

AN EARLY ORGAN AT FRAMLINGHAM CHURCH

by DIARMAID MACCULLOCH, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., F.R.HIST.S., and JOHN BLATCHLY, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A.
Drawings by BIRKIN HAWARD, O.B.E., F.R.I.B.A.

THE THAMAR ORGAN at Framlingham parish church was built for Pembroke College, Cambridge in 1674 and presented by the Master and Fellows, who are patrons of the living, to Framlingham in 1708. Since its inspired restoration by John Budgen of Bishop and Son of Ipswich in 1970, it has emerged as one of the most splendid and beautiful of Britain's historic organs, and perhaps the most memorable church organ in Suffolk. However, the purpose of this paper is to draw attention to a fragment of a still earlier organ, and to suggest that this may be the oldest such survival in this country.

The starting-point for the investigation must be the description of an older organ at Framlingham made by the antiquary John Borret about 1660. This forms part of a description of Framlingham church to be found in a version of his notes in the Philipps manuscripts formerly at Elveden Hall and now in the Suffolk Record Office at Ipswich:¹

There is in the Chancell a Large payer of Organs with mettall pipes parcell gilt, on the top are the armes of Henry the 8 under a Crowne ymperiall carved painted & gilded, in the leaves of the Organ Case are twoe Escocheons supported each by an Angell, the first quarterly Brotherton 2. Howard 3. Warren 4. Mowbray. The second Tilney, A. on a cheveron betweene iij Griffons heads erased G. a mullet Or armed of the last.

Borret also describes the pulpit at Framlingham immediately before his description of the organ, showing that it bore similar heraldry:

On the pullpitt are the armes of the Duke of Norff. videlicet Quarterly 1. iij Lyons passant Gardant a fyle with iij labells [Brotherton] 2. a Lyon Rampant [Mowbray] the third as the second, the fourth as the first, Impaled with Tilney and Thorpe Quarterly: first a cheveron betweene iij Griffons' heads erased a mullett, 2^{ly} iij cressants, the third as the second, the fourth as the first.

The pulpit survived when Robert Hawes was writing in the early 18th century, although it was given a new sound-board in 1703 (Hawes 1798, 293). The sound-board remains loose in the church, but the body of the pulpit has disappeared, and the existing pulpit dates only from the 1930s.

BORRET'S DESCRIPTION: DISCUSSION

The first point to note about Borret's description of the organ is that by its date, it shows that the instrument survived the perils of the Interregnum. Borret describes a monument of 1658 in the same sequence of notes about Framlingham, and the notes about churches placed before and after his visit to Framlingham are dateable to 1660. Such survival was not unique in Suffolk; at Laxfield the bellows and some of the pipes of an organ, presumably medieval, remained stored in the church into the 18th century, and at the same period, part of the bellows survived at Hessett.² We know from the Framlingham churchwardens' accounts that the organ was still being maintained before the Civil War, for in 1615 there is reference to 'trymynge of the organs'; however, since it outlasted the

destructive furies of the mid-17th century, it is likely that this Framlingham organ stood in place until the new instrument arrived in 1708.³

Second, Borret's description gives us some valuable pointers towards the date of the instrument which he saw. The heraldry of Howard and Tilney shows that we are dealing with Thomas, second Howard Duke of Norfolk (1443–1524); however, after this, problems begin. Both Thomas's wives were members of the Tilney family: Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Frederick Tilney of Ashwellthorpe, whom Howard married in 1472 and who died on 4 April 1497, and Agnes, daughter of Frederick's younger brother Hugh Tilney of Boston, who had licence on 8 November 1497 to marry the widower Thomas and who died in 1545. To which wife does the heraldry refer? Both ladies seem to have been entitled to display the arms of Tilney quartering Thorpe; Elizabeth's father Frederick was, after all, the heir of the Thorpes of Ashwellthorpe, while Agnes certainly used the Thorpe quarterings on her brass formerly at Lambeth parish church. What seems to be decisive is the mullet difference in the Tilney arms; the mullet mentioned in Borret's description of both organ and pulpit. This seems to rule out the second wife Agnes, for as the drawings of brasses to her and her husband formerly at Lambeth show, she bore the Tilney arms differenced by a *crescent*. We are therefore dealing with the first wife Elizabeth. The use of both differences remains puzzling. Elizabeth's branch of the family presumably bore the mullet from her great-great-grandfather, Sir Philip Tilney of Boston, a third son; yet there is confusion between the Tilney pedigrees in Blomefield and in Thompson as to whether Agnes's father Hugh was a second or third son. His use of the crescent difference would fit most naturally with his being the second son.⁴

An attribution to Elizabeth itself causes problems, the least important of which is a confusion as to the date of her death in older antiquarian works. We can discount a date of death in 1507, and be confident that she died in 1497.⁵ This leaves the apparently more serious problem that the royal arms of Henry VIII recorded by Borret as being on the top of the organ seem inappropriate to family heraldry directing us to a marriage ended by death in 1497. This is not itself an insuperable inconsistency, for it is most unlikely that Borret could positively have identified the royal arms as those of Henry VIII rather than of his father. The actual achievement of the royal arms was unaltered from the reign of Henry IV to 1603, and Henry VII as much as his son used the imperial crown to surmount his arms, adopting it on his coinage from 1489 (Sutherland 1973, 117). Seeing royal arms of Tudor type, probably accompanied by the initials 'HR', Borret may well have made a guess at which Henry these signified, knowing that the family heraldry indicated the second Howard Duke of Norfolk; after all, the greatest honour of Howard's career was to have his family Dukedom restored to him by Henry VIII after his victory at the battle of Flodden in 1513.

