

Yester Chapel

Gifford, East Lothian

Survey report – recording works in 2013-2014

for The Yester Chapel Trust

May 2014



Addyman Archaeology

Building Historians & Archaeologists

a division of Simpson & Brown Architects

St Ninian's Manse Quayside Street Edinburgh EH6 6EJ

Telephone 0131 555 4678 Facsimile 0131 553 4576

admin@addyman-archaeology.co.uk www.simpsonandbrown.co.uk

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1. Introduction

i. General

This report summarises the results of survey and recording works carried out in late 2013 and early 2014 by Addyman Archaeology at Yester Chapel, Gifford, East Lothian (NGR. NT 54457 67131). The work was carried out on behalf of The Yester Chapel Trust (contact, Kenneth Ferguson, Project Organiser and Quantity Surveyor; Principal, Kenneth Ferguson and Partners).

Initial survey and monitoring was undertaken in relation to urgent conservation work in the area of the exterior of the east wall of the south jamb (or transept) of the chapel. Here the existing stone saddle-and-trough roofing and associated cornice detail had failed, causing considerable ingress of water into the masonry fabric of the vault and upper walling of the jamb, expressed internally by the presence of green algal growth. Remedial works were carried out in November 2013 and February – April 2014. Conservation work was carried out by Mark Peaty Building Services of Earlston, Berwickshire (contact, Mark Peaty).

The opportunity was also taken to initiate a more general analytical and drawn record of Yester Chapel in order to establish a reliable base-line of information about this important structure, its history and physical evolution.

The project works, particularly the general analytical survey exercise, were generously funded by Historic Scotland, by The Yester Chapel Trust, and by Kenneth Ferguson and Partners. Historic Scotland's contacts for the project were Andrew Martindale, George Findlater and Rory MacDonald.

ii. Works in November 2013 – early 2014

Before conservation repair works commenced the east exterior elevation of the south transept of the chapel was recorded archaeologically by a hand-drawn elevation, section and photographically. This recording was undertaken by K Macfadyen on the 7th of November and the 15th of November, following the erection of scaffolding, to complete the upper parts of the elevation.

An archaeological monitoring brief was also carried out as conservation works progressed, and a photographic record maintained (this partly deriving from the contractors' own record of work). The conservation work involved the dismantling and re-bedding of parts of the stone roof structure and wall head cornice.

iii. Extension of survey works March – April 2014

Following confirmation of additional funding by Historic Scotland a more general drawn record of the chapel was conducted, with the major survey work taking place between 10th – 18th March, followed by further site visits in April. The general survey incorporated the more localised recording exercise carried out in 2013.

iv. Methodology

The ultimate aim of the survey is to complete a full stone-by-stone record of the structure that is annotated with all analytically significant detail and for this to form the basis of a comprehensive reappraisal of the evolution of the structure.

The coverage of the general analytical survey was necessarily constrained by the resources available, this both financial and by the extent of physical access that was possible.

In general the survey of the interior and exterior of the church was completed to a high level of detail in most areas. It was possible to complete elevation drawings except to the gable tops that were beyond the reach of the available tower scaffold, and the upper parts of the vaults internally. The available resources dictated the highest level of record detail be targeted at specific areas of the structure, generally those of particular structural complexity (such as the side walls of the chancel).

Analytical and phasing data was layered on to the base drawings throughout. The raw survey drawings were scanned, reduced, cleaned up and mounted, and analytical layering added digitally. A draft of the drawing set accompanies production of this report and should be referred to in conjunction with it.

2. *Summary of survey findings*

i. General

The following outlines selected findings arising from the survey works. At the present stage of investigation these cannot be represented as comprehensive, rather they are interim observations.

A principal aim for recording at Yester Chapel was to better define and understand the extent of survival of the fabric of the medieval church. In general terms the fabric of the structure is of medieval date though with obvious exceptions, particularly the east wall of the chancel and the central part of the west wall, which was installed in the 18th century following the removal of the nave.

The extent of early survival is masked by the very extensive re-facing that is apparent externally. The sandstone originally employed for what was clearly a very fine external ashlar finish was susceptible to decay relating to the ingress of damp. With frost action the stone has a notable tendency to fracture; surviving areas of original facing are generally in poor repair. However where the external face is unaffected by such decay processes it does retain fine detailing – tight joints, masons' marks, etc.

