SEA LINK – DEVELOPMENT CONSENT ORDER - PINS REFERENCE EN020026

Interested Party submission by N Bridges RIBA

June 2025

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APPENDICES

1. CASE DETAILS

1.1. National Grid Electricity Transmission – Sea Link Application
PINS ref. EN 020026

2. MY INTEREST

2.1. This Interested Party submission has been prepared by Nicholas Bridges, RIBA, FRSA. My family home has been in Orford since 1966 and I am a member of the Alde and Ore Association, of which my mother was a co-founder. I have known this part of East Suffolk on land and water for 55 years. I am very concerned about the proposed fundamental permanent changes to the character of the Suffolk & Essex Coast and Heaths AONB and this Heritage Coast with its cultural associations.

2.2. I support the development of windfarms offshore, reducing the use of fossil fuels, the need to update the grid infrastructure, and the urgency due to climate change. We are all too well aware of what rising sea levels could do to the land around the rivers Alde and Ore. Having looked thought the PEIR and DCO submissions, I cannot support the application by National Grid Electricity Transmission ('NGET').

2.3. I am a chartered architect with 40 years practice on projects at all scales involving heritage, design and townscape. My experience relevant to this application is:

- I have prepared heritage, townscape and visual chapters for Environmental Statements over the last 20 years and am familiar with the methodology of Environmental Assessment;
- In 2009 I submitted evidence on behalf of a client through whose estate in Somerset pylons were to be erected connecting Hinckley Point to Bristol;
- I have given evidence at Public Inquiries and Hearings and been a Joint Court Witness for alleged criminal damage to the listed Putney Bridge.;
- I regularly advise clients and lawyers on unauthorised works to designated heritage assets;
- In 2011 I researched the history and assessed the significance of all the East Coast Martello Towers, including CC at Aldeburgh for developments at Walton-on-the Naze, Essex;
- I was commissioned by Historic England to assist Tendring DC on the condition of Towers D and E in Clacton and prepare feasibility studies for their repair and potential uses. The actual work is now being tendered.

2.4. I wish to register my OBJECTION in a personal capacity to the Suffolk onshore works in the DCO application by National Grid; PINS reference EN020026.

3. REASONS FOR INVOLVEMENT

3.1. This is the wrong way to connect the supply and demand of electricity. There is no demand here in East Suffolk. Huge converter stations should not be placed in the countryside on productive farmland with wide-ranging temporary and permanent effects on statutory designations when a cheaper offshore solution is available which would obviate them.

3.2. We are already seeing the huge loss of vegetation and wildlife habitat being caused in preparation for the construction of Sizewell C. The enabling works for Saxmundham and Friston, especially widening of the B1121 to accommodate the wide turning circles of 74 metre articulated lorry trains, is just one physical demonstration that this development is inappropriate for this rural area.

3.3. This representation draws attention to other topics upon which I feel qualified to comment. My objection is on the following grounds:

A. The Area of Search has been too narrow, and has excluded heritage and landscape receptors around the River Alde within the AONB;
B. The images in the LVIA are inadequate for the basis of substantive landscape and visual assessment;
C. The submitted proposed design is unnecessarily indeterminate and lacks the detail extensively explored in submitted *Design Approach Document – Suffolk* **[DCO ref. 7.11.1**];

D. Important simple elements of the design which will affect local receptors have not been produced;
E. The use of the 'Rochdale Envelope' is not a valid excuse for not fixing standard design elements now for DCO approval;
F. The principle of and reasons for the selection of Saxmundham as the site for multiple converter stations are flawed;
G. The consented sub-station at Friston was based on a flawed past decision. The harm caused at Friston would not have been necessary if the Bawdsey-Bramford HVDC underground cables had been implemented in full as originally permitted. The Friston substation reapplication is in effect a cumulative scheme.
H. The application does not propose how electricity will be allowed to join the grid at Friston (from either the proposed southern or northern connections) as Sizewell C will require almost the whole capacity of the existing double line of 400kV pylons;
I. The cumulative assessment of National Grid's anticipated co-location of converter stations for Lion Link and others on the Saxmundham site is significant and adverse;
J. If the Saxmundham converter station is built offshore, none of the harm would result and the planning balance would be far greater.

Reference documents

3.4. The following have been consulted and will be referred to in this submission. Direct quotation will be limited as all of these have been considered by the applicant, and the Examining Authority will be familiar with them all.

- DCO documents using PINS reference numbers
- National Policy Statements ('NPSs')
- National Planning Policy Framework ('NPPF')
- Principal Acts of Parliament
- Statutory Instruments
- County and Local planning policy
- Advice from statutory consultees
- Management plans

A – THE AREA OF SEARCH

3.5. The principal planning constraints on the proposed siting at Saxmundham and Friston are the designated area of the Suffolk & Essex Coast and Heaths Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (S&EC&H AONB) and the defined Heritage Coast. AONBs are recognised by and subject to several pieces of United Kingdom legislation, policy and guidance, including:

- National Parks and Access to Countryside Act (1949)
- Countryside and Rights of Way Act (2000)
- 25 Year Environment Plan (2018)
- National Planning Policy Framework (2024)
- Local Planning Authority Development Plans (SCC, ESC and others)

3.6. AONBs are designated for their natural beauty. The natural beauty of AONBs is defined by 6 characteristics:

- Landscape quality
- Scenic quality
- Relative wildness
- Relative tranquillity
- Natural heritage features
- Cultural heritage

3.7. The Heritage Coast definition is to conserve the best stretched of undeveloped coast in England. They are established to conserve, protect and enhance:

- The natural beauty of the coastline
- Their terrestrial, coastal and marine flora and fauna
- Their heritage features
- Encourage and help the public to enjoy, understand and appreciate these areas

- Maintain and improve the health of inshore waters affecting heritage coasts and their beaches through appropriate environmental management measures
- Take account of the needs of agriculture, forestry and fishing and the economic and social needs of the small communities on these coasts

Landscape Character

3.8. The estuaries (Blyth, Alde-Ore and Deben) were formed through a combination of subsidence, climatic changes and sea level rise following the retreat of the ice sheets of the Anglian Glaciation over 400,000 years ago. These processes resulted in the 'drowning' of coastal river valleys and the formation of estuaries.

3.9. However, the distinctive character of the coastal landscape is also the product of marine erosion and deposition, natural processes which are extremely complex. The sandy shelly crag geology is soft and easily eroded by the sea and wave action, which has meant that the Suffolk coast has seen considerable change over the centuries. Erosion, as a result of the rising and falling tides and the annual cycle of storms, is contrasted by the deposition of often steep and shelving shingle beaches, which also characterise the coastline in the Study Area. Shingle spits are a feature of the area and Orford Ness is a dramatic example of longshore drift - the process of movement and deposition of eroded material, in a predominately southwards direction, along the coast. The spit at Orford Ness gradually formed at the mouth of the River Alde just to the south of Aldeburgh and over centuries has grown in length, forcing the river further south and parallel to the sea before eventually meeting the ocean at Shingle Street.

3.10. The proposed development is *"in an area that is predominantly rural in nature."* [*EN020026-000226-6.1 Environmental Statement Non Technical Summary, para 1.6].* Its Plate 1.1 illustrates the onshore environmental constraints from the North Sea inland to Saxmundham.

