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The parish clerk and song school of Inverness, 1538–9

On 14 January 1539 the provost (also known as alderman), bailies and community of Inverness presented James or Jacob Affleck (Achlek) to the office of parish clerk.¹ Unusually the presentation listed a number of conditions that they wished the bishop of Moray to impose. Affleck

shall be required to make continual and personal residence at the said burgh of Inverness and shall be bound to be present at divine services with the rest of the chaplains in decent habit, and to direct (*regere*) the school and instruct and teach the chaplains and scholars coming to it, not only in singing but in organ-playing (*ludo organico*), and to look after (*gubernare*), maintain and repair the clock.²

If he was absent for more than nine days without special leave, they wished him to be deemed to have vacated the office and that they might present someone else.

Affleck's presentation was first noted by John Durkan as evidence for a pre-Reformation song school,³ and later by Denis McKay in his study of parish clerks.⁴ Its provisions can now be amplified by the terms of a bond to his 'masters', signed by Affleck a month earlier on 9 December 1538,⁵ printed here for the first time. Though Affleck's presentation was one of a number of Inverness documents transcribed by General George Hutton around 1815, he appears to have been unaware of the bond. Seemingly it also escaped the notice of Charles Fraser-Mackintosh (1828–1901), historian of the burgh, whose collection of documents and transcripts is held by the National Archives of Scotland (GD128). While of value for local history, the bond is of wider significance for the light it throws on the duties of parish clerks and on music and musical education in pre-Reformation Scotland.

Affleck agreed to be bound in the 'strictest style and form of obligation that can be devised or made'. Not only did he sign the bond,

¹ For methods of appointing parish clerks see D. McKay, 'The election of parish clerks in medieval Scotland', *IR* 18 (1967), 25-35.

² Transcript in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland [NLS], Hutton Collections, Shires, Adv. MS 29.4.2 xi (Inverness), fo.103, author's translation of original Latin.

³ J. Durkan, 'Education in the century of the reformation', in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513–1625*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962), 145-68, at 149.

⁴ D. McKay, 'The duties of the medieval parish clerk', *IR* 19 (1968), 32-9, at 35.

⁵ Affleck's bond gives his first name as Jacob; the presentation uses the Latin form *Jacobus*, normally standing for James. I came across the bond while carrying out a survey of the older Inverness burgh records in 1995–6.

but he also swore on the Gospels to observe it, consented to be 'acted' in the consistory court books of Inverness and Moray under pain of 'cursing' and other church censures, and agreed to the bond's registration by the commissary of Inverness. Two notaries attested his signature and oath. Why were the burgh authorities so anxious to ensure his compliance? The answer may lie in his agreement not to neglect the clerkship for 'any manner of other office' and that he should forfeit it if absent without leave. Here the presentation was a little less stringent than the bond, extending the period of absence from six to nine days. Both conditions may point to dissatisfaction with his immediate predecessor, sir Magnus Vaus, who had been commissary of the deanery of Inverness since before April 1522, as well as vicar successively of Dalcross and Abertarff.⁶ He had also held the chaplaincy of St Peter's altar since at least August 1523 and had only demitted the parish clerkship after his presentation to St Catherine's altar in 1536.⁷ Although the consistory court actually sat within St Mary's kirk,⁸ there can be little doubt that Vaus's duties as commissary, chaplain and vicar would have left less time for those as parish clerk. Absence of the designation 'sir' indicates that Affleck was not a priest, though the clerkship would require him to be in minor orders. His surname suggests membership of a prominent local family, one of whom had been alderman in 1504, while another was currently one of the bailies.⁹

The bond also cut down on the clerk's perquisites. His only remuneration from the burgh was for looking after the clock; he was not to take any payment for ringing the bells and he was to serve in the parish kirk at his own expense. On the other hand he was entitled to the 'fruits' of the clerkship, which would have been quite substantial. Like other parish clerks he could claim 'clerk meal', a measure of milled grain, usually oats or barley.¹⁰ In 1503 the official of Moray had found the then clerk, Thomas Foulis, entitled to a firloft of grain or victual annually from every burgess cultivating land and that their cottars should 'satisfy yearly to the foresaid clerk for themselves as the custom is'.¹¹

⁶ *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, ed. D. E. R. Watt and A. L. Murray, rev. edn, Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 2003), 321.