Much of the later history of the exterior of the building is one of stone replacement, either wholesale re-facing, or by localised indent. Between 80% and 90% of what can be seen externally is secondary work, and in some areas it is quite difficult to tell these secondary works apart or to suggest dating for them.

By contrast most of the visible fabric of the interior of the structure is of medieval date. This is generally of rubble construction but principal features such as window openings, the transept arches, etc. are wrought of ashlar.

ii. Chancel

The chancel is a notably complex part of the building. In its existing form it represents a much-truncated remnant. The evidence of the standing fabric and earlier trenching both confirm that the east wall of the medieval church lay much in advance of its present position. Clear construction breaks can be seen externally on the north and south walls at the point of truncation, also visible internally. The existing east wall is all a reconstruction, presumably of c.1635 on the basis of the date upon the tracery of the east window, visible externally.



The east window, with detail of the incised date

The side walls of the chancel are of particular complexity and incorporate masonry fabric of a number of periods. Reading these is made additionally problematic by the character of the more recent pointing, aggressively applied especially to the interior. Areas of surviving medieval fabric are readable or presumed to the interior; some isolated areas of ashlar facings still remain externally.

A principal feature of each of the side walls is a substantial opening, in each case possibly the remains of a window opening and/or entrance. It seems that these are secondary insertions likely associated with the formation of the reduced east end of the church into a laird's loft (the Tweeddale aisle). Whether this occurred as part of the 1630s works or later in the 17th century, when further works occurred, is at the moment unclear. These larger openings were further modified – each was partly blocked and it seems that openings at ground floor level form part of these secondary works. The latter were themselves blocked off.

The vaulted ceiling of the chancel appears to be of medieval date. However a series of residue impressions suggest a scheme of ribbed vaulting. This respects the reduced east end and thus appears to be of secondary date. The remains of one rib still survives *in situ* on the rear side of the chancel arch – the rib is clearly of plaster, probably run *in situ*, a type of application not seen in Scotland before the 17th century. The 'chancel arch' itself and supporting piers are also an insertion of the 17th century and associated with the construction of the Tweeddale aisle and loft. Patched sockets in the jambs of the piers demote the former position of the aisle floor and balcony rail above.

Above the vault the stone roofing of the chancel, continuing westwards continuously over the crossing, appears mostly to be a repair of the 18th century, with later patchings. The stone cross surmounting the apex of the east gable bears the date 1754, this very neatly tying its installation, and the roof works, to the refurbishment and re-fronting of the chapel by the Adams. Some early masonry appears to survive at eaves level on the sides of the chancel, where there exists a robustly detailed

projecting wall head course. The skew-putt at the SE angle also appears to be of medieval date though likely reset; this is detailed with sculptural carving, possibly in the form of a downwards-running squirrel.

iii. South transept

The south transept is predominantly of medieval fabric, which includes the majority of what can be seen internally. Externally there varying and complex repairs and interventions are evident. Early fabric visible externally includes much of the lower half of the south wall, the lower southern parts of the west wall and the lower central part of the east wall. The lower parts of the south window also seem to be of the original build, however the upper parts of the window seem to be a secondary reworking, and the gable wall above of similar date (at least the external facing).

