

GRAVEYARD MONUMENTS IN EAST LOTHIAN

by ANGUS GRAHAM, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.SCOT.

INTRODUCTORY

THE purpose of this paper is to amplify the information on the graveyard monuments of East Lothian that has been published by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.¹ The Commissioners made their survey as long ago as 1913, and at that time their policy was to describe all pre-Reformation tombstones but, of the later material, to include only such monuments as bore heraldic devices or possessed some very notable artistic or historical interest. In their recent Inventories, however, they have included all graveyard monuments which are earlier in date than 1707, and the same principle has accordingly been followed here with the addition of any later eighteenth-century material which called particularly for record, as well as some monuments inside churches when these exemplified types which are ordinarily met with in graveyards. The insignia of incorporated trades, and other emblems related to a deceased person's calling, are treated separately in an appendix; this material extends into the nineteenth century. The descriptions of individual monuments, which are taken parish by parish in alphabetical order, are preceded by a review of the general results of the survey, with observations on some points of interest.

To avoid typographical difficulties, all inscriptions are reproduced in capital letters irrespective of the nature of the script in which they are actually cut. Square brackets occurring in the text of an inscription indicate that the words or letters within them are illegible, but have been supplied, a question-mark being added when the restoration is uncertain. Words or letters in round brackets have never existed on the stone, but have been inserted for the sake of clarity. All ligatures have been expanded.

The six-figure references are all to 100-km. square NT, formerly 36, of the National Grid, and will be found on 1-inch O.S. sheets, 7th series, Nos. 62 (Edinburgh) and 63 (Dunbar). These are preceded by references, in the form, e.g., 47 SE., to the sheets of the 6-inch O.S. map on National Grid lines.

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the generous contributions to the cost of publishing this paper that have been made by the East Lothian County Council and the Council for British Archaeology; and also to express my indebtedness to all those who have helped me in the course of the work, particularly Mr M. R. Dobie, C.B.E., Mr J. S. Richardson, LL.D., H.R.S.A., Mr C. S. T. Calder, A.R.I.A.S., and Mr I. G. Scott, D.A. (Edin.)

¹ *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments and Constructions of East Lothian* (H.M.S.O., 1924). Referred to below as *Inventory*. A list of the abbreviated titles used in references is given at the end of the paper.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

1. *Types of Monument*

The monuments fall naturally into classes, some of which are clearly defined while others show mutual relationships. Subject to this proviso they may be described as follows.

(i) *Early medieval headstones.* A small disk-headed cross is to be seen at Gullane (No. 1), and a rather similar stone at North Berwick, St Andrew's (No. 1). The latter probably originated at the Cistercian convent, and both probably date from the twelfth century. A fragment at Tynninghame (No. 5) may possibly belong in this class.

(ii) *Coped grave-covers.* A group of three coped grave-covers occurs at Oldhamstocks (Nos. 1, 2, 3), where the base of a Romanesque pier has also survived. They are probably of the thirteenth century. All bear tile decoration, and one of them a pattern of crosses contained within squares. Parts of another are preserved at North Berwick, St Andrew's (No. 2).

(iii) *Calvary cross-slabs.* Complete grave-slabs bearing stepped crosses incised in outline are found at Dunglass (Nos. 2, 3), Gullane (No. 2), Luffness (No. 1), Seton (Nos. 1, 2), Smeaton House (No. 1) and Tranent (Nos. 13, 25); the two halves of another, in separate re-use, at Dunbar (Nos. 11, 12); and a fragment of what was probably another at Seton (No. 3). The Gullane example is thick and its cross is comparatively short and stocky and has plain limb-ends, features which may date it to as early as the twelfth century.¹ The others probably belong to the later medieval periods; the one at Smeaton has been allotted to the fifteenth century,² and there are reasons for dating the one at Luffness to the beginning of the sixteenth century³ and No. 13 at Tranent to the end of the fifteenth.⁴ It is uncertain whether they are true graveyard monuments, as six of them are today inside churches and the others may have had a similar origin and been turned out when alterations were being made.⁵ In general they bear marginal bands, defined by incised lines, in which are cut the epitaphs when any are present; exceptions are the one at Smeaton, and perhaps also No. 2 at Gullane, which was re-used and partly defaced in the seventeenth century. Two (Seton, No. 3 and Tranent, No. 13) show a chalice in outline.

(iv) *Other medieval grave-covers and recumbent slabs.* The miniature cover of a small child's grave at Gullane (No. 12) most probably dates from the twelfth century; two sword-bearing grave-covers at Tynninghame (Nos. 2, 3) from the fourteenth; and a fragmentary cross-slab with a floreate head at Gullane (No. 11) from the same century or later. Number 4 at North Berwick, St Andrew's, which shows a knight in the armour of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, probably originated inside the church; No. 3 at the same site, which evidently commemorates a fifteenth-century prioress, no doubt came from the convent church; while No. 6 at St Andrew's

¹ I am indebted for this suggestion to Mr C. A. Raleigh Radford, F.B.A., F.S.A.

² *Inventory*, No. 152.

³ *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, No. 2455.

⁴ *Inventory*, p. 114.

⁵ On the movements of the North Berwick stones see pp. 244 f.

and No. 4 at Seton, being both of them matrices of brasses, must have begun their lives inside churches though the latter was, in fact, dug up outside.

Fragments of grave-covers are in secondary use as upright grave-markers at Dirleton (No. 1), Gullane (Nos. 3 to 6) and Innerwick (No. 1); another is lying loose at Keith (No. 1).

(v) *Post-Reformation recumbent slabs.* Although burial inside churches was banned by the Book of Discipline,¹ the practice certainly continued in post-Reformation times, and slabs of the seventeenth century are still in place in the church floors at Dunglass (Nos. 1, 4, 5) and Seton (No. 5).² It is also open to question whether some of the slabs now lying in graveyards may or may not have found their way there when the churches were rebuilt or refloored. Examples which suggest themselves are, among others, No. 4 at Bolton, No. 2 at Gullane or No. 8 at Haddington. In view of these uncertainties, all the post-Reformation recumbent slabs are here treated as a single series.

The earliest use of recumbent slabs after the Reformation is exemplified by the crude adaptation of two medieval slabs at Dunglass (Nos. 2, 3), in 1592 and 1607 respectively. Apart from these, the series appears to begin with Nos. 5, 7 and 9 at Seton, of 1608, 1604 and 1608 respectively, and the single slab remaining at Whittingehame Castle, of 1611; while other fairly early examples are No. 1 at Dunbar, of 1627, No. 12 at Tranent, of 1638, and perhaps also one of the pair numbered 8 at Haddington, as this last, though its inscription has vanished, preserves a slightly tapered outline reminiscent of the medieval grave-covers. The same is true of the slab at Whittingehame Castle, where the taper is more pronounced. In general, however, legible dates on these slabs tend to fall into the second half of the seventeenth century, though this fact may well be misleading as it is naturally the earlier dates that are most likely to have been lost through weathering.

A common scheme of decoration includes a marginal band, four or five inches wide and defined by grooves,³ with various arrangements of funerary emblems and initials, often combined with a shield, occupying the enclosed space. The motto 'Memento mori' is also extremely common on all types of seventeenth-century monuments. The best examples perpetuate the medieval practice of placing the epitaph within the marginal band; when this is done it invariably begins at the upper dexter corner, runs round clockwise and, if too long to fit in, finishes with extra lines cut transversely below the opening section. Except at Seton (Nos. 5 to 9), where the letters are in relief on a sunk band, the epitaphs are incised. In other cases the lines are arranged as on a page, transversely to the longer axis of the slab; an unusual example of this type is No. 12 at Tranent, dated 1638, in which the letters are very large and no margin whatever is left. Number 5 at Haddington, of 1659, which now stands as a headstone but is probably a slab re-used, is exceptional in having its lines symmetrically spaced, for aesthetic effect.

¹ Dickinson, W. Croft, *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, II, p. 320.

² Some further notes on late burials inside churches are given in *P.S.A.S.*, xci (1957-8), p. 5.

³ Grooved borders were particularly noted at Bolton (No. 4), Haddington, parish church, (Nos. 4, 8) Haddington, St Martin's (No. 1), Morham (No. 14), Seton (Nos. 5 to 9) and Whittingehame Castle. This list, however, is not exhaustive.

A variant of the marginal band is a very pronounced roll-and-hollow moulding, which occurs at Dunbar (Nos. 8, 10), Prestonkirk (No. 4) and Whittingehame (Nos. 1, 5), as well as on a table-tomb at Innerwick (No. 3). These mouldings are up to $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, the hollows being up to 3 in. deep. In some cases the sides of the hollows are rebated, and a hole may also be provided at one corner for drainage. Number 13 at Morham, dated 1699 but perhaps in secondary use, has a cavetto-moulded edge, a feature commoner in table-tombs.

The slabs vary in size, up to a maximum of 7 ft. by 3 ft. 9 in. (Seton, No. 6). Other large slabs measure 6 ft. 9 in. (Whitekirk, No. 1), 6 ft. 7 in. (Morham, No. 13) and 6 ft. 5 in. (Bolton, No. 4) in length; but the majority are about 6 ft. long and some are shorter. In shape they are uniformly rectangular, apart from the slightly tapering examples that have been mentioned; it is also just possible that two stones with rounded upper ends – a table-tomb at Aberlady (No. 1) and a very large headstone at Pencaitland (No. 3) – may be recumbent slabs in secondary use.

(vi) *Wall-monuments*. The monuments of this class range from very large constructions, not differing in kind from the rich and splendid memorials that were set up inside churches and burial-vaults, through panels of various kinds, to the reredos monuments (*infra*, § (ix)), which in turn link up with the headstones. East Lothian possesses two great interior wall-monuments, one in Dunbar parish church¹ and the other in the Lauderdale burial-aisle at Haddington,² but these have not been included in the present survey as they clearly outrun its scope. For the same reason no mention is made of William Seton's monument at Haddington,³ or of a group in Seton Church.⁴

The major wall-monuments of the later seventeenth century consist of three main parts – a pedestal, columns and entablature framing a central inscribed panel, and a pediment, the last often topped by a finial. The columns are usually flanked by massive scrolls, and the whole is crowded with Renaissance ornamentation and funerary emblems. The pediment often contains a coat of arms. The best example, No. 1 at Tranent, is no less than 14 ft. 4 in high, while another, very similar, monument on the wall of the church at Keith (No. 2) must be at least 13 ft. high though it could not be measured when visited. These two date from 1693 and 1695 respectively. Number 3 at Humbie, of 1668, has been mutilated, but may once have been comparable with the Keith monument, though smaller. Number 13 at Dunbar, of 1682, is another good example of this type; while No. 14 at the same place differs from the rest in possessing a central column as well as the flanking pair. The fragment numbered 12 at West Prestonpans shows an interesting relief carving of a full-rigged ship; this is undated but pretty certainly belongs in the seventeenth century. Number 1 at Tranent, which has just been mentioned, is one of a group

¹ *Inventory*, fig. 2. The date of the Earl of Dunbar's death as given *ibid.*, No. 39, is inaccurate, as it took place in 1610. The inscription is reproduced in Martine, J., *Reminiscences and Notices of Ten Parishes of the County of Haddington*, 109.

² *ibid.*, p. 41 and fig. 4. The inscriptions are reproduced in *Arch. Scot.* 1, 102 ff. and in Miller, J., *The Lamp of Lothian*, 424 ff.

³ *ibid.*
⁴ Notably those commemorating the 1st Earl of Perth, James Ogilvie of Bernes, and the 7th Lord Seton (*P.S.A.S.*, xxii (1887-8), pp. 178, 180). The inscription on the last is given by Grose, F., *The Antiquities of Scotland*, pp. 66 ff.

the remainder of which have lost their dates, some also showing signs, as does No. 1 itself, of adaptation and re-use; they have consequently been omitted from this survey, and so have some undateable examples at Haddington.

A panel type of wall-monument is represented by No. 1 at Pencaitland, of 1639; this again is a Classical composition, but it is set on a bracket instead of being based on the ground. Another interesting panel, containing two portrait-medallions, is No. 1 at Prestonpans, of 1690.

(vii) *Post-Reformation headstones*. I have suggested elsewhere¹ that post-Reformation headstones may have originated as simple grave-markers, and not by derivation from early medieval prototypes, such as No. 1 at Gullane; and also that the kind of Renaissance decoration that they so frequently carry connects them closely with the Classical panels and wall-monuments. The present survey has produced no fresh evidence in support of the first of these suggestions, though it is allowable to point to a number of fragments, either of medieval grave-covers (Dirleton, No. 1; Gullane, Nos. 3 to 6; Innerwick, No. 1) or of unworked rock (Gullane, No. 10), which stand as headstones but which, being uninscribed, could have had no value as memorials. It is also worth noting that the earliest dated headstones are small in size (*infra*), though not all small headstones are early. On the other hand, the majority of the headstones are decorated in a manner which recalls Renaissance architectural styles. In the commonest arrangement lateral pilasters or half-shafts support an entablature and pediment, or something which suggests them, and enclose a panel in the same way as on the wall-monuments. The panel bears epitaph, emblems, figures, a shield or whatnot; sometimes the epitaph is on one face and the decorative assemblage on the other, but in the less elaborate monuments the reverse face is blank. The details of the ornamentation are bewildering in their range and diversity (*infra*). The top of the stone may be shaped in various ways, with sloped or curving rakes, double or triple lobes, or forming the segment of a circle; the pediment may contain initials, dates, trade insignia, cherubs and all the normal repertory of Renaissance ornament. Headstones with rounded tops often have small shoulders as well, the result being strongly reminiscent of the scallop-headed panels appearing in some of the wall-monuments; while the two-lobed and three-lobed tops likewise suggest an affinity with other panels of this class. When pilasters and entablature are absent, the margins of the stone may be more or less elaborately moulded; high mouldings and deeply-sunk fields are characteristic of a series of small headstones in the two Prestonpans graveyards. Round-topped stones very often show a groove across the apex from front to back (e.g. Bolton, No. 8; Haddington, Nos. 1, 2, 3; Pencaitland, Nos. 2, 4; Tranent, No. 28); when comparatively deep and wide these grooves suggest a vestige of the V of a two-lobed pediment, but more probably they were intended to receive a rope or hook to facilitate the handling of the stone.

Headstones vary greatly in size. If we ignore a 13-inch grave-marker at Spott (No. 2), the smallest here recorded (Haddington, No. 17), which dates from the sixteen-sixties, measures only 18 in. by 13 in.; and among the other small examples

¹ *P.S.A.S.*, xci (1957-8), pp. 1 ff.

may be cited Nos. 1 and 18 at Haddington, which are not much larger, No. 1 at North Berwick old parish church, No. 8 at Tranent, and a series at the two Prestonpans graveyards of which none greatly exceeds 2 ft. in height. Large headstones, on the other hand, may reach a height of 4 ft., excluding such an exceptional example as No. 3 at Pencaitland, which now stands 5 ft. 7 in. in height but may be a recumbent slab set up on end. The earliest headstones that bear legible dates are Nos. 3 and 2 at Prestonpans, of 1633 and 1634 respectively; these are small and simple monuments, but the splendid stone numbered 24 at Tranent comes only a year later, in 1635, while the undated No. 7 at Dirleton resembles this last so closely that it is tempting to allot it to approximately the same date.¹ Only four headstones bear earlier dates than 1660, the next thirty years produce twenty-four in all, and it is only after 1690 that they become really common, with forty between 1691 and 1707²; the comparative paucity of early stones may be due in part to weathering, wastage and re-use, but the trend is in general agreement with figures assembled from a wider field.³ The year 1707 is of no practical significance, as the same types persist throughout much of the eighteenth century; in fact, design and ornament change so little before about 1770 that earlier and later material can only be distinguished, when dates are lacking, by the characteristics of the lettering. Some eighteenth-century stones at Whittingehame clearly illustrate this fact. Lettering, too, may be deceptive, as a style suggestive of the seventeenth century can be found still in use in the eighteenth where new fashions were slow to penetrate; this point is brought out by a series of stones at Innerwick.

Before leaving headstones it is necessary to notice two cast-iron plates, in the form of round-topped headstones, which occur at Prestonkirk (Nos. 5, 6). They are dated respectively 1813 and 1821, and bear decorative figures of Greco-Egyptian type. They may be compared with certain large cast-iron monuments at Larbert⁴ and, like them, evidently represent experiments in a new medium.

(viii) *Pillars*. Pillars may be regarded as a specialised form of headstone, though naturally quite different in form. The earliest to be recorded here (Haddington, No. 7) is dated 1687; it is an ungraceful object 6 ft. 8 in. high and bears an epitaph on one face. A smaller and plainer example, No. 7 at Whittingehame, is dated 1751. Pillars or pillar-like monuments become more numerous in the later eighteenth century, and may or may not be related to the funerary obelisk, or to the column with a funerary urn.

(ix) *Reredos-monuments*. A reredos-monument is a panel or composition set in an individual piece of walling built in the graveyard for that purpose, and unconnected either with the boundary-wall or with the fabric of the church itself. In most cases the walling is left more or less rough, but in others panel and support are neatly constructed as a unit, with the result that the monument as a whole approximates to

¹ The danger of this line of argument, however, is shown by the close resemblance of the debased Classical decoration on No. 1 at North Berwick old parish church, of 1682, to that on the Waugh headstone at Langton, Berwickshire, of 1620. On this latter see *P.S.A.S.*, xci (1957-8), p. 8 and illustration Pl. I.

² The figures by decades are: 1631-40, 3; 1641-50, 0; 1651-60, 1; 1661-70, 8; 1671-80, 8; 1681-90, 8; 1691-1700, 27; 1701-7, 13.

³ cf. *P.S.A.S.*, xci (1957-8), p. 3.

⁴ R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Stirlingshire*, pp. 157 f. One of these has now been demolished.

an oversized headstone. An example of this latter development is seen at Garvald (No. 3). Apart from No. 8 at Aberlady, which may be a rebuilt wall-monument, reredos-monuments belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but a number have been included in this survey for their intrinsic interest. In addition to those mentioned above, good examples may be seen at Dirleton (Nos. 11, 12), Gladsmuir (No. 2), Ormiston (No. 3), Stenton (No. 6) and Whitekirk (No. 4).

(x) *Table-tombs*. Table-tombs fall into two classes, the slabs of the first being flat while those of the second are widely bevelled at sides and ends, and only a comparatively narrow area is left flat along the centre. Bevelled slabs are sometimes found lying on the ground, and in many of these cases it seems safe to assume that they are really collapsed table-tombs; similarly, in the case of some flat table-tombs, the suspicion may arise that they began as recumbent slabs and have been set on supports to keep up with changing fashions. This is known to have happened in the case of the slab at Whittingehame Castle (No. 1). The earliest of the flat examples (Bara, No. 1) is dated 1667, but flat slabs seem to be superseded by bevelled ones about the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The series of bevelled slabs begins in 1684 (Bolton, No. 1), but it belongs mainly to the eighteenth century and outruns the scope of this survey; for this reason no attempt has been made to cover it completely, and bevelled monuments are only included if they possess some feature of interest. Their study is in any case prejudiced by the fact that their epitaphs were usually cut very shallow, with the result that names and dates tend to become illegible more quickly than those of some substantially earlier monuments.

The most striking feature of the bevelled table-tombs is the extraordinary richness of their ornament. Scrolls, swags, fruit, cherubs, allegorical figures and funerary emblems, all in high relief, riot over their facets and sometimes extend to the supports, with results which seldom seem happy to the taste of today. Extra surfaces for decoration are sometimes provided by filling up part of the space between the supports, as in No. 7 at Pencaitland and Nos. 17 and 30 at Tranent – these three tombs being the most magnificent in the whole county. Some examples, however, are quite plain, and these are probably among the latest. The rich decoration of the table-tombs, combined with their considerable numbers, is a vivid reminder of the sums that quite ordinary people were prepared to spend on tombstones at the period in question; for example, the great tomb numbered 30 at Tranent commemorates someone who seems to have been a tenant-farmer, while No. 1 at Bara and No. 1 at Ormiston seem remarkably ambitious memorials for farmers' wives. The former, in particular, cannot have been other than costly in view of the height of the relief.

Unbevelled table-tomb slabs differ little from contemporary recumbent slabs, though in cases of doubt it is probably safe to assume that a slab with moulded or cavetto edges was probably designed from the outset for use in a table-tomb. The resemblance extends in some cases (e.g. No. 1 at Aberlady, No. 3 at Bara, No. 4 at Humbie) to the possession of shoulders and a rounded top such as are appropriate to a panel in a Classical niche (cf. p. 215). Number 4 at Aberlady, though of the bevelled type, also possesses these features; while No. 6 at Oldhamstocks, though evidently of the eighteenth century, exhibits the further anomaly of a slightly taper-

ing outline (cf. p. 246). Another link with the recumbent slab is provided by No. 3 at Innerwick, which has the deep hollow moulding, with a drain-hole, that was noted on Nos. 8 and 10 at Dunbar. It is noticeable too that, although the epitaphs on most bevelled table-tombs, and certainly on the later ones, are cut longitudinally and have to be read from a side, on the earliest of all (Bolton, No. 1) the lines run transversely, as on a recumbent slab.

(xi) *Sarcophagi*. Slab-built sarcophagi are seldom seen in East Lothian, and all belong to a period a good deal later than 1707. It is of some interest, however, to note that they seem to be concentrated at the eastern end of the county, e.g. at Dunbar, Innerwick, Oldhamstocks and Spott.

2. *Epitaphs*

Epitaphs are in general short and simple, giving name, dwelling-place, date of death and age. The normal form is provided by, e.g., No. 3 at Dunbar – ‘Heir lyes William Mackrie, flesher and burges of Dumbar, who departed this lyfe the 17 of October 1704 and of his age 65.’ The names of wives and children are introduced as necessary. More elaborate epitaphs add pious or laudatory verse, ranging from the thirteen-word quatrain on No. 1 at Spott (1700) to the six lines dedicated to Jennet Deans on No. 5 at Dunbar (1704) or the ten lines ‘done by the sad loving husband’ on No. 1 at Pencaitland (1639). Latin is seldom used, though No. 12 at Tranent (1638) carries a long Latin epitaph, No. 15 at Tranent (1679) an elegaic couplet, and No. 5 at Dirleton (1651) a substantial copy of verses, now illegible. This last stone also uses Latin for the factual portion of its epitaph, with the final word in Greek for good measure. The long obituary inscription on the Earl of Dalhousie’s wall-monument at Dunbar (No. 13), probably of 1682, is illegible, but was certainly in English. Spelling is often chaotic, as for example on No. 8 at Tranent (1662), or on No. 1 at Prestonkirk (1685) where Margrat ‘Mill’ is described as daughter to James ‘Mille’. Initials often appear in addition to the epitaphs, generally flanking some central decorative or heraldic composition. A peculiar arrangement of initials in monogram is noted at Saltoun (No. 5).