The heraldry of organ and pulpit, then, can be taken as referring to Thomas Howard's first marriage to Elizabeth Tilney, ended by death in 1497. Howard returned to East Anglia in 1500; up to then, Henry VII had forced him to undertake duties in the North after his release from the Tower of London in 1489.⁶ It is unlikely that Howard would be investing in expensive church furnishings in East Anglia before 1500; so we ought to look for a date after that. If this is so, it may seem strange that there is no reference in the heraldry to Howard's second wife, but perhaps the organ and pulpit were given by way of memorials to the first wife, who after all had borne him his son and heir. It is a pity that Borret did not make it clear whether or not the Howard quartering in the dexter shield on the organ case bore the augmentation of honour granted to Howard in 1514 after Flodden; his silence does not give us an indication of date before or after the augmentation, and so deprives us of a valuable extra clue. On the other hand, Borret's silence about any ducal crown in the

heraldry is probably more significant; it does suggest that he was looking at an heraldic ensemble put together before Howard's grant of the Dukedom after Flodden; so this is some indication that the woodwork was pre-1514. The heraldry fails to settle all the problems of dating the Framlingham organ, but we must postpone further discussion of these for the time being.

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE ORGAN AND PULPIT

For which church were the organ and pulpit intended? It is perfectly possible that they were built for Framlingham parish church; Framlingham Castle was Howard's normal East Anglian residence after his return from the North. Framlingham had been confiscated after the death of the first Howard Duke at Bosworth Field, but his son had regained it from the thirteenth Earl of Oxford by 1494 (Ives 1978, 13). The second Duke died at Framlingham. Organs were common in the wealthier parish churches of East Anglia by the early 16th century, and some survived the Reformation. Besides the Laxfield example already mentioned, there are for instance references to organs and organists at Walberswick in 1423, Clare in the 1520s, Boxford from 1529, Haverhill in 1530, Barking in 1547, Sudbury in 1593 and Hessett in the 1620s; there are references to the removal of pre-Reformation instruments at Long Melford in the 1560s, Boxford in 1549 and at the parish of St Mary in the Howards' town of Bungay in 1571 (significantly, at the time of the fourth Howard Duke's downfall and execution).⁷ Mid-16th-century Suffolk had enough organs to sustain the firm of keyboard instrument builders and restorers run by Thomas Betts of Wetherden, who died in the early 1560s apparently very much in business, to judge by his bequests of stock to his son.⁸

However, there are other possible origins for the organ, for like its successor, it might have been brought to the church from elsewhere. There was, after all, an organ in the chapel of Framlingham Castle in the second Duke's time; it appears in the inventory of furnishings there taken on his death in 1524 as 'a payer organs with iiij stoppes'. Although the Howards rarely lived at Framlingham after 1524, the chapel at the Castle survived until its demolition in the years before 1657; it is conceivable that some time between these dates, the organ might have been moved to the parish church.⁹ Its inventory price of £6 13s. 4d. in 1524 compares reasonably with the £20 which was the cost of the seven-stop instrument for Holy Trinity, Coventry, built in 1526, but it seems a little cheap alongside the £54 paid for the single manual instrument built for All Hallows Barking in 1519 (Clutton and Niland 1963, 48-49). Moreover, for the instrument described by Borret, with its carving, gilding and metal parcel gilt pipes, the sum sounds low. There is a more intriguing possible origin for the Framlingham instrument than the Castle chapel.

The fact that Borret saw the organ in the chancel at Framlingham is significant; of course, it may have been moved there from elsewhere in the church some time before 1660, but it is more likely that it had always stood in the chancel. This part of the church had been rebuilt by the Howards to rehouse the bodies of their family and Henry VIII's bastard son Henry, Duke of Richmond, brought from the Cluniac Priory at Thetford after its dissolution. The second Duke continued the old custom of using Thetford Priory for the burial of Earls and Dukes of Norfolk like the Bigods and Mowbrays before him; he had erected a spacious brick vault in the middle of the choir which still exists, and which was covered with an appropriately magnificent tomb. The splendour of his funeral at Thetford, together with an unseemly *contretemps* which happened at it, can be captured from the description by the Chronicler of Butley Priory, who was an eye-witness.¹⁰ At first the third

Duke of Norfolk followed his father's example in erecting a tomb at Thetford, as Richard Marks has demonstrated; the Duke intended to preserve Thetford Priory after its dissolution as a college of secular priests, to go on acting as the family mausoleum. He obtained the Priory from the King at a very favourable price, but the King's accelerating attack on the surviving chantry colleges, signalled by the Chantry Act of 1545, no doubt persuaded Howard that Thetford might be too vulnerable in the future. A parish church would be safer for the Howard tombs.