⁷ C. Fraser-Mackintosh, *Invernessiana* (Inverness, 1875), 201, 209-10; NLS, Adv. MS 29.4.2 xi, fo.99.

⁸ NLS, Adv. MS 29.4.2 xi, fo.90.

⁹ John Auchlek, alderman, 20 July 1504 (NLS, Adv. MS 29.4.2 xi, fo.86); Andrew Auchlek, bailie, 28 June 1538 (*ibid.*, fo.102); another John Auchlek had been chaplain of St Catherine's altar, 1504-36 (*ibid.*, fos 86, 99).

¹⁰ D. McKay, 'Parish life in Scotland', in McRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, 85-115, at 94-5.

¹¹ Fraser-Mackintosh, *Invernessiana*, 183.

Though functions common to most parish clerks were not specified,¹² Affleck's other duties were carefully prescribed. They can be dealt with under four heads: the clock and organ, the bells, attendance at services and the song school. He was to maintain the clock and organ in the state in which they were handed over to him. Any faults that developed were to be put right within forty days at his own expense. He was to receive four merks (£2 13s 4d) a year from the common purse for looking after the clock but meet any costs himself. Though his presentation required him to teach the organ, he probably did not play during services, because he had to sing in the choir. Similarly though responsible for ringing the bells, he could employ a servant as bell-ringer, subject to his being 'thought pleasing and able'. The 'great bells' were to be rung for matins, mass and evensong on feast days and also for 'diriges' (office for the dead), soul masses and 'mindings' (peals rung to commemorate deceased persons) and for masses on normal weekdays. The 'bells silver' was not to go to Affleck, but to the kirk's master of work to be used as the alderman and bailies thought fit.

Scottish parish clerks had an important role in church services.¹³ In August 1523 the bishop of Moray had laid down the duties to be performed by the Inverness clergy.¹⁴ The vicar (if resident) or curate was to chant high mass at the high altar on Sundays, festivals, rogations and other solemn days and also at vespers on those days, Saturdays and vigils of saints' days. The clerk was to be similarly engaged in those offices, vespers and holy processions and was to perform the other duties of his office according to the praiseworthy customs of the said church. Chaplains were to occupy their stalls in the choir, 'clothed with surplices and an honest befitting dress' on Sundays, festivals and their vigils, and at vespers and high mass, taking turns to act as subchanter. The six chaplains serving the altars of the Holy Cross, Blessed Virgin Mary, St Peter, St John, St Catherine and St Michael seem to have functioned as a corporate body, with one of their number acting as 'collector of the choir'.¹⁵ Though unlike his predecessor Affleck was not himself a chaplain, his bond obliged him to 'continual residence at all service pertaining to the clerkship' and not fail to attend the Holy Blood mass on Thursdays with the other chaplains. He was also to sing daily mass and evensong when less than four chaplains were present.

¹² For these see McKay, 'Duties of parish clerk', *passim*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 35-7.

¹⁴ Fraser-Mackintosh, *Invernessiana*, 201-3; *idem*, 'The chantry altars and chaplains of St Mary's, Inverness', *Transactions of Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society* 8 (1893), 49-60; also printed in *Transactions of Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club* 4 (1888-95), 254-6. Fraser-Mackintosh gave the same paper to both societies in 1893.

¹⁵ Fraser-Mackintosh, *Invernessiana*, 214, 225; NLS, Adv. MS 29.4.2 xi, fo.104.

In general he was to do his ‘utter diligent cure and labour and solicit the chaplains in so far as I may goodly for mass and evensong’ and do his part for daily mass and evensong at his own expense.