The Gothic lettering of the late-medieval slabs, still in use at Haddington, St Martin’s (No. 1), in 1616, is followed by larger or smaller capital letters, and these persist throughout the seventeenth century. As has been said above, they remain in use in some places well into the century following, with the result that they do not in themselves provide a reliable criterion of date. The prevailing script of the eighteenth century is Italic. An odd trick is practised at Garvald (No. 2) and Morham (No. 12), where the second of a pair of Ls is cut small and within the angle of the first; the Morham example is dated 1703. The arrangement of lines has been discussed on p. 213 above.

Miscellaneous points of interest can be gathered from many of the epitaphs, but it is difficult to single out cases for particular notice. For example, a prominent Covenanter is commemorated at the old parish church of North Berwick (No. 2, 1685), and some collateral descendants of John Knox at Morham (No. 14). The rather frequent mention of young children, as on the wall-monument at Keith

(No. 2), evidently reflects their high contemporary death-rate; while the four deaths in the Hog family in 1699 (Morham, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 13) suggest an infectious illness. Burghal affairs are glanced at by epitaphs which mention 'praetor', Latin equivalent of 'bailie' (Dirleton, No. 5, of 1651; Dunbar, No. 14); or the 'bellman' (Haddington, No. 19), the official whose duty it was to make public announcements in the town. 'Burgess' occurs fairly often, and the typical virtues of a seventeenth-century burgess are admirably summed up on No. 14 at Dunbar.

3. Names

The choice of Christian names was limited; only fifteen men's and sixteen women's names are noted, and a few favourites appear in disproportionate numbers. Thus, of the 140 men commemorated or mentioned in epitaphs, no less than 38 are called John while a further 69 are distributed between William (20), James (19), Robert (16) and Alexander (14). The remaining 33 are made up of George (9), Patrick (5), Thomas (5), David (4), Adam (3), Andrew (2), Henry or 'Hary' (2), Archibald (1), Hugo (1) and Kentigernus (1), the last appearing on a slab of the early sixteenth century. In the same way, out of 82 women, Margaret has a long lead with 20, the remainder being Agnes (9), Helen or Ellen (7), Elizabeth or Bessie (7), Isobel (6), Jean (6), Mary (6), Alison (4), Janet (4), Anna or Annat (3), Katharine (3), Grizel (2), Marion (2), Christian (1), Barbara (1) and Rachel (1). Barbara and Rachel, like Kentigern, perhaps reflect the fashions of a larger world, as they occur in lairds' families, while one of the Marys is Irish. It will be noted that Highland names, such as Malcolm or Donald, which are now common in all parts of Scotland, do not appear at all; that Mary is poorly represented and Peter completely absent,¹ both no doubt as a result of 'Protestant' sentiment; but that, contrary to what might have been expected, biblical names of the kind often affected in evangelical circles seem equally out of favour.²

In respect of surnames the situation is markedly different, as, of the 111 names noted, only 30 occur more than once. Aitchison is the commonest surname, though with only six examples; Shiel occurs five times; Reid, Johnston, Lauder, Hog and Seton four times each; Broun, Dickson, Waddell, Nicolson, Knox, Thomson and Jackson three times each; Heriot, Cockburn, Sinclair, Begbie, Ferguson, Smith, Hume, Alexander, Fowler, Anderson, Hepburn, Manderson, Dods, Miller, Gilmore and Williamson twice each; and the remaining 81 names once each. These comparisons, however, possess little significance, as some of the more numerous names owe their standing simply to the existence of a large family group – for example, the Aitchisons at Haddington, the Hogs at Morham or the Setons at Seton. On the other hand, the five Shiels seem to be well distributed. As will be seen from those quoted above, the surnames do not differ from those in use today when allowance is made for peculiarities of spelling; but again Highland names hardly appear, Mackrie (Dunbar, No. 3), the only 'Mac', being an Ayrshire form of the name more usually known as Macrae.³

¹ Two Peters and a Daniel, which occur in nineteenth-century re-use, have been ignored.

² 'Gilead', on No. 3 at Haddington, St Martin's, is a far from certain restoration.

³ Black, *Surnames*, s.v. Macrae.

4. *Emblems, Figures, Insignia*

Mention has already been made of the rich decoration affected in the post-Reformation period, and of this the most typical features are emblems¹ which either insist on death, burial and corruption or do something to redress the balance with hints of heaven. These emblems are so common, and run so much to type, that they have been largely taken for granted in the descriptions of individual monuments. Skull and cross-bones, either together or separate, appear on nearly every seventeenth-century monument, generally accompanied by the motto 'Memento mori'; while only slightly less common are grave-diggers' tools, the shovel and pick, or spade and shovel, often arranged saltirewise. Shovels may sometimes be confused with bakers' 'peels', but the latter are usually charged with loaves (Pl. XIX, 1). Hour-glasses are also very common, and where the niceties of composition demand a horizontal object they are freely placed on their sides instead of in their natural upright position. Arrows sometimes appear, representing death's 'sting'; and these, like the grave-digger's tools, lend themselves to heraldic treatment. Scythes are another fairly common symbol of death. Unusual emblems are the 'deid-bell', a handbell rung to summon the neighbours to a funeral, and scales for the weighing of the soul, each of which has been noted in three cases only. The former appears at Aberlady (Nos. 4, 5) and at Tranent (No. 21), and the latter at Innerwick (No. 4), Keith (No. 2) and Prestonpans (No. 8), the example at Keith being part of a scene of death and judgment.

Almost as common as the skull and cross-bones are cherubs, shown either as winged heads or as child-figures with wings at their shoulders. The heads are of little interest, except in so far as the distribution of a distinctive type may indicate copying from one workshop to another or the common use of a pattern. A remarkable variation from the usual form is to be seen on No. 13 at Dunbar, where the heads wear the ringlets and wide collars of the later seventeenth century. This same monument also bears an angel blowing a trumpet, from which issues an admonition in rather faulty Latin. The child-figures are sometimes shown in action, as on the Seton table-tomb at Tranent (No. 30), where a series of them symbolise the work and life of a farmer. Besides cherubs and an occasional angel, clouds or cloud-like ornament are frequently used as a symbol of heaven; this ornament is placed in pediments, and generally resembles flocks of wool hanging down from the upper mouldings. When poorly rendered such clouds are difficult to distinguish from ordinary scrolls.

Human figures or heads appear on fourteen stones, the heads being evidently portraits and some of the figures being associated with the tools of their trades. The best example of portraiture is No. 1 at Prestonpans, a panel of 1690 which shows two faces, apparently of a father and a son. The Galhuayes headstone at Tranent (No. 7) also bears a portrait head, though the four accompanying children are treated in a manner reminiscent of the cherubs. Figures shown in settings appropriate to the conditions of their lives are seen at Aberlady (No. 8), West Prestonpans (Nos. 8, 9,

¹ The symbolic figures and emblems on Scottish tombstones are described in *P.S.A.S.*, xxxvi (1901-2), pp. 352 ff.

10) and Tranent (No. 9), where women appear with children in various groupings; at Aberlady¹ and at Athelstaneford (No. 3), Humbie,¹ Pencaitland,¹ Saltoun¹ and Tranent (Nos. 11, 30), where men are shown sowing grain; at Bolton (No. 2), where a wright is shown with his tools; and at Tranent (No. 22), where a youth is shown studying his book. Number 6 at Aberlady shows two women conventionally posed, No. 6 at Stenton a man holding a skull, and No. 2 at Garvald a man without any special characteristics. The great table-tomb at Pencaitland (No. 7), of 1724, bears a cherub of the child-figure type and three men; the cherub holds a trumpet and two of the men, respectively, a sword and a Union flag.

Emblems in a class by themselves are the insignia of incorporated trades, or others which symbolise, more generally, a calling or way of life. These have been recorded, whether dated or undated, down to their passing out of use in the earlier nineteenth century (cf. Appendix, pp. 267 ff). The earliest noted are the sword and shears, of uncertain significance in combination, on the cross-slab at Smeaton, and the chalices, for priests, at Seton (No. 3) and Tranent (No. 13), all of which date from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The series of trade emblems begins in 1662, with a smith at Pencaitland (No. 5), and seems to be well represented in the later seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century. The latest observed date is 1839, at Dunbar. The data assembled in the Appendix may be summarised as follows. *Hammermen*: crown and hammer, with pincers or horseshoe added to signify a smith. *Masons*: square and compasses, sometimes shown heraldically (e.g. No. 14 at Tranent) and sometimes with a mell or chisel added. *Wrights*: again a square and compasses, with axe, plane or saw, though possibly the square and compasses alone may sometimes indicate a wright rather than a mason. In the case of the Wood headstone at Stenton (No. 3), the plane may have been used, in conjunction with the tree, to give a play on the name. *Butchers*: axe, cleaver and callipers, the last generally hanging on the end of a chain. *Millers*: a mill-rind, the iron fitting at the centre of a millstone, in one case associated with picks.² On the Miller headstone at Tranent (No. 22) the mill-rind probably represents a play on the name. *Bakers*: two 'peels', or shovels, charged with loaves and generally combined with a broom. At Haddington, however, the convention seems to have been different, as on four of the five 'baxters' stones the broom is replaced by a rake, while on the fifth, a very late example (1839), a sheaf of corn is substituted for the whole of the traditional assemblage. *Maltsters and brewers*: again shovels and brooms, but the maltsters' shovels differ from the bakers' in not carrying loaves. *Weavers*: a shuttle. *Tailors*: scissors and a heavy iron, the so-called 'goose'. *Shoemakers*: the crown and rounding-knife of the Cordiners' Incorporation. Only one shoemaker is in the record (Tranent, No. 10), and he was also a tanner. *Glazier*: square, compasses and diamond-pane, with a set of glazier's implements. Again only one example (Tranent, No. 23). *Quaichmaker*: compasses, axe and scraper, again occurring only once. *Farmers*: figures sowing grain or carrying sheaves. The ox-yoke on a table-tomb at Gifford presumably belongs to a farmer,

¹ Descriptions of these stones are not included in the survey, but they are noted in the Appendix on trade insignia, etc.

² The relevance of picks to milling is not clear, but the same association can be seen on a panel at 41 Broad Street, Stirling (R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Stirlingshire*, p. 297).

while the crooks at Garvald, Gifford and Haddington likewise suggest shepherds or flockmasters. The association of a cleaver with the second of these, and what may be a spindle with the third, is difficult to explain unless it be supposed that sheep-farming was combined, in the one case, with butchering and in the other with the spinning of the wool. *Gardener*: spade and rake, occurring only once, at Spott. *Quarryman or miner*: pick, hammer, wedges and crow-bar, occurring only once, at Pencaitland. *Mariners*: an anchor, often associated with compasses, sextant, cross-staff or sounding-lead – the last a cylindrical object bearing a longitudinal groove. On one wall-monument there appears a full-rigged ship. These maritime emblems appear only in the two Prestonpans graveyards, and rather surprisingly not at Dunbar or North Berwick. *Unexplained*, both at Pencaitland, are a spoon and the figure of a man among trees.

5. *Heraldry*

Arms have been identified, sometimes with the help of the epitaph, or inferred with reasonable confidence, as follows: John Watt 'in Duncpender' impaling 'Harla', 1667 (Bara, No. 1); William, 3rd Earl of Dalhousie, impaling Moore (Drogheda), 1682 (Dunbar, No. 13); Sir Alexander Hamilton of Fenton and Lawfield, after 1646 (Dunglass, No. 4); James 'Skirven' (Skirving) of Ploulandhill impaling Rigg, 1644 (Humbie, No. 3); Kentigern Hepburn of Waughton, early sixteenth century (Luffness); Forbes, 1639 (Pencaitland, No. 1); Andrew Ker of 'Holdan' (Holydean), 1724 (Pencaitland, No. 7); Robertson impaling Craig (West Prestonpans, No. 1); Seton (*ibid.*, No. 3); Brown impaling an unidentified coat, 1633 (*ibid.*, No. 13); Robert Stewart of Cardonald, 1608 (Seton, No. 5); David Seton, *burgess of Edinburgh*, impaling Brand, 1632 (*ibid.*, No. 6); an unidentified coat impaling 'Mortane' (Morton), 1604 (*ibid.*, No. 7); John Seton (*ibid.*, No. 8); George 'Liviston' (Livingstone), 1608 (*ibid.*, No. 9) and Ferguson (Tranent, No. 6). 'Anderson of Whitburgh impaling Forrester or Hunter, 1685' is supplied from record,¹ being now invisible. The so-called Masonic Arms occur three times, at Ormiston (No. 3), at West Prestonpans (No. 5) and at Tranent (No. 14), the last example being dated 1690. Unidentified arms are noted at Aberlady (No. 7), Bolton (No. 3), Pencaitland (No. 3), Prestonpans (No. 4) and Tranent, 1692 (No. 1) and 1635 (No. 24). The bull's head in high relief on No. 29 at Tranent is no doubt an example of canting arms, for Turnbull.

6. *Re-use and recutting*

Old tombstones are frequently recut for secondary use, and in such cases their original ownership and date may be difficult or impossible to determine. The employment as headstones of fragmentary medieval monuments has already been mentioned (Dirleton, No. 1; Dunbar, Nos. 11, 12; Gullane, Nos. 3 to 6; Innerwick, No. 1); and others, medieval and later, have likewise been re-used though they remain recumbent and entire (Dunglass, Nos. 2, 3; Gullane, No. 2; Haddington, No. 4 and probably No. 8). Of these latter the Gullane example is probably the most striking. Among later headstones Nos. 16 at Haddington and 14 and 16 at Tranent

¹ *Inventory*, p. 51.

may be mentioned as examples of the same process. At Pencaitland, again, two large headstones (Nos. 3, 3A) may originally have been recumbent, as may also a table-tomb at Aberlady (No. 1); at Dirleton a bevelled table-tomb has become a headstone (No. 9), while another headstone (No. 2) appears to have gone through two previous phases, first as a recumbent slab and then as a bevelled table-tomb. At Keith (No. 2) the inscribed panel of the wall-monument is clearly a palimpsest, as is also a recumbent slab at Morham (No. 13), though their two phases of use may not differ greatly in date. The discrepancy between the nineteenth-century epitaph and the seventeenth-century date and decoration on No. 1 at Tranent strongly suggests the entry of a cuckoo into the nest, and it is impossible to say how often this may have happened in the case of wall-monuments with renewed inscription panels. Similar discrepancies between an epitaph and the style of a monument are seen on headstones Nos. 9 and 13 at Haddington, and on table-tombs Nos. 2 and 4 at Aberlady, the surfaces of the two last having apparently been slightly lowered to carry the new inscription; while discrepancies between scripts in a single epitaph may occur when a badly-weathered date, or other important item, is recut to ensure its preservation (Aberlady, No. 2; Pencaitland, No. 7). Again, where deaths in several successive generations are recorded on a 'family' stone (e.g. Stenton, No. 1), it is often necessary to scrutinise the lettering carefully to distinguish between original and added items.

7. *Local Fashions*

While the art of the monuments is of course derived from outside, it may still be worth while to look at the distribution of some particular details, as these may possibly point to local centres of fashion or to workshops of especial repute. In fact eight such distinctive features have been noted, and it is probable that closer and more expert study would lead to the discovery of others.

The first region to which attention is drawn by this kind of evidence is that of Tranent with the two Prestonpans graveyards – the three forming a compact geographical group. The position may be illustrated by a table.

| <i>Feature</i> | <i>Reference in Tranent Group</i> | <i>Reference elsewhere</i> |
|--|--|----------------------------------|
| Small size (headstones), combined with advanced marginal mouldings. | Prestonpans, Nos. 2, 3, 4; Prestonpans (West), Nos. 1, 11, 13; Tranent, No. 8. | Aberlady, No. 7; Stenton, No. 2. |
| Cherubs with wings fitting closely under chins. | Prestonpans, No. 8; Tranent, Nos. 19, 20, 31. | Garvald, No. 2; Saltoun, No. 4. |
| Headstones with lateral projections at right angles to planes of surfaces. | Tranent, No. 24. | Dirleton, No. 7. |
| Women with children's heads under their arms. | Prestonpans (West), No. 9. | Aberlady, No. 8. |
| Deid-bell. | Tranent, No. 21. | Aberlady, Nos. 4, 5. |
| Style in table-tombs. | Tranent, Nos. 17, 30. | Pencaitland, No. 7. |

The claim that may thus be advanced for the Tranent-Prestonpans region, as a possible centre of distribution in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, obtains some support from the fact that stone favoured by architects 'for decorative work' was quarried near Tranent within recent years¹; such inspection, however, as has been possible of existing rock-exposures has disclosed material which seems more suitable for building than for sculpture, although it is evident that a great variety of sandstones is to be met with in the area. On the other hand, the 'Preston' quarries that provided stone for Holyrood Palace in 1535-6² clearly have no connection with Prestonpans, as the context shows that they were situated somewhere near South Queensferry.

The other distinctive features were noted in the eastern part of the county, and may be connected with Dunbar, or possibly with Innerwick, as their counterparts seem to be with Tranent. Quarries exist near both places.³ A table will again illustrate the distribution.

| <i>Feature</i> | <i>Reference at Dunbar</i> | <i>Reference elsewhere</i> |
|--|---|---|
| Wide and elaborately rebated marginal mouldings on recumbent slabs. | Nos. 8, 10. | Innerwick, No. 3; Prestonkirk, No. 4; Whittinghame, Nos. 1, 5. |
| Headstones with distinctive incurving sides, and an hour-glass placed horizontally over a skull. | One example not included in description of graveyard. | Innerwick, No. 2, and several others in the same graveyard which are not included in the description. |

There are also some grounds for supposing that a good mason may have been working at Morham in the later seventeenth century. Numbers 3 to 7 in that graveyard resemble one another so closely that they can hardly be other than products of the same workshop; while Nos. 8 to 10 are evidently taken from a common prototype and may, in view of their epitaphs (q.v.), represent a single order. Again, what may be the Morham influence may perhaps be seen at Garvald, No. 12 at the former place and No. 2 at the latter both treating a double L in the same distinctive manner. A good quarry, Rentonhall,⁴ exists within a mile of Morham, though the stone sampled there again seemed more suitable for building than for sculpture.

DESCRIPTION OF MONUMENTS BY PARISHES

Aberlady Parish Church. 47 NE 461798

This graveyard is chiefly notable for its fine table-tombs, of which one certainly and another probably dates from before 1707. (1) The certain example measures

¹ Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. Geological Survey of Great Britain. Wartime Pamphlet No. 45; *The Mineral Resources of the Lothians*, by A. G. Macgregor, p. 19.

² *Masters of Works Accounts for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles*, ed. Paton, 1 (1957), pp. 136 ff.

³ MacGregor. op. cit., pp. 16 ff.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 18.

6 ft. 1 in. by 3 ft., and may originally have been a recumbent slab as its supports are not uniform and its thickness varies. It has a rounded upper end with shoulders, and a plain marginal band defined by two grooves $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart. At the upper end there is a skull with cross-bones, with MEMENTO MORI, and lower down the epitaph HEIR LYETH ROBERT / SCOT WHO DEPARTED / THIS LYFE 4 OF APRYLE / 1670. In the lowermost third there is a shield, now blank, dividing the initials R S / M I. (2) The uncertain example is a bevelled and richly decorated table-tomb which, though it is of the type that came into vogue at the end of the seventeenth century, yet bears a series of epitaphs in obviously Victorian lettering and clearly cut in or after 1871, the date of the last recorded death. The first epitaph, however, commemorates WILLIAM MYLNE FARMER / LOCHMILL, who died in 1700 aged sixty-seven, and as the inscribed surface is very slightly dished it is safe to assume that it was shaved down in the later nineteenth century and William Mylne's epitaph recut along with those of his descendants. This slab is a large one, measuring 6 ft. 8 in. by 3 ft. 5 in.; and so is (3) the Bairnsfather table-tomb, a well-carved monument of 1749, which is nearly 2 in. longer.

Two of the other table-tombs seem to have been re-inscribed in the same way as the Mylne monument. One of them (4), which commemorates JANET STRACHAN WIFE OF PETER CUMMING, who died in 1830, must have been shaved down to take the nineteenth-century inscription, and the names have evidently been freshened more lately still. This stone is bevelled and has a rounded top with very slight traces of shoulders. The other (5) has lost the whole of its inscription, but the date 1712, presumably the original one, has been recut. Nos. 4 and 5 may well be products of the same workshop, as the rather unusual feature of a hand holding a 'deid-bell' (Pl. XVI, 4) occurs on both; and a pointer to their place of origin may perhaps be seen in the occurrence of this same feature on No. 21 at Tranent.¹

Two headstones, though bearing no legible date, are probably of the seventeenth century. One of these (6) has its central panel flanked by two female figures whose outstretched hands meet above to form the top of a frame; these figures wear gowns which open down the centre to show pleated petticoats, as on No. 2 at Bolton, of 1700, and a very similar garment appears on William Seton's monument in Haddington Church, which is dated 1682. The other (7) is a small headstone with a heavily moulded border advanced from a sunk face, in a manner reminiscent of Nos. 1 and 11 at West Prestonpans. It bears, in relief, a shield parted per pale and charged: Dexter, two mullets on a fess, between two lozenges in chief and an axe in base; sinister, a chief checky and in base two crescents. Above the shield are incised the initials T B, and flanking its lower part M A.

The reredos-monument (8) noted by the R.C.A.M.² bears a suspicious appearance of having been put together out of fragments of other monuments. The carvings are badly weathered, but the figure of a woman with a child under either arm is unmistakable and strongly recalls No. 9 at West Prestonpans.³ Most probably both

¹ For illustration see Reid (C), fig. 5 on p. 145.

³ For illustration, see Reid (A), fig. 12 on p. 33.

² *Inventory*, No. 2.

pieces came from the same workshop, and their similarity provides yet another link between this graveyard and the region of Tranent and Prestonpans.

1st December 1957, 22nd June and 13th December 1959

Athelstanford Parish Church. 57 NW 532773

This graveyard contains only two monuments legibly dated to before 1707, both of which are headstones. (1) The first commemorates WILLIAM HERIOT, who died in 1693, and MARGRET HERIOT, both children of WH and MS. (2) On the second nothing significant can be read beyond the date 1699 and the surname-initial G. At the top of the inscribed face a hand holding an axe is shown in high relief, and below the epitaph a square and compasses on a shield. The person commemorated was evidently a wright.

There are a few large and well-carved eighteenth-century headstones, one of which (3) has lost its upper part but still bears, in high relief, the remains of a male and a female figure. The former represents a sower, and the latter holds what seems to be a staff.