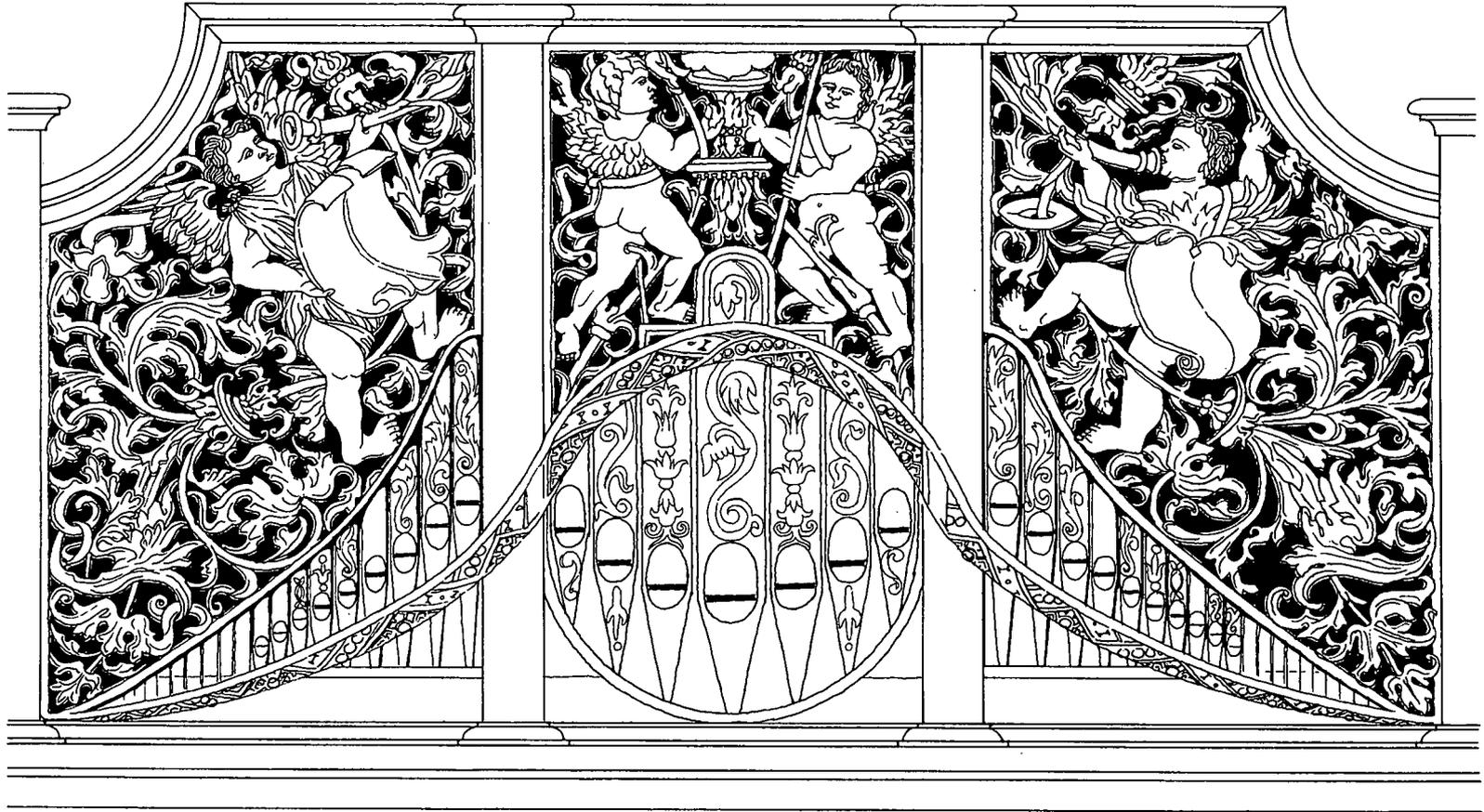
Accordingly at some stage in the mid-1540s, the Duke began building a new chancel-mausoleum at Framlingham parish church. Building was interrupted by his disgrace and near-execution in 1547; when Howard's fortunes were restored on the accession of Queen Mary, work on the half-finished shell was resumed and must have been speedily completed, creating the spacious if comparatively austere late Perpendicular chancel and aisles which rather dwarf the earlier nave and aisles to the west. While the eastern parts remained incomplete, the Howards maintained intact the church of the dissolved priory at Thetford; the royal commissioners who visited Thetford in 1547 during the course of their inventory of the disgraced Duke's property noticed that the Priory church was fully maintained and richly decorated.¹¹ Probably before this, and possibly in accordance with the wishes of the second Duke's widow Agnes Tilney, his body had been removed to Lambeth parish church to lie near her under a new monument.

