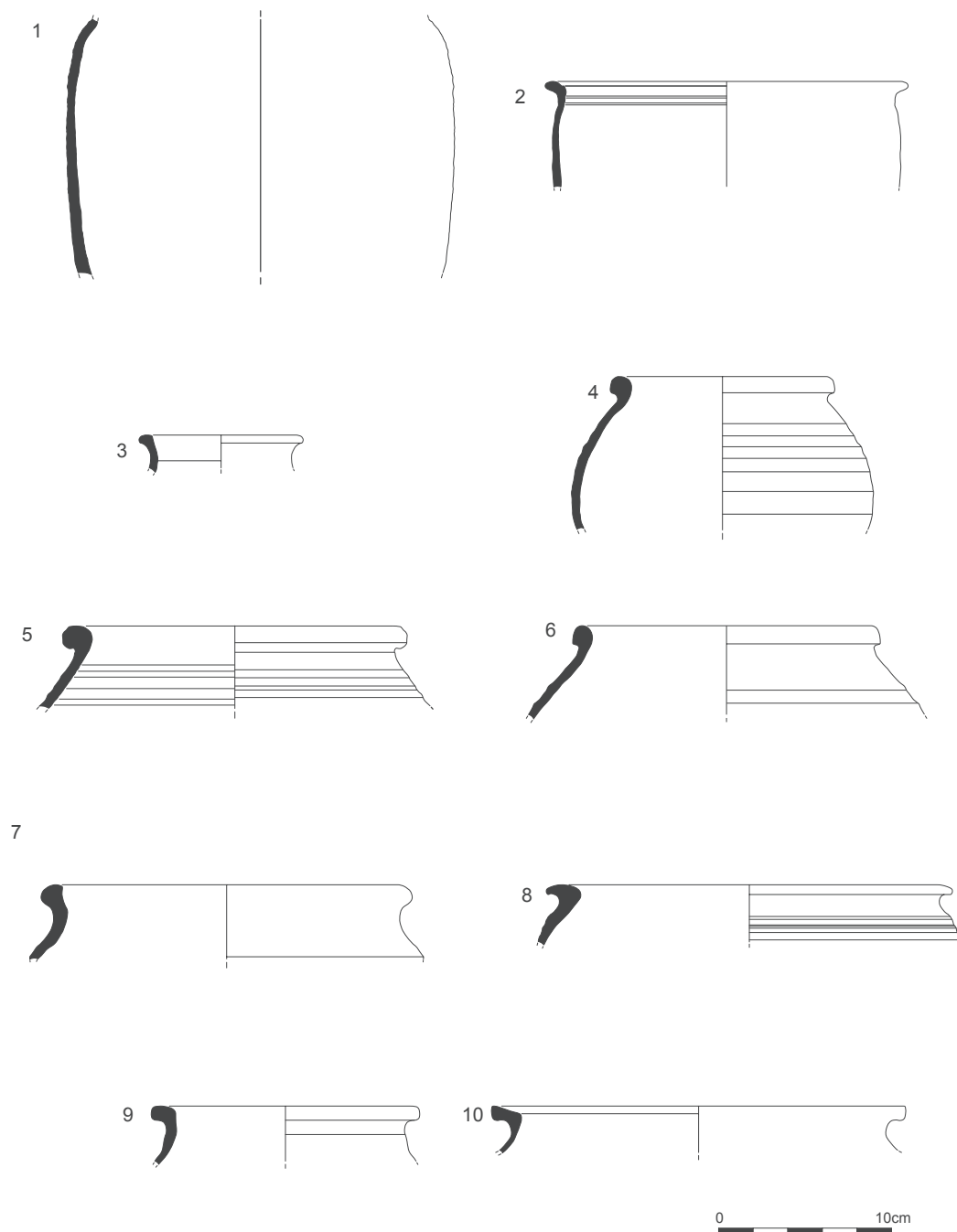
THE MEDIEVAL POTTERY ASSEMBLAGE

Julie Franklin

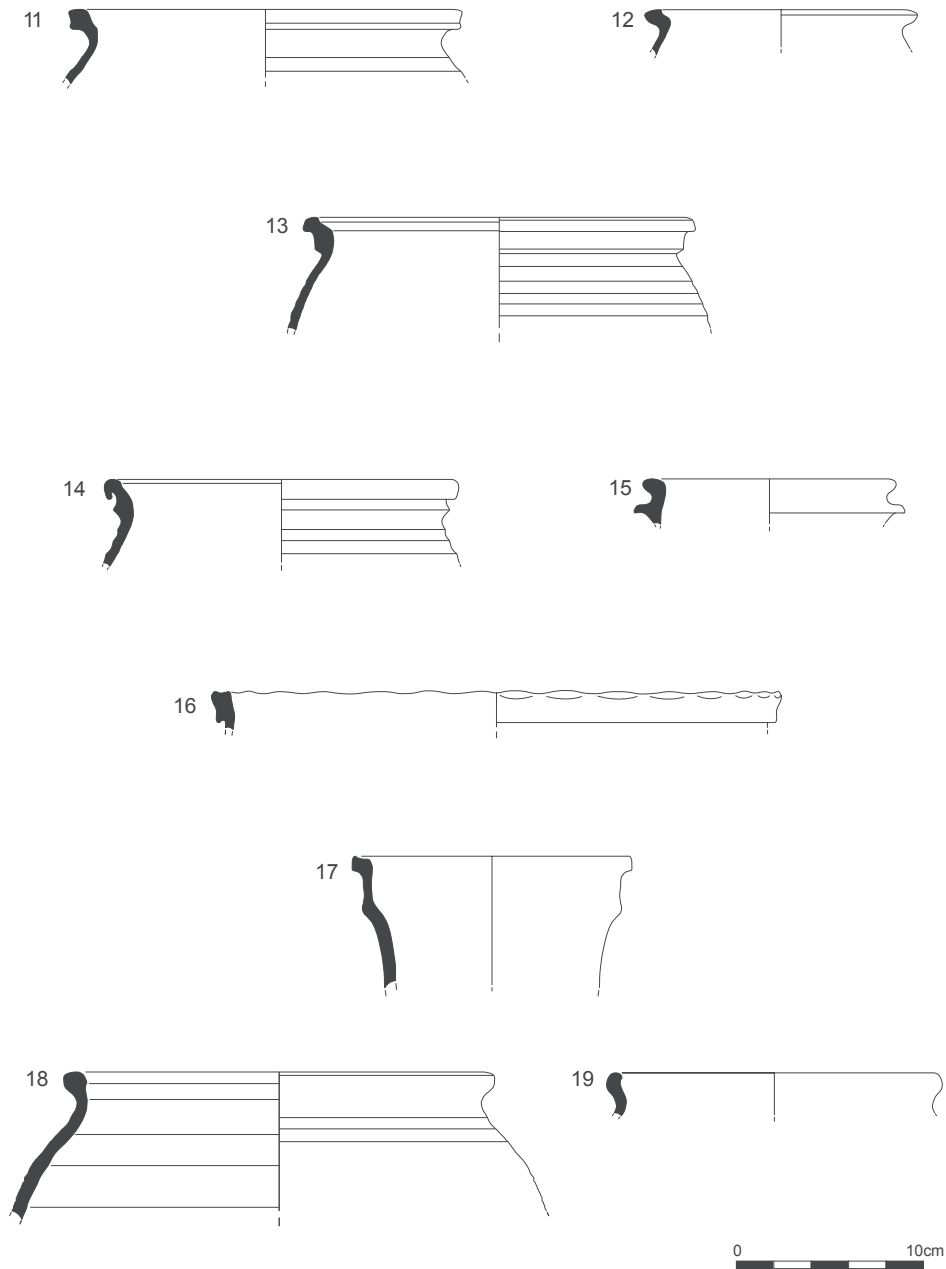
The pottery assemblage from the medieval settlement numbered 597 sherds, almost all of medieval date (Table 2). The main concentration (48% of the assemblage) was from four large pits towards the centre of the excavated area. Immediately to the north of this, a series of intercutting linear features produced another large concentration of pottery, making up another 29% of the assemblage. The large

TABLE 1
Radiocarbon dates from Gogarburn medieval settlement

<i>Lab Code</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Radiocarbon Age BP</i>	$\delta^{13}C$	<i>Calibrated Age Ranges</i>
SUERC-6691 (GU-13043)	622	Cereal Grain: <i>Avena</i> sp.	740 \pm 40	-24.9‰	AD 1210–1330 AD 1360–1390
SUERC-6692 (GU-13044)	505	Cereal Grain: <i>Hordeum</i> sp.	910 \pm 40	-25.1‰	AD 1030–1210
SUERC-6693 (GU-13045)	736	Cereal Grain: <i>Triticum</i> sp.	1400 \pm 45	-23.7‰	AD 550–690
SUERC-6694 (GU-13046)	630	Cereal Grain: <i>Avena</i> sp.	900 \pm 40	-23.7‰	AD 1030–1220
SUERC-6695 (GU-13047)	668	Cereal Grain: <i>Hordeum</i> sp.	260 \pm 40	-24.1‰	AD 1490–1690 AD 1760–1810 AD 1930–1960
SUERC-6696 (GU-13048)	684	Cereal Grain: <i>Triticum</i> sp.	875 \pm 40	-22.8‰	AD 1030–1260
SUERC-6700 (GU-13049)	695	Charcoal: <i>Salix</i> sp.	1385 \pm 40	-25.9‰	AD 570–700 AD 750–770
SUERC-6703 (GU-13052)	635	Bone: <i>Bos</i> scapula	640 \pm 40	-21.7‰	AD 1280–1400