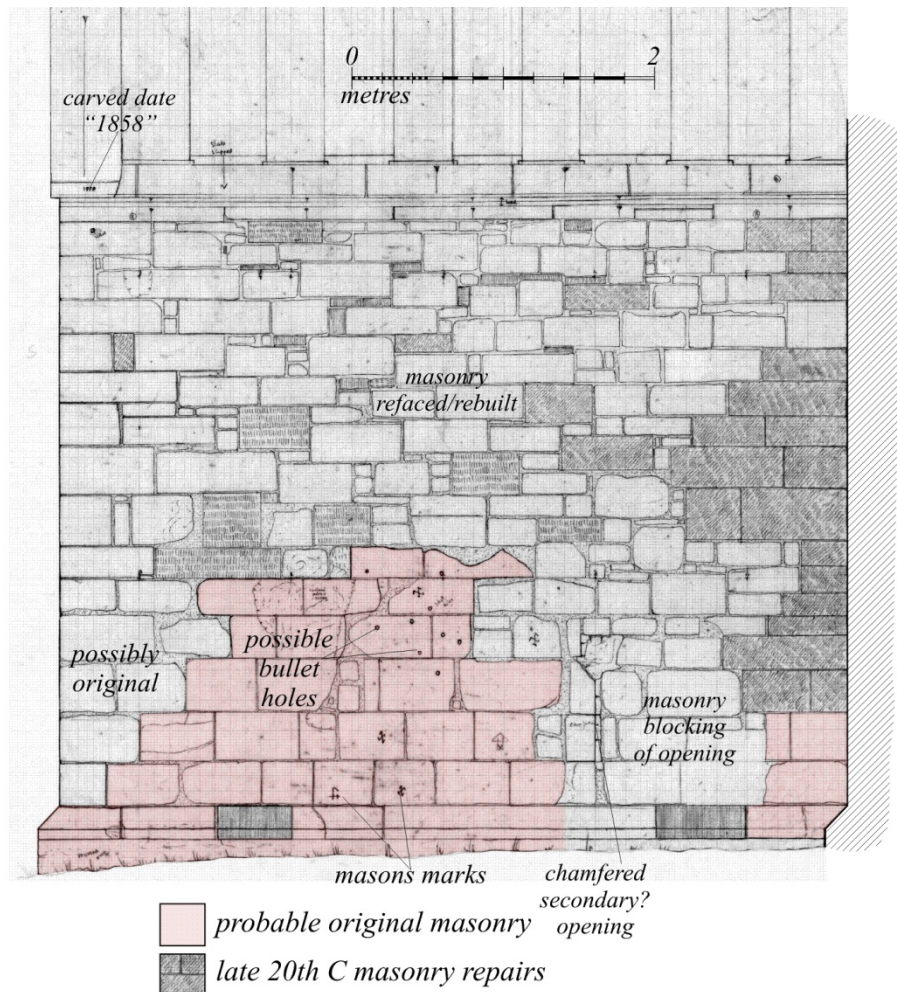
Much of the upper exterior walling of the east wall of the transept has been refaced. A date of 1858 visible upon the SE skew-putt likely corresponds to this. It also appears to relate to extensive roofing works apparent on the south transept, with general renewal of the saddle and trough stone, and parts of the south gable head.



East exterior wall of the south transept before commencement of conservation works; the red arrows indicate the south jamb of the secondary entrance



South transept, date upon the SE skew-putt



Annotated field drawing of the east wall of the south transept, as recorded in November 2013 in advance of repair work

A significant finding of the present survey was the presence of an entrance slapped through the northern end of the east wall of the transept. Though heavily patched and reworked its presence can be seen both internally and externally, where parts of a chamfered detail can be seen to the remaining parts of the dressings of the jamb. This entrance is clearly cut through the existing medieval work. It seems likely to relate to the post-Reformation use of the transept as an aisle for the Hays of Tallow (see *Appendix A*). Internally this entrance had impacted an area of ashlar facings extending down from the springing of the transept arch on the east side. These facings had continued further

southwards along the east wall, before being impacted by the entrance. The remaining eastern parts of the ashlar displayed a vertical zone of clawing-back, evidently indicating the removal of projecting masonry (possibly indicating the former position of an altar?).

The sides of the transept arch display evidence for secondary intervention in the form of substantial seatings cut in, these evidently indicating the position of a screen for which there is some documentary evidence, as noted by Richard Fawcett - see *Appendix A*.

Wall paintings

A major discovery was the identification of the remains of a cycle of wall painting upon the curvature of the vaulting above the east wall of the south transept. An initial assessment of the paintings was carried out as part of the present project. With scaffolding access closer inspection was possible and some of the major elements recorded in outline. Paintwork had been applied to a coat of lime plaster that appears to be the primary plaster application on the masonry. The paintwork onto the plaster base was predominantly in red, but with areas of yellow, deep purplish red and grey-blue apparent.

The identifiable elements of the scheme include a band of containing two lines of text, apparently *black-letter* in character, at 3.95m – 4.05m above floor level. Below this appear to be a number of figures, possibly cloaked, possibly facing southwards. Above the text bank is a possible armorial (whether of shield form or an oval is unclear); there is evidence for possible further figures above and to the west of this. Some areas of red painted plaster are also apparent to the west, immediately above the transept arch.