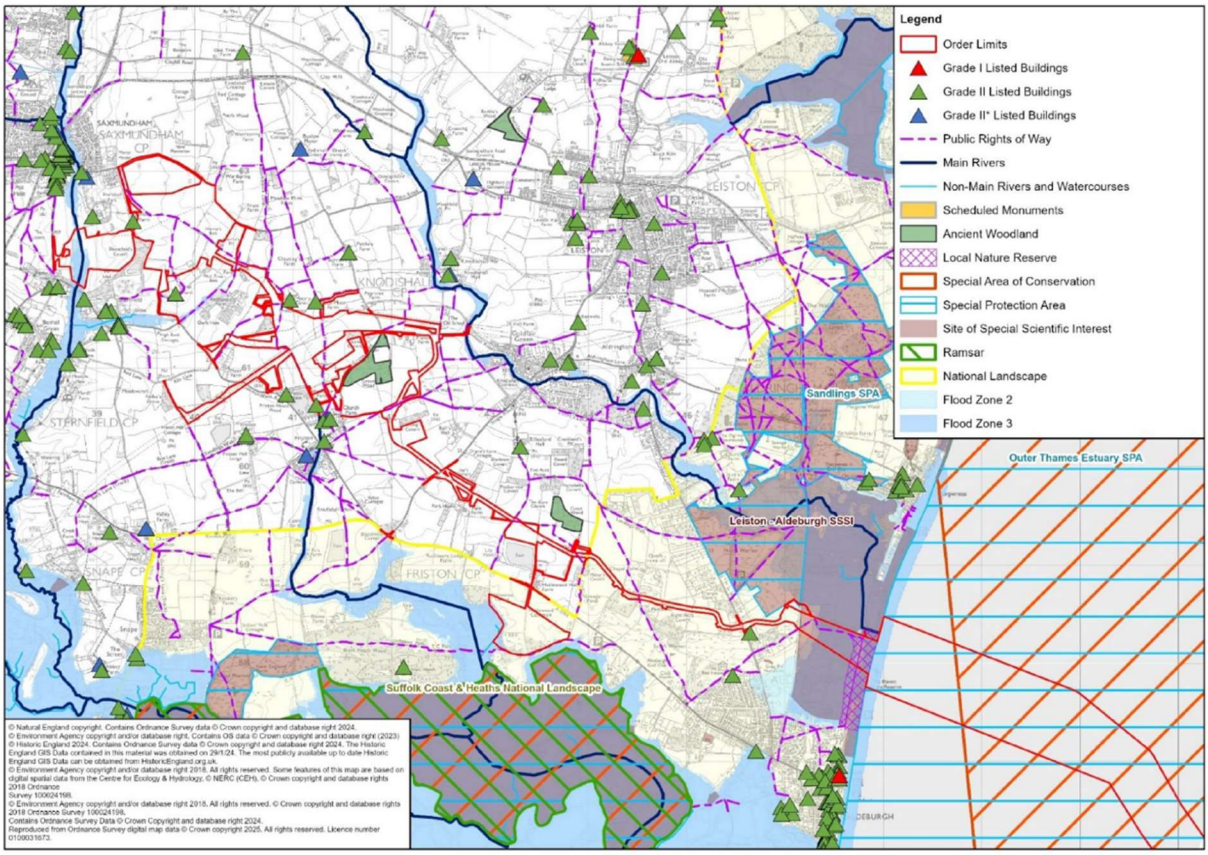

Figure 1. ES Non-Technical Summary - Plate 1.1 (Source: EN200626, doc. 6.1)

3.11. The extent of the Area of Search was determined by combining the receptors potentially impacted. This differed according to each ES discipline. The designations covering the areas are multiple and many overlap.

3.12. The applicant's Scoping Report **[6.14]** gives no specific reason for the limit drawn on the plans, only the *"likelihood to be subject to significant effects"* (para 1.5.3.2).

3.13. The extent of the Area of Search was noted in the Scoping Opinion **[Doc ref. 6.15, ID 3.1.5 and 3.1.6].** The ExA requested the *"Study Area be kept under review for effects on sensitive visual receptors and it should be agree with relevant consultation bodies."* The ES should include an assessment of effects on the Heritage Coast, where significant effects are likely [**3.1.7].** The ES should include consideration of all relevant seascape character types, including Inland Navigable Waters n(i.e. including the Alde estuary), Regional Seascape Character area SCT01 **[3.1.8].**

3.14. The Area of Search was discussed between the applicant's consultants and stakeholders such as SCC, ESC, Historic England, Environment Agency, RSPB, Suffolk Wildlife Trust, etc. at a *"landscape thematic meeting on 24 May 2023. The study area will continue to be reviewed as the Suffolk Onshore Scheme evolved through to ES and DCO submission*" **(PEIR Vol 1, Part 2, Chapter 2, p38).**

3.15. ZTV plans **(Peir Vol 3, Part 2, Chapter 4, Figures**) superimposed on a map of designated heritage assets were produced in sets of 6 sheets for 3 scenarios: the converter station and Friston substation individually and both combined; a further set with 2 more co-location converters. Sheets 4 show the potential for visibility at St Botulph's church and the ridge of the south side of the River Alde, and Sheets 6 extensive visibility on both sides of the Alde down to Slaughden and Martello Tower CC.