ILLUS 4 1–16 White Gritty cooking pots (1 pit 618; 2 ditch 777; 3 ditch terminus 737; 4 pit 685; 5 pit 618; 6–7 pit 599; 8 ditch 776; 9–10 pit 685; 11 ditch 777; 12–15 ditch 782; 16 pit 685); 17 Reduced Gritty jug (ditch terminus 737); 18–19 Redware cooking pots (18 pit 599; 19 ditch 776)



ILLUS 4 (cont)

1–16 White Gritty cooking pots (1 pit 618; 2 ditch 777; 3 ditch terminus 737; 4 pit 685; 5 pit 618; 6–7 pit 599; 8 ditch 776; 9–10 pit 685; 11 ditch 777; 12–15 ditch 782; 16 pit 685); 17 Reduced Gritty jug (ditch terminus 737); 18–19 Redware cooking pots (18 pit 599; 19 ditch 776)

sherd size of pottery in the pits suggests that they had not experienced repeated disturbance and redeposition, unlike much of the rest of the assemblage, which was highly fragmented.

White Gritty Ware

The vast majority of the assemblage was made up of White Gritty ware, the typical medieval pottery of south-east Scotland. Its production begins in the 12th century, and the earliest well-dated examples are from two pits at Kelso Abbey, backfilled in the second or third quarter of the 12th century (Haggerty 1984). These early examples are notably whiter and grittier than later versions of the fabric. Typically they are thin-walled, with pronounced wheel riling and an extremely pimply surface. The most distinctive of the Kelso forms were a number of straight-sided cooking pots. Similar straight-sided White Gritty cooking pots have also been found in early contexts at Jedburgh Abbey (Haggarty & Will 1995) and in 12th-century deposits in Leith (Ronaldson's Wharf, unpublished assemblage). Technically difficult to form, their absence from most medieval assemblages suggests they are not a long-lived type.