It may be significant that the song school, which Affleck was to ‘ken and continue’, appears first among the duties listed in his bond. As noted earlier his presentation required him to teach the chaplains and scholars in singing and organ-playing. The bond refers only to ‘leryng and kenning the barnis’, specifying the fees to be charged for them, which may indicate that he was to instruct the chaplains free of charge. The annual fee for teaching plain singing and pricked singing (from written music) was four shillings, for descant ten shillings, and for ‘cuntering, playng and faburdon’ twenty shillings. ‘Cuntering’ (countering) is counterpoint; ‘faburdon’ is faburden or fauxbourdon, improvised polyphony.¹⁶ These musical skills are similar to those taught in English song schools, and no doubt, as in England, focused on performance of the liturgy.¹⁷ ‘Playng’ refers to the organ, where he was judged not ready to take up his duties immediately. Instead he was to study and ‘exercise myself in playing’ at Elgin under sir Walter Futhe or James Spens till Beltane next (3 May 1539) and beyond until he was ‘qualified and sufficient in playing at the first sight’, probably meaning able to sight-read any piece of music. Nothing is known of Spens, but Futhe can be identified with Walter Futhe or Feithty who was engaged by Aberdeen town council in 1521 as a singer at St Nicholas Kirk ‘and to play on their organs small or great’.¹⁸ He may have been related to John Fethy, appointed to take charge of the organ and song school there in 1544, who is credited with having introduced ‘the curious new fingering and playing on organs’ when he returned to Scotland from the continent around 1530.¹⁹ Pending completion of his training Affleck agreed that the alderman, bailies and council should dispose of the fruits of the office as advised by Magnus Vaus. Affleck was to receive half, the other half used to maintain service in the kirk.

An endorsement on the bond shows that it was one of several granted by Inverness chaplains. Both those that survive in the burgh records are signed by sir John Vaus. The first, on his presentation to St Michael’s altar in 1529, will be mentioned later; the second, when he succeeded Magnus Vaus at St Catherine’s altar in 1544, obliged him to

¹⁶ *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2001), viii, 497-502, under ‘Faburden’.

¹⁷ J. Flynn, ‘The education of choristers in England during the sixteenth century’, in *English Choral Practice 1400-1600*, ed. J. Morehen (Oxford, 1995), 180-90.

¹⁸ *Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis*, ed. J. Cooper, 2 vols, New Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1892), ii, 354, 355.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 367-8; D. J. Ross, *Musick Fyne* (Edinburgh, 1993), 100; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004), xix, 454.

be ‘ebdomidar’ every Thursday to the singing of mass and evensong in the choir.²⁰ For a comparable bond by a parish clerk one must look to Dundee, where, on 27 September 1543, Richard Barclay agreed to ‘underly the correction’ of the provost and council if he failed to carry out his duties.²¹ These included coming ‘in ganand clerkly habit to all and syndry cannone houris’ in the parish kirk, and playing the organs at matins, evensongs and masses ‘as was wont to be done’. Unlike Affleck he was not responsible for the song school.

The requirement that Affleck should study at Elgin suggests that the cathedral was the north’s ‘centre of excellence’ for church music. Its 1488 statutes required the precentor to provide a song school within ‘the college of the said church’ and to appoint a qualified person to take charge of it and instruct the young persons and others coming there.²² Inverness’s own musical tradition is evident in 1529 when John Vaus, newly appointed chaplain of St Michael’s altar, agreed to study ‘plane singene and prickit singene’ until the ‘breder of the kirk’ (his fellow chaplains) judged him ‘sufficient and idonius (qualified) to fulfil the said serves of haly kirk’.²³ Although numerous song schools are known throughout Scotland,²⁴ Inverness is one of the few providing details of what was taught.²⁵ The chaplain appointed to the song school of Linlithgow in 1543 was simply to ‘ken and leir’ the bairns ‘as other sang schullis uses’.²⁶

Affleck’s bond shows that polyphony was being taught at Inverness in 1538–9, if not earlier. This may throw some light on the ‘Inverness fragments’, pieces of sixteenth-century church music found in the binding of a volume formerly at Fort Augustus abbey and now in the National Library of Scotland.²⁷ Their link with Inverness is provided by a document of 1553, also found in the binding along with

²⁰ Highland Council Archive, Inverness, BI, 28 November 1529 and 31 March 1544. Hebdomarians took turns to preside at mass and divine office, in this case once a week.

²¹ Printed in McKay, ‘Duties of parish clerk’, 39, original in Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, Henderson Collection, GD76/158.

²² *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis*, [ed. C. Innes], Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1837), 263.