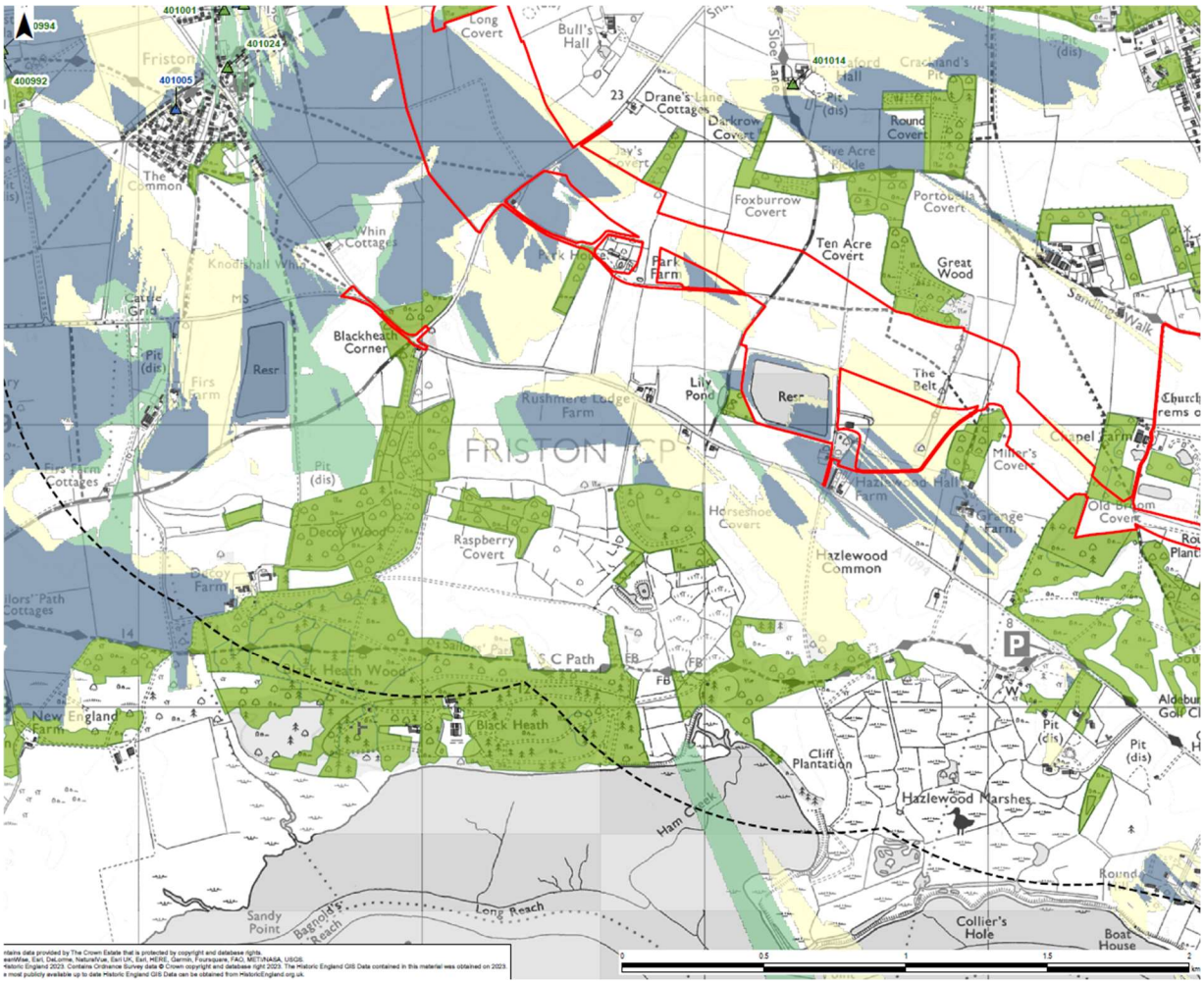

Figure 2. Sheet 4 - **Peir Vol 3, Part 2, Chapter 4, Figures**

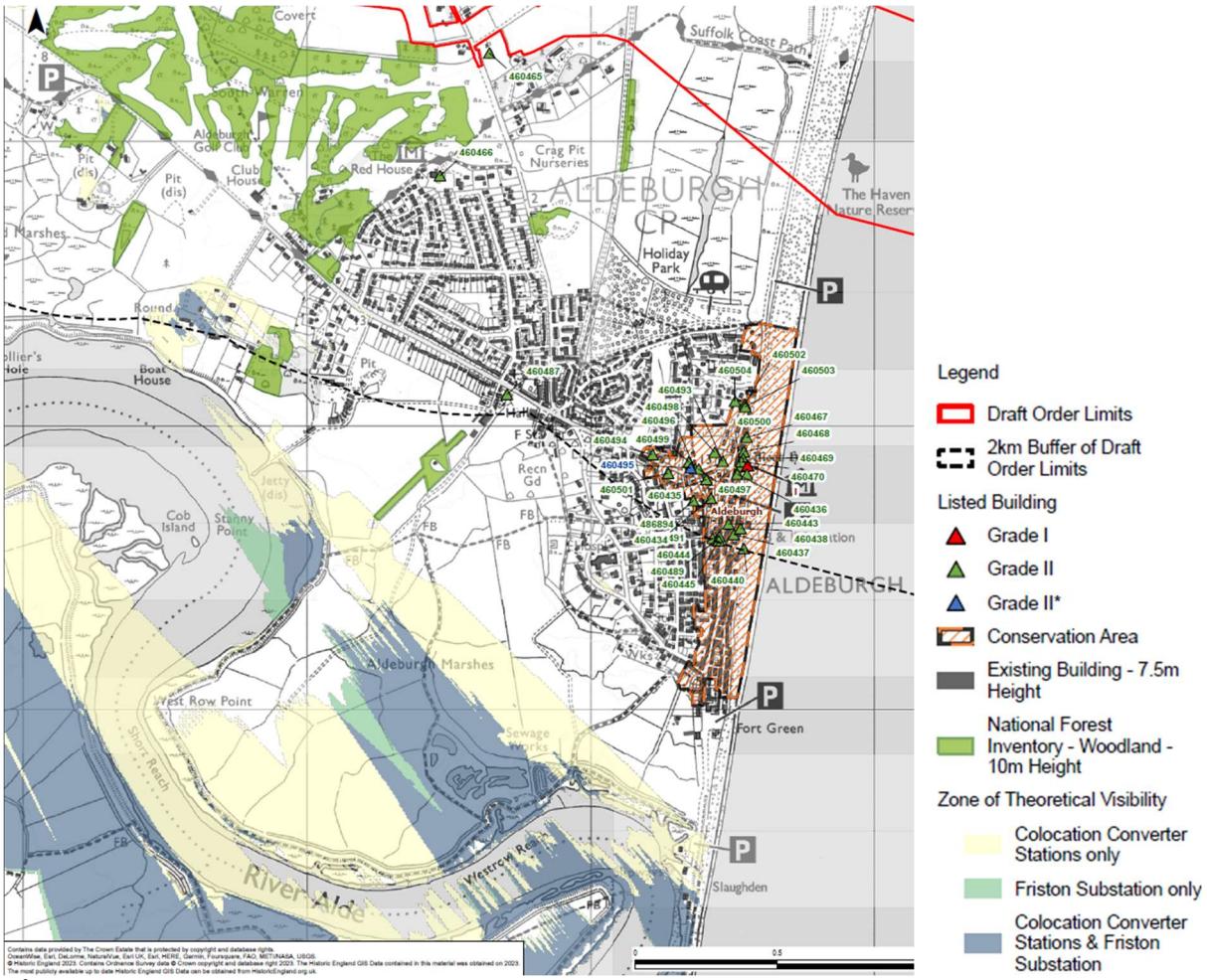

Figure 3. Sheet 6 - **Peir Vol 3, Part 2, Chapter 4, Figures**

3.16. Note that the Area of Search excluded the Alde estuary as it did in the Landscape & Visual Figures **(Peir Vol. 3, Part 2, Chapter 2, Figures).** So, before the DCO Application, receptors were being excluded. The hatching of the AONB area was even excluded over the waters of the estuary, despite the AONB MP specifically stating that these were integral parts of the designated area.

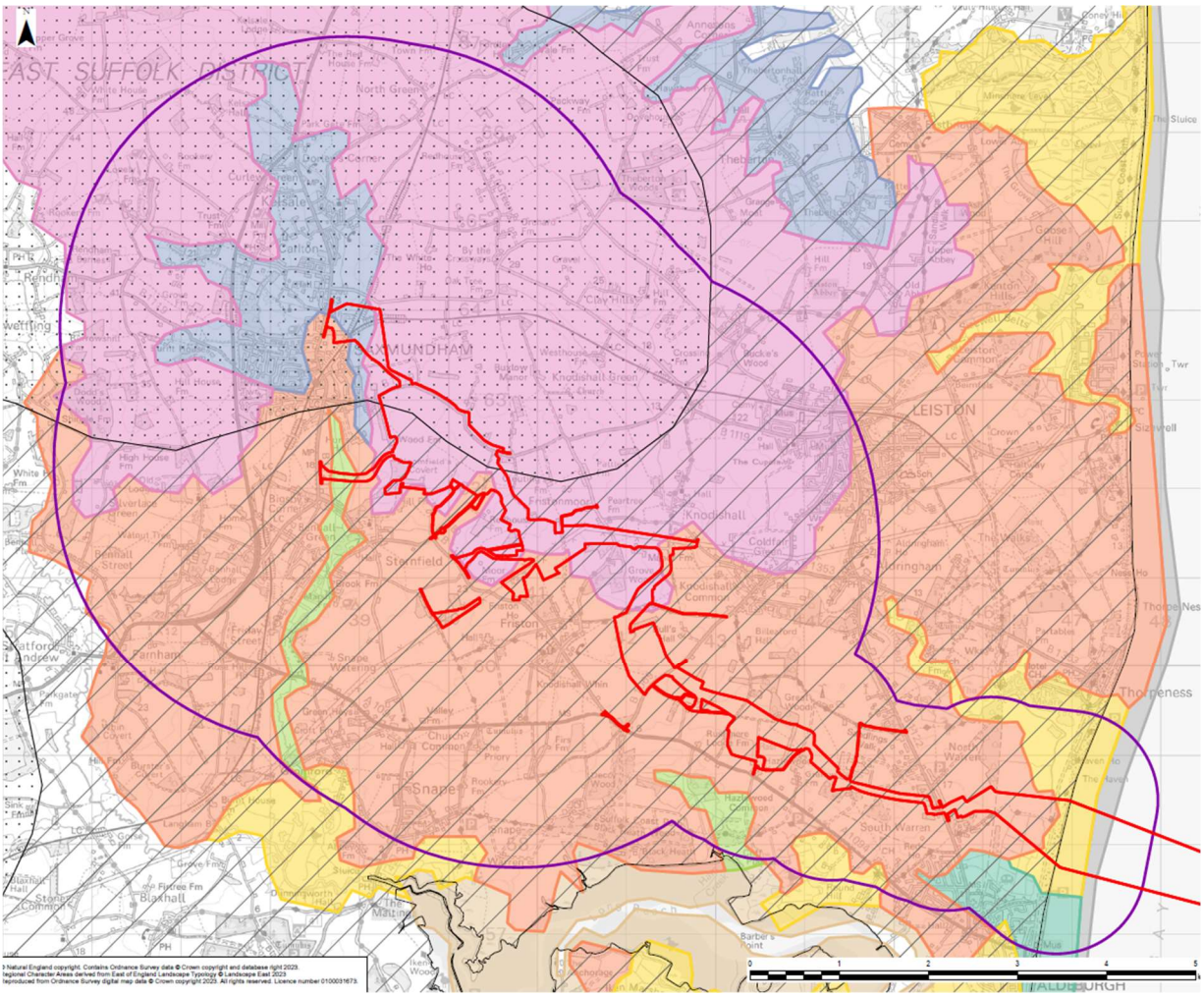

Figure 4. Landscape Character, National and Regional - **(Peir Vol. 3, Part 2, Chapter 2, Figures)**