The Gogarburn White Gritty is notably similar to these early collections: extremely gritty; creamy white in colour; sometimes with a grey core or occasionally pink surfaces; thin walled, with pronounced rilling. There are at least two, possibly four or more, examples of straight-sided cooking pots (illus 4 1–2). A small proportion of the sherds were reduced to a dark grey, sometimes with white surfaces. These are generally glazed jug sherds, and though listed separately, are essentially the same fabric, under slightly different localised firing conditions.

Cooking Pots (illus 4, 1–16)

Jars are by far the most common form represented in this assemblage. Out of 51 identifiable rim forms, 47 are from jars. Though these could have been used for storage; sooting patterns suggest they were all used primarily as cooking pots.

The most common type was large globular pots, with sagging bases and rolled, clubbed or everted rims, typically 170–220mm in rim diameter, though larger and smaller versions are found (120–280mm). Several of the rims have an internal bevel suitable for holding a wooden lid in place, while the shape of the outer rim would allow a cover of leather or cloth to be tied over the top. Globular pots are generally larger than the straight-sided jars. The lack of stratigraphy on site means that nothing can be made of the relative dating of these two forms.

Jugs (illus 4, 17)

Jugs are far more common in late medieval assemblages than earlier ones, due to factors such as increased wine consumption, changes in eating and drinking habits, improvements in potting skills and increased availability of metal cooking pots (Brown 2002, 136–9). It is hard to place absolute dates on this change as on any particular site, other factors such as status, function and access to markets can affect pottery use. However, the fact that so few jugs were found amongst the Gogarburn assemblage (as few as four White Gritty examples with a similar number in other fabrics) is another indicator of a very early date.

Most of the jugs are glazed, and the two handles present are both strap handles. Only three sherds are decorated, all with poorly executed iron-coloured applied vertical strips. This was the most common type of decoration found in the Colstoun assemblage (Brooks 1978–80, 373). Its presence here might imply it is a particularly early form of decoration, though it is too small a sample to make confident statements.

Medieval Redwares (illus 4, 18–19)

A small percentage of the sherds are of a distinctly redder gritty fabric, varying from pink to orange-red. Many retain some traces of a white slip – an attempt to give the vessel the appearance of whitewares.

Similar wares are produced all over north-east Scotland. They are the local products of

Aberdeen (Murray 1982) and Perth (MacAskill 1987), making up the majority of the medieval assemblages found in those towns. The white slips are clearly an attempt to give the vessels the appearance of the whitewares from the south of Scotland and abroad, in an area where white firing clay is scarce. As far south as Stirling, white slipped redwares make up as much as 70% of the medieval pottery (Ewart pers comm), and are thus probably being manufactured nearby. The inception of this industry appears to be a little later than the whitewares. Perth Local ware is dated from the 13th century onwards. Though in the 15th century the redware industry was to expand farther south, presumably as white firing clay resources were exhausted (eg Hall & Hunter 2001), during the 13th century it seems limited to areas near or north of the Highland Boundary fault. Thus it would seem, as well as the more local whitewares probably supplied via Edinburgh, pottery was also coming in from the north-west.

In terms of form, the sherds seem more equally divided between jugs and jars. The rim sherds are mostly small and hard to identify, but two out of four are possibly from jugs, while about a quarter of the sherds are glazed. This implies a generally later date, though it could be that jugs were more likely to travel, possibly as containers for liquid goods. The only decorated sherd has a line of white slip under the glaze, showing pale yellowish green against the olive green ground. It is poorly executed but, as it runs diagonally, appears to be deliberately applied.

A handful of the redware sherds, including two further jug rims are of a sandier fabric and are probably later medieval or 16th-century.

Yorkshire Wares

There were two sherds of Scarborough-type wares. Both are of white-bodied Phase II fabric, both with a lustrous green, copper-mottled glaze. These were produced in North Yorkshire from the mid-12th to the mid-14th century (Farmer 1979; Farmer & Farmer 1982), though wares are

generally only found on consumer sites from the 13th century onwards. It was traded all around the North Sea and is the most common type of imported pottery found in 13th- and 14th-century Scotland.

Rhenish Stoneware

The first of the two stoneware sherds is from the neck of a *Jacobakanne*, a tall slender jug, with a narrow (c 48mm diameter) straight neck, and a patch of matt orange ash glaze. This was the classic form produced in Siegburg from the mid-14th to the second quarter of the 15th century (Gaimster 1997, 165). The second is a small fragment of Langerwehe stoneware with a brownish purple wash on the surface. The scale of the trade in early stoneware into Edinburgh was demonstrated by the excavation of a large collection of Langerwehe and Seigburg wares on a site off the High Street, dated by Hurst to the first half of the 15th century (Clarke 1976). This is the most likely date for the Gogarburn sherds.

The late date is anomalous to the bulk of the assemblage, but both sherds are outliers to the main pit groups. The Langerwehe fragment is from the post-medieval mill lade associated with sherds of various dates. The Seigburg sherd is from a probable cultivation furrow, post-dating the medieval settlement.