The loss of Thetford's rich decoration, so temporarily removed from the ravages of the Dissolution, is one of the tragedies of Reformation East Anglia; but it might well have been that when the Howards came to dismantle Thetford and take away the bodies of their forbears, they also decided to move an outstandingly decorated organ, which would then be no more than half a century old; organs are, after all, comparatively portable, as the journeying of the Thamar instrument demonstrates. So both successive organs in Framlingham church may have taken to the road during their musical careers.

THE TUDOR ORGAN: EXISTING FRAGMENTS

The particular interest of Borret's brief description of the vanished organ is that it can be matched with reasonable certainty to surviving Tudor woodwork. Fixed to the west side of the Thamar organ before its 1970 restoration was a frieze of woodcarving with imitation organ pipes; the restoration reset this as a screen to the organist's bench, the function which it had served while the Thamar organ was still in its west gallery before its Victorian exile to the chancel. Robert Hawes, writing at the beginning of the 18th century, confirms that this was from 'a former organ in the Church' (Hawes 1798, 294). That whole arrangement of Thamar organ, frieze and gallery survived unaltered up to the Victorian restoration of the church, and can be seen in the etching of the interior of the church by C.L. Nursey and Wat Hagreen *c.* 1850. So far, the usual opinion has been that this is a fragment of a late 16th-century organ, perhaps a still earlier instrument which stood in Pembroke College, but the fact that the Thamar organ had an attested early 16th-century predecessor at Framlingham itself immediately suggests the possibility that here we have a part of that lost predecessor. If the old organ was of the splendour suggested by Borret's brief description, it would have made sense to preserve something of the casework. It is a pity that searches of the present church and of antiquarian records have not revealed any further fragments of it.

At first sight the organist's screen consists of five panels of woodwork designed to imitate a 'chair' organ of three flats with flanking towers (see Pl. III). The imitation pipes are



SCALE 0 6 12 18 24 30 36 INCHES : [87016]

FIG. 10 - Drawing of carved and pierced organ screen panels, by Birkin Haward.

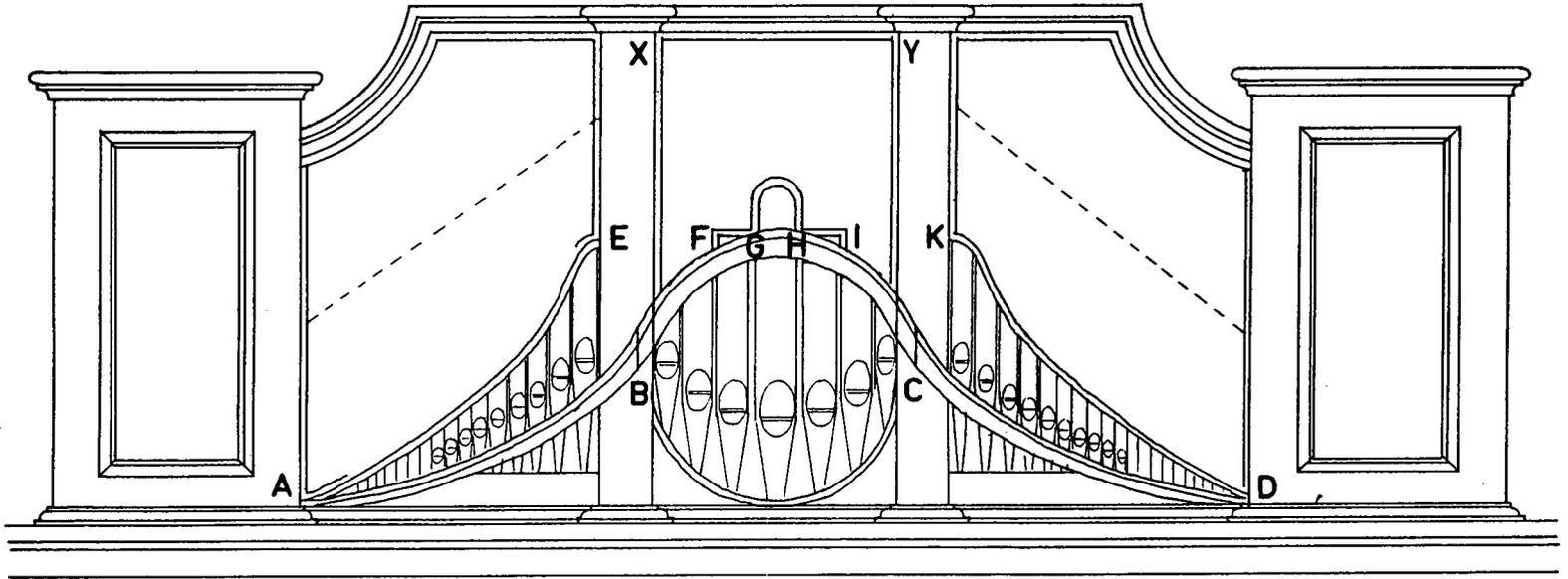


FIG. 11 – Outline drawing of the organ explaining letters in the discussion.