²³ Highland Council Archive, BI, 28 November 1529.

²⁴ Details of some burgh song schools will be found in J. Grant, *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland* (London and Glasgow, 1876), 63–8. For all known song schools see Gordon Munro’s thesis ‘Scottish Church Music and Musicians, 1500–1700’ (Ph.D., University of Glasgow, 1999).

²⁵ J. Durkan, ‘Early song schools in Scotland’, in *Notis musycall. Essays in Honour of Kenneth Elliott*, ed. G. Munro *et al.*, Musica Scotica Trust (Glasgow, 2005), 125–32.

²⁶ Durkan, ‘Education in the century of the Reformation’, 167.

²⁷ NLS, Department of Manuscripts, Acc. 11218/6; S. Allenson, ‘The Inverness fragments. Music for a pre-Reformation church and song-school’, *Music and Letters* 70 (1989), 1–45. Two of the processional psalms from the fragments have been recorded by James Ross and Musick Fyne on their CD *A Scottish Mass of 1546* (Cmf 004).

portions of a printed Latin grammar with MS marginalia perhaps by a schoolmaster. It has been suggested that their source is a Scottish parish church, probably Inverness, and its associated song school, and that some of the music may have been intended for instruction of choristers in faburden techniques.²⁸ They include settings for processional psalms for Easter Day in three and four part faburden or fauxbourdon, which seems to have continued in use at Inverness later than elsewhere.²⁹ If the suggested dating to the second quarter or beginning of the third quarter of the sixteenth century is correct,³⁰ it is possible that Affleck could have used them in his choral or teaching duties.

Affleck was still parish clerk in 1542, which is not only the last reference to him but also to the office that he held.³¹ Parish clerks were relieved of their duties at the Reformation.³² Though there are no further references to the song school, it may be assumed that church services continued as before at Inverness up to 1560. With no thought of approaching change, the council augmented the stipend of one of the chaplains as late as April 1557.³³ The Reformation left them in possession of their chaplainries but barred from carrying out their former duties. Here as elsewhere it resulted in the purging of Catholic forms of worship, including ornate music and the use of organs.³⁴ At Elgin the three 'childer sangstaris in the quier' continued to receive their stipends, but the salary of the master of the song school appears to have been diverted to the master of the grammar school.³⁵ Most song schools did not survive the Reformation. The abandonment of ornate choral music meant that there was no need for choirs and still less for song schools in which to train their choristers.³⁶ This, no doubt, was

²⁸ Allenson, 'Inverness fragments, 12-18; Isobel Woods Preece 'Music and worship in sixteenth-century Scotland', in *Our Awin Scottis Use. Music in the Scottish Church up to 1603*, ed. S. Harper (Universities of Aberdeen and Glasgow, 2000), 75-98.

²⁹ Allenson, 'Inverness Fragments', 11; Ross, *Musick Fyne*, 44.

³⁰ Allenson, 'Inverness Fragments', 18.

³¹ Fraser-Mackintosh, 'Chantry altars', 58; *Invernessiana*, 24.

³² A grant of property formerly attached to a parish clerkship in 1578 states that it belonged to the crown *ratione exonerationis omnium clericorum parochialium infra regnum Scotie in plano Parlamento: Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland [RSS]*, vol. vii, ed. G. Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1966), no.1701. Donaldson (*ibid.*, p. xvi, n.5) comments that there is no extant record of this enactment. McKay, 'Election of parish clerks', 35, gives the MS reference wrongly as RSS, xiv instead of xlv (now National Archives of Scotland, PS1/45).

³³ I. B. Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1998), 157.

³⁴ G. J. Munro, 'The Scottish Reformation and its consequences' in *Our Awin Scottis Use*, 273-302.

³⁵ A. L. Murray 'The revenues of the Bishopric of Moray in 1538', *IR* 19 (1967), 40-56, at 48.

³⁶ Munro, 'The Scottish Reformation and its consequences', 291.

why the ‘Inverness fragments’ came to be discarded as waste paper and survived through being re-used by a bookbinder.³⁷

Bond by the parish clerk of Inverness, 1538.

Highland Council Archive, Inverness burgh records (BI), 8 December 1538.