Discussion

All the evidence from pottery fabrics, vessel forms and associated radiocarbon dates, points towards the bulk of the assemblage being of 12th- and 13th-century date. The prevalence of cooking pots and absence of any other contemporary finds point towards a low-status domestic settlement. There are very few sherds of later medieval date, implying that domestic occupation of the site ended in the 13th or 14th century. The pottery does not necessarily date the earliest occupation of the site. Prior to the 12th century, Scotland was essentially aceramic, and though imported pottery is known, it is rare. The absence of earlier finds should not be read

TABLE 2
Gogarburn medieval settlement. Composition of
pottery assemblage by fabric type

<i>Fabric</i>	<i>Large pit group</i>	<i>Total</i>
White Gritty	241 (91%)	496 (89%)
Reduced Gritty	7 (3%)	18 (3%)
Medieval Redware	17 (6%)	41 (7%)
Yorkshire Wares	–	2
Rhenish Stoneware	–	2
Total Imports	–	4 (0.7%)
Total	265	559

as an absence of earlier occupation, particularly in the light of some earlier radiocarbon dates.

The presence of early redwares, albeit in small numbers, is interesting. The nearest known source would be the Stirling area, 26 miles to the north-west, up the Forth Valley. Given this, it is telling that the redwares were found on a site to the west of Edinburgh. Whitewares were clearly the more desirable pottery of the time, given the redware producers' attempt to emulate it, but there was clearly at least some localised trade in redwares, whether for their own worth or as containers for traded goods.

DISCUSSION: THE LANDSCAPE OF MEDIEVAL GOGAR

THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE

The archaeological and historical data introduced above provide the basis for an exploration of medieval Gogar. It should go without saying that this evidence is fragmentary and heavily biased, in terms of the subject that it relates to, the geographic location and the date referred to. This affects our ability to explore different aspects of the medieval landscape and therefore the choice of topics for discussion.

The archaeological evidence is limited to the detailed recording of a few small areas in and around modern Gogarburn. This reflects the remit of the project that lies behind this paper, and no other archaeological investigations in Gogar have encountered substantive evidence from the medieval period. The types of evidence are limited to those materials and features that survive long burial. In the absence of waterlogged deposits, we lack all of the organic materials (wood, leather, cloth) that dominated the material culture and provided the main building materials. Bone is also largely absent in this case, the product of an acidic burial environment. On a more positive note, archaeological features of any date may be encountered; age is a key bias in the historical evidence where increasing age is closely correlated with a decline in surviving documents. The historical evidence is also dominated by documentation on a limited range of subjects: the ownership and inheritance of property, financial transactions and legal disputes. These matters inevitably relate more directly to the lives of the upper strata of medieval society. In the absence of medieval maps (no detailed maps survive for any part of Scotland until the later 16th century) it is frequently difficult to locate precisely landholdings, buildings or events referred to in contemporary documents. This restricts our ability to link archaeological discoveries with historic documents.

Overall, we have to recognise that archaeological and historical evidence relates to different aspects of medieval life. So, while it may be argued that they provide complementary lines of evidence, the aim should be to bring these separate strands together so that they test and challenge the interpretations that the two disciplines have arrived at independently. In the following sections, we have selected two aspects of medieval Gogar for discussion. First, we consider the location and history of water mills in Gogar. References to mills are a regular feature in the historical records, and a mill lade was identified during excavations at Gogarburn.

Mills are therefore an obvious theme where archaeological and historical approaches can be brought together. This is followed by a wide-ranging examination of Nether Gogar and its *fermtoun*, reconciling the archaeological and historical evidence to the nature and location of this medieval settlement.

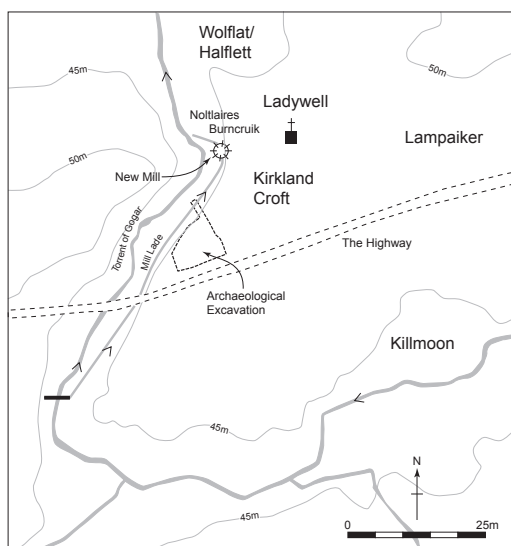
MILLS IN GOGAR

Although the lordship of Gogar had been divided at a comparatively early date, probably by the mid-1200s, it appears that the holders of the principal portion of the estate – Over Gogar – had retained a jurisdictional superiority over the other holdings. This situation is perhaps most evident in the retention of the sole mill for the district in the hands of the de Vaux and Haliburton families. Although it is not stated explicitly in the surviving documentation, until such time as the subdivisions of Gogar became fully separated and appended to other baronies, the occupants of the tenancies within them would have been *thirled* (obliged to take their grain for milling) to the mill of Over Gogar to have it ground into meal or flour, paying *multure* (a portion of the grain brought for milling taken by the miller or mill proprietor) and being bound to maintain the mill, mill-race and pond. The agricultural economy of Gogar was based on cereal cropping, so a mill for the grinding of flour would have been an important and (for the owner) profitable component of the parish.

The local mill would therefore have promoted a sense of unity and common identity amidst the labyrinth of superiorities, burdens and dues that controlled the lives of ordinary people in medieval Gogar. The mill was clearly a major feature of the local community and landscape, as may be indicated by its singling out in 1503 by James IV (1488–1513) as the place to stop for a drink while apparently out hunting during a stay at Linlithgow. The Treasurer's Accounts record a payment of 3s 'to the wif at the miln of Gogar, quhair the King drank' (TA, ii, 388).