coloured and gilded in the same style as the pipes of the main organ, the main framing is painted brown and the cresting and figurework painted a putty colour, again to match the main instrument. One can reckon, then, that the existing colouring is subsequent to the arrival of the Tamar organ in 1708, and was indeed probably done at that time. The only problem with dating the paintwork of the frieze to 1708 is to account for Hawes's description of the arms of Corrance impaling Davers, which he says formed part of the frieze after its re-erection as the organist's screen, and which commemorated a principal benefactor of the 1708 arrangements (Hawes 1798, 294). Either this heraldry was on a separate piece of woodwork or was painted on the two shields of the frieze which are now blank and putty-coloured.

The dating of the colouring is not of the first importance, since it is clearly subsequent to 1708: the woodwork itself is of more concern to us (see Figs. 10 and 11). The framing of the whole piece is without doubt of the 1708 construction, and is intended to adapt the earlier woodwork to its new purpose. This is most obvious with the top rail of the frieze, which cuts into the top of the central panel's design (from X to Y in Fig. 11). Equally apparent is the 1708 dating of the uprights of the framing; the graceful arch moulding (ABCD in Fig. 11) which unites the inner three panels is interrupted by the uprights, leaving two gaps in the arch (at B and C on Fig. 11). This shows that in constructing the new uprights, the 1708 carpenter has had to pull the arch outwards, without filling in the two gaps in the moulding. Not only this, but the dummy pipes and dummy pipe footings below the level of this arch in the central three panels are of the date of the framing. So in the central three panels, we are only concerned with pre-1708 woodwork above and including the arch moulding ABCD, and excluding all the framing.

Furthermore, there is a disparity in the quality of the central three panels and the outer towers. The foliage-work and figures of the central three are done with extreme delicacy and sensitivity, particularly in the portrayal of the faces, and the moulding of the foliage in these central sections is undercut to give primarily concave effects. By contrast, the foliage-work of the cresting in the outer towers is rather crude and bulbous in character, and is actually nailed over the imitation pipes below it. It is likely that these outer towers are entirely additions to the earlier woodwork, probably of 1708 construction, and were designed to give a proper width to the earlier work to match it to the dimensions of the Tamar organ. So in considering the early 16th-century organ, we have eliminated everything except the inner three panels above and including the common arch moulding ABCD (cf. Figs. 10 and 11).

What remains to be investigated is the relationship of the arch moulding to the three panels above it. It is clear that the arch moulding is a unit, but the composition above is rather odd as it exists at present. The two side panels have two small rows of dummy pipes below the figures, but the central panel has nothing to correspond except the very tip of a pipe in the centre; the rows of dummy pipes in the outer panels are topped by a thin beading of woodwork (AE, KD respectively) which again at first sight does not appear to have an exact parallel in the central panel. However, the central panel does have a rather peculiar-shaped beading of similar thickness below the feet of its two cherubs, forming a rectilinear feature with a knop above (FGHI).

What may have happened here, explaining these anomalies, is that in the 1708 reordering of the woodwork, the decorative carving of the central panel above the level of the arch moulding ABCD was dropped down from a slightly higher position in the original organ case, cutting out its section of the dummy pipework above the arch moulding. One can appreciate that the 1708 carpenters might have felt that if the organist's screen was any higher, it would begin to dwarf the organ behind it. If this is so, originally above the

containing arch moulding for the real pipework (ABCD), there were dummy pipes to all three panels with a common beading above them, including the existing beading (AEFGHIKD), and forming a fantastic ogival arch culminating in a central decorative knop (surviving FGHI). This would have given greater height to the central feature of the composition which the angels supported (cf. reconstruction in Fig. 12).

How does the surviving fragment reflect Borret's account, and what does this tell us about the instrument? The first thing to note about our woodwork is the peculiarity of the modelling of the four angels. Although there is every sign of high skill in their execution, they are very short in the body, which makes their legs seem long and out of proportion. The likelihood is that this is artifice rather than naïveté: deliberate foreshortening. The angels were at the summit of a tall structure, and they were intended to be viewed from ground level. With foreshortening, they would give the illusion of even greater height to the structure. So we are immediately reminded of the 'top' of Borret's organ, and of the angels which in 'the leaves' supported the Howard escutcheons. These would correspond to the outer pair of angels or cherubs bearing shields in the surviving woodwork. Further probability is lent to this identification by the fact that the existing dexter shield appears to be moulded quarterly: this corresponds to the heraldry of the dexter shield noted by Borret in 'the leaves'. The different shapes of the two shields is probably also significant: the dexter for a male, the sinister for his wife.