The extent of the early painting is partly obscured by damp-related green growth at the surface, particularly to the upper west; elsewhere paintwork is obscured by overlying residues. In other areas the decoration is overlain by a secondary coat of plaster. If the scheme were to be more fully exposed during conservation it would likely prove to be far more extensive and likely decipherable to a much greater degree than at present.

The style of decoration – the probable black-letter script and the presence of figural work – suggest this may be a decorative scheme of pre-Reformation date. The application of a secondary coat of plaster may perhaps indicate a deliberate post-Reformation covering-over of the work. However it would be an error to speculate too widely upon interpretation before a more comprehensive assessment is carried out.

It is hard to overstate the significance of the find given the extreme rarity of such painted schemes in pre-Reformation churches in Scotland. New historical information about the documented history of the south aisle (including an altar dedication to St Edmund, apparently unique in Scotland) may have an important bearing upon the interpretation of the paintings, see *Appendix A*.



Part-rectified photographic image of the upper east wall and vault of the south transept; extensive areas of wall plaster can be seen as can zones of colouration; the horizontal band of text is indicated by the red arrows

iv. North transept

The north transept is a comparatively well preserved element of the medieval structure, in general terms of similar character to the south transept. Internally most of what is visible is of the medieval fabric, except the upper parts of the window to the west and associated upper walling.

Externally the east wall is largely refaced, in a number of stages. Here only the lower west walling appears to be of the original build. On the west exterior a more considerable area of original masonry

survives – much of the lower part of the elevation. The jambs and upper parts of the window appear to be a secondary reworking, as are the facings of the upper wall generally.

v. West frontage

The existing west front of Yester Chapel is for the most part the product of a major remodelling of the structure in the middle of the 18th century by Robert Adam, work that probably saw the demolition of the nave (or whatever remains of it may still have existed at that date). Executed in the whimsical Neo-Gothic style popularised by Batty Langley in his treatise of 1742, the work at Yester is generally dated to c.1753 as is one of the very earliest instances of Adam's gothic style. The newly identified carved date of 1754 upon the apex cross of the chancel's east wall provides neat corroboration of this dating.

The Adam work extends to the entirety of the gabled central bay of the frontage, this stonework closing off and making good the void resulting from the removal of the nave. It also extended to the buttresses at either western angle of the transepts and the flamboyant wall head crenellations and figural corbelling below. Extensive areas of the west walls of the transepts also saw re-facing at this time.