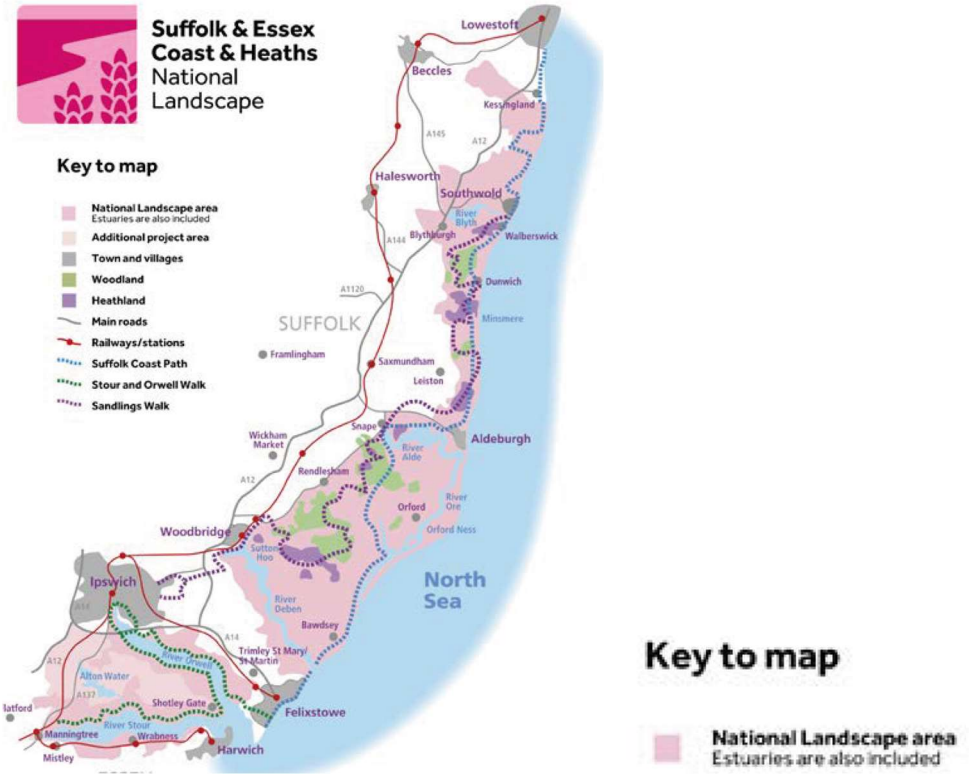

Figure 5. SC&H AONB Management Plan 2023-2028 – plan of designated area

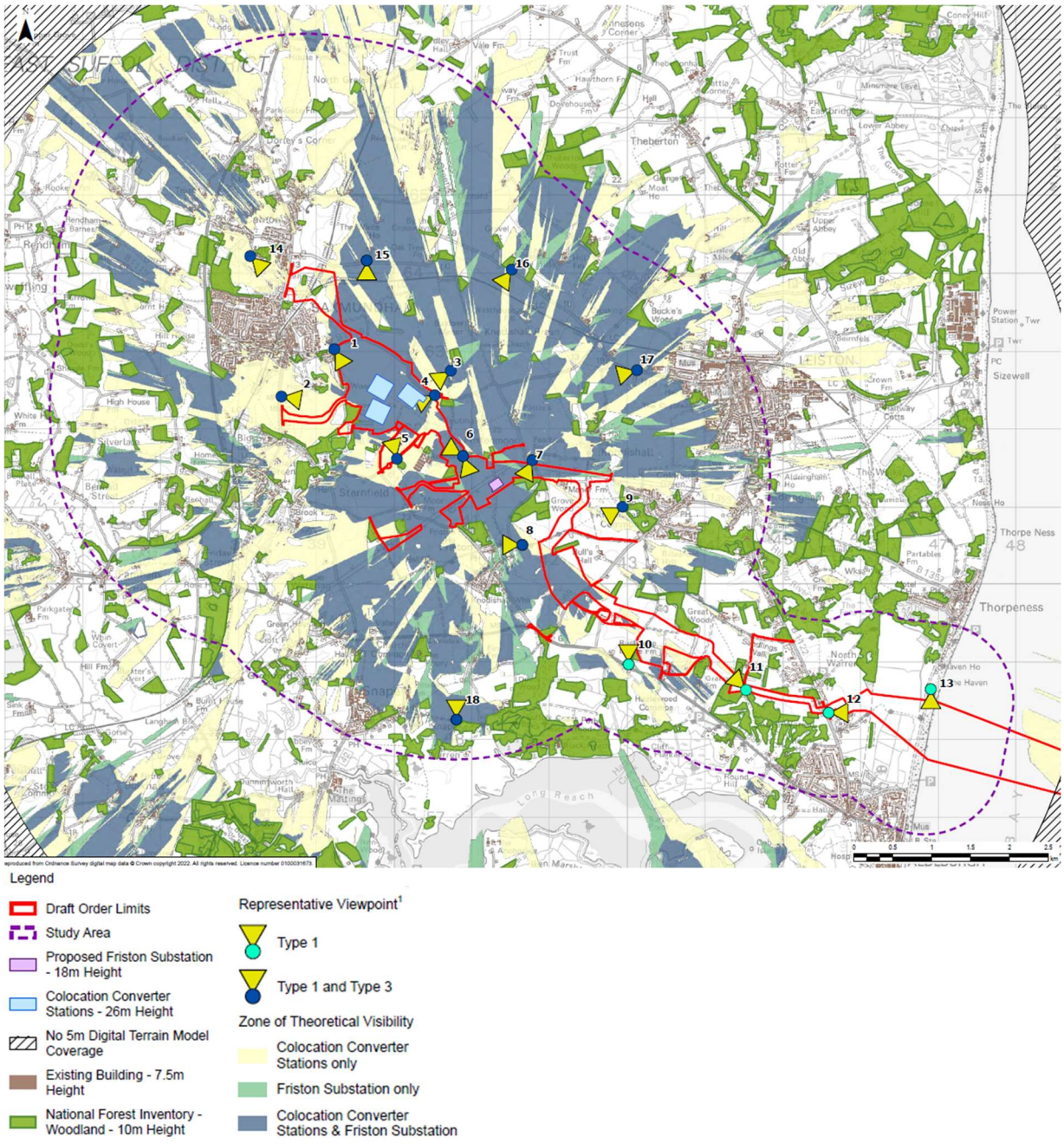

Figure 6. Landscape and Visual viewpoints on ZTV plan showing visibility of the Saxmundham converter, Friston substation and both combined - **(Peir Vol. 3, Part 2, Chapter 2, Figures, p11)**

3.17. The Area of Search excluded the Alde Estuary, even though the ZTV plans for Cultural Heritage and Landscape & Visual illustrated above show the proposed development would be visible on the south side of the Alde estuary and at Slaughden. The estuary is covered by multiple policies: AONB, Heritage Coast, Ramsar, SSSI, SPA. Protection by multiple policies of nature and wildlife has allowed invertebrates to thrive in the intertidal mud flats upon which birds forage. The Blyth, Alde and Ore, Deben, Orwell, and Stour estuaries in the SC&H AONB are the locations of some of England's finest wildlife habitats, intertidal areas of mudflats and saltmarsh **[Suffolk & Essex Coasts and Heaths AONB Management Plan, 2023-2028, p14].** The Alde estuary is unusual and special for the conglomeration of receptors which contribute to a sense of a place with very high values. The Scoping Opinion advised that *"heritage specific viewpoints should be produced to support the heritage assessment. Suitable cross-referencing between the LVIA aspect chapter and Cultural Heritage aspect chapter should be included."* **[6.14 – 3.1.11].**