An interesting feature of this graveyard is the piece of decorative ironwork that spans the open end of the burial-enclosure of the Rev. Robert Blair, who was minister of Athelstanford from 1731 until his death in 1746.¹ It shows the initials R M R B, for Reverend Mr Robert Blair, with the date 1746, placed within a frame of spirals and flanked by further spirals on either side (Pl. XX, 3).

4th May 1958, 22nd November 1959

Bara, Old Parish Churchyard. 57 SE 558706

After the union of the parishes of Garvald and Bara in 1702, Bara Church continued in alternate use with Garvald until 1743 or 1744, when it 'fell into disrepair', and by 1794 it was ruinous.² It has now completely disappeared, and its site, together with the graveyard, is planted with trees. The following stones were noted.

(1) A table-tomb measuring 5 ft. 11 in. by 3 ft. 2½ in., unbevelled, and with a roll-moulding round the edge. Its decoration, which is in relief at least 1¾ in. high, consists of a skull and cross-bones in the upper part and a shield, set within scrollwork, rather below the centre. The shield is parted per pale and charged: Dexter, an oak-tree on a mount, in chief two crescents; sinister, two bendlets³ between a cross-crosslet in dexter base and another in sinister chief. Below the shield is the inscription HERE LYES MARGRIT HARLA [? SPOUS] / TO IOHN WAT IN DUN[PE]ND[ER W]HO / DEPAI[R]TED THIS LYF THE 28 / OF MAYE 1667 AND OF HER / A[G]E [?6]6. It is interesting to see that at this date a tenant-farmer's family might not only bear coat-armour but also be able to afford a monument which, in view of the height of the relief-carving, cannot have been other than costly. (2) A table-tomb measuring 5 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. and having

¹ *Fasti*, I, p. 354.

² *Stat. Acct.*, XIII (1794), p. 353 n.

³ This charge, which is represented on the stone by two narrow ridges with a wider channel between them, might possibly be intended for a bend coticed.

cavetto-moulded edges and a marginal roll. The epitaph, which is at the top, reads **HERE LYTH PATRICK DICKSO[N] / WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE / JANUARY 7 DAY 1659 / JEAN BARTREM HIS / SPOUS WHO DEPARTED / THIS LIFE / MARCH 21 dA[Y] 1689**. The wife's epitaph seems to be less well cut than the husband's, and in addition contains two letters in Roman script, as shown, and one capital (A in dA[Y]) which is smaller than the rest; it is therefore very probably an addition, as might be expected in view of the much later date of her death. In the centre of the stone is a monogram of **P D I B**, in relief which is so slight that this might also be an addition, and, below, emblems of mortality. The high relief of a cherub which appears at the bottom prompts a comparison with No. 1 above. (3) A table-tomb measuring 6 ft. 1 in. by 3 ft. 3 in., with a roll-moulded and slightly overhanging margin. The upper end is rounded and shouldered, reproducing the outline of a Classical niche. An inscription in Roman lettering at the upper end commemorates **WILLIAM COCKBURNE**, who died in 1698 aged sixty-nine. Lower down there are secondary epitaphs of eighteenth-century date.

The other surviving memorials are later than 1707, but may be recorded; they are as follows.

(4) A bevelled table-tomb heavily ornamented in relief on sides and ends. The inscription, which is in Italic lettering and runs lengthways along the N. side of the flat surface, commemorates **HENRY HARDIE FARMER IN MORHAM**, who died in 1708 aged thirty-two. The initials **H H** appear on a cartouche at the west end. (5) Another bevelled table-tomb, of unusually large size (7 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in.). It resembles No. 4 so closely in decoration and arrangement that the two may safely be taken as exemplifying a single pattern. The epitaph commemorates **IAMES WITHERSPOON FARMER IN WALDIN**, who died in 1711 aged sixty-two. A cartouche at the west end bears the initials **J W**. (6) A headstone, with a rounded and shouldered top but no superficial decoration, which commemorates two persons both of whom died in 1711. Nothing beyond this date can be read in the case of the second, but the first was **GRIZEL HOWDEN**, daughter of **ALEXANDER / HOWDEN AND AGNES SINCLAIR FER/MER IN LINPLUM AGED 9 YEARS**.

The graveyard also contains a cairn commemorating the Jubilee of 1887, and resting on this are two stones of a slender bell-shape, of unequal size and having their bottoms flattened to make them stand upright. In their tops were once set iron handles or rings, now wasted away. These objects may once have served as door-stops in the church.

1st and 11th April 1959

Bolton Parish Church. 57 SW 507701

The following stones were noted in this graveyard, in order from west to east.

(1) A slab now recumbent, but no doubt originally a table-tomb, as its surface is faceted and bears the decoration characteristic of this type of monument. It measures 6 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 4 in. and its facets, which are wide and steep, leave a level strip in the centre which is only 7 in. wide. The epitaph is cut right across the

upper end, from edge to edge, and not lengthways along the flat portion; it has been damaged by the splitting of the surface, but can be seen to commemorate PATRIC[K] BEG[BIE], who died in 1684 aged eighty-six, and his wife M[A]RGARET [S]HIEL, who died in 1696. Another, presumably later, inscription at the foot is illegible. The date 1696 is early for slabs of this type, and its earliness may account both for the manner in which the epitaph is cut and for the comparatively restrained character of the decoration. (2) A headstone which is noteworthy as possessing a human figure carved in relief on either face. The figure on the east (Pl. XVII, 1) is male, and wears a long coat, with cuffs, over baggy breeches. Puffs of hair on the sides of the head suggest a wig. It is associated with the insignia of a mason and wright – compasses, square, mell, plane and a cylindrical object which may be the reel of a mason's line. Below is a panel containing what are probably pious verses. The figure on the west (Pl. XVII, 2) is female; it wears a short, pleated skirt and over this a long, belted gown, with cuffs, which is open down the front and has its lower corners sloped away. The hair is puffed out at the sides of the head; the right hand holds a bone and the left a skull. Below this figure is the epitaph, which commemorates TWO CHILDRIN / SON AND DAUGHTRE / TO THOMAS T(R)OTER, later naming them as IAMES and MARGRAT and spelling the surname correctly as TROTTER. The former died in 1700, aged thirteen, and the latter in 1698, aged three. (3) A recumbent slab measuring 5 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 11 in. and showing a plain marginal band defined by two grooves. In the centre there is a shield, from which the charges have wasted away, dividing two pairs of initials, I L / M L. Above the shield is the date 1639. (4) A very large recumbent slab (6 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. 8 in.) showing a marginal inscription in a border defined by grooves. In the centre is a shield bearing the initials W B / A S and dividing other sets of initials of which only the two uppermost pairs, both I B, can be read, together with D E below the lower I. An inscription above the shield is also partly wasted, but it can be seen to commemorate WILLIAM BAGBIE, husband of ALLISON SHIEL, who died in 1654 aged fifty-three. Below the shield are a skull and cross-bones. The marginal inscription, though running continuously round from the top dexter coner, evidently represents a rhyming couplet; it reads

O MAN IN MYND REMEMBER THOV AN[D] M[?WR]NE
 NAIKIT THOW COM AND NAIKIT SAL RETVRNE.

(5) A small headstone with a bilobate top rising from square shoulders. On one side appear mason's insignia dividing the initials I L / H D, with the date 1677 below. Its close proximity to the next (No. 6) suggests that the L may stand for LILLY, but the only legible name in the inscription, which is on the other face, is SPENCE. (6) This headstone, which is small and has a curved but flattened top, is almost certainly of the seventeenth century though no date appears on the portion now above ground. It commemorates ROBERT LILLY, and the inscription is interrupted by a weaver's shuttle carved in relief and dividing the initials H F. On the other face are the initials R L / H F over a skull and cross-bones. (7) A large headstone with a rounded top crossed by a transverse groove. It commemorates IOHN AITCHI/SON, his wife AGNES SHIEL and their son ROBERT. At the

top appears the date 1692. (8) The detached top of a very small headstone, showing no date but almost certainly of the seventeenth century. The apex bears a transverse groove, evidently intended to accord with the decorative scheme which comprises a pair of round-headed niches.

2nd and 7th June 1958, 6th September 1959

Dirleton Parish Church. 58 SW 512842

The following stones were noted in this graveyard. (1) A broken stump, probably part of a medieval grave-cover, now set upright like a headstone. It measures 2 ft. 3 in. in height, 1 ft. 2 in. in width and 9 in. in thickness; its face, which is well squared, bears a rectangular panel, defined by a shallow groove, which is 12 in. wide by more than 8 in. high, its lower portion being under the ground. In the upper part of the panel the incised letters *FD* can be made out. The back of the stone is rather rough and may have been battered. (2) Part of what was originally a recumbent slab, probably of seventeenth-century date, later re-used as a table-tomb with bevelled and ornamented edges and ends, and now cut down to form a headstone. No inscription belonging to either of the two later phases can be seen, but the west face bears some remains of the original marginal inscription, in large capitals, now badly wasted and partly cut away. This enclosed a panel, the upper part of which contains a further inscription and the lower part a skull and cross-bones very crudely incised. Only a few isolated letters of either inscription are legible. (3) A large slab (6 ft. by 3 ft. 4 in. by 7 in.) evidently intended for a recumbent position but now leaning against the south wall of the church. It commemorates *ALEX/ANDER NICOLSONE / SPOWS TO HELLEN HALIBRVNTONE* who died on 3rd April 1667. The initials *PP* and *MN* follow, probably representing a daughter and son-in-law. A large space has been left empty of lettering in the centre of the stone, as if to receive some design which was never executed. (4) A recumbent slab measuring 6 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. 3 in. and commemorating, in a Latin inscription, *HUGO / ACHESON QUONDAM MARITUS HELEN[?AE] / NUCOLSON*, who died in 1672. An English inscription below was evidently added in 1735. The lower part of the slab bears a decorative assemblage in relief – emblems of mortality with *MEMENTO MORI* on a ribbon – which divides the date and initials 1672 / *HA / HN*. (5) A large recumbent slab (6 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 9 in.) now broken in two and with its corners damaged and part of its sinister side missing. Round its margin runs a Latin epitaph of which the final word is in Greek¹; it is carved in capital letters and reads: *[HIC] IACET HELEN[A] . . . [FER]GVSS[O]N D[IR]LTONII PRAETOR[IS] QVAE OBIIT 14 IVLII AN[NO] . . . GVLIEL(MVS) EORVM FILIVS QVI MAII 1651 AET(ATIS SVAE) 13 ETAΦ[H]*. The long break that follows *HELEN[A]* no doubt contained her surname followed by *VXOR* or *MARITA* and her husband's Christian name; while the break following *AN[NO]*, which is at a corner, presumably contained a

¹ The introduction of a single Greek word into a Latin inscription has been noted on two tombstones in Edinburgh (R.C.A.M., *The City of Edinburgh*, pp. 62, 139). The same practice is sometimes found in contemporary book-dedications.

date and ET. No day of the month appears before MAII, perhaps because it had been forgotten by the time that the slab came to be carved. The meaning of the whole inscription can thus be restored conjecturally as 'Here lies Helen . . ., wife of . . . Fergusson, bailie¹ of Dirleton, who died on 14th July in the year . . ., and William, their son, who was buried on the . . . May 1651, aged thirteen.' The space enclosed within the epitaphs contains, in its upper part, what seems to be a copy of Latin verses, though little of it can now be made out; this is in Roman lettering but is probably contemporary with the epitaph. Below there is another, equally illegible, inscription which may be secondary; and at the foot appears the motto ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ ('Know thyself') in the same lettering as that of the epitaph. (6) A headstone now set in the west wall of the graveyard, bearing, in its pediment, the initials of a married couple, P L and M D. The main inscription is badly wasted but it commemorates the wife, MARGRET, who died in 1700, while the husband's surname, LINDSAY, can also be made out. (7) Another headstone, built into the same wall, showing such a marked resemblance to No. 24 at Tranent,² especially in the projection of the lateral pilasters, that both may be supposed to have come from the same workshop. The stone at Tranent is dated 1635. (8) A headstone with a bilobate top, which stands near the eastern boundary-wall. It commemorates ALE[X]/ANDER REID MESON B[URG]ES OF HADD[IN]GTOUN, who died in 1706. Above the inscription there are carved two hands in high relief, one holding a mallet and the other a chisel, and in the act of striking a blow. Below them are compasses and a square in low relief, and above the dexter one the initials A R have been incised large. The other face shows half-shafts, without a lintel, flanking a cherub and funerary emblems.

Later monuments of some interest are (9) part of a table-tomb re-used in the same way as No. 2 above; (10) the wall-monument recorded by the R.C.A.M.³ as set in the east gable of the church; two reredos-monuments (11, 12) dated respectively 1757 and 1813; and several good eighteenth-century headstones and a richly decorated, bevelled slab, no doubt once the top of a table-tomb.

4th May, 12th August 1958, 9th August 1959

Dunbar Parish Church. 67 NE 681786

Of the monuments noted below, Nos. 1 to 5 are south of the church and Nos. 6 and 7 south-west of it, i.e. west of a path which runs parallel to the western boundary-wall of the graveyard; Nos. 8 to 14 are west or north-west of the church, Nos. 13 and 14 being wall-monuments on the western boundary-wall. Nos. 4 and 5 are probably later than 1707.

(1) A recumbent slab, split and very badly weathered, but legibly commemorating IAM/[ES] SMITH, who died in 1627 aged forty-one. The next lines are illegible, but a later epitaph mentions someone's, though clearly not this James's, SONE BAYLIE IAMES SM[ITH], who died in 1712 aged seventy-one. (2) A recumbent slab which, though heavily damaged, shows the date 16[?]?3. (3) A head-

¹ This presumably implies that Fergusson was baron-bailie for the superior.

² Illustrated in *P.S.A.S.*, xci (1957-8), Pl. I.

³ *Inventory*, No. 25.

stone with a simply shaped top inscribed HEIR LYES WILLIAM MAC/KRIE FLESHER AND / BURGES OF DUMBAR / WHO DEPAIRED THIS / LYFE THE 17 OF OCT/TOBER 1704 AND OF HIS AGE 65. On the other face, between an hour-glass placed sideways and a skull, there is a relief shield incised with an axe, a cleaver and a pair of callipers. This man is mentioned incidentally in an indictment for witchcraft in 1688.¹ (4) A plain headstone with a squared top, bearing a long inscription much of which is obscured by hard lichen. All that can be read is a reference to IAMES YOUNGER SHIP/MASTER IN AIRTH, who died abroad at a date which may be 1737, but it is uncertain whether he is the only person commemorated. It is interesting to recall that Airth was a flourishing seaport at this time.² (5) A recumbent slab with widely bevelled edges, bearing the epitaph of a husband in its upper and of a wife in its lower portion. The lower epitaph, being earlier than the upper and in a different script, must have been cut first and the upper part of the stone left temporarily blank. The husband was WILLIAM MARTIN, farmer in East Barns, who died in 1729 aged seventy-six; the wife died in 1704 and her epitaph deserves to be quoted in full:

HERE LYES INTERRED YE CORPS OF / JENNET DEANS /
 LOVING TO HUSBAND OBLEEDGING TO HER FREN[D]S /
 ALACE SHORT WHILE ON EARTH SHE DID REMAIN /
 HER GODLY LIFE HIS FREED HIR FROM ALL PAIN /
 SPOUSE CHILDREN FRIENDS DOE NOT HER / DEATH DEPLORE /
 HER SOUL ENJOYS HEVENS ETERNAL GLORE /
 SHE DIED THE 19 OF APRIL 1704 / AT 47.

(6) A plain headstone with a squared top, resembling No. 4. It commemorates IAMES HAY [W]HO / LIVED IN EAST LINKS and died in 1696, aged (probably) seventy-two; his wife BESIE SKEAD, who died in 1702 but whose age is lost; and MARY HILL, all of whose details are illegible. On the other face there are half-shafts and a cornice, framing funerary emblems. (7) A small headstone set against the return of the boundary-wall near the south-western corner of the graveyard. It commemorates IOHNE / DASONE IN BROVM/HOWSE, who died in 1674 aged either thirty-two or eighty-two. (8) A recumbent slab of red sandstone measuring 6 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 11 in. but now lacking its corners. It is notable for the elaboration and breadth of its marginal moulding – a roll and hollow 7½ in. wide overall, the hollow being triply rebated, 3 in. deep, and provided with a hole for drainage. The inscription has perished, but the resemblance of the moulding to that on No. 5 at Whittingehame suggests a common place of origin and an approximately similar date for both, the Whittingehame example being of 1668. (9) A recumbent slab measuring 6 ft. 9 in. by 3 ft. 3 in. and commemorating IOHENE / REID MERCHAND BVR/GES OF DUMBAR, who died in 1656 aged fifty-six. (10) A recumbent slab measuring 6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 8 in., with a wide roll-and-hollow moulding. A first epitaph, in small capitals, commemorates IOEHNE

¹ *R.P.C.*, 1686–9, p. 248.

² Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland*, S.H.S., 1, p. 327. Cf. also R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Stirlingshire*, No. 557.

FERGV/SONE MESONNE [i.e. mason] BVRGIS / IN DUMBARE, who died in 1677 aged sixty-six, and a second one, in Roman lettering, his wife MARIONE BAIRNS/FATHER, who died in 1707 aged seventy-six. (11, 12) These two stones, now standing erect as headstones (Pl. XV, 4), are the broken halves of a medieval recumbent slab. When entire, it bore a Calvary cross and a plain marginal band, both in incised line. The southern stone (11), on which the base of the cross appears upside down, now stands 2 ft. high and carries no secondary inscription; the northern one (12) stands 6 in. higher and shows the date 1604 divided by the upper limb of the cross and the initials I P divided by the upper part of the shaft. Comparison with Nos. 2 and 3 at Dunglass Collegiate Church suggests that, as first re-used in 1604, the slab was probably still in one piece and recumbent, and that it has been broken and turned into two grave-markers at some subsequent time. (13) A fine wall-monument, backed against the western boundary-wall, a portion of which has been raised to hold it, at a point opposite the north aisle of the church. It takes the form of a Classical assemblage (Pl. XVIII, 1) of two engaged Ionic columns, an entablature and an inscribed panel below an arched moulding, all resting on a pedestal which, in turn, bears funerary emblems. The present height is about 11 ft. 8 in., but would originally have been greater if a finial was present; the breadth along the pedestal top is 7 ft. 10 in., but the greatest breadth, over two scrolled trusses at a higher level, is 9 ft. 7 in. The surfaces against which the columns are set are decorated with trophies made up of spears, banners, swords and muskets, and the central panel shows, within its arched upper portion, an angel blowing a trumpet from which issue the words OMNIBVS AD IVDICIVM [?AD]V[?E]NIANDVM EST ('All must come¹ to Judgment'), while in the sinister spandrel are the words MORS IANVA VITAE ('Death is the gate of life'). The body of the panel carries a long inscription of which the only significant words remaining legible are WILLIAM / EARLE OF DALHO . . . There has been another inscription, now illegible, on the central portion of the frieze; and its advanced portions, above the columns, contain, in recesses, winged male heads with curled ringlets and deep, tasselled collars. The cornice is heavily moulded, and the pediment is almost filled by a shield, with helm and mantling, which is parted per pale and charged: Dexter, an eagle displayed; sinister, three indeterminate oblong objects. The eagle, taken with the legible words of the epitaph, suggests that the monument commemorates either the third or the fifth Earl of Dalhousie, both named William, who died respectively in 1682 and 1711, but the collars on the winged heads weight the evidence in favour of the earlier date. On this assumption, and in view of the fact that the third Earl married Mary Moore, second daughter of the first Earl of Drogheda, the sinister charges could be explained as blanks prepared for the carving of three Moors' heads – an understandable error on the part of a Scots craftsman – but were left uncarved when it was realised that the Earl of Drogheda bore not Moors' heads but three mullets on a chief.² (14) Another good wall-monument, of Renais-

¹ On the assumption that the defective word was ADVENIANDVM, as restored, cut in error for ADVENIENDVM.

² I am indebted for this suggestion to Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, K.C.V.O., LL.D., Lord Lyon King of Arms.

sance type (Pl. XVIII, 3), set a short distance north of the last. It is evidently of seventeenth-century date, and comprises two niches, containing inscribed panels, and an inscribed entablature. The whole measures 10 ft. in height by 8 ft. 9 in. in greatest breadth. The niches have flat-arched heads supported on moulded columns which are rectangular in section and are decorated on their outer faces with small rectangular raised panels. The inscribed panels within the niches are of later date than the rest of the monument, as they commemorate members of the Purves family who died between 1783 and 1953. Above the cornice, which is deep and strongly moulded, there is a frieze of which the ends are advanced and decorated with funerary emblems; it is also divided in two by the remains of a central advanced block, now partly missing, a panel for inscription being thus left over each niche. The name IOHANNEM IAMISONVM appears in large letters at the top of the inscribed space, one word on each panel; below IOHANNEM, on the dexter panel, there follows, in smaller letters, CHARISSIMVM SVVM / MARITVM AMORIS ET / HONORIS ERGO HOC CIP/PO EXORNANDVM CVRAVIT /, and below IAMISONVM, on the sinister one, FIDISSIMA / EIVS CONIUNX / MARGARET PVRVESIA. The epitaph, read as a whole, may thus be translated 'His most faithful wife, Margaret Purves, had her very dear husband, John Jamison, commemorated by this monument, for love and honour.' The pediment, which is ogival in shape and moulded, and has a shallow hollow at its apex, is poorly preserved and one of its stones has been replaced; the inscription, which is weathered and also partly obscured by mortar, reads [SEP]TEM [B]ONA VIR CIVIS MA[R]/[I]TVS VICINVS SOCIVS MERC/ATOR PRAETOR AT IDEM ('Seven good things – man, citizen, husband, neighbour, companion, merchant, bailie – but the same person').

This graveyard also contains a sarcophagus, an unusual type of monument in East Lothian.

1st March, 14th June, 11th July, 13th September 1959

Dunglass Collegiate Church. 77 SE 766719

Let into the pavement of the north transept of this church are five slabs which, in spite of their position inside the building, fall to be described here as they are of types which are met with equally in the graveyards. They are as follows. (1) A broken slab with a damaged inscription which now appears as HEARE LYES / D(AME) BARBARA / LESL[I]E SPUS / TO S(IR) IOHN RW / . . . HIN / . . . D G 1672. Dame Barbara was the daughter of Alexander, Earl of Leven, and her husband was Sir John Ruthven, who acquired Dunglass in 1644.¹ (2) A re-used medieval slab 6 ft. 3 in. long and tapering in width from 2 ft. 4 in. to 2 ft. 1 in. It bears a Calvary cross and a plain marginal band, both in incised line. The date 1592 has been incised above the cross, and the initials G H / G H flanking the head. Figures and letters are large and clumsy. As no Hamilton with the initial G appears to have died at this time, the slab may possibly commemorate George Home of Spott, who was murdered in 1591.² (3) A re-used Calvary cross-slab similar to the

¹ *R.M.S.*, 1634–51, Nos. 1399, 1504.