vi. Masons' marks

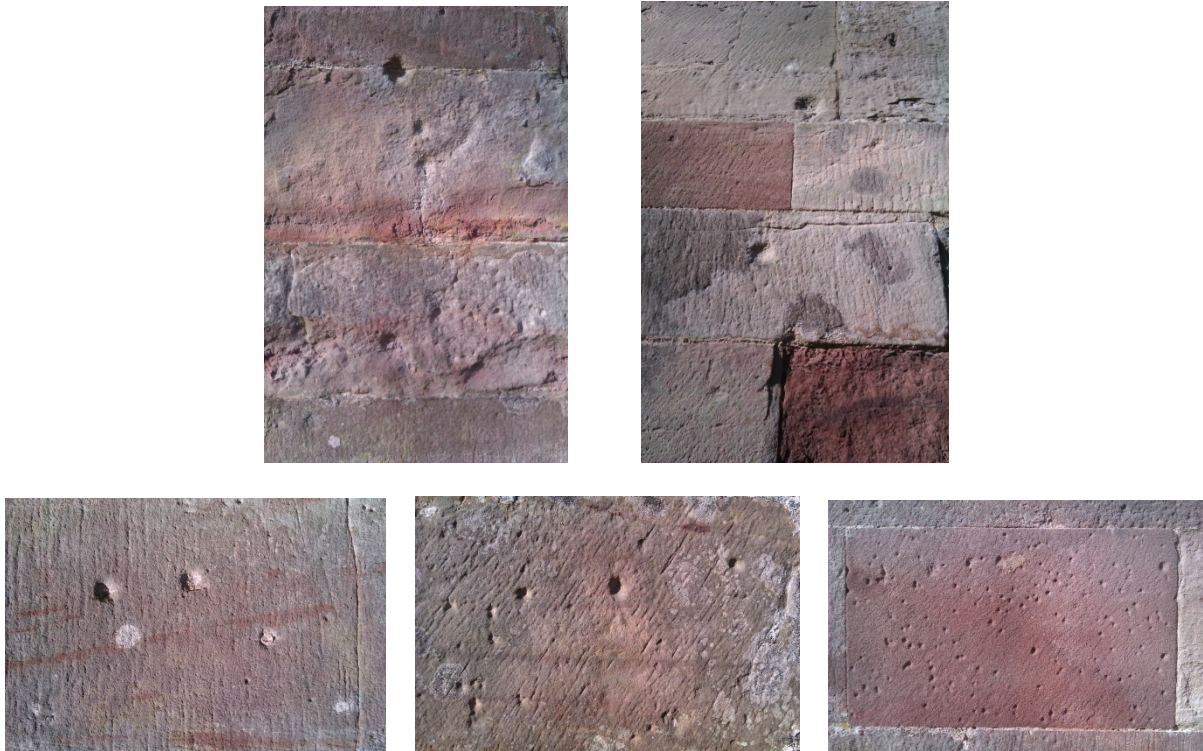
The survey identified numerous masons' marks. These were only recorded upon dressed stonework of the medieval phase of construction, externally on the ashlar facings, upon some individual facing stones that were evidently recycled in work during exterior re-facing, and, internally, upon the dressings of the transept arches and the transept windows. Xxx marks were recorded. They were particularly prominent upon the transept arches, these notable for representing only a single mason and for the fact that this mark was not seen elsewhere.



Some of the masons' marks recorded during the survey

vii. Ballistics

Some concentrations of what appear to be the impacts of musket balls and, possibly, slightly larger projectiles were recorded. These were predominantly seen on the east and south walls of the chancel and south transept. Presuming these to represent a single 'action', the fact that they appear on the fabric of the east wall of the chancel (as well upon the pre-existing medieval work) provides a *terminus post quem* of c.1635 for their presence. The Civil War period provides an obvious candidate for a military encounter. One area displayed apparent 'peppering,' perhaps from shotgun impact(s), possibly of more recent date.



Sample areas of the chapel exterior displaying the effects of projectile impacts

3. Conclusion

The recent survey works have resulted in a vastly improved dimensional and analytical record of Yester Chapel. The intention is to continue the survey to a consistent level of detail as opportunity and access permit.

A site meeting was held on Tuesday 25 March 2014 in order to permit further examination of the wall paintings in the south transept. In addition to project team members also present were Professor Richard Fawcett, and Owen Davison of The Conservation Studio, Edinburgh. Following the visit Richard Fawcett provided an updated text of his *Corpus* entry for the church, that included some of the recent findings – reproduced as *Appendix A*.

Additional discussion of the significance of the find of the wall paintings was had on site on Tuesday 22nd April. Members of the project team were accompanied by Rory MacDonald of Historic Scotland, and Stephanie Leith, Heritage Officer, East Lothian Council.

***Appendix A Architectural entry for Corpus of Scottish Medieval Parish Churches : revised
April 2014***

by Professor Richard Fawcett, OBE, PhD, FRSE, FSA, FSA Scot, St. Andrew's University.

YESTER COLLEGIATE CHURCH

A church at Yester, which was also known as Bothans, was dedicated in the name of St Cuthbert by Bishop David de Bernham of St Andrews in 1241, but may have been in existence for some time before then.¹ Virtually nothing is known of the church before the fifteenth century, though it is evident that, as might be expected, it had a timber roof, since there is an account of a miraculous escape by a workman when a machine being used to hoist timbers for a new roof collapsed in about 1282.²

Nothing is now identifiable of that thirteenth-century church, though it is assumed to have been on the same site as the collegiate church that was founded for a provost and four chaplains by Sir William Hay, Thomas Boyd, Eustace de Maxwell and Dougald McDowell on 22 April 1421.³ That foundation was effective, despite a rather puzzling subsequent challenge by one of the patrons; the complement of prebendaries may have been eventually augmented to as many as seven.