The earliest reference to a mill in surviving documents is from 1409 when Sir Walter Haliburton of that Ilk, lord of Dirleton, granted his younger brother, George, the whole of his property in Gogar, comprising a number of husbandlands and the mill of Gogar (RMS, i, no 934). It appears that this substantial portion of the estate held by the lords of Dirleton corresponds with the lands of Over Gogar and Gogar Mains. It might seem reasonable therefore to assume from this reference (and others that follow it) that the mill was somewhere on the Gogar Burn in Over Gogar. This is not necessarily the case, as the mill could have been retained by the holders of the principal portion of the Gogar Estate (ie Over Gogar) for its revenues without being physically located within it. The archaeological excavations at Gogarburn revealed the remains of a lade, demonstrating the presence of a mill at some time in the past in what was Nether Gogar. Pottery from the lade indicated that it was not infilled until the recent past but could not demonstrate when it was built. An assessment of surviving written sources and maps reveals that there are not one but two pre-Modern mills in Gogar: one in Nether Gogar and one in Over Gogar.

All of the earlier references to a mill are connected with the lands of Over Gogar, and these continue after the time that a separate mill is documented in Nether Gogar; this strongly suggests that the medieval mill was physically located in Over Gogar. As noted above, the earliest reference is in 1409 and it continues to be mentioned throughout subsequent centuries. The first evidence for the actual location of this mill is provided by John Adair's map of Midlothian, dating from c 1682. This names Gogar Mill ('gogar m:') on the south side of the Gogar Burn, close to present-day Millburn Tower and within the lands of Over Gogar. This mill appears on a number of 18th-century maps but is most clearly mapped on the mid-18th-century Military Survey of Scotland (Roy 1747–55). This map shows a lade diverting from the Gogar Burn close to present-day Gogarbank House and



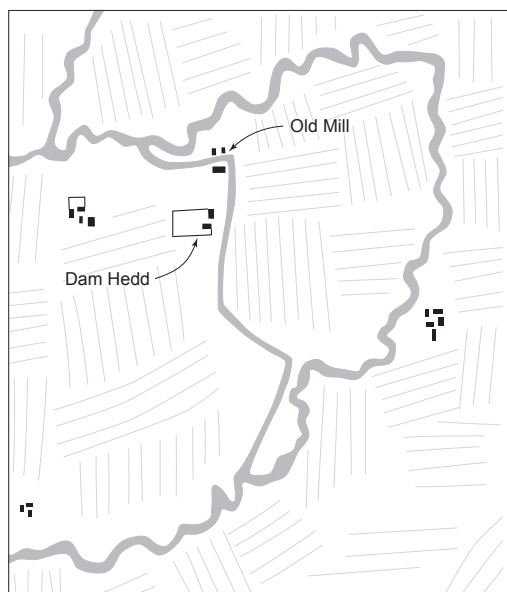
ILLUS 5 The medieval fermtoun of Nether Gogar. A speculative reconstruction c 1550

then following the contours northwards through what is now the grounds of Millburn Tower. The mill itself is mapped close to where the lade rejoins the Gogar Burn and is named 'Old Mill'; just to the south is 'Dam Head', presumably the location of the mill dam on the lade (illus 5). It is assumed that this layout closely follows the medieval plan, as natural topography dictates the flow of water. The mill was demolished and replaced by the appropriately named Millburn Tower around 1800 (the house itself was built in 1805); there are no visible remains of the mill but the foundations of it may well survive below ground. The ornamental gardens for Millburn Tower included substantial ponds and other water features and these were fed by the mill lade, which continued to function.

The earliest reference to a mill in Nether Gogar is provided by a document dating from 1604 that mentions a mill, which had been held by the Hastie family in feuferme from John Learmonth since 1552 (NAS, GD193/707). In a rental of the Barony of Gogar from 1720 (which incorporated Nether Gogar at this date) there

is reference to the 'Newmiln of Gogar and the Milnlands'. This name may be contrasted with the near-contemporary naming on the Military Survey of the 'Old Mill' in Over Gogar (illus 6). It would certainly be logical if the site of the medieval mill was known as the 'old' mill and the 16th-century mill was referred to as the 'new' mill of Gogar. It may be noted that in the same rental of 1720 a tenant who possessed a quarter of the village of Nether Gogar, Janet Bell, received a £20 Scots reduction in her rental as the mill lade ran through her land.

The Nether Gogar Mill is not recorded on the Military Survey of Scotland or on any published 18th-century map of this area. However, it appears that it did survive into the beginning of the 19th century when it was plotted on estate plans dating from 1823 to 1830, albeit disused by this date (RHP 1395, RHP 1397, RHP 30612). These plans confirm the location of the mill and part of the line of the lade, which matches the feature recorded during the archaeological



ILLUS 6 The old Mill of Gogar as recorded in the Military Survey of Scotland (1747-55)

excavation at Gogarburn. The mill made good use of the natural topography, exploiting a section of the Gogar Burn with a pronounced gradient to create a good head of water for the mill over a relatively short distance. The upper part of the lade lay within what became the policies of Gogarburn House, created in 1809, and the mill had ceased to function by this date (RHP 1395). The mill itself had been converted into a carpenter's shop before 1829 (RHP 1397) and was demolished soon afterwards (RHP 30612). The site of the mill lay just outside the area of the archaeological excavation so the survival of any remains could not be confirmed.