² Hamilton, G., *A History of the House of Hamilton*, p. 175.

last, but untapered and measuring 2 ft. 10 in. in breadth throughout. It was probably about 6 ft. 9 in. long before its lower end was broken. The date 1607 appears above the cross and the initials D / A H above the sinister limb. These evidently refer to someone with the title of Dame, but if a husband's initials, in the form S / ? ?, were ever cut above the dexter limb no trace of them now survives. The initials suggest Alison, daughter of Alexander Home of Manderston and wife of Sir Alexander Hamilton of Ballencrieff, but the date does not fit her death, which occurred in 1591-2.¹ In style the letters and figures resemble those on No. 2, and a comparison may also be made with Nos. 11 and 12 at Dunbar. (4) A slab measuring 6 ft. 1 in. by 3 ft. 1 in., the upper sinister corner of which has been repaired. The main inscription, which runs round the margin, is largely illegible, but the name ALEXANDER HAMILTON[?IVS] can be read and also the date of his death, 16[?5]6. In the upper part there is a shield charged: A fess chequy between three roses in chief and a [? rose] in base; these are presumably the arms of Sir Alexander Hamilton of Fenton and Lawfield, the date of whose death is not recorded but who was alive in 1646.² Below the shield there is an illegible inscription. (5) A heavily damaged slab measuring 5 ft. 11 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. It is generally similar to the last, having borne a marginal epitaph, a shield, and an inscription below the shield. Only the following words, in the sinister margin, now remain legible: [?D]E MANDERSTON[?E] EQUITIS AVRATI SPON[SA] . . . [H]AMILTONI DE . . . [L]AVFEILD O[B]IIT 17 MARTII ANNO . . . This slab evidently commemorates Isobel, daughter of Sir George Home of Manderston and wife of Sir Alexander Hamilton of Fenton and Lawfield, as above.

In addition to the stones in the north transept, two others remain in the choir. (6) Set in the centre of the floor is part of a slab commemorating a boy called IAMES TO/[?], presumably [SON TO] ROBERT / [?], who died in 1691 aged three. (7) Standing against a wall is part of a slab or panel commemorating ROBERT SIMPSONE, who died in 1663.

10th July 1959

Garvald and Bara Parish Church, Garvald. 57 SE 590709

Only one stone in this graveyard is legibly dated to before 1707, a headstone (1) commemorating someone whose name is illegible but who is described as HUSBAND TO AGNES [DI]CK[S]ON. He died in 1702 aged sixty-three. Some of the illegible headstones, however, are pretty certainly older than 1707, and one of them (2) can be provisionally assigned to the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as its lettering is distinctive and exactly comparable with that of No. 12 at Morham which is dated 1703. The two stones, in fact, almost certainly have a common origin. A further link with Morham may perhaps be seen in the use of flat, fluted pilasters, and one with Tranent in the cherub-heads with wings fitting closely under the chin. The stone commemorates IOHN WILLIAM / & BESS[IE] WADDELS CHILDREN / TO . . . WADDEL IN GAR[VALD]. Below the inscription is a monogram of the letters C A W, and on the other face a male figure dressed in a long coat.

¹ Hamilton G., *op. cit.*, p. 495.

² *ibid.*, p. 499.

Also to be noted is (3) a reredos-monument of red sandstone which really represents a very large headstone backed by masonry and formerly topped by a finial. Its height is 5 ft. 11 in., measured from the top of the masonry pedestal to the base of the vanished finial; and it differs from some of these monuments in that the masonry backing conforms with the shape of the worked slab, and is not merely a piece of walling in which the latter is set. The decoration is of the usual Classical type, with pilasters and an ogival pediment, and the date is 1748.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the sundial on the south wall of the church has not been correctly recorded by the R.C.A.M.¹ The correct reading of the inscription is GEORG FAA FECIT / ANNO 1633. Though Faa, of which other forms are Faw and Fall, is commonly thought of as a Romany name, it is not in fact peculiar to the gypsies.²

7th December 1958; 6th September 1959

Gifford Church

See Yester Parish Church, Gifford.

Gladsmuir Parish Church. 47 SE 458733

This parish was not formed until 1695,³ and only one of the tombstones is likely to be older than 1707. This is (1) a large headstone so placed against the wall of the ruined church that its inscribed face is inaccessible. The exposed face bears, along with well-executed emblems of mortality, a smith's hammer and pincers flanking a crown topped by an orb and cross. The edges of the stone are cavettoed. There is (2) one well-built reredos-monument, dated 1771; and several faceted slabs originally belonging to table-tombs, all of them illegible.

The site marked 'Gladsmuir Kirk' (460715), near Hodges, is that of a chapel built in 1650 to serve areas disjoined from Aberlady and Haddington parishes.⁴ It seems to have disappeared before 1836,⁵ and there are now no remains of either structure or memorials.

22nd November 1959

Gullane, Old Parish Church. 48 SE 480826

The following stones of earlier date than 1707 were noted in the graveyard. (1) A small disk-headed cross, apparently intended to stand with its head just clear of the ground but now somewhat earthed up (Pl. XV, 1). The decoration, identical on both faces, consists of an equal-armed cross, each limb of which is formed by two parallel ridges, raised from a sunk field and separated by a groove, the margin of the disk being defined by a slighter ridge. The ends of the upper and lateral arms project slightly beyond the circumference of the disk. As measured on the east face, which is the better preserved, the width of the cross over the projections is 12½ in., the diameter of the disk 11½ in., the thickness over the marginal ridges 4¾ in., and the breadth of the limbs 2½ in. The neck, formed by the junction of the disk with the pedestal, is 1 in. above the lowermost point on the ring and is 8 in. wide. Notwithstanding the resemblance of this stone to a series which goes back to the tenth

¹ *Inventory*, p. 30.

² *Surnames*, p. 250.

³ *Stat. Acct.*, VII (1793), p. 316.

⁴ *N.S.A.*, II (Haddington), p. 173.

⁵ *ibid.*

or eleventh century,¹ it is unlikely to be older than the church, which dates from the later twelfth century² – the more so as a rather similar stone, now preserved on the site of St Andrew's Church, North Berwick, most probably came from the twelfth-century Cistercian convent there.³ (2) A slab measuring 4 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 11 in., now raised clear of the ground on low supports though no doubt originally recumbent on the grave (Pl. XV, 3). It bears a Calvary cross of rather stocky proportions and having broadish, square-ended limbs, features which suggest that it may be of early, and perhaps of twelfth-century, date; but the cross has been partially destroyed through the adaptation of the slab to contemporary fashions in the seventeenth century. In this process the original surface was lowered round the margins and across the upper end to provide space for an inscription, now illegible apart from the date 1678, and the upper limb of the cross was removed. Four pairs of initials have also been added lower down, each pair being divided by the shaft of the cross – I T / G T / I C / T [? F]. (3) The upper portion of a medieval grave-cover, now set up on end and standing 1 ft. 9 in. above the ground. It tapers slightly from a greatest width of 13¼ in., is 5 in. thick, and has not been dressed on the back. Two inches in from the edges the surface bears a marginal groove, which originally returned across the end, and the enclosed space shows a Maltese cross in low relief within an incised ring and, below this, a pair of shears (dexter) and a spearhead (sinister). The decoration suggests a date in the thirteenth century. (4) Part of another medieval grave-cover, now set up on end as a marker and standing 2 ft. 11 in. high. It is 14 in. wide over roll-mouldings about 3 in. wide, and 9½ in. thick. (5) Two fragments of medieval grave-covers with wide chamfers, likewise set up as grave-markers.⁴ (6) A block, evidently broken out of a grave-cover, which measures 12 in. in height, 17 in. in breadth and up to 10 in. in thickness. The worked face shows pronounced lateral mouldings and, on the sunk surface between them, a cross with equal, expanded arms within a ring 10½ in. in diameter, all in relief. These features seem to have been part of a repeating pattern, as the bottom of the ring is joined, by a short member 2 in. wide, to what was evidently the top of a similar one, the rest of which, if it survives at all, is under the sod.

Among later monuments in the graveyard may be mentioned several good eighteenth-century headstones decorated with the usual Classical ornament; one (7) bears a mason's insignia, another (8) a wright's, and a third (9) a tailor's. Several rough fragments of stone (10), unshaped and uninscribed, are doing duty as grave-markers.⁵

Within the nave of the ruined church there lie two pre-Reformation monuments. (11) The head of a recumbent slab (Pl. XVI, 1), broken off to a length of 18 in. It is 16 in. wide by 7 in. thick, and bears in relief a cross-head formed by eight pointed rays coming from a solid centre and supported by a thin shaft. The design suggests a date in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. (12) The cover of a small child's grave, pre-

¹ Cf. *D. & G.N.H. & A.S.*, 3rd series, xxxi (1952-3), p. 190 and fig. 5. I am indebted to Mr C. A. Raleigh Radford, F.B.A., F.S.A., for advice on the dating of the pre-Reformation stones in this graveyard.

² *Inventory*, No. 24.

⁴ These fragments, noted in 1957, had disappeared by 1960.

⁵ These fragments, noted in 1957, had disappeared by 1960.

³ *ibid.*, p. 59, and see *infra*, p. 244.

sumably of twelfth-century date. It is 2 ft. 1 in. long and tapers from 11 in. to 7½ in. – these measurements being taken over wide chamfers showing zig-zag ornament.
9th November, 1st December 1957, 6th April 1960

Haddington, Parish Church. 57 SW 519735

The following monuments were noted in this graveyard. They are taken for description in order from west to east.

(1) A very small headstone, measuring only 1 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 5 in., with a rounded and grooved top rising above square shoulders (Pl. XVI, 3). On one face is incised [? H] R / M G / 1670, and on the other an empty panel divides G R. (2) Beside the last, a large headstone (3 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. 7 in.) of exactly the same pattern, including the apical groove (Pl. XVI, 3). One face shows the crowned hammer of the Hammermen dividing the initials R W, and at a lower level the date 1705; the other bears an illegible inscription. (3) A headstone of the same pattern as the two last, but intermediate in size between them. Much of the epitaph is illegible, but the name AN/NAT IO[HNS]TOWN can be read together with the date 1700. (4) A recumbent slab which originally bore a marginal inscription, and which presumably dates from the seventeenth century. Only the lower half retains its original surface, the remainder having been cut down to give space for an eighteenth-century Johnston epitaph, and the marginal inscription is greatly wasted. The group of letters IOHN can, however, still be read. (5) A large plain headstone with a squared top, perhaps originally recumbent. The epitaph reads HEER LYES PATRIC[K] / DRVMOND LAVFVL SON / TO M^R IOHN DRVMOND / OF LENOCH WHO DIED / AT BYRES MAY 1659 / AND OF HIS AGE / 4 YEERES. Below is incised a blank shield dividing the initials P D. Unlike most contemporary inscriptions, which run like writing on a page, the lines of this epitaph are symmetrically spaced for aesthetic effect. (6) A headstone with a three-lobed top commemorating IAMES / ALEXANDER SOM/TYM WEVEAR IN / PETER CRAG, who died in 1686. (7) An unusual monument, resembling the pillar of an entrance-gateway, and now standing 6 ft. 8 in. high (Pl. XX, 1). It comprises a shaft 1 ft. 11 in. square, a moulded base and capital both 3 ft. 2 in. square, and a massive ogival block resting on the capital. This block may or may not originally have borne a finial. Each face of the shaft is deeply recessed between mouldings at the angles, and the east face bears the incised inscription HERE LYES / IOHN ELIOT / CHYRUGIAN / APOTHIGARY / BURGES IN / HADINGTOUN / HE DIED MARCH / THE 3 DAY 1687 / HIS AGE 37 YEA/RS. (8) A recumbent slab of red sandstone, lying in front of the west door of the church. It is 5 ft. 11 in. long, tapers in breadth from 3 ft. at the head of 2 ft. 9 in. at the foot and bears a marginal band defined by two incised lines and a blank shield. Some traces of obliterated lettering can be seen near the head, and the names GEORGE SMITH and DANIEL SMITH have been cut in nineteenth-century characters. Beside it there lies another slab, of the same type but slightly smaller, on which the same names appear. (9) A headstone bearing an epitaph, recut in later eighteenth-century lettering, which commemorates ALEXANDER HERRKIS FLESHER IN HADINGTOUN,

who died in 1707 aged forty-six. The butchers' insignia are shown in the unusual form of cleaver, knife and skewer. (10) A headstone resembling No. 3 above. Its inscription is nearly illegible, but the surname of the person commemorated can be read as GARNER, the date of death being 1694. (11) A small headstone with a three-lobed top. The name of the deceased person is illegible, but he is described as HUSBAND / TO MARION FOULLAR. He died in 1689, aged seventy-six. (12) Part of a small headstone, lacking its top, which bears on one face M A / 1666, the date being in a sunk panel, and on the other the lower halves of two initials, probably I D. (13) A headstone whose east face, together with the epitaph, was evidently recut in the nineteenth century. It bears a baker's insignia and commemorates the children of JOHN NICOLSON and MARGARET SHIEL, who died in 1697. The initials J N / M S appear, in the original lettering, in a cartouche on the west face. (14) A headstone set in a stone base, bearing an inscription on one side and emblems of mortality on the other. The name of the deceased person is illegible, but she is described as SPOUS TO ALEXANDER / ATCHISON and she died in 1697, aged thirty-one. (15) A headstone commemorating DAVID ATCHISON, a baker who died in 1696, and children. The date of the epitaph, however, is 1720. The stone bears a baker's insignia. (16) A small headstone, set in a stone base, which commemorates WILLIAM ATCH/ISON MILNER IN / GIMERS MILNES and five of his children, who are not named. He died in 1707, aged eighty-four. This inscription may have been recut, and the other face bears a secondary one. (17) A very small headstone, measuring only 18 in. by 13 in., of which one face is blank and the other is inscribed W I / I G / 166[? 4]. (18) Another headstone, only slightly larger than the last and, like it, having one face blank. The epitaph reads M N / 1660 / I N [1]667. (19) A small headstone inscribed, in part, HERE LYES / ROBERT PATERSON / WEAVER BURGESS IN / HADDINGTON ALSO / BELLMAN THEREFOR. The rest is not fully legible, but the first two digits of a seventeenth-century date are pretty certain. On the back is incised in outline an exceptionally large pair of cross-bones. The bellman was the burghal officer whose duty it was to make public announcements in the town; at Haddington, where a bellman is on record as early as 1532, he seems to have been responsible for the town bell and the town clock, and also to have acted as gravedigger.¹

Three wall-monuments at the western end of the graveyard show some features of interest, but the epitaph of one is illegible and those of the others have been replaced.

29th and 31st May 1958, 24th January and 7th February 1960

Haddington, St Martin's Church. 57 SW 524783

The ruined church of St Martin, in the Nungate, now possesses a stone pavement, in which are set two recumbent graveslabs, one headstone, and part of another. All have no doubt been introduced from the graveyard, in which nothing now remains but a single pillar-like monument. The following are of some interest. (1) A slab measuring 5 ft. 9½ in. by 3 ft., and bearing an incised epitaph in Gothic lettering which runs round the margin from the upper dexter corner. This reads HEIR

¹ Forbes Gray, W., and Jamieson, J. H., *A Short History of Haddington*, 1944, pp. 98 f.

LYES AN HONEST / MAN WILLIAM TAIT PORTIONER OF NUNGAIT AND BUR/GES OF HADI[NGTON / . . . HI]S AGE 74 ZEIRIS. The dots represent an illegible portion at the bottom and on the dexter side. In the centre of the slab there is a shield dividing the initials W T and charged, for Tait: A saltire engrailed. Above the shield appears OBIIT AN(N)O D(OMI)NI 1616, this date being rather late for the use of Gothic lettering. (2) A slab measuring 6 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. 3 in. and surrounded by a blank marginal belt, 4 in. wide, defined by grooves. In the centre is incised a shield, now showing no charges, which divides the initials I T / I A; above there has been a long epitaph of which nothing significant now survives, but the fact that No. 1 commemorates a Tait makes it probable that I T also bore this surname. (3) This headstone, which has been damaged and is also partly obscured with mortar, bears the following epitaph which is certainly of the seventeenth century: HEIR LYES ON[E] / YOYNG MAM / OF NVNGA[TE] / [? GIL]EAD VEDOL / THE BEST VE CA[N] / TO FIX THIS STON[?E] / AT HIS HIAD NOV / HE IS GONE AND / LYES INTO TH[? E EARTH]. The restoration of the baptismal name is conjectural, the opening letters of this line, either two or three in number, having totally disappeared; the surname is no doubt the same as Waddel or Weddel.¹ There is no evidence for the final word, here restored as EARTH, and, if it or any similar word ever existed, it must have been fitted in awkwardly below the end of the line, where the stone has been broken away.

15th December 1957, 24th January 1960

Humbie Parish Church. 46 SE 461637

The following memorials were noted in the graveyard. (1) A headstone with a shaped top divided by a notch, commemorating IAMES DOBBI / MALTMAN who died in 1679. On the other side appear the initials I D in relief, along with funerary emblems and a shield. This last bears a maltman's shovel and broom saltirewise, dividing the incised initials M M, presumably for 'Malt Man'. (2) A headstone with shoulders and a rounded top, slightly notched, and bearing an inscription which is badly weathered. The name Wilson can, however, be read, and the final line, in which the date of death should occur, is well enough preserved to show that this was never cut. A date in the seventeenth century may be inferred from the style of the lettering. On the other side appear the initials I B, with funerary emblems and the debased representation of lateral pilasters. (3) Just east of the church there stands a piece of walling into which three memorials have been inserted. One of these is evidently the upper part of what must originally have been a fine wall-monument, similar to though smaller than the one at Keith (q.v.); that the basal portion is missing is shown by the decoration at the present ground-level, under the horizontal moulding. As it stands, the monument comprises a moulded and inscribed panel topped by a decorative pediment and finial, the last not quite certainly part of the original composition; it is flanked on the dexter side by a scrolled truss bearing, on a ribbon, the words WE AL MUST PAS, but a corresponding truss on the sinister side has been cut away to make room for an

¹ On which see *Surnames*, p. 796.

adjoining memorial. Its present height is 5 ft. 6 in., and if the sinister scroll were present the total width over the two would be 4 ft. 11 in. The pediment, which is moulded, carries at its apex a ribbon inscribed FIT INDE FIRMIOR ('He becomes stronger thereby'), at the lower end of each rake there is a skull, and in the tympanum there is a shield dividing the date 1682. This shield, which has helm and mantling, is parted per pale and charged, for Skirving and Anderson: Dexter, three pallets, over all three buckles on a chevron engrailed; sinister, a crescent on a saltire between four mullets. The epitaph, which is cut in Roman lettering on a cartouche representing a swag of drapery upheld by two cherubs, reads HERE LYES IAMES SKIRVEN OF PLOULANDHILL / WHO DEPARTED YS LIFE IN ANNO 1668 / WITH MARGARET RIGG HIS SPOUSE / WHO DEPARTED IN ANNO 1644 / WITH IAMES RO(BER)T ADAM HARY GEORGE / WM. & IOHN, IEAN AGNES & MARY / ANDERSON SONE OF YE S(AI)D IAMES. The frieze is inscribed SOUEN IN WEAKNESS, RAISED IN POWER. / COR. 15, 43; and on the upper member of the frame is commemorated WILLIAM SCIRVING, who died in 1825. (4) A table-tomb, the slab of which might be judged, from its rounded top and slight shoulders, to have been intended to stand as a headstone; the overhanging and moulded edges, however, show that it was made for a horizontal position. (Cf. No. 4 at Aberlady.) (5) A table-tomb with a faceted slab showing exceptionally rich decoration. The epitaphs belong to the fourth decade of the eighteenth century.

12th June 1958, 5th February 1960

Innerwick Parish Church. 77 SW 720739

Only two monuments earlier than 1707 were noted in this graveyard. (1) A fragment of a medieval graveslab, 12 in. wide by 7 in. thick, now set up as a grave-marker and standing 1 ft. 5 in. above the ground. One side is dressed to a flat surface which decreases in width from 9 in. to $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. between the lateral mouldings; the other is rough. (2) A small headstone with a gabled top, large lateral indentations and, on the uninscribed face, an hour-glass above a skull. It commemorates ADAM SI[N]/CLAR, who died in 16[? 93] aged seventy. Headstones of this size and shape, and bearing these emblems, are numerous in this graveyard, though the rest of them seem to date from the 1730s and 1740s; the pattern was evidently being turned out regularly in this neighbourhood, perhaps at Dunbar, where a typical example can be seen.

Several other monuments may well date from the seventeenth century, but their inscriptions are illegible. Notable among them is (3) a table-tomb whose slab, 6 ft. 3 in. long by 3 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, has cavetto edges and a wide marginal moulding with multiple rebates and a hole for drainage. This elaborate moulding can be matched on recumbent slabs at Dunbar and Whittinghame and suggests a seventeenth-century date, although the illegible epitaph appears to be cut in characters appropriate to the late eighteenth century; it may, however, have been recut on a slightly lowered surface, as was suggested in the case of No. 2 at Aberlady.

Among the later stones may be mentioned (4) a headstone, apparently dated

1763, which includes among its funerary emblems a pair of scales, presumably for weighing the soul. There are also some faceted table-tombs, undated but no doubt fairly late, with their facets completely undecorated; also a single sarcophagus.

10th July, 29th November 1959

Keith Church. 46 SW 448646

The ruin of the former parish church of Keith is surrounded by trees and shrubbery, and few traces can be seen of the graveyard apart from a single illegible headstone, probably of the seventeenth century. Leaning against the north-west corner of the church, however, is (1) part of a medieval grave-cover measuring 4 ft. 2 in. in length and tapering in breadth from 11 in. to 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The larger end is cut off square, and is presumably in its original condition, but the smaller end has been broken; the sides are dressed smooth but the lower surface is rough. The upper surface is bordered by heavy roll-mouldings and traces of a double incised line can be seen running along it, not quite in the centre, for a length of 2 ft. 7 in. Set against the south wall of the church is (2) a wall-monument to which the R.C.A.M. does less than justice,¹ although it mentions some features which cannot be seen today owing to the growth of ivy. It is no doubt in the pediment, under the ivy, that the date 1685 occurs, and also the arms of Anderson of Whitburgh impaling 'Forrester or Hunter' – i.e., apparently: Dexter, a saltire engrailed between four mullets; sinister, three hunting horns, in chief a star. The monument is large and elaborate, measuring 7 ft. 6 in. in breadth and at least 13 ft. in height, and is well worthy to be compared with its contemporaries in the Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.² It comprises the features usual to Classical constructions of this type – a pedestal, columns and entablature framing an inscribed panel, and a pediment – the columns, which are Ionic and free-standing, being set on projecting portions of the pedestal. The pedestal is heavily moulded and is decorated with funerary emblems, and between the architrave and the inscribed panel there is carved a Judgment scene with four allegorical figures – a cherub with a trumpet, a skeleton, a robed and seated judge, and a cherub with a pair of scales, evidently for the weighing of the soul. The soffit of the architrave is decorated and the cornice is moulded and dentilated, but details of the pediment are hidden. The central part of the monument is flanked by scrolled trusses. The inscription occupies a cartouche carved to represent a slightly swelling piece of parchment, with rolls at its edges and a lion mask at the top. The stone is evidently a palimpsest, and the epitaph does not seem ever to have been completed. Thus the uppermost part of the cartouche is blank but its surface has been roughened, while the opening line shows clear traces of confusion. The epitaph, which is in Roman script, has no such opening phrase as 'Here lie', but simply begins with the words CHILDREN O[F]. These are followed by a strip of rather rough but apparently un-inscribed surface, and this by a considerably worn or weathered cup-mark; while beyond the cup-mark the line ends with IN HUND in small capitals, these words having evidently formed part of some such formula as TENANT IN

¹ *Inventory*, p. 51.