The earliest surviving portions of the church now seen were probably built to house that collegiate foundation, though they have undergone far-reaching structural changes, including major truncations to east and west and recasing of considerable extents of the exterior in ashlar. As a consequence of those changes, it is no longer clear if there was a total reconstruction at the time of the college's foundation, or if the existing building was wholly or partly retained, possibly as the nave, as appears sometimes to have been the case when a college was founded within a parish church.

Because of the post-Reformation changes it has undergone, the only certainty about the plan of the church in its final medieval state is that it was basically cruciform. Internally the most clearly medieval feature is the pointed barrel vaulting that covers all surviving parts of the four arms, with the usual staggered rows of flagging to its extrados.

The eastern limb is now no more than about 3.5 metres long, but excavation in advance of drainage works in 1991 established that it once had a length of over 8.5 metres;⁴ excavation was not extended sufficiently far to the east to establish if the choir had terminated in a straight wall or an apse.

There was no defined crossing at the junction of the four arms. However, slight differences in the levels of the vaults on each side of the post-medieval arch that now separates the eastern and western limbs of the main vessel suggest that there must always have been an arch at the entrance to the choir. The two transepts are made subordinate to the central vessel by the way that their vaults are set at a significantly lower level, and contriving the junction of those vaults with the central vessel evidently caused the master mason some difficulty.

The transepts are entered through broad arches of two chamfered orders that are set below the springing of the central vessel vault, and that simply emerge from the east and west wall faces of the transepts at their junction with the central vessel, without any supporting responds. The inner order of those arches is semi-circular, but the outer order is segmental as a result of its greater radius and the restrictions of the east and west walls of the transepts.

Within the transepts the setting of the entrances at a low level resulted in there being a high spandrel of blank wall above the arches. In the south transept there is a blocked rectangular opening in this spandrel, whose function is now unclear: it seems unlikely to have been a window in this position, and if it was provided for maintenance access to the valley between the transept and central vessel it must be wondered why a similar opening was not deemed necessary in the north transept.

There are other enigmatic traces of what appear to have been features in the internal masonry. Some of these may relate to subsequently lost post-Reformation memorials rather than to medieval features, though the loss of any corresponding external evidence as a result of the recasing of the walls makes any conclusion problematic. However, there has evidently been a narrow door on the east side of the south transept, adjacent to the entrance arch, which was presumably of secondary construction; a length of its chamfered south jamb can be seen on the exterior. Traces of what appears to have been an opening in the north wall of the choir could be of a window.

The only windows that may have retained some medieval work are those in the gable walls of the two transepts, and in each of those cases medieval fabric – if any - is likely to be confined to the jambs of the containing arch. In the north transept those jambs have two orders of chamfers both externally and internally, while in the south transept there is a single broad chamfer externally and internally.

The single survivor of the medieval liturgical provisions is a piscina in the north transept, which is framed by a crocketed ogee arch. To one side of this arch is a shield with the arms of Hay and Fraser, presumably in reference to the marriage of Sir Gilbert de Hay of Locherworth and the heiress of Sir Simon Fraser of Oliver in 1306, on which much of the subsequent fortunes of the family was based.⁵

There are known to have been at least five altars in the church, presumably in addition to the principal altar: these were dedicated to Our Lady, the Holy Cross, St Edmund, St Nicholas and St Ninian. It may be wondered if the altar of Our Lady was in the north transept, and that of the Holy Cross before the rood at the entrance to the choir.

The altar of St Edmund, which was founded by William Hay of Tallow,⁶ appears to have been in the south transept, since in an arbitration of 1600 it was agreed that he had a heritable right over that part of the church.⁷ As part of that arbitration he agreed to maintain the transept and to provide ‘daskis and ane chancellerie wall and durr for his awin uses’. The ‘chancellerie wall’ was presumably a screen of some kind, and it can be seen how the arch springings have been cut back on the side towards the transept to accommodate such a screen. Paintings on the vault of the south transept recently been discovered, and it would be interesting to know if they involved iconography of St Edmund, an East Anglian saint who appears to be otherwise unrepresented in Scotland.⁸

On 31 October 1632 a meeting of the presbytery and heritors discussed the need for repairs to the church,⁹ and the truncation of the eastern limb is assumed to have taken place soon afterwards, in 1635, since that date inscribed in the central light head of the east window. This operation appears likely to have been accompanied by the recasing in ashlar above a broadly chamfered base course of much of the current fabric, apart from the west front.