Contractions have been extended and punctuation and capitals rationalised. The consonant *yogh* has been rendered as *y*.

Be it mayd kend tyl al men be thir present letteris me Jacob Auchalek parroche clerk of Innernes to be fayhtfulle bundin obleist and sworn be the fayht and treuth in my bode leile and trewlie bindis and oblesis me in the stractest styll and forme of oblegatioun that can be deuysit or maid to recht honorebil men and my masteris aldyrman baylyeis and communitie of Innernes quhatsumeuir, that for samekyll as thai haf chosin me thair parroche clerk of Innernes and gyffin me thair presentatioun on the sammin, for the quhyllk I the sadis Jacob Auchalek bindis and oblesis me be the tennor of thir presentis to ken and conteneue ane sang scoull wythin the brucht of Innernes and sal vse and exersis the sammin for the lering and kennyng of barnis and sal tak for ewere barne for the lering of plane singin and prikkit singin be yere bot fowr s for descand ten s for cuntering and playng and faburdoun xx s yerle and als sal wphald the knok and organis als sufficient as I ressaue thame. And gyf thair be one³⁸ falt that happynnis to the knok or organis eftyr my entres wyth the sammin quhayrthrow thay be nocht haldin als suffecient as I ressaue thame I bind and oblesis me to mak the sammin sufficient wythin forte dayis nixt eftyr I be requirit thair wyth be my masteris aldyrman and baylyeis on my awin expens the nechtboris gyffand me yerlie of thair commond purs for wphald and keping of the knok iiij mark arlanerle and I sal find all thingis necessare for wphald of the sammin knok. And I sall nocht tak na servand to serve the kyrk and ringing of bellis bot he that sal be thocht plesand and abyll thairfor be the sycht of the saidis aldyrman and baylyeis and cheplantis of the queir. And I sal nocht leif the sammin office of clerkschip on contowneuit and exerset for ony maner of odyr office and als I the said James Auchalek sal mak dayle and contenuell residens at al service pertening the said clerkschip and sal nocht faill the hale blud mes on the thurisdays to be sungin wyth the laif of the cheplandis and sal nocht faill al odyr seruice to be sungin as hes bein wsit in tymes bygane with the hail cheplantis or wyth ane part of thame to the nummyr of fower or fyf personis at³⁹ al festual tymes and odyr tymes as hes bein wsit in the said kyrk in tymes bygane and als bindis and oblesis me to syng dale mes and ewinsang quhen and quhat tyme the gryttest part of the cheplandis ma be gudlye restrikyt to the sammin to the nummir of fower personis wyth me. And I sal nocht pas fra the sammin service of the clerkschip

³⁷ The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Mr Robert Steward, formerly Archivist, Highland Council Archives, and to thank Dr John W. Purser, Dr Jamie Reid Baxter and Dr Gordon J. Munro for their very helpful comments on drafts of this paper.

³⁸ ‘ony’.

³⁹ Altered from ‘and’.