² Cf. R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Edinburgh*, pp. 44 ff., especially the Mylne monument, pp. 68 f.

HUND/EBIE (i.e. Humbie) surviving from an original inscription the rest of which has been erased. The remainder of the epitaph then runs normally enough, listing five Anderson children, in order of age, with the dates of their deaths (year, month and day) together with their ages at death, as follows – Thomas, aged eight, in 1685; Margaret, aged seventeen, in 1695; George, in his first year, in 1681; Mary, aged four, in 1685; Kathrin, aged twelve, in 1695. Thomas was thus born in 1677, Margaret in 1678, George in 1680, Mary in 1681 and Kathrin in 1683.

12th June 1958, 5th March 1960

Luffness Convent. 48 SE 471801

The late medieval grave-slab (1) that is let into the pavement of the Carmelite Friars' church at Luffness¹ is not, of course, a graveyard monument; but it should be noticed here for comparison with other similar slabs which are to be seen in certain graveyards, e.g. Dunbar and Tranent, whether or no they have been moved to their present positions from inside the churches.

This slab is badly damaged, but its original size was probably about 6 ft. 6 in. by 4 ft. In the centre is incised, in outline, a patriarchal cross on a step; on the upper pair of limbs, which are shown as representing a scroll partly doubled back, is inscribed I N R I, and on the shaft below the lower pair there is a shield charged, for Hepburn: A rose between two lions counter-combatant.² The epitaph, which is in Gothic lettering, runs round the margin, the inscribed band not being defined by a line, and was read by the R.C.A.M. in 1913 as . . . HONORABILIS VIR KENTIGERNUS HEPBURN . . . DE WAUGHTOUN; the slab may thus be dated to the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or slightly later, as David Hepburn of Waughton transferred the barony of Luffness to his son Kentigern in 1498.³

26th September 1959

Morham Parish Church. 57 SE 556725

The following stones were noted in this graveyard.

(1) A small headstone commemorating MARGRET NEAPER / SPOUS TO WILLIAM CHARL[?S], who died in 1696. On the other side, along with funerary emblems, there are the initials R W, cut in a later script. (2) A headstone with shoulders and a rounded top commemorating ROBERT MANDERSON, who died in 1[6]88, and his wife ALISON JOHNSTON[?E], who died in 1693. The wife's part of the inscription is less carefully cut than the husband's. (3) A headstone with a sloping top commemorating AGNES HUNTER SPOUSE / TO THOMAS TAYLER / WRIGHT IN MORAME, who died in 1699 aged sixty-three. The funerary emblems on the other side are framed by a high moulding. (4) A headstone with a shaped top commemorating IOHN LAUDER SON / TO DAVID LAUDER / FERMER IN MORHAM, who died in 1701 aged sixteen. As in the

¹ *Inventory*, No. 1.

² As recorded by the R.C.A.M., loc. cit; the details are now badly wasted.

³ *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, No. 2455.

case of No. 3, the funerary emblems are framed by a high moulding. (5) A headstone with a shaped top commemorating someone whose surname is probably [AITC]HISON, who died in 1693. His age is doubtful, perhaps eighty. The decoration on the uninscribed side resembles that of the two preceding stones. (6) A headstone resembling the three last mentioned, which commemorates IOHN LAUDER / HUSBAND TO ELISABETH / BROUN, who died in 1695, and also ISOBEL LAUDER, perhaps a daughter, who died in the same year. (7) Another headstone of the same general character, commemorating GRIZEL [surname illegible] / SPOUSE TO IOHN LAUDER, who died in 1694 aged sixty-five. Nos. 3 to 7 are pretty certainly products of the same workshop. (8) A headstone commemorating HELEN HOG / DAUGHTER TO IOHN HOG / FERMER IN MAINSHIL, who died in 1699 aged twenty-two. On the other side are funerary emblems flanked by half-shafts. (9) A headstone exactly similar to the last, commemorating MARY HOG, another daughter of the same IOHN HOG, who likewise died in 1699. Her age was sixteen. (10) A headstone of the same pattern as the last two, commemorating ISOBEL HOG / SPOUSE TO ARCHIBALD / MANDERSON FERMER / IN STONIPATH, who died in 1699 aged thirty. Nos. 8, 9 and 10 evidently derive from the same prototype, and may well represent a single order. (11) A large headstone commemorating ELIZABETH PAXTON / DAUGHTER TO IAMES PAX[TON] / FERMER IN SEGGERSDEN, who died in 1698 aged three months; also ANNA PAXTON who died in 1701 aged three years, and ROBERT PAXTON, aged two years, the date of whose death is illegible. The two last are evidently other children of James Paxton. The emblems on the other face are flanked by half-shafts, and the top of the rounded head is notched. (12) A headstone broken into two parts, both of which are leaning against the N. wall of the graveyard. The inscribed face of the upper portion, which has thus been preserved from weathering, shows an epitaph which treats double L in a way which is paralleled in the Waddel memorial at Garvald; it commemorates HELLEN / ALEXANDER SPOUSE / [TO] PATRICK HOGE FERM(E)R / [IN] MAINSHILL, who died in 1703. (13) A large recumbent slab (6 ft. 7 in. by 3 ft. 9 in. by 7 in.) with a cavetto-moulded edge. The inscription, which is incised in capitals, runs across the stone, starting close to the upper edge. It commemorates IOHN HOG FERM[ER] / IN MAINSHIL, who died in 169[?] aged fifty-two, and his wife MARY KNOX, who died in 1699 probably aged sixty-four, though the first digit is doubtful. This part of the inscription has been confused by the stonemason, who has misplaced some of the words. It is reasonable to infer that Helen, Mary and Isobel Hog (Nos. 8, 9 and 10 above) were all daughters of this couple, in which case some serious disaster must have overtaken the family in 1699. This stone appears to be a palimpsest, as traces of a longer inscription, probably in smaller letters, can be seen below the existing one on a blank part of the surface. On the lower half of the stone there appears a monogram of I H M K above a skull and cross-bones, all in relief. (14) Another recumbent slab (5 ft. 9 in. by 3 ft. 1 in. by 4 in.), of which the lower sinister corner is missing. It is bordered by an uninscribed marginal band, and in the central space there is a blank shield dividing the initials

W K / [?E] H, with the date 1660 below. All these letters and figures are incised, like the shield, and are very large. At the top there appears, in smaller lettering, HEIR LYETH / PATRICK KNOX SON / TO WILLIAM KNOX / YO(U)NGER. This slab almost certainly commemorates the Rev. William Knox whose father, likewise the Rev. William Knox, was nephew to the Reformer, together with his second wife, Elizabeth Hallyburton of Muirhouselaw, and their second son, Patrick.¹ It is true that this conclusion entails the supposition that the date 1660 was that of the wife's death, and not of the husband's, as the Rev. William Knox died in 1623; but on the other hand this W K is unlikely to have been the younger William's son William, as the latter's wife's surname was Rigg and he had no son called Patrick. It is just possible that these people may have belonged to some different branch of the family,² but the correspondence of William and Patrick, as father and son, with the Reformer's relatives is very strong evidence to the contrary. Of the two later Knox memorials noted by Rogers, the table-tomb commemorating William Knox (1783) and Jane Black (1756) still exists but the stone to Agnes Knox (1714) has either disappeared or become illegible.

Various dates to April 1959

North Berwick, St Andrew's Church. 58 NE 553856

The site of this church³ has recently been laid out, under the direction of Dr J. S. Richardson, so as to show the foundations of the vanished structure; and in the former 'St Ninian's Aisle' there have been collected a number of grave-monuments and carved details, some of which are derived from the Cistercian convent of North Berwick.⁴ The following call for mention here.⁵

(1) A small headstone,⁶ probably of the thirteenth century or possibly earlier, which bears on either face a Latin cross defined by incised grooves and charged with a smaller cross, similarly incised (Pl. XV, 2). Limbs and head project slightly beyond the edges of the stone, the upper corners of which are rounded and are finished with roll mouldings, with the result that the upper portion resembles the top of the disk-headed cross numbered 1 at Gullane. The design on the back is less well executed than the one on the front. This stone was found in a pond near the Cistercian convent.⁷ (2) Parts of a coped grave-cover,⁸ of thirteenth-century date, which was once decorated with rows of dog-tooth ornamentation. It may be compared with Nos. 1 to 3 at Oldhamstocks. (3) The lower part of a recumbent slab, formerly in the garden of the Manse⁹ and evidently derived from the convent. The epitaph runs round the margin and its surviving fragment is badly wasted, but in 1907 the words [DOM]INA ISABELLA: [????] Q(UAE) OBIIT appear to have been legible¹⁰ and it is consequently reasonable to infer that the person commemorated

¹ On this family see Rogers, Rev. C., *Genealogical Memoirs of John Knox*, pp. 62 ff.

² On which see *ibid.*, pp. 58 ff.

³ On which see *Inventary*, No. 103.

⁵ I am indebted to Dr J. S. Richardson for much information about the stones on this site.

⁶ *Inventary*, No. 116.

⁷ Richardson, J. T., *A Guide to North Berwick, etc.*, 1911, p. 25.

⁸ *Inventary*, p. 57.

⁹ *ibid.*, No. 113 c, p. 73.

¹⁰ Richardson, *op. cit.*, unnumbered illustration opposite p. 25. See also *Carte Monialium de Northberwic*, Bannatyne Club (1847), pp. xviii f.

was the Prioress Dame Isabella Home, who ceased to hold office at some date between 1544 and 1548.¹ (4) Two articulating fragments of a large recumbent slab, the larger of which bears, in low relief, the head of a knight wearing a pointed helmet and camail and resting on a pillow within a canopied niche. Of the inscription, which is in Gothic characters and runs round the margin, the words ORATE PRO ANIMA [????] DE appear to have been legible in 1907.² The larger fragment was formerly in the Manse garden,³ but the smaller one was found by Dr J. S. Richardson at the Abbey Farm, where also a stone very closely resembling the larger one was noted in 1847⁴; these circumstances suggest that the slab originated at St Andrew's Church, and that it was removed to the farm as building-material when the structure was demolished. It is thus tempting to identify it with the stone recorded by Nisbet⁵ as 'in the aisle of the lairds of Bass' and as commemorating Robert Lauder of Congleton and the Bass, though the fragment of the inscription does not agree with Nisbet's record; Nisbet gives two dates for his monument, MCCCXI and MCCCCXI, and the second of these would suit the armour worn by the figure as it is of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. (5) A fragmentary slab of red sandstone, evidently from an eighteenth-century table-tomb. It bears the initials R W / M O, but nothing significant can be made of the inscription. (6) A Tournai matrix-stone⁶ measuring 6 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 10½ in. A few details are faintly visible.

25th October 1958, 8th March and 7th November 1959

North Berwick, Old Parish Church. 58 NE 553853

Only two monuments in this graveyard, which did not come into use until after 1660,⁷ bear legible dates earlier than 1707, though some of the illegible stones may well be of the seventeenth century. The first (1) is a small headstone, 2 ft. 2 in. high by 1 ft. 3 in. wide; the epitaph is illegible although the date 1682 survives. The greatly debased Classical ornamentation is remarkably similar to that seen on a headstone of 1620 at Langton, Berwickshire,⁸ a very early representative of this series, notwithstanding the difference in their dates. The other (2) is the table-tomb of the Rev. John Blackader, Minister of Troqueer,⁹ who died on the Bass Rock in 1685, aged sixty-three, after five years' imprisonment as a Covenanter. It has solid ends and a single central support on either side; the slab measures 7 ft. 2½ in. by 3 ft. 8½ in., and has moulded edges with projections at the corners and over the lateral supports. The original height was 2 ft. 7 in. The inscription, which contains twenty-three lines of verse,¹⁰ states that the tomb was 'renewed by private subscription' in 1821; it has been recut in the lettering of that period. The western support

¹ *Carte Monialium* (as above), p. xii.

² Richardson, *op. cit.*, unnumbered illustration opposite p. 25.

³ *Inventory*, No. 113 d, p. 73.

⁴ *Carte Monialium* (as above), p. xviii, illustration.

⁵ *A System of Heraldry*, ed. 1816, I, p. 433.

⁷ *Inventory*, p. 57.

⁹ On whom see *Fasti*, II, p. 302.

¹⁰ For the full text see Rogers, Rev. C., *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland* (1871), I, p. 208 f.; Richardson, J. T., *A Guide to North Berwick, etc.* (1911), p. 10.

⁶ *Inventory*, No. 114.

⁸ Illustrated in *P.S.A.S.*, xci (1957-8), Pl. I.

shows a cherub head above an open book, and the eastern one emblems of mortality, all in high relief.

In addition, (3) the small wall-monument, measuring 5 ft. by 2 ft. 9 in., near the north-eastern gateway may be noted for the unusual feature of a heavy, scalloped shelf which projects below the panel.

22nd February, 7th November 1959

Oldhamstocks Parish Church. 77 SW 738707

The most interesting monuments in this graveyard are three coped grave-covers, probably of thirteenth-century date, which lie end-to-end beside the north wall of the watch-house. All are partly earthed up, and all seem to have had their ends squared off. Details are as follows. (1) The westernmost stone is 3 ft. 3 in. long and 8½ in. high, and has a flat top which tapers from 6¾ in. to 5½ in. Its base, now buried, must be more than 1 ft. 3 in. wide. The top is decorated in relief with a double row of saltires in square frames, and the sides with three rows of square imbrications, the arris between top and side being emphasised by a slightly overhanging ledge. (2) The easternmost stone is 5 ft. 6 in. long and more than 10 in. high, and has a flat top which tapers from 8 in. to 4½ in. It is damaged and badly weathered, but the sides bear three rows of large semicircular imbrications, again topped by a slightly overhanging ledge. (3) Of the central stone only two fragments survive, respectively 1 ft. 9 in. and 11 in. long; their height is 9 in. and they have a sharp apical ridge. On the sides three rows of small rounded imbrications show above the turf.

Standing in the graveyard is (4) a small headstone commemorating ROBERT DODS SON TO / GEORGE DODS, who died in 1698 aged three. The word ROBERT has been recut on a sunk portion of the surface. Thrown aside by the south wall is (5) part of a damaged headstone commemorating ISOBEL MI/LLER, who died in 1676. Among other stones piled up along this wall, and now either illegible or inaccessible, there is a slab which has almost certainly formed part of a seventeenth-century table-tomb.

Among later monuments were noted (6) an eighteenth-century table-tomb which, besides possessing a rounded top and slight shoulders, tapers in breadth in the manner of a much earlier period. Another late table-tomb (7), though bevelled, is quite plain, showing none of the rich decoration commonly seen on these monuments. Some of the headstones, though bearing legible eighteenth-century dates, are inscribed in what strongly resembles seventeenth-century lettering. There are also two or three sarcophagi, a type of monument which is not common in East Lothian.

In addition to the memorials, there lies beside the watch-house an interesting architectural relic – the moulded base of a column, 3 ft. in diameter, which might well have originated in a vanished Romanesque church.¹ The heraldic panels set in the east end of the burial-aisle have been described by the R.C.A.M.

9th July, 29th November 1959

¹ A church was presumably in existence here as early as 1127 (*Inventory*, p. 75).

Ormiston, Old Parish Churchyard. 56 NW 411675

Only two monuments older than 1707 were noted in the old graveyard here.

(1) A collapsed table-tomb of the faceted type, with the inscription on its central panel. It commemorates IAN/NET BELSHES SPOUS TO ALEXANDER WIGHT / TENNENT IN ORMESTOUN BYRES, who died in [17]05 aged sixty-eight. The initials I B are cut large below the inscription. The rest of the stone is decorated with scrolls, swags and funerary emblems, and altogether it seems a remarkably ambitious monument for the wife of a tenant-farmer; comparable examples can, however, be cited elsewhere, e.g. at Tranent (No. 30) and Bara (No. 1). (2) A headstone, partly earthed up, with a shaped and decorated top and, on the back, a large skull. It commemorates IOHN REIDD FARMER IN / [place-name illegible], who died in 1689.

Among the later memorials there may be mentioned (3) a good eighteenth-century wall-monument (Williamson) showing the Masonic Arms: A square, charged with a pair of compasses, chevronwise between three castles; also several reredos-monuments of no particular interest.

5th June, 1958

Pencaitland Parish Church. 46 NW 443690

The two panels built into the south wall of the church, which are mentioned by the Ancient Monuments Commissioners,¹ are hardly to be classed as graveyard monuments, but the memorial to Katharine Forbes (1), which is set in the west end of the south aisle but which they do not mention, falls into the general class of wall-monuments and deserves record here. It comprises a Classical assemblage of two Corinthian columns flanking a central inscribed panel, an entablature, and a rounded broken pediment, the whole flanked by scrolls and resting on a console with funerary emblems below it. The frieze is inscribed TO THE MEMORIE OF UM^QLE KA. FORBES DAUGHTER TO M. / IO. FORBES MINISTER TO THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS ADVENTUR/ERS AT DELF AND SPOUS TO M. IO. OSWALD LATE / PREACHER AT THIS KIRK & NOW REMOVED TO A . B . D. The three last letters evidently stand for Aberdeen, whither the Rev. John Oswald was transferred in 1641.² In the pediment a swag of drapery depending from a tent-top divides the initials K F and bears a lozenge charged, for Forbes: A cross formy fitchée between three bears' heads coupéd and muzzled. The central panel is inscribed with these verses:

HAPPIE IN BIRTH, MATCH, COMELY FEATURE
AND EVRIE VERTUE GRACEING NATURE
IN NOTHING CROSS'D BUT BARREN WOMBE:
ALL THAT WAS FLESH RESTS IN THIS TOMBE
OF HER, WHOSE INWARD SPRIGHTLIE GIFTS
THEM MATCH'D, WHOM GRACE TO GLORY LIFTS
THESE LIFE CONJOYN'D DEATH SEPARATE.
EACH HES WHAT EITHER AIMED AT

¹ *Inventory*, p. 84.

² *Fasti*, 1, p. 384.

EARTH WITH RESPECT ITS OWN POSSESSES.
AND HEAV'NE ITS DUE ALL MEN CONFESSES.

DONE BY THE SAD LOVING / HUSBAND, M. IO. OSWALD / ANNO DOM.
1639 (Pl. XIX, 2).

In the graveyard the following memorials were noted.

(2) A small headstone with a rounded and nicked top inscribed HERE LYETH / JOHN [MU]IRHEAD / TAILZOUR SONE / TO IOHN MUIRHEAD / BAXTER AND HUSBAND / TO ISOBEL CATHIE HE / DEPARTED THES LYF / THE 22 OF MAY 1670 AND OF HIS AGE 47. On the other face are carved a tailor's goose and scissors dividing the initials I M / I K. (3) A slab of exceptional size, now standing as a headstone but probably intended to lie flat or to form the top of a table-tomb. Even now it stands to a height of 5 ft. 7 in., although some of its base is underground, and its width is 3 ft. 3 in. Its upper end is rounded, and it has slight shoulders like Nos. 1 and 4 at Aberlady; its edges show two channels, and its back is mainly undressed. At the top it bears an inscription in seventeenth-century capitals of which nothing significant can now be read; below this a secondary inscription, in untidy Roman script of eighteenth-century character, commemorates ROBERT CAIRNS, with a suggestion of children's names following. Below the centre a decorative cartouche bears, in high relief, a shield which is parted per pale; the dexter half is illegible, but the sinister is charged: A chevron between a mullet and a crescent-decrescent in chief and a crescent in base. The crescent-decrescent may really be a damaged annulet. At the bottom are funerary emblems. With this stone may be compared (3A) the top of another very large, massive slab which is in use as a headstone near by. It measures 3 ft. 6 in. in breadth across the shoulders, and is uninscribed. (4) A headstone rather larger than, but otherwise similar to, No. 2, showing traces of an illegible inscription which is evidently of seventeenth-century date. The uninscribed face shows the crowned hammer of the Hammermen. (5) A headstone with a shaped top showing, on its east face, the crowned hammer of the Hammermen dividing the initials [I]B / B T. The west face is inscribed HERE LIETH / IOHN BEL SMITH / WHO DEPARTED / THIS LYF THE 14 OF / APRIL 1662 AND OF HIS / AGE 50 / AND BESSI THOM / HES [S]POUES WHO / DEP[EA]RTED . . . the rest of the epitaph being illegible. The wife's name may have been Thomson rather than Thom, as there is room for more letters short of the edge of the stone, but no traces can be seen today. (6) A large headstone with shoulders and a rounded top, inscribed HEIR LYES / WILLIAM DAUID/SONE MEALLMAKER / IN FOULSTRUTHER WHO / DEPERTED THIS LIFE 17 / OF SEPTEMBER 1707 IN / THE 57 OF HIS AGE / AND ROBERT DAUIDSONE WRIGHT IN WINTOUN / HIS SON WHO DYED 27 / OF MAY 1711[?0] AND OF / AGE 24 THIS DONE / BY IANET PRINGLE SPO/US TO THE SAID / WILLIAM DAUIDSONE. 'Mealmaker' is an obsolete term for miller.¹ (7) A very richly decorated table-tomb, which will bear comparison with the Seton monument at Tranent. Standing 3 ft. high, it has a bevelled top measuring 6 ft. 9 in. by 3 ft. 7 in. and a body which approaches the form of a sarco-

¹ *English Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. Meal.

phagus in that its ends are closed and its sides nearly so, showing two pairs of small arched openings each. As at Tranent, a large decorated medallion (Pl. XVII, 4) is set in the middle of each side, in advance of its face, and between the arches are figures – on the south side a man in a long-skirted coat and breeches, holding a Union flag on a lance, and another similarly clothed but holding a sword diagonally across his body; and on the north a cherub, blowing a trumpet, and a man wearing what seem to be long boots with their tops turned down. The bevel at the west end bears a cartouche charged: Three mullets on a chevron between three lozenges; the east bevel bears funerary emblems and MEMENTO MORI. The primary inscription, which is partly in capitals and partly in Roman script, runs lengthways along the south margin of the flat central space; it reads HERE LYES MR ANDREW KER OF HOLDAN IN TIVIOTDALE / HE DIED DECEMBER 2 DAY 1724 AGED 105. 'Aged 105' has been recut. The west end of the monument bears, below the bevelled slab, a cartouche inscribed HERE LYES BUR[IED] / IOHN ANN[?A] RACHEL [?THE] / CHILDREN PROCREAT BETUIXT / ROBERT REID (NEPHEW TO M ANDREW KER) AND IANET THOMSON / HIS SPOUS.¹

20th and 27th September 1958, 18th April 1959

Prestonkirk Parish Church. 57 NE 592778

Four stones were noted in this graveyard. (1) A headstone commemorating MARGRAT MILL / DAUGHTER TO IAMES / MILLE AND MARGRAT THOMSON, who died in 1685 aged eighteen. Below the epitaph a female figure, with the hair falling loose on the shoulders, appears in relief on a sunk panel with an arched top. The span of the arch is slightly narrower than the rest of the panel, and the whole is defined by a roll-moulding. (2) A large headstone, now considerably earthed up, commemorating ELISEBATH ANDERSON SPOUS / TO ANDREU SM[?ITH], who died in 170[?]. (3) A headstone showing in relief a mill-rind, with traces of an inscription which, though illegible, seems to be in seventeenth-century lettering. (4) An illegible slab, formerly recumbent but now leaning against the graveyard wall, which has a deep, rebated, hollow moulding, 6½ in. wide, running round its margin. With it may be compared Nos. 8 and 10 at Dunbar and No. 5 at Whittingehame, the last dating from 1668.