Presumably also dating from this phase was the formation of the new east choir window, and of windows in the gable walls of the transepts. The east window is of three lights with trifoliate heads, above which are two tiers of quatrefoils, the closest parallel for which is one of the chapel windows of Heriot’s Hospital in Edinburgh, where work was started in 1628. This window is contained within an arch of two chamfered orders, like the jambs of the north transept window, and it cannot be ruled out that the masonry of the arch is medieval and has been reused in this position. The transept gable wall windows, which were possibly set within existing – albeit cut-down – jambs, were given three trifoliate-headed lights, deeply set below a segmental arch.

The apices of the remodelled east and the transept gables have cross finials. A possibly medieval carved fragment has been re-set into the base of the east gable on the south side.

It may be that it was also as part of the operations of the 1630s that a new arch was inserted at the entrance to the truncated choir, east of the arches to the transepts, where it masked the junction of the slightly differing levels of the medieval vaults. As has already been suggested, it is likely there must

have been a medieval chancel arch at this point. The new arch is carried on responds with a sunken angle roll on the west side, and there are foliate consoles below the abaci.

Slots in the jambs suggest that what had been the choir in the medieval church, had by then been fenced off as the chief burial place of the Hay family, who, as principal heritors of the parish would presumably have acquired rectorial rights over the chancel as part of the settlement of Charles I in 1633.¹⁰

The condition of the building was a matter of concern in the 1670s and '80s. The need for repairs was reported to presbytery on 20 May 1675,¹¹ though on 22 July it was reported that nothing had yet been done, and the slater Thomas Marton stated that the work on the choir needed 300 slates and three cartloads of lime.¹²

It has been suggested above that the present arch at the entrance to the eastern limb could date from the 1630s. But it is perhaps equally possible that it dates from further alterations that were carried out within the truncated area of the old choir in 1688, when Alexander Eizat was paid to make a panelled balustrade above the family burial vault in the choir, and to plaster the vault above it.¹³ Little survives in place of his work, other than the ghosting of a decorative application of plaster ribs on the soffit of the choir vault.

On 30 March 1708 the representatives of the second marquess of Tweeddale said that, in view of changes to parochial boundaries he was prepared to build a new church and manse in the town of Gifford, to which presbytery agreed.¹⁴ The kirk session noted that the last sermon was preached in the old church on 17 September 1710, and the first in the new church on 24 September of that year.¹⁵

In addition to any response to changes in parochial boundaries, the move to Gifford is likely to have been prompted by a wish to remove the parish's place of worship from the immediate vicinity of the great house of the Hay family. That family had risen through the ranks of nobility to be successively Lords Hay, earls and then marquesses of Tweeddale, and a grand new house was under construction for the second marquess to the designs of James Smith and Alexander McGill between about 1700 and 1715.¹⁶ It was probably those same architects who also designed the new church at Gifford.

A number of furnishings were relocated from the old church to the new place of worship. Amongst these was a panel reset on the front of the family loft, which was presumably part of the phase of work on the old church in which Eizatt had been involved, since it bears the date 1687. Could this perhaps have been part of the panelled balustrade above the family burial vault in the choir of the old church? It is decorated with the intertwined initials of John Hay and his wife Margaret Scott, below an earl's coronet and within a roundel; the initials somewhat presumptuously echo the form of the sacred monogram. Also relocated to the new church was the fine seventeenth-century pulpit.

The medieval church was subsequently used solely as a family mausoleum, and the most striking change that was to follow its abandonment for parochial worship was the construction of a new west front about forty years later. This was almost certainly done at the behest of the fourth marquess, who presumably wished to provide a more architecturally striking eye-catcher within the immediate policies of the house, on which he was carrying out major works at the time.