Figure 7. View looking north from the footpath along the south side of the Alde estuary in the direction of the proposed converter station at Saxmundham – the twin line of pylons 46m high **[DCO doc ref. 6.14, para 1.4.2.16, Table 1.4.3]** are visible above the houses of Snape
Source & © BA

Figure 8. View looking north from the footpath along the south side of the Alde estuary in the direction of the proposed substation at Friston to the right of the treed area left of centre
Source & © BA

3.18. Assessment of these multiple receptors have not been submitted by the applicant, although they were tabulated in the PEIR Landscape & Visual **(PEIR Volume 1, Part 2, Chapter 2, 2.2.2.58 & Table 2.2.5).** No reason has been given for their exclusion by drawing the Area of Search so narrowly. In my professional opinion, the evidence produced in the applicant's own submitted documents and my subsequent research and assessment indicates there would be many effects of the proposed development on the AONB. This appears to be a blind spot in the assessments of effects by the consultants.

Settlement and Land Use

3.19. The AONB is perhaps best known for its archaeological evidence dating to the Anglo-Saxon period. The royal cemeteries at Sutton Hoo, with their wealth of fantastic finds, are the most famous, a similar smaller cemetery has also been found at Snape, and evidence is emerging of royal settlement at Rendlesham between the 5th to 8th Centuries.

Cultural History - Iken

3.20. The ES separates the heritage and landscape topics into separate Chapters. This is standard practice on large projects with complex receptors. In my experience, they should not be considered in discipline silos. There are inevitable overlaps – each consultant should identify and assess their effects within their remit.

Figure 9. View Looking north east from the footpath along the south side of the Alde estuary at the promontory of St. Botulph's church
Source & © BA

3.21. Iken is one of these. The results of excavations in 1977 at St. Botulph's Church, Iken were published in 1984 [S. West, R. Cramp & N Scarfe, 'Iken, St Botolph and the Coming of East Anglian Christianity', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology & History XXXV* (1984), pp 279-302.] The authors concluded that this was the place where St. Botolph was allowed by King Anna to set up a Benedictine Abbey in 654 AD, the place described as *Icanho* by Bede in the Anglo Saxon Chronicle.

3.22. The article and Wikipedia summary are attached in Appendix A, together with contemporary photographs. There are multiple linked topics to be assessed:

- Cultural: The site of one of the earliest places of Christian worship in East Anglia, established by a Saint who founded the Benedictine order in England, and was so revered that his remains were exhumed for the site after its destruction to be taken eventually to Bury St. Edmunds for safety.
- Topography: The church is sited on a high promontory of Coralline Crag whose prominence is very unusual to find on all of the other tidal estuaries in the AONB. The flood map shows that in extremis Botulph's church site will revert to its original island status.
- Historical landscape: Botulph would have landed from the sea before the mouth of the Alde was blocked by the longshore drift of shingle. Yet the expanse of water at high tide allows understanding of why this site was selected for its security in the turbulent wars between the East Anglians and Mercians.
- Heritage asset setting: The church tower is visible from all parts of the wide and long upper estuary of the Alde above the trees surrounding the burial ground.
- Landmark: The church is a rare and historic landmark within the flat landscape and from the water.
- Communal: The congregation is strong following the rebuilding after the fire, and the church is a destination of the public footpath from Snape Maltings on the southern shore of the estuary.

3.23. The ZTV plans also show that visibility will be possible at Slaughden and by Martello Tower CC just south of Aldeburgh where the Alde is prevented from entering the sea by the historic southward longshore drift shingle deposits. There will also be visibility from public footpaths along the river wall on the west side of the Alde opposite Slaughden, and probably from another footpath along Iken beach.

Figure 10. Martello Tower CC, looking north between the River Alde and the sea in the direction of the proposed development Source & © BA

Military History

3.24. Martello Tower CC is the northernmost of the East Coast forts built during the Napoleonic War between 1808-10 by Royal Engineers to deter and slow down any invasion by Bonaparte's forces. It is the largest with a unique clover-leaf plan and the rare moat partially survives. Subsequently it was retained in use into the mid C19 and sold in 1932. It was commandeered as a military watchtower in WWII. It has architectural and historic special interest. Its siting was specific, recorded by the Royal Ordnance engineers, and its setting to sea and river is unspoilt. It is listed Grade II* and is a Scheduled Monument, now owned and let by the Landmark Trust. Its significance has not been assessed, neither the effects of the proposed project on it.

The natural environment

3.25. The presence of visible wildlife and the unspoilt riverscape combine in one of the landscape characters recognised in the 2012 Lottery Funded *Touching the Tide* report. This is one of the baseline studies which has informed the previous and current version of the S&EC&H MP. This was updated, rather than paused as recommended by the DEFRA Secretary of State in 2022, due to the *"significant planning pressures on the AONB due to Nationally Significant Infrastructure Projects that are in part being driven by commitments to achieve net Zero by 2050."* [S&EC&H MP 2023-2028, p.10].

3.26. The ExA is requested to ask NGET to include a proper assessment the Alde estuary in the Cultural Heritage and Landscape and Visual chapters of the ES. The model used to generate the ZTV plans should be run again further south to include the southern side of the Alde estuary, down to Tunstall Road on the ridge.

B – THE IMAGES USED IN THE LVIA

3.27. The assessments of the LVIA viewpoints' baselines is in **DCO doc. 6.3.2.1.D ES Appendix 2.1.D Visual Amenity Baseline and Assessment High Resolution**. The images of the Proposed Project are only modelled as AVR1 wirelines. These have been assessed for the magnitude and scale of effects, in years 1 and 15 in operation, both winter and summer. None of the images of the Proposed Project have been rendered to AVR 3 standard.

AVR Level 0	Location and size of proposal
AVR Level 1	Location, size and degree of visibility of proposal
AVR Level 2	As level 1 + description of architectural form
AVR Level 3	As level 2 + use of materials

AVR0
Showing Location and Size (in this case as a toned area superimposed on photograph)

AVR1
Confirming degree of visibility (in this case as an occluded 'wireline' image)

AVR2
Explaining architectural form (in this case as a simply shaded render in a uniform opaque material)

AVR3
Confirming the use of materials (in this case using a 'photorealistic' rendering technique)

Figure 11. Extract from the London View Management Framework SPD, Appendix C, showing the different qualities of Accurate Visual Representation (AVR) which have been adopted as a generic standard (2012)

3.28. In my professional opinion, the level of detail in the assessments cannot be justified from the limited quality of AVR1 images. The massing of the buildings is impossible to understand, there are no materials, colour or texture to understand how different light conditions will render the building with the seasons. None of the associated wires and external equipment are modelled, nor the perimeter fencing.

3.29. This may reflect the level of detail in the drawings of the Proposed Project building submitted for DCO approval **2.13 Design and Layout Plans**. The layout and components of the electrical buildings and components are very specific as one would expect. But there are no details of material and detailing of the converter sheds, not the landscaping around them and within the site. It seems that NGET wanted to submit the overall design with limited information. The consequences of this are explored further in Topics C and D below.

3.30. The ExA should request the applicant to either limit the scope of the LVIA assessment to what can be assessed or submit more detail of the Proposals so they can be assessed to EIA standards.

C – THE DETAIL OF THE DESIGN SUBMITTED

3.31. The compliance with Design guidance is explained in several application document with some repetition. **7.1 Planning Statement** explains how it considers good design is embedded in the Proposed Project.