Also of interest are (5, 6) two cast-iron plates, shaped like and functioning as headstones; they are precisely similar in pattern, and in place of the usual half-shafts or pilasters show human figures which are evidently of Greco-Egyptian inspiration. These figures are not cast solid with the plates but are separate, hollow attachments. The inscriptions, which are incised, indicate that the monuments were set up in, or soon after, 1813 and 1821 respectively, though the later one also bears a secondary epitaph, in another hand, which is dated 1868. Both monuments are now badly rusted (Pl. XX, 4).

The slab now at Smeaton (*infra*) probably originated in this graveyard.

7th December 1958, 22nd November 1959, 16th January 1960

¹ The round brackets in this inscription actually appear on the stone, and are not used to indicate that the words within them have been supplied.

Prestonpans Parish Church 37 SE 388746

(1) The most interesting memorial in this graveyard is the late seventeenth-century wall-monument commemorating George and John Hepburn, which is set in the east boundary-wall. It is probably no longer complete, as it now consists only of a panel framed by Ionic half-shafts, resting on a corbelled shelf, and a cornice and frieze, the pediment required in the normal composition being absent. The upper part of the panel shows a pair of portrait medallions encircled by an inscribed endless riband in figure-of-eight form. The inscription has evidently deteriorated since it was recorded by the late Mr Alan Reid, F.S.A.SCOT., in 1907,¹ and may now be accurately reproduced as follows: GEO[RGE HEP]BURN HI[S] AGE 96 HE DIED FEB 25 1671 IOHN HEPBURN H[IS A]G[E 88] HE DIED IAN [2]4 1690. Nothing significant can be made of the main inscription, which is below the medallions.

The other monuments of earlier date than 1707 are all set either in the walls of the watch-house or in the boundary-wall of the graveyard to the west of it. The following were noted. (2) A very small headstone built into the gable-head of the watch-house, which shows emblems of mortality together with the date 1634 divided by a large skull. At the top, divided by an hour-glass, there are some further traces of inscription, and it was no doubt these that Reid read, in 1907, as 30 OF MAIE.² (3) A small headstone, also set in the watch-house, which is inscribed DECEIST THE 24 OF MAY / 1633, but which lacks name or initials. (4) An even smaller headstone, similarly set, which, though undated, is pretty certainly of the seventeenth century. It bears a shield which divides the initials W N / I G and is parted per pale and charged, in so far as its wasted details can be made out: Dexter, four animals' heads erased; sinister, a saltire, on a chief three mullets. The owner of these arms has not been identified. (5) An illegible and undated headstone which may be of seventeenth-century date, and which is of interest as bearing an anchor, no doubt in commemoration of a seaman. Set on the coping of the graveyard wall is (6) the pediment of what must have been a large wall-monument, no doubt of the late seventeenth century, topped by a massive finial. What may be fragments of the same monument, or of another of the same type and period, are built into the watch-house walls. Below this pediment is (7) a small headstone, probably of the seventeenth century, showing what appear to be a maltster's broom and shovel saltirewise on a shield, and below this the initials G K in incised outline. To the east of the last is (8) the upper part of a large headstone decorated with strapwork, funerary emblems and cherubs whose wings fit tightly under their chins. In the tympanum there is a pair of scales dividing the initials N M.

Some of the later monuments are described and illustrated by Reid,³ but one of them deserves notice here. It is (9) a recumbent slab, perhaps originally the top of a table-tomb, measuring 6 ft. 7 in. by 3 ft. 4 in. Its upper end is divided into two lobes, like the panel of a double-headed niche, and its edges are cavettoed. At the head of each division there is a set of funerary emblems, and at the foot of the slab

¹ Reid (A), p. 27 and fig. 7.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 20, 25 f.; figs. 2, 5, 6.

² *ibid.*, p. 23 and fig. 4.

there is, in the centre, a fowl anchor, on the dexter side a sounding-lead and two pairs of compasses, and on the sinister a sextant, all in relief. The original inscription has been replaced by one of 1828, commemorating a potter; but it is fair to suppose that the stone may date from the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the nautical emblems evidently relate to a seaman, or possibly to two.

22nd October 1959

Prestonpans, West Graveyard. 37 SE 385744

With the exception of Nos. 14 and 15, which lie recumbent in a rectangle of cobbling in the north-west corner of the graveyard, the stones are set in its southern and western boundary-walls – Nos. 1 to 11 in the former and Nos. 12 and 13 in the latter. They are here described in a clockwise order from the south-east. Advantage has been taken of photographs published by the late Mr Alan Reid, F.S.A.SCOT., in 1907,¹ as several of them show details which have now weathered away.

(1) This small headstone is undated, but the lettering suggests that it may be somewhat earlier than 1707.² It bears a sunk panel with a heavily moulded border, and on the panel a scrolled cartouche carved with a shield parted per pale and charged: Dexter, a cross-crosslet fitchée (incised) between three [? wolves'] heads erased (relief); sinister, Erminois, on a fess an animal's head erased between two crescents-increscent. As suggested by Reid³ these arms might represent Robertson impaling Craig, a conclusion supported by the initials I R I C, which are incised above. At the top is an anchor, presumably for a mariner. (2) A small headstone, very possibly of the seventeenth century, bearing the incised initials W M / I M. (3) A small headstone, again undated, but perhaps to be allotted to the seventeenth century on the strength of its lettering. It bears a shield which divides the initials R S / I B and is charged, probably for Seton: A mullet, on a chief three crescents. (4) The fragment set over the Banks panel is now badly weathered, but Reid's illustration⁴ shows what appear to be two children, one of whom lies prone and is probably dead, together with a cherub holding an anchor, and in the background a cross-staff. These emblems suggest some connection with a mariner. (5) This monument, which is probably the upper part of a large headstone as an epitaph begins below the carving, is likely to be of the eighteenth century, but it deserves mention for the Masonic Arms (a chevron, bearing an open pair of compasses, between three towers, windowed and battlemented) that it bears on a heart-shaped cartouche.⁵ (6) A headstone, perhaps of the late seventeenth century, which shows an anchor in its pediment. (7) A small plain headstone with a rounded top, inscribed I D / HEER LYETH / C F / 1647. Of its total height of 2 ft. 6 in. only 1 ft. 8 in. was intended to appear above ground; its breadth is 1 ft. 7 in. (8) Part of a wall-monument⁶ showing a female figure standing in a round-headed niche flanked by Ionic columns, the pediment being elaborately carved with two cherubs support-

¹ Reid (A).

⁴ *ibid.*, fig. 9 on p. 30.

² Illustration *ibid.*, fig. 8 on p. 29.

⁵ Illustration *ibid.*, fig. 10 on p. 31.

³ *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶ Notwithstanding the resemblance to headstones of this and No. 10, evidence appeared during the rebuilding of the boundary-wall which showed that both had been wall-monuments from the outset. I am indebted for this information to Dr J. S. Richardson.

ing a cartouche, scrolls, fruit, etc.¹ The woman wears a kilted outer skirt over a pleated petticoat, which probably indicates a date in the seventeenth rather than in the eighteenth century²; her sleeves come down to below her elbows, and she has ringlets falling to her shoulders. On her right side there stands a small child, and to her left there are emblems of mortality. (9) A fragment of a wall-monument showing a woman with ringlets holding a child under either arm.³ This is precisely paralleled by No. 8 at Aberlady. (10) Part of a wall-monument of the same yellowish sandstone as No. 8 and so like it that both must be products of the same workshop. The woman wears the same costume and ringlets, but in this case has two children on either side of her. Reid's illustration⁴ shows scalloping in the head of the niche, and an anchor on the cartouche in the pediment. (11) A small headstone⁵ with a sunk surface surrounded by a heavy moulding, and in general resembling No. 1 (q.v.). Of its total height of 2 ft. 9 in. probably no more than about 2 ft. 1 in. was intended to be above the ground; its breadth is 1 ft. 6 in. At the bottom there appear the relief initials W L, with an uncarved block intended for the formation of the wife's initials; the lettering would accord with a seventeenth-century date. Above are a mason's square, compasses, boaster and mell, and at the top what appears to be a short, thin bar. (12) The pediment, resting on what was probably the base, of a large wall-monument,⁶ their style suggesting a seventeenth-century date. The pediment contains an interesting representation, in high relief, of a contemporary three-masted ship, with a high poop and a heavy, upward-pointing bowsprit. Two sails are set on the foremast and one each on the other two masts; the lower sail on the mainmast appears to be brailed up. The monument no doubt commemorates a ship's captain. (13) This stone now has the appearance of a panel, but its resemblance to Nos. 1 and 11 is sufficiently close⁷ to suggest that it may have been a small headstone from which the base has been cut away. It now measures 2 ft. 2 in. over its high finial, by 1 ft. 6 in. It bears, in relief, a shield parted per pale and charged: Dexter, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys; sinister, a rose on a saltire. The moulding that surrounds the shield may or may not be intended to represent a tressure flory. The dexter charge suggests Brown, but the sinister one has not been identified. Above the shield are the initials B B M L, and divided by its lower part is the date 1633, read incorrectly by Reid as 1653. (14) The faceted slab of a table-tomb, measuring 6 ft. 9 in. by 3 ft. 5 in. and bearing an epitaph incised longitudinally, in capitals, on its flat central portion. This reads **HERE LYES ROBERT PEDEN SHIPPE[R] IN PRESTONPANS HUS/BAND WAS TO AGNIS BLAI[KIE] WHO DIED THE 15 DAY OF / MARCH 1699 AND OF AGE [? 50] YEARS AND ROBERT PEDE[N] / HIS SON WHO DIED THE 2 YEAR OF HIS AGE.** Beyond the end of the epitaph, and in larger letters, are the initials R P A B / R P, the A having a V-shaped cross-bar. One of the long facets bears a sextant and compasses, and the other a fowl anchor and a sounding lead, all in relief. (15) The

¹ Reid (A), fig. 11 on p. 32.

² I am indebted for this information to Mr Stuart Maxwell, who compares the skirt shown on the Lennox-love sundial, of 1679 (*Inventory*, fig. 82).

⁴ *ibid.*, fig. 13 on p. 34.

⁶ *ibid.*, fig. 16 on p. 38, left of picture.

³ Reid (A), fig. 12 on p. 33.

⁵ *ibid.*, fig. 14 on p. 36.

⁷ See illustration, *ibid.*, centre of picture.

slab, again faceted, of another mariner's table-tomb, measuring 6 ft. 7 in. by 3 ft. 5 in. and generally resembling the last. One lateral facet bears a fowl anchor, a sextant and a sounding-lead, all in relief, together with a pair of compasses faintly incised. An epitaph in small capitals seems to have run across the head of the central space, while some letters of another, carved longitudinally, and traces of a third, scratched among the navigating instruments, can also be seen; but nothing significant can be made out of any one of them.

10th May 1958, 12th March and 26th November 1959

Saltoun. 46 NE 474678

The following stones were noted in the graveyard. (1) A small headstone, with an apical groove cut at the bottom of a shallow notch. It commemorates MARGARET / WADLE, who died in [1]694 aged sixty-three. On the back are funerary emblems. (2) A plain headstone with a rounded top commemorating JAMES IOHNS/TOVN, who died in 1658. On the back appear the initials M F, cut large. (3) A headstone with a truncated triangular top. One face shows the date 1679 cut very large above an inscription which is now illegible; the other, funerary emblems framed by Renaissance decoration. On the rakes of the top are cut the initials A A and M I. (4) The slab of a table-tomb, probably of eighteenth-century date and now in re-use as a headstone. It is of some interest as exemplifying a type of cherub-head which has wings fitting closely under the chin, as noted in several cases at Prestonpans and Tranent (cf. p. 223).

In addition to the tombstones, mention should be made of (5) a wall-monument affixed to the north gable of the church, over the burial-vault. It now consists of a very heavily moulded frame from which a panel, no doubt inscribed or heraldic, and measuring 2 ft. 8 in. square, has evidently disappeared; and above this a triangular pediment with lighter mouldings which terminate in a fleur-de-lys. On the sunk field of the pediment there appears, in relief, S D / 16 R K F B 67, the pairs of initials being in monogram in each case. The initials represent Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun, who matriculated arms in 1672-7,¹ and his wife Dame Katherine Bruce, daughter of Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan.² This use of monograms is peculiar, but may have been suggested by the triangular shape of the field on which they stand, as this is not well suited to what would have been a more normal arrangement of the initials, namely S / R F on the dexter side and D / K B on the sinister.

2nd June 1958, 1st May 1960

Seton Collegiate Church. 47 NW 418751

This church has recently been restored by the Ministry of Works, and some of the graveslabs have been set in the new paving. They are not, strictly speaking, graveyard monuments, in particular No. 4, though this is reported to have been dug up outside the church in 1849³; but a selection of them is recorded here for comparison with similar examples which are to be seen in graveyards elsewhere – whether

¹ Burke, *Landed Gentry*, ed. 1952, s.v. Fletcher of Saltoun.

² Recorded in the Bruce pedigree, Lyon Office.

³ *P.S.A.S.*, xxii (1887-8), p. 181.

these have been there from the outset or have been brought from inside the churches. In the restoration of wasted inscriptions some use has been made of readings given by the late Mr George Seton, F.S.A.SCOT., who recorded them, though not always correctly, in 1851.¹

(1) A slab discovered by the Ministry of Works during the restoration, and now set in the floor of the choir near the east end. Before the loss of its upper end it was probably 5 ft. 7 in. long; its breadth is 2 ft. 9½ in. An incised line defines a blank marginal band 3¾ in. wide, and the enclosed space is occupied by a Calvary cross, the arms of which end in trefoils. All the lines are deep and sharply cut, and a very small cross, resembling a mason's mark, is incised on the blank field to the sinister side of the cross-shaft. (2) Another Calvary cross-slab, lacking its upper sinister corner and set immediately south of No. 1. In size and general appearance it matches No. 1 closely, but differs from it in that the marginal band has been trimmed off the sinister side,² with the result that the cross is now off the central line to the sinister. When intact, the slab was probably about 3 ft. 2 in. in breadth. (3) A fragment, now lying loose, of a slab on which appears the incised outline of a chalice 8¼ in. high. Beside it is incised a narrow band, no doubt part of the marginal band of the slab, which bears some illegible Gothic letters. This fragment may be compared with No. 13 at Tranent. (4) A matrix stone of grey marble which, though found outside the church (*supra*), must be supposed to have originated within it. It measures 7 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 7 in. and has been broken across and repaired. As shown by Seton,³ the brass depicted a figure under a canopy with finials, the whole being surrounded by a band which no doubt bore the epitaph. (5) A slab set in the floor on the south side of the choir, measuring 5 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. It bears a sunk marginal band containing the epitaph in relief capitals; the opening words are lost, but the following can be read from the end of the break on the sinister side and finishing with four transverse lines across the upper portion⁴: STEVART SONE TO CAPTA/NE IAMES / STEVART OF CARDONAL QV[A / ?DE(CEI)]SIT ON / THE 18 OF / FEBRVAR / R 1608 S. The baptismal initial R, which Seton missed, identifies the person commemorated as Robert Stewart of Cardonald, who succeeded his father between 1580 and 1582⁵ and married the daughter of the first Lord Seton.⁶ Below the end of the epitaph appear successively a shield, MEMENTO MORI and a skull and cross-bones; the shield is charged: Quarterly, 1st and 4th, three fleurs-de-lys, for France; 2nd and 3rd, a fess checky, for Stewart; at fess a line of buckles, for Aubigny; over all an inescutcheon charged with a saltire enrailed between four roses, for Lennox. All the decoration is in relief. (6) A very massive slab (7 ft. by 3 ft. 9 in. by 5 in.) now lying loose and broken into four pieces. A marginal epitaph, incised between two grooves, reads: HEIR LYIS DAVID SETONE / VRIGHT BVRGES OF EDINBVRGH SPO[VS] TO [H]E/LEIN

¹ *ibid.*, pp. 176, 181 ff.

² Seton's illustration (fig. 1 on p. 182 of *P.S.A.S.* as cited) shows that this was done before 1851.

³ *ibid.*, fig. 2.

⁴ The general arrangement is shown in Seton's illustration (*ibid.*, fig. 3) though the details are given incorrectly.

⁵ Compare *R.P.C.* (1578-85), p. 319 with *R.M.S.*, 1580-93, No. 454.

⁶ *P.S.A.S.*, as cited, p. 183.

BRAND QVHA DE/CEISIT IN VINTON THE 22 DAY OF IVLIE 1632. Rather above the centre is a relief shield, parted per pale and charged: Dexter, three crescents, for Seton; sinister, three unidentifiable charges¹ on a bend, in chief two mullets. Above the shield is a label inscribed D S H B, and below, in outline, a wright's insignia – compasses, square, and axe, the last very large. (7) Part of another very large slab, lying loose, which now lacks its upper end but is 3 ft. 5 in. wide by 6 in. thick. It bears a wasted shield and part of a marginal epitaph on a sunk band, but of the latter there can only be read ALISONE MORTANE QVA DE/CEI[SIT] IN SETO[N] / ... [M]BER 16[o]4. In 1851 Seton was able to record the shield² as being parted per pale and charged: Dexter, three crescents, for Seton; sinister, three roses or cinquefoils. (8) The upper part of a slab, lying loose, which is 2 ft. 11 in. wide by 5 in. thick. A marginal epitaph in relief in a sunk channel reads HEIR LYIS IOHNE SE/T[ON] ... [T]O MARGA[RET] ... [A]VGVST. ... Near the top is a shield charged, for Seton: Three crescents; it divides the initials I [S]. (9) Two articulating fragments of a slab, lying loose, which is 2 ft. 3 in. wide by 4½ in. thick. Of the epitaph, which is in relief on a sunk marginal band, there can be read HEIR LYIS GEOR/GE LIVISTO[N] ... [QVHA DE]CEISIT T[HE] ... OF [F]EBRVAR 1608. Below is a shield dividing the initials G L and charged: Four mullets, one, two and one. Seton suggests³ that the person commemorated is John Livingstone of Saltcoats, who married an illegitimate daughter of the fourth Lord Seton.

22nd and 24th January 1960

Smeaton House. 57 NE 593784

A fifteenth-century grave-cover⁴ of red sandstone was unearthed, many years ago, during the construction of a new approach to the vanished mansion of Smeaton, and now stands, set in a modern pedestal (Pl. XVI, 2), in an enclosed garden in the policies. The point at which it was found is understood to have been about 160 yds. north-east of the parish church of Prestonkirk and about 50 yds. north-west of the road from East Linton to Tynninghame,⁵ in an area now known locally as 'The Monks' Garden', but it had most probably been taken there from the pre-Reformation church or its immediate vicinity. Its present height above the pedestal is 5 ft. 8 in.; it tapers in breadth from 1 ft. 4 in. at the top to 1 ft. 1 in. at the base and its thickness is 7 in. The main feature of the decoration is a Calvary cross, in relief; the cross-head is floreate and the steps of the mound, of which only the upper two are clear of the pedestal, are rounded, not rectangular. Flanking the dexter side of the shaft is a relief panel bearing, at the upper end, a cross botonny in relief within a sunk roundel; and below this, indicated by incised lines, a sword with a trilobed pommel and quillons turned slightly downwards at their ends. On the sinister side is a pair of shears in relief, and below these another strip of panel, apparently never carved. The margin of the slab is worked with a roll-moulding.

16th January 1960

¹ Seton (op. cit., p. 184) gives 'roses or cinquefoils', and compares the arms of Brand of Baberton; three mascles on a bend, in chief three mullets. His illustration (fig. 5 on p. 185) is not correct in detail.

² *ibid.*, with illustration fig. 6 on p. 185.

³ *ibid.*, p. 181.

⁴ *Inventory*, No. 152.

⁵ Information from Mr David Wilson, East Linton.

Spott Parish Church. 67 NE 674755

This graveyard is poor in stones identifiably older than 1707, but the eighteenth century brings a considerable increase in numbers. Only the following were noted. (1) A headstone with a shaped and grooved top commemorating IOHN IAGSON, who died in 1700 aged fifty-six. On the east face appear the verses:

DEATH IS NOT LOSS
BUT RATHER GAIN
IF WEE BY DIEING
LIFE ATTAIN.

(2) A grave-marker of red sandstone 13 in. high, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick (Pl. XX, 5). It is inscribed IAMES / IACKSON / AGE 42 / 1704. (3) A headstone with a trilobate top, the main inscription of which has weathered away, but which may well date from the seventeenth century. The west face bears a panel, defined by a moulding which follows the general outline of the stone, and within this moulding there is another panel, similarly defined but rectangular, which divides the initials I Y, in high relief. The inner panel contains a relief device resembling two fleurs-de-lys conjoined and vertically opposed.

There are also one or two sarcophagi, a type of monument which is not common in East Lothian.