It was presumably at this stage that the greater part of the nave was demolished, leaving a stump of no more than about 0.6 metres. It may be wondered if the nave had been a relic of the parish church that predated the foundation of the college, as appears to have been the case at the collegiate churches of Biggar, Crichton and Seton, for example. If that is the case, it is possible that it was less substantially built and less richly detailed than the more lavishly funded collegiate eastern parts, and that its retention for the reduced functions of a mausoleum in the setting of the family's palatial house was less justifiable.

The new west front is a delightful Gothick confection. Diagonal buttresses capped by pinnacles are set to each side of the truncated nave, between which is a tall crocketed gable that rises well above the slabbed roof behind. This gable rests on short lengths of flat cornice carried on elaborate arched corbel tables, and is enlivened by a series of overgrown cusps below a vigorous growth of vegetal crocketing along the skyline.

At the centre of the front is a giant containing arch with an ogee-flipped hood moulding terminating in a massive finial; within that containing arch is the tall ogee-arched door, a pair of elaborately carved tabernacles and a heraldic achievement, and there is a traceried oval window near the apex of the arch. Flanking the front, across the wall-head of the west faces of the transepts, there is openwork cresting supported by consoles decorated with heads, and there are further diagonal buttresses topped by pinnacles at the outer angles.

This front was almost certainly built to the designs of one of the Adam brothers, who were working on Yester House in the 1750s.¹⁷ The design was evidently in progress by 15 March 1753, since a letter from the Adam office stated that ‘we are busy with the drawings of the old church’.¹⁸ Work was presumably nearing completion in 1754, a date that has been found to be incised on the rear of the cross finial of the east gable.¹⁹

The design of the new front accords well with some of the ideas for Gothic designs with which the Adam brothers were experimenting at this time, and parallels have been drawn, for example, with designs for the Tombreac Dairy in the policies of Inveraray Castle, which was begun in 1752.²⁰ Parallels may also be found with some of Robert Adam’s later designs for the duke of Northumberland, such as one for Ratcheugh Crag near Alnwick of 1784.²¹

NOTES

1. Alan Orr Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, Edinburgh, 1922 p. 521.
2. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Bannatyne Club), 1839, pp. 108-9.
3. *Calendar of Writs preserved at Yester House*, eds C.C.H. Harvey and J. Macleod, Scottish Record Society, 1925, nos 53 and 55; Ian B. Cowan and David E Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 2nd ed. London and New York, 1976, pp. 215-6.
4. Scotia Archaeology Limited, *Yester Chapel 1991, Report of March 1991 Excavation*, Edinburgh, 1991, p. 1.
5. Per pale, dexter, on an inescutcheon three escutcheons gules, sinister, three cinqufoiles argent.
6. *Yester Writs*, no 478.
7. *Yester Writs*, no 978.
8. Information on the discovery of the paintings from Tom Addyman. There is no reference to St Edmund in James Murray Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland, Non-Scriptural Dedications*, Edinburgh, 1904.

9. National Records of Scotland, Presbytery of Haddington, Minutes, 1627-39, CH2/185/4, fols 64-65.
10. A.A. Cormack, *Teinds and Agriculture: an Historical Survey*, London, 1930, pp. 98-108.
11. National Records of Scotland, Presbytery of Haddington, Minutes, 1627-39, CH2/185/7, fol. 192
12. National Records of Scotland, Presbytery of Haddington, Minutes, 1662-86, CH2/185/7, fols 385-389.
13. Colin McWilliam, *The Buildings of Scotland, Lothian*, Harmondsworth, 1978, p. 214.
14. National Records of Scotland, Presbytery of Haddington, Minutes, 1698-1716, CH2/185/10, fols 255-256.
15. National Records of Scotland, Yester Kirk Session, 1708-1880, CH2/377/3, fol. 13.
16. J.G. Dunbar, 'The Building of Yester House', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists Society*, vol. 13, 1972, p. 40.
17. Dunbar, 'Building of Yester', pp. 42-44.
18. Dunbar, 'Building of Yester', pp. 31-2.
19. Personal communication from Tom Addyman.
20. David King, *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam*, Oxford, 1991, p. 357 n. 38 and p. 358, n. 87. The dairy is illustrated in Ian G. Lindsay and Mary Cosh, *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll*, Edinburgh, 1973, fig. 49.
21. Reproduced in James Macaulay, *The Gothic Revival 1746-1845*, Glasgow and London, 1975, pl. 31