It is perhaps inevitable that the later history of both mills is better understood than their origins. Both ceased to function around 1800, when the organisation of flour milling was shifting away from the numerous small rural water mills to fewer industrial-scale enterprises. Both mills were also affected by the spread of suburban villas from Edinburgh at the start of the 19th century. It is assumed that the Over Gogar Mill was in existence from at least the 12th century as the only estate mill for Gogar. The documentary record indicates that the whole parish remained thirled to the mill in Over Gogar throughout the medieval period but, with the progressive breakdown of the traditional lordships, this system fragmented. Throughout the later medieval period, impecunious lairds raised capital to fund their increasingly expensive lifestyles upon the security of their property, jurisdictional rights or rental income. Both Lauder of Hatton (Over Gogar) and Logan of Restalrig (Nether Gogar) progressively lost control of their land and income at this time. The emergence of a 'New Mill' in Nether Gogar in the 16th century can therefore be viewed as one symptom of the changing world at that time.

To date, archaeology has contributed little to our understanding of the mills in Gogar, but there is potential in both cases for archaeological investigations to explore the origins and early history: issues beyond the reach of the surviving historic documents. The site of both mills is

known and these locations remain relatively undisturbed, although the remains of Nether Gogar Mill are buried under a recent landfill. In the case of Over Gogar Mill, the apparent reuse of the lade to supply water to the water gardens of Millburn Tower suggests enhanced potential for the survival of mill-related structures as well as adding an earlier historic dimension to this important designed landscape.

THE EXCAVATED MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT AND THE HISTORY OF NETHER GOGAR

Settlement chronology and continuity

The excavation at Gogarburn has revealed part of a medieval settlement that was occupied between the 11th and 14th centuries but appears to have been abandoned before 1400. The excavated remains are adjacent to the site of the village of Nether Gogar; this is named on the earliest detailed map of this area (the 1630 Hondius engraving of Pont's late 16th-century map) and depicted more accurately on Adair's map of 1682 where it is named 'Gogar Toun'. This village was progressively reduced in size during the 18th century during agricultural improvement of the Barony of Gogar by Sir Robert Myreton, and the remains of the buildings were finally cleared by Sir Robert Liston in the 1830s (a process recorded on RHP 30612). It is therefore tempting to identify the excavated settlement as an abandoned part of this village and assume continuity of settlement at this location from the 11th century to the present day. However, this assumption should be treated with caution. Although there are frequent references to Nether Gogar in documentary sources of 15th- and 16th-century date, these deal with the lands of Nether Gogar, and the existence of a nucleated settlement before the 17th century cannot be assumed. The same is true of Over Gogar, which appears as a village on the same 17th-century maps, but is generally only referred to in earlier documents as a landholding. One late medieval document (Paton & Donaldson 1949, no 1518) contains a text that suggests we can assume

the existence of a nucleated settlement in Over Gogar at least a century earlier. It records in 1505 the resignation of 'four merklands of Uvirgogar called Tenandry', which are located 'on the north side of the toun of Uvirgogar in the west end thereof'.

Archaeological evidence for the pattern of rural settlement in medieval south-east Scotland remains disappointingly slight. Our knowledge has barely advanced since the evidence was reviewed by Piers Dixon with respect to Springwood Park, Kelso (Dixon 1998). What little evidence there is points to nucleated villages by the 12th century and more recent unpublished sites, such as Eldbotle in East Lothian (Dutton & Morrison 2003), reinforce this impression. This suggests it is most likely the case that Nether Gogar persisted as a village from possibly as early as the 11th century, in which case the absence of archaeological evidence after the 14th century reflects a shift or contraction in the settlement. These options could be tested in the future through further archaeological excavation, as it seems likely that the evidence will survive, except where the modern A8 has cut through the settlement.

Change or disruption in settlement patterns in the 14th century has been observed before at Springwood Park (Dixon 1998, 748) and more recently at Eldbotle (Dutton & Morrison 2003). Two possible explanations have been offered at the former site: depopulation caused by the plague, and destruction caused by warfare in the 14th century. We know that the ferme (rental) of Nether Gogar in 1459 amounted to £20 12s for three terms, or 18 months, giving an annual yield of £14 14s 8d (*ER*, v, 456-8). This figure is only a little over half of the ferme extracted in the mid-14th century and provides a useful indication of the contracted level of values and rentals which prevailed in the aftermath of the collapse in population, as well as the market for agricultural produce which had followed the Great Mortality of 1347-51 and its recurrences down to 1431. Archaeological and historical evidence from more settlements is needed, but the cases already

examined suggest major disruption could have been the norm in this period.

The aftermath would have allowed or necessitated some reorganisation in customary landholding arrangements: a widespread pattern at this time was the relaxation of feudal burdens and the rise of a class of substantial free tenants who were able to enhance their rights and status because of the labour shortage. Many of the landholding arrangements that emerge in the relatively abundant records of late-medieval Gogar may therefore have originated in this period rather than having any greater antiquity. This suggests that the historical documents relating to 15th- and 16th-century Nether Gogar may not be relevant to the analysis of the archaeological evidence, which largely pre-dates the 14th century.

Settlement structure and size

The excavation at Gogarburn identified one edge of the medieval settlement, which was bounded to the north-west by a steep slope overlooking the Gogar Burn. The peripheral location of the excavated portion of the settlement is reflected in the character of the features: there was no evidence for buildings, and the ditches and gullies are best interpreted as divisions between crofts, yards or garden plots extending to the rear of the houses. The pits, also, correspond to the sort of activities that would have been carried out on the edge of settlements: digging clay for building, digging privies or disposing of rubbish. The area excavated is too small, perhaps, to speculate on the layout of the settlement as a whole, but preferred orientations for straight ditches are apparent, suggesting a degree of coherence and persistence in the layout. The core of the medieval settlement presumably lay further to the south-east, much of it in the land now occupied by the modern A8 dual carriageway, but an analysis of the structure and size of the settlement requires considerable speculation based on little evidence. The result of this process is summarised in *illus 5*.