22nd March 1959

Stenton Parish Church. 67 SW 622743

Only three stones in this churchyard date from before 1707. (1) A recumbent slab, now raised clear of the ground, which measures 5 ft. 11 in. by 2 ft. 11 in. and bears four sets of epitaphs. The first reads HERE LYES IOHN DODS / WHO DIED MARCH THE 21 / DAY 1677 AND OF AGE 70 / YEARS & IEAN COKBURN / HIS SPOUS WHO DIED IUN(E) / THE 6 DAY 1677 & OF AGE 54 / AND THEIR CHILDREN. What are presumably the children's initials follow, A D / W D / W D / G D, separated on each line by a wide blank space so that they form two vertical columns, of four letters each, one on either side of the slab. Next comes the epitaph of IAMES DODS, who died in 1762 aged twenty-five, and of his brothers and sisters HELEN, ALEXANDER, IOHN and ISABEL; followed by that of their parents ISABEL RUSSEL, who died in 1773 aged sixty-two, and IAMES DODS, who died in 1785 aged seventy-eight. This James may have been the grandson of the original John. Finally a nineteenth-century epitaph of PETER DODS has been inserted in the blank space between the columns of seventeenth-century initials, the whole monument illustrating in an interesting way how a family might stick to its burying-place for a matter of two hundred years. (2) A small headstone on which only the date 1666 can now be read. The top is trilobate, and the inscription was borne on a sunk panel with a moulded border. (3) A small headstone (Pl. XX, 2) set against the north wall. It has a low gabled top with lugs. One face bears in relief the initials I W flanking a cherub head, and below these an hour-glass and a tree, the latter with an unidentified object

by its base which may be a carpenter's plane (cf. No. 2 at Bolton). At the bottom are two sets of cross-bones. On the other face is incised the epitaph of IOHN WOOD who died in 1676 aged fifty-four, and below this a longish inscription, probably pious verses, of which nothing significant can now be read. On the sinister rake of the gable there is a character resembling a W, but consisting of three Vs in place of the usual two, and on the dexter one a symbol resembling a heart, both in relief. The tree, and possibly the plane as well, may contain a punning allusion to the name 'Wood'. (4) Another small headstone, with a bilobate top and funerary emblems set in two deeply recessed panels, may also be of the seventeenth century, but whatever inscription its other face may once have borne seems to have been dressed off.

The later memorials include (5) three bevelled and heavily decorated slabs which are probably collapsed table-tombs; one of them bears an eighteenth-century date and the others are illegible. There are also (6) two reredos-monuments of the mid-eighteenth century, of Classical design and with backs which are well built of ashlar masonry. The one illustrated (Pl. XVIII, 2) is 10 ft. 6 in. high to the top of its finial by 5 ft. 3 in. in greatest width. It is dated 1755 and bears the usual decoration of funerary emblems, swags, strapwork, etc., and a large cherub-head at the top of the inscribed panel. In the break of the pediment there is the upper part of a human figure holding a skull.

5th August 1959

Tranent Parish Church. 47 SW 402735

This graveyard contains the most notable collection of memorials to be found in the whole of East Lothian. Some of them have already been described by the late Mr Alan Reid, F.S.A. SCOT.,¹ and by the Ancient Monuments Commissioners,² and matter so published is incorporated here, as necessary, for the sake of completeness. Errors in these earlier accounts, when found, have been corrected without individual comments.

Wall-monuments. (1) The only wall-monument now showing a date earlier than 1707 is the one associated with the Vallange (Vallance) family.³ The date is in the pediment, divided by an heraldic cartouche, and its two dexter figures have weathered away; but it can be restored with complete confidence as [16]92. The monument is set in the south wall of the graveyard, towards its east end, and is flanked by two plain, jamb-like members with slightly out-turned tops. Being 14 ft. 4 in. in height it rises considerably above the wall, which has been raised at that point to support its upper portion; its breadth is 7 ft. 2 in. exclusive of the flanking uprights. It comprises a pedestal, decorated with cherub heads and funerary emblems, from the advanced lateral portions of which rise Ionic columns flanking the central inscribed panel. Capitals, architrave and frieze have weathered badly since Reid's photograph was taken. Cornice and pediment are dentilated and heavily moulded, and through the break in the pediment there rises a richly decorated heraldic achievement – a cartouche framed by cornucopias and topped by helm, mantling and crest, the last now unidentifiable. The cartouche is parted per pale,

¹ Reid (B) and Reid (C).

² *Inventory*, No. 190.

³ Illustration in Reid (B), fig. 9 on p. 126.

but the sinister coat has weathered away; the dexter half is charged: A saltire, ensigned with an unidentifiable charge, between [? four] annulets. The inscribed panel, with its nineteenth-century Vallance epitaphs, is a replacement, and as the water-bougets of the Vallance arms do not appear in the heraldic achievement it is tempting to suppose that this monument originally belonged to some other family, and was taken over by the Vallances after it had become derelict. At either side of the monument there is a scrolled truss, upon which stands a cherub holding a funerary emblem.

Further west on the same wall are (2, 3) two smaller monuments of the same type as No. 1, both of which are now illegible. Reid illustrates both,¹ and records 1718 as the date of the one associated with the Hynd family. Two wall-monuments (4, 5) on the east boundary of the older part of the graveyard are probably also of the eighteenth century; one of these is illustrated by Reid.²

Headstones, etc. Headstones, recumbent slabs and table-tombs are described in a single series, from west to east.

(6) This stone is in the lower portion of the graveyard. It is a recumbent slab measuring 5 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 7 in., which bears in relief a shield flanked by the initials A F / I C and charged, presumably for Ferguson: A lion rampant surmounting a baton.³ A rectangular cavity measuring 12 in. by 10 in. has been hollowed to a depth of 1 in. approximately at the centre of the slab. (7) This headstone leans against the north wall of the church, west of the burial-aisle. The epitaph is now illegible, but is on record as commemorating George Galhuayes and his children John, James, Alexander and Margaret, with the date 1702.⁴ In the pediment above the epitaph there appear four naked children, and the other face bears, among rich decoration of cornucopias, intertwined flame-like bands, and funerary emblems, a man's head and shoulders framed by a wreath and, above, a cartouche inscribed G G / A H. The figure wears bands at the neck and a skull-cap with a decorated border. (8) A small panel with a moulded border, bearing a skull and a single bone in relief on an inscribed background. The epitaph is incised in Roman script, perhaps by an amateur carver to judge by the obscurities in the last line; it reads: **HERE LYES ALEXR STRATH/EARN TAYLER IN TRANENT / AND JANN DUNAM / HIS SPOUS HI DID SEPT 1662 / THE . . . DON BI THE . . . SON.** This panel forms a pair with the next, but it seems unlikely that the two were the end-supports of a table-tomb⁵ as 1662 would be an exceptionally early date for a table-tomb in this region. (9) Another small panel, similar to the last and lying beside it. The design,⁶ which is in relief, shows a woman wearing a short-sleeved dress and having on either side of her three children – all the figures appearing from behind a bed with massive bedposts and a heavy, fringed bedspread. The epitaph, which is incised on the background, reads **HERE LYES MARGRAT JOH/NSTON AND HER CHILDREN.** The similarity of this stone to the last suggests that Margaret Johnston may have been another wife to Alexander Strathearn. (10) A

¹ *ibid.*, figs. 11 and 12 on pp. 128 and 129.

² For illustration see Reid (C), fig. 7 on p. 147

³ Reid (B), p. 152.

⁴ *ibid.*, fig. 13 on p. 131.

⁵ Reid (B), pp. 147 f. and figs. 31 and 32.

⁶ Illustration in Reid (B), fig. 34 on p. 151.

headstone commemorating, in Roman script, MARGARAT STANNERS / SPOUSE WAS TO ADAM PARSONE SHOE/MAKER AND TANNER IN / [place-name illegible]. She died in 1700 aged sixty-seven. Above the inscription there appears the crowned rounding-knife of the Cordiners, and on the back of the stone the initials A P / M S with funerary emblems. (11) This headstone, the epitaph of which is now illegible, was read by Reid as dating from 1708, but deserves mention here both for its artistic quality and also for the figure of a sower, dressed in a long coat, that appears on its west face. Reid attributes it to Alexander Williamson, farmer in Elphinstone, and his two illustrations¹ show it considerably less weathered than it is at present. (12) A perfectly plain recumbent slab measuring 5 ft. 10 in. by 4 ft. The inscription, which is in large capitals apart from the fairly regular use of a Roman U, covers the whole surface right up to the edges. It contains a number of faults, and reads as follows²:

HIC IACET GEORIOU[S]/ BALCANQUALL IN / ARTIBUS MAGISTER / M(AGIST)RI ROBERTI BALCAN/QUALL HUIUS PARO/CHIAE PASTORIS QUI/GILANTISSIMI FILIUS / NATU TERTIUS QUI / DUM IN VIUIS ERAT / VITAE INTEGRITATE / NIORUM PROBITATE / ANIMI(UE) CANDORE / PAUCIS FUIT SECUN/DUS VI(T)AM HANC / TERRENAM ET CAD/UCAM CUM / CAELESTI ET AETER/NA COMM[U]TAUIT / NOV[EMBRIS 8 AN(NO)] / DOM(INI) 1638 AETATIS / SUAE 39. ('Here lies George Balcanquall, M.A., third son of Mr Robert Balcanquall, most vigilant pastor of this parish, who, while he was among the living, was second to few in integrity of life, probity of morals and fervency of mind. He exchanged this earthly and uncertain life for the heavenly and eternal one on 8th November, in the year of our Lord 1638, aged thirty-nine.') George Balcanquall is on record as a preacher but was never minister of Tranent³; the memorial to his father, who died in 1664,⁴ is recorded by Reid⁵ but has now disappeared. (13) A recumbent slab now 7 ft. 4 in. long, though originally longer as the upper edge is missing, and 4 ft. 1 in. wide. The epitaph, which is in relief Gothic characters, is contained in a marginal band; owing to the loss of the top it now begins only at the upper sinister corner, while its end, on the dexter side, has also suffered damage. It may be restored as follows: [HIC IACET DOMIN]US ALEXANDER CRAUFURD QUONDAM UICARIUS [D]E TRANENT QUI OBIIT [?UI]I DIE MENS(IS) D[EC](EM)B(RIS) [AN] . . . ('Here lies Sir Alexander Craufurd, formerly vicar of Tranent, who died on the [?7th] day of December in the year . . .'). After UICARIUS there is a space 8½ in. long which does not seem ever to have been inscribed. The central panel contains a Calvary cross on a stepped base, 4 ft. 10 in. long over all, the arms of which end in trefoils; on its dexter side 'a late form of chalice, 1 ft. 8 in. long, is incised, and on the sinister is a shield bearing within a bordure a fess ermine',⁶ for Craufurd, and in chief a mullet dividing the initials A C.⁷ This may well be the same Alexander Craufurd

¹ Reid (B), figs. 27 and 28 on pp. 144 f.

² Some letters now illegible have been supplied from Reid (C), p. 143.

³ *Fasti*, I, p. 396.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Reid (C), p. 143.

⁶ *Inventory*, p. 114.

⁷ Rubbings of this shield, and of the chalice and at refoil limb-end, are reproduced in Reid (C), fig. 2.

who was a clerk of the Chapel Royal and died before 10th May 1490.¹ (14) A headstone bearing two inscriptions, both of which are now largely illegible. Of the one on the east face only the date 1690 can be read, while the other can be seen to relate to a family of Setons, the earliest date being 1710. The east face also bears a cartouche showing the Masonic achievement: A square, charged with a pair of compasses, chevronwise between three castles.² (15) A small headstone lying loose on a recumbent slab. It has been broken in two and is in much worse preservation than when photographed by Reid in 1910.³ It bears fluted pilasters indicated on the flat, with cornice, frieze and decorated pediment. Of the inscription, which is between the pilasters on the face not figured by Reid, it is possible to read, or to restore from his record, the following epitaph, which is partly in the form of an elegiac couplet:

[FR]VGALI[T]A/TE VALENS FIDVS VAL/LA IV[IT] A[D] / [AST]RA
 QUI[PPE SU]IS / CHA[RU]S OM/NIBVS EQUUS [ER]AT /
 [AE]TATE [VE]RO / 66 [OBIIT A]NNO / 16[79]. ('Strong in frugality, faithful Wallace has gone to the stars. He was dear to his own people and just to all. He died in the year 1679 aged sixty-six.') The use, in the interests of Latin scansion, of 'Valla' for 'Wallace' can be paralleled on Sir John de Graham's tomb at Falkirk.⁴ (16) This is a large and admirably executed headstone, bearing a particularly fine representation of the butcher's axe, cleaver and hooks. It probably dates from the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but its original inscription has been removed to leave a fresh surface for the existing nineteenth-century epitaphs of the Kedglie family. The west face has been well illustrated by Reid,⁵ whose figure shows vine-scrolls taking the place usually filled by pilasters, the trade insignia on a cartouche which extends well up into the pediment, and at the top a lion mask with a protruding tongue and a pair of cornucopias in the mouth. The chain from which hang the butcher's hooks is shown as coming from under the lion's tongue. (17) The table-tomb attributed by Reid to a family of Scotts⁶ has now lost its epitaph and date, but its resemblance to the Seton tomb (*infra*), of 1706, suggests that it may be more or less contemporary. It is 3 ft. 8 in. high and its faceted slab measures 7 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. It is constructed in the same manner as the Seton tomb and, like it, has a large medallion fixed to the central support on either side. The decoration is equally rich, and the same use is made of symbolic cherub-figures in combination with the emblems of mortality. The lion mask with cornucopias on the south medallion may be compared with the one on No. 16. The mark on the skull on the east facet is intended to represent a suture, not a split as supposed by Reid. (18) A plain, shouldered headstone with a rounded top, leaning against the south wall of the church. It bears two epitaphs and, above them, the initials R G and A F. The upper epitaph, which is imperfect, commemorates [Christian name illegible] GILMORE / TAILER, who died in 168[?8], and his wife AGNIS FIFE; the lower

¹ *ibid.*, p. 141.

² The Masonic character of these arms is proved by their occurrence in an unmistakably Masonic context at 36 Silver Row, Falkirk (R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Stirlingshire*, No. 426).

³ Reid (B), fig. 19 on p. 137.

⁵ Reid (B), fig. 26 on p. 143.

⁴ R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Stirlingshire*, p. 152.

⁶ Reid (C), pp. 148 ff. and figs. 8 and 9.

one AGNIS FOWLER SPOUSE / TO ROBERT GILMORE MERCHANT / IN TRANENT, who died in 1689 aged fifty-one. There follows the motto MANET POST FUNERA VIRTUS ('Virtue lives beyond the grave'). The back of the stone cannot be seen at present. (19) A headstone likewise leaning against the church wall, beside No. 18. It is illegible apart from the initials T B I H in the pediment; but it may well date from the later seventeenth century, and it is also worthy of notice because it bears both the Hammermen's insignia, which can be felt on its inaccessible face, and also characteristic cherub-heads with wings fitting closely under their chins. (20) This is a headstone with a four-lobed top, showing somewhat debased Ionic half-shafts and a cherub-head with strongly incurving wings. In the pediment on the west face there is a large thistle dividing the initials W A / [?G] M. The epitaphs, which are on the east face, are badly preserved, but it can be seen that the earliest of them commemorates WILLIAM ALLAN, who died in 1689, and the others eighteenth-century members of the Allan family. In front of this headstone there lies (21) a faceted slab, no doubt originally the top of a table-tomb, associated with the same family¹; nothing significant can now be made of the epitaph, but the initials D A / E L are still quite clear at the head. It may well be contemporary with No. 5 at Aberlady (1712), or even a product of the same workshop, as both show a 'deid-bell' and a shovel in close association. (22) A richly decorated headstone. The west face bears, at the top, the initials I M separated by a mill-rind in a ring; below these a reclining male figure with a book; and below this again an inscribed cartouche in the form of drapery. The inscription, which is in Roman script, is not clear, but it appears to commemorate IOHN / SON TO IOHN MILLER, who died in 1693 aged fifteen. On the east face are the initials I M / I S, with elaborate funerary emblems. (23) A large headstone set in a well-built masonry base, and exemplifying the contemporary style of Classical decoration at its richest and most elaborate.² The epitaph, which is on the west face between Ionic half-shafts, is incised, partly in capitals and partly in Roman script, and is now not fully legible; but it can be seen to commemorate THOMAS WAUGH / GLAZIER IN T[RANENT], and the date of death, which has been recut, is 1705. Within the pediment, which is bordered with heavy spiral scrolls, there appears a hand holding up a lozenge pane of glass, together with an interesting representation of a glazier's insignia – compasses, a square, a blowing-iron with a knob-shaped end, a light hammer and a pontil, the small iron rod used in the handling of molten glass (Pl. XVII, 3). The east face shows emblems of mortality between fluted pilasters, and in the pediment a cartouche inscribed T W and framed by flowing scrolls. (24) A very fine headstone comprising, on either face, a decorated centre-piece between pilasters, a frieze, a cornice and an elaborately carved pediment.³ The pilasters are advanced in their upper parts, the western ones being decorated and the others fluted. The west face shows, at the bottom, the divided date 1635, and higher up a floreated cartouche charged: A [?wolf's] head erased between three

¹ Reid (C), p. 145 and fig. 5.

² Reid (B), fig. 24 on p. 141 (foreground) and fig. 25 on p. 142 (background).

³ Illustrations *ibid.*, figs. 22 and 23. A clearer picture of the west face is given in *P.S.A.S.*, xc1 (1957-8), Pl. I.

mullets; on a chief three crosses.¹ Above this there is a large cherub-head under a niche; on the frieze a motto, evidently intended for SIC VIVE UT SEMPER / VIVAS, has been recut wrongly, with SERPE for SEMPER; at the ends of the frieze are the initials A and S and in the tympanum the same initials in monogram. On the east side there are a large skull and cross-bones, and a raised and moulded panel from which the inscription has weathered away; the frieze is decorated and the initials I C appear in monogram in the tympanum. (25) A recumbent slab of late medieval date, measuring 6 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 1 in. and now cracked across obliquely. It bears a marginal band $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, set 3 in. in from the edges, on which can be seen some illegible traces of lettering; and within this a Calvary cross with pointed limbs and heart-shaped figures between them evidently intended to give the effect of a floreated head.² The mound is sloping, not stepped, and the whole design is 5 ft. long. All the decoration is in incised line. (26) A large headstone set in a masonry base and showing the usual Classical decoration. The east face is divided into two round-topped panels which were originally inscribed, but nothing significant can be read on either apart from the date 1699 on the dexter one. Part of the sinister one seems to have been defaced by chiselling. (27) A headstone notable for the double spirals that border its pediment, for the spiral decoration of the half-shafts that flank its lower portion, and for the butcher's insignia - cleaver, axe and callipers on a chain - that appear within a roundel on its east face. The name OUTERSIDES is still faintly legible in the inscription below this roundel, and the initials I O and E H appear in monogram in the west-facing pediment; but the date 1669, recorded by Reid,³ has disappeared. (28) A small headstone with a rounded and grooved top, the rather rough workmanship of which contrasts with the excellence of most of the Tranent memorials. As shown in Reid's illustration,⁴ it has been cracked across horizontally, and today the upper part is lying prone. Of the epitaph, which is on the west face, there can be read HEIR LYE/TH IOHN SH/EIL TAILYOWER / HWSBAND TO / ALISON IACK/SON IN PAINSTO[N] / WH[O]. The east face bears a tailor's goose and scissors, and the date 1680 below them on the line of the fracture⁵; the motto MEMENTO MORIE is cut on the raised marginal band, and at the bottom some illegible initials are divided by a skull and cross-bones. (29) This is a recumbent slab which has been worn or weathered smooth, and now shows no features except a large bull's head executed in very high relief on a wasted shield. The height of the relief is remarkable, as the head, even in its present wasted condition, stands $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. above the surface of the slab. The monument is probably to a Turnbull, but its date is unknown. (30) With the possible exception of No. 7 at Pencaitland, this is the finest table-tomb in the county (Pl. XIX, 3). Its slab measures 7 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 8 in., and rests on a slab-built body; this in turn is supported by six legs, of which the four corner ones are shaped and the two central ones plain, for the attachment of massive, ornate

¹ Whether of cross-potent or cross-paty form is now uncertain.

² Illustration Reid (B), fig. 33 on p. 150.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 133 f.; figs. 17 and 18 on pp. 135 f.

⁴ *ibid.*, fig. 21.

⁵ The first three figures are clear, and the identification of the fourth is confirmed by a drawing, probably made in the eighteen-sixties, which is preserved in this Society's MS collection, serial no. 44.

medallions. The total height is 3 ft. 9 in. The southern medallion is in place, and shows in high relief a male bust wearing a curled wig and a neckcloth; at the sides are cornucopias. The other medallion has been removed, and is now set over the garden entrance at 205 Church Street; it bears a cartouche, the markings on which cannot now be made out, within a floreated frame. The sides of the body are decorated with figures symbolical of agricultural operations and natural growth, culminating in the eating of bread; all the figures are cherubic apart from one which represents a sower. The ends show funerary emblems, a cherub head and floreated ornament. The facets of the slab are very richly decorated, and cartouches placed on the centres of the southern, western and northern ones bear respectively a reversing monogram, in relief, of the initials W S, traces of [? W S] / A H, incised, and a reversing monogram of A H, also incised. The original epitaph, which was cut in Italic lettering longitudinally on the horizontal portion, is now badly wasted, but the name WILLIAM SETON is still legible; Reid, in 1910, was able to record¹ that it commemorated William Seton, farmer in Seton, and his wife Agnes Hutchison, the date being 1706. (31) A headstone with an elaborately shaped pediment bordered by two pairs of double spirals, and a profusion of cherub heads. All the latter have wings which fit tightly under their chins. The east face bears the insignia of a quaichmaker – compasses, axe and rounded scraper with a central grip – and above them the relief initials D M and M B. The same initials are seen in the west-facing pediment, traced in incised outline. There are two epitaphs, both poorly preserved, the earlier of which commemorates DAVID MATHE[R] / QUAIGHMAKER WHO DIED / THE 22 OF SEPTR 1687 AGED [?6]5 / YEARS AND MARGARET BRON[??] / HIS SPOUSE. Reid read the wife's surname in 1910 as BROUN,² and this may, in fact, be what was originally intended; but if so it has been garbled in the cutting. The second epitaph commemorates IOHN MATHE[R] also a quaichmaker and presumably son to David, who died in 1756 aged seventy-seven. Reid states³ that David Mather was buried at Ormiston Hall, but there is no mention of this in the inscription and no memorial to him can now be found in Ormiston graveyard.

In conclusion, attention may be drawn to several faceted slabs similar to No. 21, evidently the tops of table-tombs which have lost their supports and are now lying prone. None of them is legibly dated, but all no doubt belong to the early eighteenth or very late seventeenth century. Some examples are noted by Reid, with good illustrations.⁴

Various dates in 1958 and 1959

Tynninghame Church 67 NW 619797

The following were noted at Tynninghame Church,⁵ now the private burial-place of the Earls of Haddington. (1) A slab of red sandstone measuring 3 ft. by 1 ft. 9½ in. and 4 in. thick, bearing faint traces, incised in outline, of a cross with fleur-de-lys

¹ Reid (B), p. 124. Illustrations are given *ibid.*, figs. 4 to 8.