What of the royal arms which Borret noted? Clearly these occupied the summit of the instrument which he saw. In the existing central panel we have two cherubs supporting a pedestal bearing a meaningless object: the sinister cherub also bears a pole which is rudely cut off by the 1708 framing. Clearly there was something above the pedestal. The 'meaningless object' is now cut flat, and probably represents the backing wood for something else, or the bottom of a design shaved back in 1708 so as not to appear obtrusive; but what is apparent is its similarity to the foot of the dexter shield in the flanking panel, which we have posited as bearing the Howard arms. With little doubt we are looking at the foot of the royal arms seen by Borret, originally borne on a pedestal supported by two cherubs – all of which, we have argued, would have been placed higher up in relation to the flanking figure panels than at present.

If we accept the identification of the existing woodwork with the top of the organ seen by Borret, we can draw some conclusions about its appearance (cf. Fig. 12). What survives represents the central portion of the moulding for the containing arch over the organ's pipework, with above it a range of dummy piping, originally spanning all three panels, contained by a fantastically shaped beading; this is in turn surmounted by elaborate foliage cresting containing two cherubs bearing the arms of the second Howard Duke of Norfolk and his first wife. At the summit of this cresting was a display of the royal arms supported by cherubs. Although the original woodwork now measures only 136cm in width, we can be sure from the curve of the surviving arch moulding (ABCD in Fig. 11) that the original organ was wider; the gradual curve of its outer ends (AD) would need more space to die away elegantly. The pipework of the organ may therefore have been of much the same width as the Tamar organ.

The curve of the arch moulding ABCD is interestingly similar to the central section of the containing arch for the pipework in the organ built for the Low Countries church of Schemda, now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; this is generally said to date from the 1520s (see Pl. IV). Notable in the Schemda instrument is the weak emphasis of its three towers against the intermediate flats, the main emphasis being on the strong containing arch. Schemda only had openwork cresting and pinnacles above the arch, not figurework, miniature dummy pipes and heraldry like the Framlingham organ; however, the pinnacles