3.32. NG has published its own **Horlock Rules Guidelines** on the siting and design of Substations. These include *"avoiding altogether nationally designated areas of the highest amenity, cultural or scientific value by the overall planning of the system connections."* (Section III, para 2). *"Areas of local amenity value, important existing habitats and landscape features including ancient woodland, historic hedgerows, surface and ground water sources and nature conservation areas should be protected as far as reasonably practicable."* (Section III, para 4).

3.33. On design:

- *With outdoor equipment, a preference should be given normally to a low profile design with low height structures and silhouettes appropriate to the background.*
- *Commission exterior design and colours appropriate to the surroundings.*
- *Materials and colours for buildings, equipment and fencing should be chosen to harmonise with local surroundings*
- *The design of access roads, perimeter fencing, earth shaping, planting and ancillary development should form an integral part of the site layout and design to fit in with the surroundings*

3.34. On environmental reporting, descriptions of "*Operational features of the project and relevant measurements of emissions such as noise, vibration, light, heat and electric and magnetic fields."*

3.35. **DCO 7.12.1 Design Principles Document – Suffolk** identifies the objectives of the design process. It identifies the NPS Policy Statements, Design Guides and Local Policy and specific AONB Guidance. Critical Design Constraints are at the top of the hierarchy in recognition that, "*electricity networks infrastructure must in the first instance be safe and secure, and that the functional design constraints of safety and security may limit an applicant's ability to influence the aesthetic appearance of that infrastructure."*

3.36. The principles of siting and cable routes are covered in **DCO 7.3 Design Development Report**.

3.37. **DCO 7.11.1 Design Approach Document – Suffolk**, which is the equivalent of a Design and Access Statement, assesses different options for massing the converter, including colour, pattern and materials. It analysis the site and its context, local character, the generic design parameters, design evolution, the comments from the Design Review Panel, mixing different masses with roof forms, skyline profiles, materials, patterns, scale of cladding components, all with tone and colour studies. The appearance of different solutions are explored with AVR3 renders within the selected viewpoint baselines. International exemplars were studied for effectiveness of massing in different site contexts.

3.38. Consultation comments from SCC, Esc and Design Review Panel are stated in 7.11.2 (para 1.4.6) have been addressed in doc. 7.11.1.

3.39. Four different design approaches were developed in tandem with the **DCO 7.12.1 Design Principles Document**. Yet after this analysis no decision was made to select one design to submit as the DCO application.

3.40. Despite this, the character and effects of the proposed converter station and substation designs can be understood. Themes for the standards to be met recur through all policy and

guidance, sampled below in the NIC Design Group's Design Principles for Infrastructure which include:

- To *"design for people…, make it human scale, easy to navigate, and instinctive to use, helping to improve the quality of life."*
- Places are to *"provide a strong sense of identity and improve the natural and built environment; make a positive contribution to landscapes within and beyond the project boundary."*

3.41. The functional and safety constraints are clear to see. The change from rural farmland to the scale of the 26m and 18m heights of the proposed converter and sub-station windowless sheds with multiple overhead cables on plots 250m square minimum, floodlit and surrounded by 2.8m fencing in visually open security corridors, will always be dramatic. Despite the best efforts of the architect's mitigation of cladding and roof forms, the sheer scale and extent marks the sheds as a sterilisation of space and landscape. These buildings are intrinsically alien and will be harmful in many ways.

D – EFFECTS OF IMPORTANT ELEMENTS NOT SUBMITTED

3.42. The drawings submitted for the ExA and SoS to include in the DCO as the means to control the development can be found in DCO Section 2. These show the land needed to construct and operate the Proposed Project, the layout and dimensions of the underground cable routes and their jointing, alterations to highways, hedgerows and trees to be removed, and the two major buildings.

3.43. The ExA recommendation and approval is limited to what has been submitted. It can only approve an application when its purposes, uses, design and effects can be fixed and controlled. These Section 2 drawings can be approved by the ExA and SoS as they describe parts of the design precisely. Any further pre-commencement details required can be listed in the DCO.

3.44. The ExA can only approve when it is satisfied that it understands all the effects of the proposed development. By not submitting a complete set of architectural and landscape drawings of the converter and substation sites, NGET have left an information void. This seems unnecessary as it has commissioned most of the preparatory design work already. The ExA is left in the invidious position of having either to guess what NGET will finally propose, request final details (at the risk of possibly extending the Hearing beyond the 6 month time limit), or refuse.

3.45. The highways drawings showing land needed for wide bell-mouth road junctions have notes stating *"Proposed arrangements shown for indicative purposes only. Dimensions and design may vary following completion of site surveys and the detailed design."* **DCO ref. 2.13 Design and Layout Plans,** (p 21, drawing no. DCO/S/DE/SS/1214). This seems an unnecessary condition when it is standard practice to submit in LPA planning application tracking of key vehicle movements such as fire engines, refuse vehicles, and disabled parking. This drawing also illustrates a truck train 74.7m long for very heavy loads for which the land needed has been carefully drawn as part of the limits.

E – USE OF THE 'ROCHDALE ENVELOPE'

3.46. Due to the information void, NGET is relying on the ExA approving the use of the Rochdale envelope to give the applicant latitude to complete the design after the DCO has been issued.

NSIP – Advice Note 9 – The Rochdale Envelope, July 2018

3.47. This Advice Note addresses the level of flexibility which would be considered appropriate in order to address uncertainties associates with application for NSIP approval. It is employed

where the nature of the Proposed Project means that some details of the whole project have not been confirmed (for instance precise dimensions of structures).

3.48. EN-1, EN-5 and the NS for National Networks all stress the need to ensure that the significant effects of a Proposed Project have been assessed. I have described above in Topic B that the LVIA is deficient because it does not have a final design which can be rendered in sufficient quality to be included in the operational state. If the good work in **DCO 7.11.1 Design Approach Document – Suffolk** was completed, the LVIA images could be produced as VAR3s and the LVIA completed. The significant effects could then be assessed properly.

3.49. It is unreasonable for NGET to hold back simple information at this critical stage in their long approvals programme solely to retain flexibility within the Rochdale Envelope principles. There may be other topics where details can follow after the DCO because their effects have been assessed. But this does not apply to the architectural and landscape design. The only uncertainty seems to have been generated purposefully by NGET.

3.50. When this Proposed Project will have such harmful effects, it is incumbent on the applicant to include the requisite level of detail and the ExA to require it. The Advice Note records the very specific propositions in the Court's judgement The Advice Note states (para. 5.2) clearly: *"Implementation of the Rochdale Envelope assessment should only be used where it is necessary and should not be treated as a blanket opportunity to allow for insufficient detail in the assessment."* As NGET have commissioned and submitted most of the design for consultation and developed it further, they should be requested to complete and submit the architectural design and landscaping. The ExA can then make a more informed analysis of the Proposed Project and give more weight in its recommendations to the SoS.

F – THE SELECTION OF THE SAXMUNDHAM SITE

Alternative Options Considered at Strategic Proposals Stage

3.51. Para. 2.2 in the ES Non-Technical summary (**DCO ref. 6.1**) identifies four options which were appraised. The only initial landfall considered was in the Sizewell area. SL2 - Sizewell area and Richborough area offshore was selected. The Corridor and Preliminary Routing and Siting Study [ref. 8.1, October 2022, paras. 2.1.1 to 2.1.5] does not explain or justify why, if the power was being transmitted to Kent, a landfall in the Sizewell area was essential.

3.52. The 2019/2020 NOA is cited as the source of the assessment but no explanation is given. In the absence of any public justification for the eventual selection of Saxmundham for the converter station as opposed to placing it at sea, the choice of this application's site must be questioned.

3.53. SEAS have made a case for the converter station being located offshore. As the principal purpose of the Saxmundham converter station is to redirect power from the wind farms in the North Sea out to Kent and not to connect to the pylons coming from Sizewell, there is no need for it to be in countryside and causing both temporary and permanent significant effects on landscape, wildlife and the local economy.

3.54. The applicant considers what it concludes to be limited harm to be more than balanced by the benefits to the national infrastructure. They do not consider that even this harm would not be caused at all with a converter station offshore.