Three features are likely to have influenced the location and structure of the settlement throughout its history: the Gogar Burn, the church and the Glasgow Road. The role of the Gogar Burn in setting the western limit of the settlement has been demonstrated, as has its use as a water supply for a mill (at least in the 16th century). The presence of a major road through Nether Gogar is likely to have promoted a linear settlement form, west to east, while the church may have formed a focal point on the north side of the road. The resulting perpendicular axes for the settlement appear to be reflected in the layout of the excavated area.

Archaeological evidence for the extent of the settlement, outside the main excavation area, is largely negative but does not closely constrain the limits of the settlement. No medieval features, other than cultivation furrows, were detected on the south side of the A8 during archaeological investigations for the RBS headquarters project. However, no observations were possible in the area closest to the suspected location of the medieval settlement, so it may extend south of the A8, particularly in the vicinity of Gogar Station Road. Similarly, limited archaeological evaluation to the north of Gogar Church in connection with the proposed airport tram line failed to detect significant medieval remains (Reed 1999), but this work was at least 150m north of the church.

Historical documents offer at least some evidence for the likely social structure and population of Nether Gogar in the medieval period. The medieval lord of Nether Gogar, Logan of Restalrig, was never resident in Gogar: there was no Logan 'big house' at Nether Gogar, and the lands seem always to have been set as tenancies. It was possible for an intervening level of lordship to be installed between the laird and the sitting tenants. This situation occurred in 1490, when Christina Levington was given a life rent possession of the half of the lands of the toun of Gogar by Robert Logan (Paton & Donaldson 1942, no 336). She would not have been resident in Gogar either. At the next stage

down the tenorial ladder, there were a number of free tenants who were resident in the parish. In the middle of the 15th century, Nether Gogar was described as comprising 'five poundlands' (*ER*, v, 548), and in the 16th century it appears to have been divided into five tenancies (eg *RSS*, v, no 2044); the logical conclusion seems to be that each tenancy extended to one poundland. These tenants were probably not at the bottom of the social ladder but represented individuals of some substance, beneath whom there may have been several further levels of small tenants and labourers. These lowest strata are all but invisible in the documentary record.

The general picture of Nether Gogar in the 15th and 16th centuries is of five significant households, each of which would have worked an equal share in the agricultural land attached to the toun, while sharing common rights in the associated grazing lands and access to fuel supplies. Unfortunately, from this evidence alone it is impossible to tell if these separate portions of Nether Gogar were ancient divisions dating from the 12th century or before, or new divisions introduced by the Logans since the later 13th century. From the documents, we can identify a group of tenant families who would continue to figure prominently in the local community during the 16th and 17th centuries, some breaking through from the upper end of the 'peasant' class into that wide and somewhat nebulous group of lesser lairds and gentlemen which featured so significantly in the political and religious upheavals of the period *c* 1550 to *c* 1700 (Sanderson 1982). In the absence of a resident lord of higher social status, these families formed a local 'elite', intermarrying, buying, leasing and exchanging blocks of property, and probably ordering the local landscape as best suited themselves.

The Kirklands of Nether Gogar

The field that was the site of the archaeological excavations at Nether Gogar in 2003 was glebe land and had to be purchased from the Church of Scotland by the Royal Bank of Scotland for part

of the development of its headquarters site. The continuity of ownership by the church provides a direct link back to the pre-Reformation parish and the glebe, or 'Kirklands', in Nether Gogar. This comprised land in and around the fermtoun that did not form part of one of the five principal tenancies of Nether Gogar and almost certainly included the land that was the site of the Gogarburn archaeological excavation.

As with the secular lordship, early records relating to the parish of Gogar are extremely scant. This position is largely a consequence of the status of the parish as a free parsonage for most of the pre-Reformation period – rather unusual in Scotland where appropriation (annexation of the parsonage and diversion of parish revenue to another ecclesiastical institution, eg an abbey) had occurred in over 70% of Scottish parishes before c 1300 (Cowan 1995). For some reason, this path was not followed at Gogar until surprisingly late in the medieval period, and control of the parish and patronage of the church appears to have remained with the superior of the lands of Gogar into the late 15th century. This freedom from appropriation had one very unfortunate consequence; an almost complete absence of early historical records relating to the church and parish of Gogar. No record of this kind exists for Gogar until the later 15th and 16th centuries.

Appropriation of the church revenues appears to have started in 1444 and was completed before the Reformation, the ultimate beneficiary being the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity in Edinburgh. We do not know by whom, when or how the remaining revenues of the parish were appropriated, but in 1567 the parson and vicar of Gogar, John Learmonth (with the consent of the provost and prebendaries of the collegiate church), set an annual rent of 13 merks 10s for an eighth part of his kirklands of Gogar to the sitting tenants, Nicholas and Alison Young (*Midlothian Chrs.* [Trinity College], no 77). It is clear from the wording of the charter and from a series of following documents that this post-Reformation agreement was simply a renewal of

an already long-standing arrangement. It appears that from at least the time of its appropriation to Holy Trinity, the absentee parsons and vicars had leased out their glebe and other kirklands in Gogar in return for a money rent. It was partly as a consequence of this feuing of kirklands in the 16th century that a new class of substantial farmers, the feuars, emerged.