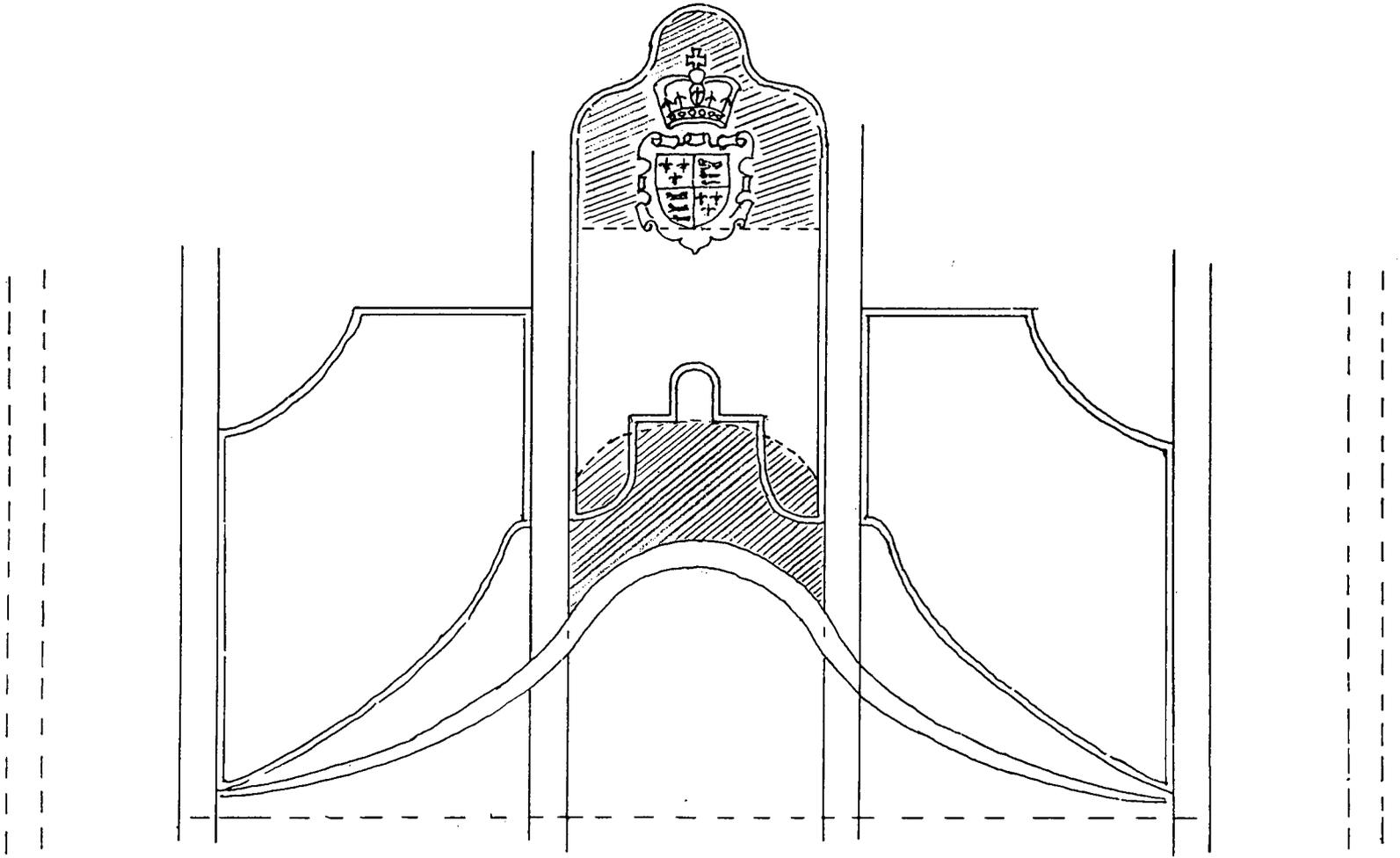


FIG. 12 – Conjectural reconstruction of the woodwork, shaded parts now lost.

in the Schemda instrument reflect the layout of the vestigial flats and towers below the level of the arch, housing the pipework. This suggests that the Framlingham instrument also had a strong containing arch which cut across a design of flats and towers; a central vestigial tower of pipework may have been reflected above the containing arch by uprights (narrower than the present ones) framing the central panel. This would indicate outer towers as well. So on the Schemda analogy, the whole design would consist of central tower, and a pair of flanking flats, flanked in turn by a pair of towers, with all the pipework framed by the moulded arch of which ABCD remains.

The Schemda case has folding doors. At first sight, Borret's reference to 'leaves' might suggest that the Framlingham instrument also had doors, but we have already given good evidence for identifying these 'leaves' with the foliage cresting containing the Howard heraldry below the royal arms and above the containing arch of the organ. The provision of doors became less common as main church organs increased in size during the 16th century, but we have no way of knowing whether this instrument had such provision. Borret's silence about doors tells us little, since all his description was incidental to his main purpose of recording heraldry.

DATING AND SIGNIFICANCE

On heraldic and historical grounds, we have dated this organ to the years immediately after 1500; the heraldry obstinately points to a date before the death of the second Duke of Norfolk in 1524, and probably before his grant of the ducal title in 1514, while he was not active in East Anglia before 1500. This presents problems for the dating of the surviving woodwork, for it is fully-fledged Renaissance. The style immediately suggests foreign work; the only part of the woodwork which could be taken as typical of East Anglian work of c.1500 is the remains of the banded moulded arch which contained the pipework. For the rest, one cannot conceive of native East Anglian carpenters working in this idiom so early; and indeed, the shapes of the two shields in the design suggest no early 16th-century English analogies, but a variety of shield shapes in use on the Continent.¹² These Continental parallels do little to narrow the field of origin for the woodwork, for they come equally from France, Germany and the Low Countries; but they do make possible a date around 1520 or a little earlier.

In looking to Continental craftsmanship for the Framlingham organ, we have to remember that the second Duke of Norfolk was in a good position to know the latest trends in Continental design; he was no stranger to the Continent, having himself spent time during the reign of Edward IV at that centre of northern European fashion, the court of Charles the Bold of Burgundy. One of his last royal duties was to escort the King's sister to France for her brief marriage to Louis XII in 1515 (Robinson 1982, 11–12). As a nobleman prominent at Henry VII's Court, he would be aware of the beginnings of interest in Continental Renaissance forms which as early as 1506 led the King to seek an estimate for his tomb from an Italian, Guido Mazzoni of Modena. By the time of Henry VIII, the Renaissance style had become fashionable at the English Court for stonework, metalwork and woodwork alike: the tombs constructed for Henry VII and his mother Lady Margaret Beaufort in Westminster Abbey by Pietro Torrigiani in the second decade of the century are proof enough of this.¹³ In woodwork, the magnificent screen and choirstalls presented by Henry VIII to King's College Chapel, Cambridge, brought the style to East Anglia at least by the 1530s. Lastly, stonework in the French Renaissance style from funerary monuments has been found during various excavations at Thetford Priory. Richard Marks

has shown convincingly that the Framlingham tombs of Henry VIII's bastard son the Duke of Richmond and the third Duke of Norfolk were installed in their original form at Thetford Priory during the 1530s and only moved later; the Thetford fragments formed part of the original design of the same monuments. This shows that the Renaissance had come to the Priory before its destruction.¹⁴

In discussing the design of the Framlingham organ, we have drawn comparisons with the surviving instrument at Schemda: the similarities may suggest that Thomas Howard remembered his Burgundian experiences, and drew on organ builders from the Low Countries to build this memorial to his first wife. The fact that the containing arch for the pipework could be construed as English in style may suggest that the framing for the instrument was built by English craftsmen; with the pipework and the decorative woodwork imported. Given this possibility, it is particularly unfortunate that the body of the pulpit does not survive for comparison.