² *ibid.*, pp. 132 f. Illustrations figs. 15 and 16 on pp. 133 f.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Reid (C), pp. 143 ff. and figs. 3, 4 and 5.

⁵ Described by R.C.A.M. in *Inventory*, No. 201.

terminals. The proportions of the design suggest that there may originally have been a Calvary mount at the base of the cross, on an area now worn or weathered blank; and in this case the slab would resemble Nos. 1 and 2 at Seton, on a smaller scale. (2) Part of a grave-cover from which both ends are missing, and now 2 ft. 11 in. long by 1 ft. 1 in. wide. It originally bore a 4-in. chamfer on either side, but part of one side has been removed. The surface shows the point and part of the blade of a sword, 1 ft. 9 in. long in all, incised in outline. (3) A grave-cover 4 ft. 11 in. long and tapering from 1 ft. 4 in. to 11½ in. Its surface is heavily chamfered and bears a roll-moulding along the inner edge of the chamfer. Along the centre there is incised in outline a sword, the hilt and quillons of which have wasted away though faint traces of a round pommel can still be seen. (4) A chamfered grave-cover 3 ft. 6 in. long and tapering from 1 ft. 9 in. to 1 ft. 5 in. It bears a much-wasted cross with a floreate head, carved in relief. (5) A fragment, perhaps of an early headstone, 1 ft. 9 in. long by 1 ft. wide, on which there has been scratched in single line a cross 8½ in. long by 5 in. across the arms. (6) A tapering slab 5 ft. 8 in. long by 2 ft. wide at the head; the foot is missing and no decoration survives. (7) A chamfered grave-cover 5 ft. 10 in. long but lacking part of one side. It has been broken across, and shows no decoration.

13th March 1960, 28th January 1962

Whitekirk Parish Church. 58 SE 595815

This graveyard contains no legibly dated tombstone of earlier date than 1707, but an illegible slab (1), once evidently recumbent but now set on its side in the asphalt pathway at the east end of the church, can be judged from the traces of its lettering to be of seventeenth-century date. It is 6 ft. 9 in. long and has a roll-moulded edge.

The following monuments are also of some interest, irrespective of their dates. (2) A table-tomb with a flat top, unbevelled and plain but for its inscription; the edges are moulded and there are rectangular projections over the supports. It commemorates a former minister of the parish, the Rev. William Hamilton, who died in 1712 aged seventy-five, and his wife Isobel Broun, who died in 1710 aged fifty-five. (3) A sarcophagus, resembling a table-tomb but enclosed all round. The top slab is carefully moulded at the edges, and the monument evidently dates from the eighteenth century. (4) Two eighteenth-century reredos-monuments.

21st December 1958, 22nd November 1959

Whittingehame Parish Church. 67 SW 603736

The existing parish-church was not built until 1722,¹ and the graveyard is consequently poor in monuments earlier than 1707. Those which are present must all, presumably, have been brought from the old graveyard (p. 266), as in fact Nos. 3, 4 and 5 are known to have been.² The following were noted. (1) A recumbent

¹ *N.S.A.*, II (Haddington), p. 68. Its present form has resulted from repairs and reconstruction carried out in 1820 and 1876 (*Fasti*, I, p. 425).

² Lang, Rev. M. B., *The Seven Ages of an East Lothian Parish, etc.*, pp. 78 f.

slab of red sandstone, situated south of the church and raised just clear of the turf. It measures 5 ft. by 2 ft. 7 in. and has a marginal roll-and-hollow moulding 5½ in. wide. The upper part of the surface bears an inscription in large capitals **HERE LYES / THOMA[S] HERIOT / WHO DYED / IN OCTOBERE / 18 16[. . .] 6 [. . .] / AND MARGARE/[T ??]KS HIS SP/OWS [? WHO] DYED / [. . .]**. In the fifth line the two final figures of the year of death are illegible, and the isolated 6 probably represents part of the age of the deceased. The smallness of the space occupied by the wife's surname, in the seventh line, shows that this must have been very short – as, for example, **COKS**. The last line, which is illegible, is interrupted in the centre by the top of a sunk panel which occupies the lower part of the slab; on this there appears in relief an hour-glass above a skull, the latter flanked by cross-bones which are set vertically, not saltirewise. This panel is so much like the one on No. 5 that the two memorials may be safely regarded as products of the same workshop. (2) A recumbent slab of red sandstone situated near the south-east corner of the church. It measures 5 ft. by 2 ft. 5 in. and has moulded margins and cavetto-moulded edges. The inscription, which is in capitals, is badly wasted, but it can be seen to commemorate [? IAME]S / FERMER, whose date of death is illegible though his age can be read as fifty-five, and his wife KEA[TH]RIN THOMSO[N], who died in 1693. At the end of the word FERMER appears again, probably recut and not forming part of the original epitaph. (3) A recumbent slab of red sandstone situated, along with Nos. 4, 5 and 6, near the north-west corner of the church. It measures 5 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. and carries a marginal band, formed by two incised lines, and a roll-moulding on the arris, together 6½ in. wide. The upper portion bears an elongated shield dividing the initials **DB / ID**; below appears the date 16[5]1. Letters and figures are badly worn and the shield is blank. (4) A slab similar to No. 3, measuring 5 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. and having a marginal band and moulding 6 in. wide over all. The date 1650 is legible, again near the foot of the slab. (5) A red sandstone slab measuring 5 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 11 in. and having at the margin a rebated roll-and-hollow moulding 5 in. wide and provided with a hole for drainage. The inscription, which is on the upper part of the slab, is badly worn and has also been damaged by chipping along the dexter margin; it can be read as **[HE]RE LYES IAN[?E] / [??]EAR SPOUSE / [T]O IOHN HENDER/[S]ONE WHO DIED / THE 3 OF IAN[?W]/[A]RY 1686 AND OF / HIR AGE 26**. There is space for two or perhaps three letters at the beginning of the surname, which might thus have been, for example, **KINEAR**. The lower part is occupied by a sunk panel shaped to its contents; these are, at the top, a monogram, apparently of **H M**, an hour-glass, and a skull flanked by cross-bones set saltirewise, all in relief. The similarity of this design to No. 1 has already been noted, and the further resemblance of the marginal roll-and-hollow moulding to some found at Dunbar (cf. p. 231) suggests that both this stone and No. 1 may have been carved there. (6) A small headstone with a bilobate top, inscribed in good unweathered capitals **HERE LYES / MARGARET BOYD / SPOUS TO WILLIAM / DIXSON WHO DIED / 1664 & HE DIED / 1683 CHRISTIAN / KELTY 1685**. The other face shows Classical decoration in a greatly debased form.

Besides these earlier memorials there are a number of well-carved headstones of the middle and later eighteenth century and some richly decorated table-tombs. The headstones exemplify Renaissance architectural patterns which do not differ materially from those of the seventeenth century, but the epitaphs are normally in Roman lettering, not capitals. An interesting and unusual stone is (7) a pillar, 3 ft. 6 in. high and 1 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 4 in. in section, with a flat top. Each face bears a sunk panel, those on east and west having rounded heads and cavetto mouldings and the others square heads and ovolo mouldings. An inscription in Roman lettering on the east face commemorates JOHN CALDCLEU/GH FARMER / IN SALLON EAST MAINS, who died in 1751.

4th and 13th June 1959

Whittingehame Castle, Private Burial-ground. 67 SW 602733

This burial-ground lies in the wooded policies about 120 yds. north of Whittingehame Castle, and was used for parish burials until 1800.¹ When it was reorganised as a private family burial-place, and other stones were removed to the cemetery at the parish church (*supra*, p. 264), the recumbent slab commemorating the Rev. John Manuel, minister of Whittingehame from 1602 to 1611,² which had been unearthed in 1910,³ was preserved on the original site of the grave,⁴ though it was raised on supports and so given the form of a table-tomb. It is of red sandstone, measures 5 ft. 9 in. in length, and tapers in breadth from 2 ft. 5 in. to 1 ft. 11 in. The inscription runs clockwise round the margin from the top dexter corner, finishing with two lines which cross the slab below the opening words; it reads HEIR LYES MAS/TER IHONE MANNVEL MINISTER OF W/HITTI[NGH]/AM WHO DYED THE 5 DAY OF OCTOB/ER TH[E] ZEIR / OF G[O]D [1]611. The letters are large, incised capitals, and are well executed, but the basal serifs of the Fs extend forwards in a way which makes these letters resemble Es. The words are divided by diamond-shaped stops. It is interesting to find the tapering form of the grave-cover persisting at this comparatively late date.

13th June 1959

Yester Parish Church, Gifford. 56 NW 538628

This church, which superseded St Bothen's Church, Yester, was not built until 1708.⁵ The graveyard contains no monuments calling for mention apart from those bearing trade insignia (p. 267).

24th August 1958

¹ This appears from a nineteenth-century memorial to the Hays of Limplum and Drummelzier and the Douglasses and Setons of Whittingehame which now stands on the site. ² *Fasti*, 1, p. 426.

³ Lang, Rev. M. B., *The Seven Ages of an East Lothian Parish, etc.*, p. 79.

⁴ Information from Miss Rodger, Whittingehame.

⁵ *Stat. Act.*, 1 (1791), p. 346.

APPENDIX ON TRADE INSIGNIA

The following table shows the insignia of incorporated trades, and other emblems indicative of a deceased person's calling, at all periods down to the nineteenth century. Only a proportion of the stones bearing these insignia and emblems are included in the survey of the graveyards, and in these cases the serial numbers are given here as well as the identifying features. The use of inverted commas in the last column indicates that the trade in question is actually mentioned in the epitaph.

| IDENTIFICATION | EMBLEMS | TRADE |
|-----------------------|--|---------------------------|
| <i>Aberlady</i> | | |
| I B / E P | Crown and hammer | Hammerman |
| — | Hammer and pincers | Smith |
| — | Figures respectively sowing grain and carrying sheaf | Farmer |
| Armstrong; 1780 | ? Wheel | ? |
| <i>Athelstaneford</i> | | |
| G (No. 2); 1699 | Square, compasses, hand holding an axe | Wright |
| — (No. 3) | Figure sowing grain | Farmer |
| <i>Bolton</i> | | |
| Troter (No. 2); 1700 | Square, compasses, plane, mell, ? reel | Wright and mason |
| Wood; 1766 | ? Harrow | ? Farmer |
| R L / H F | Shuttle | Weaver |
| — | ? Wheel | ? |
| <i>Dirleton</i> | | |
| A R (No. 8); 1706 | Square, compasses, hands holding respectively mell and chisel or boaster | Mason |
| <i>Dunbar</i> | | |
| Mackrie (No. 3); 1704 | Axe, cleaver, meat-hooks | 'Flesher' |
| — 176[?] | Crown, hammer, unidentified object | Hammerman |
| — 1757 | Pincers, hammer, horseshoe | Smith |
| Hunter; 1767 | Square, compasses, axe, ? chisel, ? short bar | Wright |
| — | Square, axe, frame-saw | Wright |
| Brown, wife of | | |
| Dickson; 1808 | Square and compasses | 'Wright' |
| McGill; 1807 | Square and compasses | 'Joiner' |
| Coltman; 1837 | Mill-rind, two picks | Miller |
| — 1769 | Crook | ? Shepherd or flockmaster |
| Gray; 1804 | Square and compasses | Mason |
| <i>Gifford</i> | | |
| — (faceted slab) | Ox-yoke | ? Farmer |
| — | Hands holding respectively crook and reversed cleaver | ? Butcher and flockmaster |
| — | Masonic Arms | Mason |
| <i>Gladsmuir</i> | | |
| — (No. 1) | Crown, hammer and pincers | Smith |
| <i>Gullane</i> | | |
| — (No. 9) | Scissors and goose | Tailor |
| — (No. 7) | Square and mell | Mason |
| Law (No. 8); 1761 | Square, compasses, axe, saw | Wright |

| IDENTIFICATION | EMBLEMS | TRADE |
|---|---|------------------------------|
| <i>Haddington, parish church</i> ¹ | | |
| R W (No. 2); 1705 | Crown over hand holding hammer | Hammerman |
| Atchison (No. 15); 1720 | Peels with loaves, rake | 'Baxter' |
| Nicolson (No. 13); 1697, recut 19th c. | ditto | 'Baxter' |
| Galloway; family to 1745, ? of 1852 | ditto | Baker |
| — | Peels with loaves, handle of rake | Baker |
| Watt; 1839 | Sheaf of corn | 'Baker' |
| Herrkis (No. 9); 1707 | Hand holding cleaver, knife, skewer | 'Flesher' |
| — 18th c. | Shuttle | Weaver |
| — 18th c. | Shuttle | Weaver |
| — 1753 | Crook, ? spindle, pair of hands placed as if spinning | ? Flockmaster and spinner |
| Cathrie; 18th c., recut 1862 | Spade, rake, gardener's reel and line, cherubs with spade and rake | Gardener |
| Cowan; 1847 | Trowel, slater's pick-hammer and axe with spike | Slater |
| <i>Humbie</i> | | |
| Dobbi (No. 1); 1679 | Shovel and broom | 'Maltman' |
| — 1717 | Crown and hammer | Hammerman |
| — 1717 | Figure of man sowing grain | Farmer |
| — 1758 | Scissors and an unidentified object, perhaps a smoothing stone | Tailor |
| <i>Innerwick</i> | | |
| — | Shuttle | Weaver |
| — 1756 | Crook | Shepherd |
| <i>Morham</i> | | |
| — | Crown and hammer | Hammerman |
| — | Hand holding mell | Mason |
| — 18th c. | Square and compasses | 'Mason' |
| <i>North Berwick, old parish church</i> | | |
| ? Lawrie; 1709 | Crown and hammer | Hammerman |
| — 174[?] | Peels with loaves, broom | Baker |
| <i>Oldhamstocks</i> | | |
| — 1728 | Square, compasses, axe | 'Wright' |
| <i>Ormiston</i> | | |
| Williamson (No. 3); 18th c. | Masonic Arms | Mason |
| <i>Pencailland</i> | | |
| — (No. 4); 17th c. | Crown and hammer | Hammerman |
| Bel (No. 5); 1662 | Crown and hammer | 'Smith' |
| Broun | Crown and hammer | Hammerman |
| Muirhead (No. 2); 1670 | Scissors and goose | 'Tailzour' |
| — 1752 | Pick, hammer, two wedges, crowbar with chisel end | Quarryman or miner |
| Hercules [? Guiluis]; 1718 | Crown and rounding-knife | Cordiner |
| — | Shuttle | Weaver |
| — | Square, axe, chisel | Wright |

¹ On the Haddington trades, see Forbes Gray, W., and Jamieson, J. H., *A Short History of Haddington* (1944), pp. 23, 107 ff., 113 ff.

| IDENTIFICATION | EMBLEMS | TRADE |
|---|---|---------------------------------|
| <i>Pencaitland (contd.)</i> | | |
| — | Three towers | ? Mason |
| — | Square and compasses | Mason or wright |
| Hog; 1768 (reredos) | Square and compasses | 'Wright' |
| — | Figures respectively sowing grain and carrying a sheaf and two ears of corn | Farmer |
| Pringle; 1742 (wall-monument) | Figures respectively sowing grain and carrying two sheaves | Farmer |
| — | A long-handled spoon | ? |
| — | Figure of a man among trees, perhaps picking fruit | ? Gardener |
| <i>Prestonkirk</i> | | |
| — (No. 3); 17th c. | Mill-rind | Miller |
| <i>Prestonpans</i> | | |
| — (No. 5); ? 17th c. | Anchor | Seaman |
| — (No. 9); secondary epitaph of 1828 | Anchor, compasses, sextant, sounding-lead | Seaman, probably ship's captain |
| G K (No. 7); ? 17th c. | Broom and shovel | Maltster |
| Robertson; 1757 (from record; <i>P.S.A.S.</i> , XLII, p. 25 and fig. 5) | Broom and two shovels | 'Brewer and maltster' |
| <i>Prestonpans, West Graveyard</i> | | |
| I R I C (No. 1) | Anchor | Seaman |
| — (No. 4) | Anchor, ? cross-staff | Seaman |
| — (No. 6); ? 17th c. | Anchor | Seaman |
| — (No. 12); 17th c. | Full-rigged ship | Probably ship's captain |
| Peden (No. 14); 1699 | Sextant, compasses, fowl anchor, sounding-lead | Seaman, probably ship's captain |
| — (No. 15) | Sextant, compasses, fowl anchor, sounding-lead | Seaman, probably ship's captain |
| W L (No. 11); ? 17th c. | Square, compasses, mell, chisel or boaster, ? short bar | Mason |
| <i>Saltoun</i> | | |
| ? Wood, erected by ? Stinnis | Crown, from beneath which hammer has now disappeared | 'Smith' |
| Ferguson | Square and compasses | 'Wright' |
| Brown; 1754 | Two figures of men carrying sheaves | 'Farmer' |
| — | Figure of man sowing grain | Farmer |
| — | Two figures of men, respectively sowing grain and carrying sheaves | Farmer |
| <i>Seton Collegiate Church</i> | | |
| — (No. 3); 15th or 16th c. | Chalice | Priest |
| Seton (No. 5); 1632 | Square, compasses, axe | 'Wright' |
| <i>Smeaton</i> | | |
| — (No. 1); 15th c. | Cross bottonny, sword, shears | |
| <i>Spott</i> | | |
| Nisbet; 1742 | Square, compasses, mell, ? chisel | Mason |
| Watherston; 1755 | Spade, rake | 'Gardiner' |

| IDENTIFICATION | EMBLEMS | TRADE |
|--|--|---------------------------------|
| <i>Stenton</i> | | |
| — | Square and compasses | Mason or wright |
| Wood (No. 3); 17th c. | Tree, carpenter's plane | ? Wright ¹ |
| <i>Tranent</i> | | |
| Crauford (No. 13); ? 15th c. | Chalice | Priest |
| Stanners, wife of Parson (No. 10); 1700 | Crown and rounding-knife | 'Shoemaker and tanner' |
| Williamson (No. 11); 1708 | Figure of man sowing grain | 'Farmer' |
| Seton (No. 30); 1706 | Cherubs in agricultural rôles | 'Farmer' |
| — (No. 14); 1690 | Masonic Arms | Mason |
| Secondary epitaph Kedglie (No. 16) | Axe, cleaver, meat-hooks | Butcher |
| Outersides (No. 27); 1669 | Axe, cleaver, meat-hooks | Butcher |
| — | Peels with loaves, broom | Baker |
| Miller (No. 22); 1693 | Mill-rind, figure with book | ? Miller ² , student |
| Waugh (No. 23); 1705 | Square, compasses, blowing-iron, pontil, hammer, diamond pane | 'Glazier' |
| — | Square, compasses, axe, saw | Wright |
| — | Axe, plane, chisel, ? compasses | Wright |
| Mather (No. 31); 1687 | Compasses, axe, scraper | 'Quaighmaker' |
| Shiel (No. 28); 1680 | Scissors and goose | 'Tailyower' |
| A B / S B | Foul anchor and ? coil of rope | Seaman |
| T B I H (No. 19); ? 17th c. | Crown and hammer | Hammerman |
| <i>Whittingehame</i> | | |
| — 1728 | Shuttle | Weaver |
| Wolfe; 1743 | Scissors and goose | Tailor |
| — | Square and compasses | Mason |
| <i>Yester</i> (see Gifford) | | |

ABBREVIATED TITLES USED IN REFERENCES

| | |
|------------------|--|
| <i>Fasti</i> | Scott, H., <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ</i> (Edinburgh, 1866-71). |
| <i>Inventory</i> | Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (Scotland), <i>Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments in East Lothian</i> (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1924). |
| <i>N.S.A.</i> | <i>The New Statistical Account of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1845). |
| <i>R.M.S.</i> | <i>The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland</i> , H.M. General Register House (Edinburgh, 1882-1914). |
| <i>R.P.C.</i> | <i>The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland</i> , H.M. General Register House (Edinburgh, 1887-1914). |
| Reid (A) | Reid, A., 'The Churchyards of Prestonpans', in <i>P.S.A.S.</i> , XLII (1907-8), pp. 28 ff. |
| Reid (B) | Reid, A., 'Tranent Churchyard', in <i>P.S.A.S.</i> , XLV (1910-11), pp. 117 ff. |

¹ In this case the emblems may not indicate a trade, but represent a pun on the name 'Wood'.

² In this case the emblem may not indicate a trade, but represent a pun on the name 'Miller'.

Reid (C).

Reid, A., 'Recent Discoveries in Tranent Churchyard', in
P.S.A.S., XLVI (1911-12), pp. 139 ff.

Stat. Acct.

The Statistical Account of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1791-9).

Surnames

Black, G. F., *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946).



1. Gullane, No. 1. Disk-headed cross, probably of the twelfth century



2. North Berwick, St Andrew's, No. 1. Small headstone, of the twelfth or thirteenth century.



3. Gullane, No. 2. Calvary cross-slab, perhaps of the twelfth century, altered and re-used in the seventeenth



4. Dunbar, Nos. 11 and 12. Calvary cross-slab re-used as two headstones



1. Gullane, No. 11. Head of grave-slab of fourteenth or fifteenth century



2. Smeaton, No. 1. Calvary cross-slab of fifteenth century re-set in upright position



3. Haddington, Parish Church, Nos. 1 and 2. Headstones with apical notches, No. 2 showing Hammermen's insignia; 1670, 1705



4. Aberlady, No. 4. Hand holding the 'deid-bell'; early eighteenth century



2. Bolton, No. 2. Female figure with skull and bone; about 1700



4. Pencaitland, No. 7. Detail of Ker table-tomb; 1724



1. Bolton, No. 2. Male figure with insignia of mason and wright; about 1700



3. Tranent, No. 23. Glass-maker's insignia; 1705



1. Dunbar, No. 13. Wall-monument of the Earl of Dalhousie; probably of 1682.



2. Stenton, No. 6. Reredos-monument; 1755



3. Dunbar, No. 14. Inscriptions on the Purves wall-monument; seventeenth century



1. North Berwick, Old Parish Church, p. 268 Bakers' insignia;
1740-50



2. Pencaitland, No. 1. Forbes panel; 1639



3. Tranent, No. 30. Seton table-tomb, south side; 1706



1. Haddington, Parish Church, No. 6. Pillar-monument; 1687



2. Stenton, No. 3. Headstone showing tree, hour-glass and carpenter's plane



3. Athelstaneford, p. 226. Ironwork on the burial-enclosure of the Rev. Robert Blair; 1746



4. Prestonkirk, No. 5. Cast-iron memorial; 1813



5. Spott, No. 2. Grave-marker; 1704