G – THE USES OF AND CONNECTIONS TO THE FRISTON SITE

3.55. The location of a substation at Friston to connect SPR's offshore wind-generated power to the 400kV grid was only necessary because SPR refused to implement in full its DCO for underground cables from Bawdsey to Bramford.

3.56. The

3.57. harm to the setting of the SC&H AONB and local receptors will be entirely unnecessary. The extent of this landscape and visual harm can be seen on the ZTV plans referenced above.

3.58. The ExA should understand that the harm caused by Friston's DCO should not be considered as part of the baseline before assessing the Proposed Project. In LVIA and TVIA assessments, consented but unimplemented projects are only assessed as cumulative developments after the Proposed Project has been assessed..

3.59. As NGET have included the whole Friston substation within their Proposed Project, the harm caused by that element will have to be assessed against the existing undeveloped baseline.

H – THE IMPLICATIONS OF SIZEWELL C HAVING BEEN COMMISIONED

3.60. The Government has confirmed funding to allow Sizewell C to proceed. It has also provided funding to extend the life of Sizewell B. Thus, both power stations will need most of the capacity of the dual line of pylons connecting them to the national grid.

3.61. The remaining capacity available to be used either from the Friston substation or the Saxmundham converter needs to be calculated. If this is insufficient, will the two DCO projects be viable? If only one, which one?

3.62. This information is critical to financial viability, especially the taxpayer's contribution to the financing of NGET's Proposed Project.

3.63. If either or both of the two proposed stations are going to be redundant, the ExA should not allow their sites to be used for another energy use which is inappropriate for the character of the East Suffolk countryside. The consequences of co-locating converters or similar very large industrial buildings at Saxmundham are noted in Topic I below.

I – THE CUMULATIVE IMPACTS

NSIP – Advice on Cumulative Effects Assessment, 25 March 2025

3.64. This Advice Note summarises the process for undertaking cumulative effects assessments. It quotes the legal and policy requirements, interrelationships and combined effects and the 4 Stages from establishing long and short lists of existing and / or approved developments, information gathering and assessment.

3.65. The cumulative effects between projects are in **DCO 6.2.2.13 Part 2 Suffolk Chapter 13 Suffolk Onshore Scheme Inter-Project Cumulative Effects.** The key potential projects are Sizewell C, East Anglia ONE North offshore, East Anglia TWO offshore, and LionLink offshore interconnector. All progressed to Stage ¾ for Landscape & Visual and Cultural Heritage except not the latter for Sizewell C.

3.66. There was potential for significant cumulative effects from EA1N and EA2 on the SC&H AONB (Table 13.35) during construction, relying on this to be mitigated by growing vegetation and distance between onshore permanent elements. Likewise, for LionLink.

3.67. The summary conclusion on Landscape & Visual (para 13.4) is that "*The concentration of construction activity associated with the landfalls and HVDC cable corridors within part of*

the Suffolk Coast and Heaths AONB has the potential to alter the perception of the AONB with construction of major energy projects becoming a temporary characteristic feature of the landscape. These total cumulative effects are unlikely to remain once all projects are operational, particularly once the cable corridors are reinstated and mitigation planting becomes established over time"

3.68. When considering the number of converter anticipated and possible on the Saxmundham site, as drawn in **DCO7.10 Coordination Document, Appendix A**, Section 3 (see Figures 13 and 13 below), the change character will be immense. Each converter is an enclosure 250m square, with spiders webs of wires connected into 26m high sheds. This industrialisation of the countryside on a massive scale.

Figure 12. Location of 3 potential converter stations with compounds at Saxmundham.
DCO7.10 Coordination Document, Appendix A, Section 3.3, p15

Figure 13. Key to the 3 potential converter station at Saxmundham
DCO7.10 Coordination Document, Appendix A, Section 3.3, p15

SEA LINK DEVELOPMENT CONSENT ORDER

Interested Party submission by N Bridges RIBA

APPENDIX A – ST. BOTOLPH'S CHURCH, IKEN, WOODBRIDGE, SUFFOLK, IP12 2ES

Source 1 – Wikipedia
Botolph of Thorney
Accessed 3 May 2025

Botolph's Church, Iken, Suffolk
Little is known about the life of Botolph, other than doubtful details in an account written four hundred years after his death by the 11th-century monk Folcard. Botolph was born sometime in the early 7th century to noble Saxon parents who were Christians. He and his brother Adulph were educated by Saint Fursey at Cnobheresburg monastery. They were then sent to study on the Continent, where they became Benedictines. Adulph remained abroad, where he is said to have become a Bishop.

Botolph, returning to England, found favour with a certain "King of the southern Angles", whose sisters he had known in Germany, and was by him permitted to choose a tract of desolate land upon which to build a monastery. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records for the year 654: "The Middle Angles, under earldorman Peada, received the true faith. King Anna was killed and Botolph began to build the church at Ikanho."

Botolph founded the monastery of Icanho. Icanho, which means 'ox hill', has been identified as Iken, located by the estuary of the River Alde in Suffolk; a church still remains on top of an isolated hill in the parish. At the time, the site was a tidal island all but surrounded by water, but Botolph attracted other monks and hermits and together they turned areas of marsh and scrub into productive grazing and farm land. The monks built several structures, and the monastery grew. Botolph also worked as an itinerant missionary in East Anglia, Kent and Sussex.

The Life of St Ceolfrith, written around the time of Bede by an unknown author, mentions an abbot named Botolph in East Anglia, "a man of remarkable life and learning, full of the grace of the Holy Spirit." Ceolfrith visited him about the year 670

Botolph is supposed to have been originally buried at his foundation of Icanho, but in 970 Edgar I of England gave permission for the remains of Botolph to be transferred to Burgh, near Woodbridge, to prevent them from being destroyed by invading Danes. They remained for some fifty years before being transferred to their own tomb at Bury St Edmunds Abbey on the instructions of Cnut. The saint's relics were later transferred again, along with those of his brother Adulph, to Thorney Abbey, although his head was transferred to Ely Abbey and various body parts to other houses, including Westminster Abbey.

Source 2 – web archive – Ely Cathedral
St Botulph
Accessed 3 May 2025

Botulph was one of the most popular British saints of the early Middle Ages. He was a nobleman who went to the Continent to become a Benedictine monk and returned to England to found a monastery in East Anglia. Although the life story of this humble affable man is sketchy, records show that he did exist in history and his story is more fact than legend.

Born into a Christian Saxon family in the early seventh century, Botulph and his brother Adulph were educated by Saint Fursey in Cnobersburg monastery, located at Burgh Castle near Great Yarmouth. When Mercian forces invaded the region, the boys were sent to Europe and became Benedictines. Botulph was sent back to England in 647 to establish the Benedictine Order, while Adulph remained in Europe and became a bishop.

On his return, Botulph approached the little known King of the southern Angles, Ethelmund, whose sisters he had known in Germany. The King offered Botulph part of the royal estate upon which to build a monastery. Instead he settled for a desolate, barren site, reported to be haunted by demons.

With the support of Saint Syre, Saint Aubierge, and their brother, King Anna of East Anglia, Botulph founded the monastery of Ikanhoe (Ox-island), which according to the Saxon Chronicle, was established in 654 AD as a Benedictine abbey.

The site was surrounded by water and endless work was needed to make this austere place viable. But Botulph attracted enough brother monks and hermits and soon, through their hard work and faith, the monastery grew. The monks built several structures, turned large areas of marsh and scrub into productive grazing and farm land, and dispelled the local people's fear of demons.
No one knows for sure where Ikanhoe was - the two modern contenders are Iken in Suffolk and Boston in Lincolnshire. For many years local historians believed that the developing area around the monastery came to be called Botulph's Town, then Botulphston, with the name finally contracted to Boston.

However, more recent research suggests that the actual spot may be the village of Iken, near Snape in east Suffolk which, centuries ago, was almost encircled by the River Alde. The church there is also dedicated to St. Botulph.