lyk as my predicessuris hes dwyn in tymes bygane wythout lecons of my masteris aldyrman and bayleis quhilk and I do and ws my absens at syndre tymes wyth out lecons as sadis⁴⁰ and remane fra the service the space of sex dayis togiddy or wdyr wyis wythout lecons it sal be lesun to my sadis masteris aldyrman bayleis and communete to dispone on the sammin be thair presentatioun to quhom thame lykis and will do the service. And I sal do my wtyr delegent cur and labor and solyst the cheplandis in sa far as I ma gudlye for dayle mes and ewinsang and sal do my part thair of on my awin expens and profetis wyth the laif of the cheplandis. And inlykwys I discharge me of the bellis siluyr quhyllkis my predecessoris hes bein in ws of for ringing of the gret bellis and casualeteis thair of to be wptakin be the mastyr werk of the kirk and disponeit on the kyrk weill as the aldyrman and bayleis thinkis expedient for the gud of the kyrk. And I sal neuirtheles ger ring the gret bellis to metengis mes and ewinsang at festual tymes as hes bein wsit in tyme bygane and al wdyr tymes necessare that is to say deregeis saulmessis menyngis⁴¹ and messis wsit on ferial days in the said kyrk. And I sal remane my self at the scowll and exerce my self in playing with schir Waltyr Futhe or Jame Spens in Elgin to beltan nixt and immediat following and fordyr ay and quhil I be qualefeit and sufficient in playing at the fryst schecht.⁴² And for this yeris frutis of the said clerkship of Innernes fra beltan last to beltan nixt to cum widelicet in anno trigesimo nono I obleis me to stand content the sammin be disponit be the aldyrman bayleis and commond cunsell wyth the awyce of schir Magnis Waus commissare of Innernes for the tyme ane part thair of to be gyffin for the service dwyn in tymes bygain in the said kyrk and to be dwyn to beltan nixt to cum and the wdyr part to be gyffyn to me as the aldyrman bayleiss and commond cunsell with the awys of the said schir Magnis.⁴³ And for the faythfull observing and keping of al and sindre thir premissis I haf maid my ayht of fidelite the haly ewangelest tuchit and hes subscriyvit this my present obligatioun wyth my awin hand togyddyr wyth the subscriptionis of schir Jhone Scot and Robert Waus notaris publekis. And for the mair securete grantis me to be ackit in the constre⁴⁴ bukis of Innernes and Murray andyr the panis of cursyng and al odyr censure of halekyrk for the faythfull observing and keping of al pointis and artculus contenit in this present obligatioun and the sammin to be registrat in the commissare bukis of Innernis. Wretin at Innernis and subscriyvit wyth my hand the ix day of December in the yere of god j thowsand fyf hundre thretty aucht yeris befor thir witnes recht honorabil men Allexander Baylye constabil of Innernis Jhone Cuhtberd of the auld Castelhil William Patyrsoun aldyrman of Innernis William Cuhtberd Thomas Waus George Stradachin and Petyr Wynstyr wyth oderis dywers.

⁴⁰ 'said is', written as one word with the last two letters contracted 'sadis'.

⁴¹ 'Mindings', a peal of bells rung to commemorate a departed soul (*Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*).

⁴² 'At first sight'. I am indebted to the late Fr Mark Dilworth for suggesting this reading.

⁴³ One or more words appear to be omitted.

⁴⁴ Consistory court.

Ita est Jacobus Achlek clericus parochialis de Innernes manu propria.⁴⁵

Ad hoc Johannes Scot presbyter Morauiensis diocesis sacra auctoritate apostolica notarius publicus in verificatione premissorum omnium et singulorum contentorum per prefatas partes cum instanciam requisitus tactis super hiis sacrosanctis Ewangeliis per dictum Jacobum Auchlek corporaliter ad profitandum observandum et perimplendum per eum personaliter omnia et singula superscripta in omnibus suis punctis et articulis et formam dicte contractus sub penis in eodem contentis et promisit de non reuocatione teste mea subscripcione manuali apud Innernes viij^o Decembris anno quingentesimo xxxviiij^o.

Ita est Johannes Scot notarius publicus teste manu propria.⁴⁶

Ad hac omnia et singula premissa personaliter interfui et sic ut premittur facta vidi sciui et audiui teste manu propria una cum subscripcione antedicti domini notarii loco die mense et anno quibus supra.

Ita est Robertus Waus notarius publicus teste manu propria.⁴⁷

[Endorsed] The chaplandis bandis for dayle residens & service.

ATHOL MURRAY WAS KEEPER OF THE RECORDS OF SCOTLAND, 1985–1990.

⁴⁵ This is in Affleck's own handwriting, which differs from that of the rest of the document, presumably written by the town clerk.

⁴⁶ To this, John Scott, priest of Moray diocese, notary by apostolic authority, at the urgent request of the aforesaid parties, in verification of all and sundry contained in the premises, the Holy Gospels being touched by the said James Auchlek to acknowledge, observe and fulfil in person all and sundry above written in all its points and articles and the form of the said contract under the penalties contained in it, and he promised not to revoke it, witness my subscription manual, at Inverness the eighth of December 1538. John Scot notary public, witness my own hand.

⁴⁷ To this, I was personally present at all and sundry the premises and saw, knew and heard them done as is aforesaid, witness my own hand together with the subscription of the aforesaid notary, place, day, month and year as above. Robert Waus notary public, witness my own hand.