The only indication of date on the woodwork itself is tenuous in the extreme. Incised on the back of the left-hand panel figure are the initials 'IK', with serifs to the uprights, a mediate cross-bar on the 'I' and curled ends to the diagonals, and thus in a style which is most probably of the 16th century. This is not much help: the initials could have been added at any stage of the old organ's history: conceivably, despite their early appearance, even after 1708.

Further investigation needs to be carried out on the Framlingham fragment, but there is at least a strong possibility that here we have the oldest remaining fragments of a church organ in Britain, perhaps as old as the surviving case at Old Radnor (Powys), and undoubtedly predating the organ probably given by the second Earl of Cumberland to Carlisle Cathedral during the 1540s, now reconstructed in the church of St Laurence, Appleby-in-Westmorland.¹⁵ What survives, together with Borret's description of what has gone, suggests an instrument far more splendid than anything else surviving from the early organs of England. Furthermore, the Framlingham woodwork may represent the only survivor from the thousands of instruments which must have sounded in medieval monastic churches throughout the kingdom. All this can only add to the interest of the delightful organ of which it now forms a part.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

- 1 Iveagh MSS, S.R.O.I., HD 1538/94 (Phillipps vol. 94), *s.v.* Framlingham. An abbreviated version of this text was printed in Green 1834, 118n.
- 2 Laxfield: C.U.L., Hengrave Hall MSS (on loan only), 12 pt ii, f. 70r. Hessett: *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, xxxiv, 124, n. 18. Munro Cautley (Cautley 1937, 144) records that M.R. James saw remains of a medieval 'pair of organs' at Wingfield fifty years before Cautley wrote.
- 3 Churchwardens' accounts: Green 1834, 118.
- 4 Brasses illustrated from Henry Lilley's drawings of 1637 in *Surrey Archaeol. Collect.*, ix, 398 and *Norfolk Archaeol.*, viii, 39. Tilney pedigrees are to be found in Blomefield and Parkin 1805-10, v, 150 and Thompson 1856, facing p. 373.

- 5 Ignore arguments for 1507 in Brenan and Statham 1907, i, 79, 116 and follow instead G.E.C., ix, 615. Confusion has arisen because the wife of the last Mowbray Duke of Norfolk was also called Elizabeth, and died as unexpectedly late as 1506/7.
- 6 On the second Duke, see Robinson 1982, 10–22.
- 7 Walberswick: Lewis 1947, iii. Clare: Thornton 1935, 95. Boxford: Northeast 1982, index *s.v.* organs. Haverhill: a dispute between rector and parishioners over the organist's salary, P.R.O., STA.C.2/31/61. Barking: *E.A.N.Q.*, New Ser. 1 (1885), 68. Sudbury: a recital given by the Chancellor of Norwich Diocese's organist, S.R.O.B., EE 501/3, f. 161r. Hessett: MacCulloch 1978, 111, 124. Long Melford: Parker 1873, 70f. Bungay: *E.A.N.Q.*, Old Ser. 3 (1867), 43.
- 8 Northeast 1982, 83; Betts's will was made in 1559 and proved in 1563.
- 9 Ridgard 1985, 7 (chapel), 149 (inventory). The description of Framlingham Castle, which Ridgard quotes at p. 7 as by Henry Sampson, is in fact probably also by Borret, since it appears in his hand in S.R.O.I., HD 1538/94 (Iveagh/Phillipps MS 94), as well as the Framlingham church notes already quoted.
- 10 Dickens 1951, 43–44. On the second Duke's tombs at Thetford and Lambeth, see Marks 1984, 252–68.
- 11 Robinson 1982, 37–38, and cf. Ridgard 1985, 7.
- 12 Cf. summary chart in Neubecker and Brooke-Little 1977, 76–78.
- 13 On Mazzoni, cf. Whinney 1964, 4. Cf. Scott 1905, 365–76.
- 14 On the screen at King's College Cambridge, see R.C.H.M. *Cambridge*, i, 128–30. Marks 1984, 252–68; and Stone and Colvin 1965, 159–71. There is a striking similarity in style between the figures here and those supporting the arms of Withypoll and a circular-framed portrait of St Paul on the reverse of the right wing of the Withypoll Triptych. From a dating point of view it is interesting that the central panel of the Triptych (in Bristol City Art Gallery – the wings on loan from the National Gallery) shows the Holy Family, and Paul Withypoll as donor, and is signed and dated Antonio de Solario, 1514.
- 15 On Old Radnor, Clutton and Niland 1963, 175–78. On Appleby-in-Westmorland, Holmes 1978, 320–32.

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Printed works: abbreviations

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| E.A.N.Q. | <i>East Anglian Notes and Queries.</i> |
| G.E.C. | G.E. C[ockayne] (ed.), <i>The Complete Peerage.</i> |
| R.C.H.M. Cambridge | Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, <i>City of Cambridge</i> , 1959. |

Abbreviations for MSS

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| C.U.L. | Cambridge University Library. |
| P.R.O. | Public Record Office. |
| S.R.O.B. | Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds Branch. |
| S.R.O.I. | Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch. |