Surviving documents relating to the feuing of kirklands contain a wealth of detailed information regarding named small parcels of land in Nether Gogar. Much of this land appears to have been in and around the fermtoun and church, and it seems certain that some documents must refer to the area of the archaeological excavation. It is frustratingly difficult to reconstruct the precise layout of the kirklands, but it is possible that further research will provide missing evidence that will help to locate more of the named places in these documents. Illus 5 includes those places that can be located with some degree of confidence.

In 1570, John Learmonth arranged a new tack for part of the kirklands (*Midlothian Chrs.* [Holy Trinity], no 84). The property was comprised of four acres of land divided into two blocks: two acres on the east side of 'kirkland-croft' and two acres at the northern end of a separate cultivated area called 'the wolflat' on the east side of the 'torrent of Gogar'. If 'the wolflat' is the same place as 'the Halflett', referred to in the 1685 perambulation of Nether Gogar, we can confidently place it on the east bank of the Gogar Burn between the church and Castle Gogar. The fact that a mill was also mentioned in the transactions concerning these four acres of land would suggest that the mill was located either on or near to the 'Kirklands'. The same four acres appear in a subsequent charter of 1602 where it is stated that two of these acres were called Noltlares, with Burnecruik, and that they lay to the north of the croft (*NAS*, GD193/707). There is little doubt that this 'Burnecruik' can only refer to the large loop that the Gogar Burn makes just to the north of the excavation site. Logically, this would place the

site of the Kirkland Croft just to the north-west of the church. The remaining two 'Kirkland' acres were located to the west and the south of the croft, and one of these was named the 'lamp acre'. What is apparently the same piece of land is also mentioned in a document from 1550 (spelt 'lampaiker'); the tenants of this piece of land were required to sustain a lamp to St Mary within the parish church of Gogar (NAS, CS96/1/161). This has every appearance of being an old arrangement in 1550, although it probably quickly fell out of use thereafter in the post-Reformation period. There was also a well dedicated to 'Our Lady' in Gogar parish, and there is little doubt that this too was a dedication to St Mary (NAS, GD193/708). Both the 'lampaiker' and the well feature in the 1685 perambulation. The 'Ladywell', as it is termed in 1685, was the last reference point before the perambulation terminated back at the Gogar Burn and therefore must have been somewhere north of the church and close to the burn. The 'Lamsaiker' (a spelling that suggests the original meaning had been forgotten by 1685) is less easy to locate, but it lay somewhere to the north of 'the highway' (ie the A8 Glasgow Road) and east of the church.

The agrarian economy of Nether Gogar

The 16th- and 17th-century documents detailing the busy exchange of property and rights in the land of Gogar make it clear that there were substantial profits to be made from its agriculture. The principal wealth of the parish in this period appears to have been arable: the will of Adam Couper, who bought up the land of Nether Gogar around the turn of the 17th century, calculates his wealth almost wholly in terms of crop production by his subtenants (NAS, CC8/8/45/385). The wills of his subtenants, where these survive, also mention relatively small numbers of animals, suggesting that enough were kept for local needs but the main specialisation was in grain production (NAS, CC8/8/37/511 and CC8/8/66/9). This specialisation, and the

buoyant land market, were undoubtedly driven by the growth of Edinburgh, which would have been a profitable market. In an age of limited and costly overland transport, animals could be driven long distances on the hoof, but supplying grain from beyond the immediate area would have been more problematic.

Presumably the medieval economy of Gogar was also producing a grain surplus, which successive landowners were exploiting. The carbonised plant remains from the excavated medieval settlement certainly include barley and oats, and lesser concentrations of wheat and rye. However, the archaeological evidence is not of a quality that allows a distinction to be made between production, processing and consumption of these cereal crops; we only know that they occur on the site. A more sophisticated understanding of the status of medieval cereal crops requires the identification of un-mixed primary crop processing waste and specialised structures such as kilns and threshing barns.

While grain production in the late-medieval period was clearly driven by the market economy centred on Edinburgh, questions remain as to what extent this would have been true in the 12th- and 13th-century Gogar glimpsed in the excavation. The norm at this time would have been for peasants to hold their land in return for payments in kind, services and other customary feudal dues. Many of the decisions made by tenants would have been driven by the demands of the lord of the estate. Only in the later Middle Ages would the conversion of such payments into money rents have gathered pace. As Gogar was divided between scattered estates, and was treated as an alienable source of income by absentee landowners, one would expect the process of conversion to a free, rent-paying tenantry to have taken place at an early date. The evidence from surviving documents relating to Nether Gogar indicates that cash rents were being paid already in the 14th century. This suggests that at least the principal tenants were participating in a market economy by this date, presumably cereal crops.

This evidence for a market economy may be set against the archaeological evidence for a very restricted material culture in the medieval period. Comparison with the much richer and more diverse finds assemblages from the contemporary rural settlement at Springwood Park, Kelso (Dixon 1998) suggests that Nether Gogar was both poorer and economically less diverse. Whilst it is possible that this apparent difference reflects the peripheral location of the excavated area at Nether Gogar, it seems equally probable that the difference is real: the fermtoun of Nether Gogar was inhabited solely by cereal farmers who sold their surplus crop for cash and spent most of their income in rent, leaving little for the purchase of manufactured goods.

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<i>DES</i>	Discovery and Excavation Scotland
<i>ER</i>	Exchequer Rolls
<i>NMRS</i>	National Monuments record of Scotland
<i>RMS</i>	Registum Magni Sigilli
<i>RPC</i>	Register of the Privy Council
<i>RSS</i>	Register of the Privy Seal/Registum Secreti Sigilli
<i>RRS</i>	Regesta Regum Scotorum
<i>TA</i>	Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

National Archives of Scotland
CC Series
CS Series
GD193 Papers of the Steel Maitland family
RH Series

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