During his time at the monastary, Botulph also worked as a travelling missionary through rough, bandit-plagued areas of East Anglia, Kent and Sussex. It is believed he died after a long illness while being carried to chapel for a compline service on 17 June 680 – the date his feast is commemorated. He was buried there at Ikanhoe.

A couple of centuries later his relics were removed to prevent them from being destroyed by invading Danes. It is believed they were transferred to Grundisburgh, a village near Woodbridge and later for safety distributed to the monasteries at Ely, Thorney and Bury St. Edmunds. According to legend, the relics destined for Bury were taken by night and the travellers were guided by a light that shone above the site of the new shrine. In the 11th century, a portion of Botulph’s relics were also taken to the Abbey of Westminster after it was rebuilt by Edward the Confessor.

Although there is some uncertainty as to where Botulph’s relics lie, what is not in doubt is that he was honoured by many churches dedicated to his name - well over fifty, chiefly in East Anglia. They bear witness to his untiring work which strengthened the Benedictine movement for many centuries after his lifetime.

Some of these churches were built at the ancient city gates to serve as safe-havens for travellers in times when robbers and footpads lurked along the roadways. Botolph is regarded as the patron saint for travellers and itinerants, and also farmers and agricultural workers.

Figure 1. View looking north west at St. Boltuph's church, Iken Source & © BA 2025

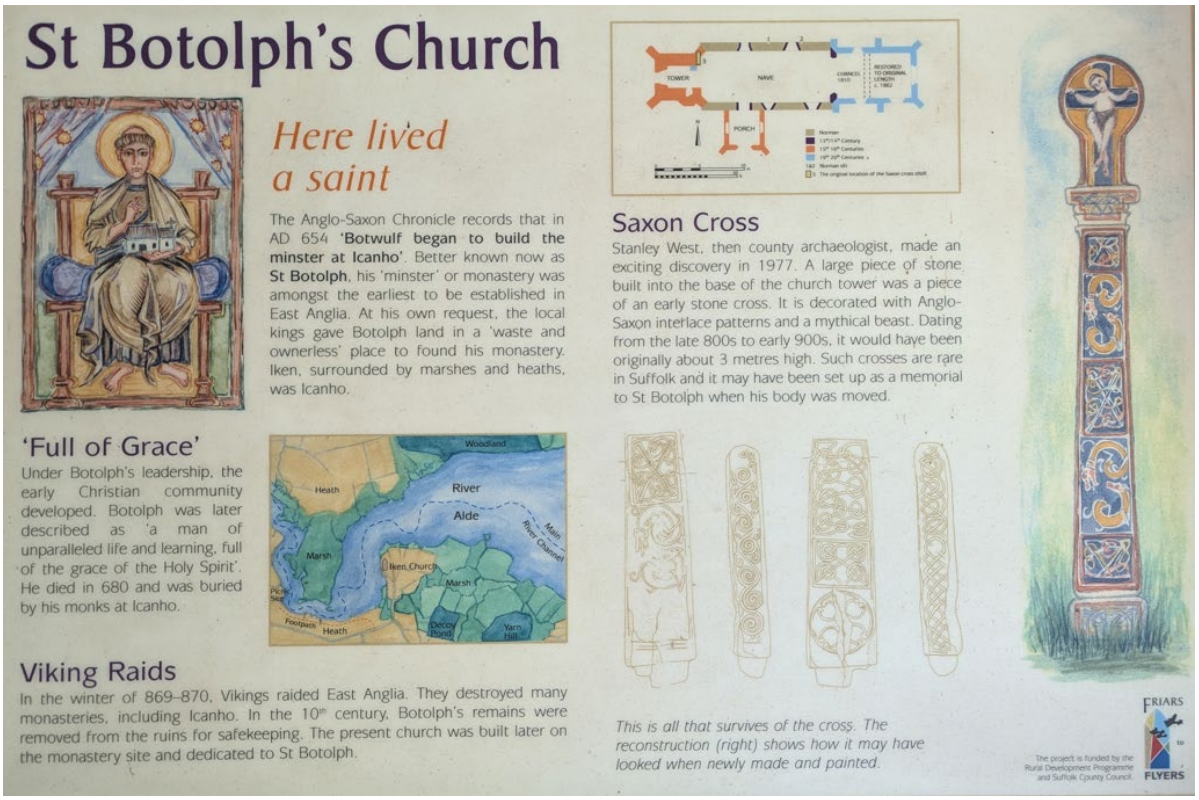

Figure 2. Information board inside the porch of St. Botolph's church Source BA 2025

Statutory List Designation

Official list entry
Heritage Category:Listed Building
Grade: II
List Entry Number: 1198033
Date first listed: 16-Mar-1966
Date of most recent amendment: 02-May-1984
List Entry Name: CHURCH OF ST BOTOLPH
Statutory Address 1: CHURCH OF ST BOTOLPH, CHURCH LANE

Location
Statutory Address: CHURCH OF ST BOTOLPH, CHURCH LANE
The building or site itself may lie within the boundary of more than one authority.

County: Suffolk
District: East Suffolk (District Authority)
Parish: Iken
National Grid Reference: TM 41204 56638

Details
TM 45 NW IKEN CHURCH LANE

2/14 Church of St. Botolph 16.3.66 (Formerly listed under General) – II

Parish church. C15. The now burnt out nave was of c.1300. Chancel c.1862 still used for services. West tower in Knapped flint with ashlar base and knapped flint diagonal buttresses. C15 octagonal font now resited in tower.

Listing NGR: TM4120456638

Legacy
The contents of this record have been generated from a legacy data system.
Legacy System number: 285156
Legacy System: LBS

Legal
This building is listed under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 as amended for its special architectural or historic interest.

Source 3 – Suffolk Institute
Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology & History XXXV (1984).

'Iken, St Botolph and the Coming of East Anglian Christianity', pp 279-302.

S. West, R. Cramp and N. Scarfe

Accessed 3 May 2025

IKEN, ST BOTOLPH, AND THE COMING OF EAST ANGLIAN CHRISTIANITY

by S. E. WEST, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A. *and* NORMAN SCARFE, M.A., F.S.A.
with a contribution by ROSEMARY CRAMP, M.A., B.LITT., F.S.A.

IKEN CHURCH

by S. E. West

'In this year [654] Anna was slain
and Botwulf began to build the Minster at Icanho'
(*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* for the year 654).[1]

Summary
There has been considerable controversy about the identification of Icanho, more recently revived by an attempt to identify it with Hadstock in Essex (Rodwell 1976, 55-57). In January 1977 the writer, on a routine visit to the partly-ruined church of Iken, discovered a piece of carved stone built into the north-east corner, at the base of the tower. The decoration, clearly of the Anglo-Saxon period, prompted an excavation of part of the nave and the extraction of the stone. The stone proved to be a very large fragment of an Anglo-Saxon cross shaft, broken in antiquity and re-used in the base of the tower. The excavation demonstrated that the Norman foundations of the present nave overlay traces of an earlier building and cut earlier graves. A few fragments of Middle Saxon Ipswich Ware are important indicators of an early date for the occupation of the site. There follows a discussion of the dating of the Cross Shaft by Professor Rosemary Cramp and a re-examination of the historical data concerning Iken and its identification with the site of Botolph's monastery by Norman Scarfe.

The Site
Iken is a large parish, occupying most of the southern bank of the Alde Estuary, originally with extensive marshlands, now reclaimed, rising to sandy heathland. A small patch of ancient oak woodland still survives at the western end of the parish. (Rackham 1980, 289-290). Two prominent features dominate the landscape, Yarn Hill and the promontory with St Botolph's Church (Fig. 70). The church occupies a dramatic site, 10 metres O.D. with the Alde to the north and west and extensive views over marshland and the estuary to the east (Fig. 71). To the south the marshland virtually isolated the site until the mid 19th century; the road approaching the church has the aspect of a causeway giving the site a distinct sense of isolation, even today.

The Standing Church (TM 4120 5664; County No. IKN 007)
Prior to the disastrous fire in 1968 when the thatched roof of the nave was completely destroyed, this simple church had been well maintained. It consisted of a Victorian chancel, a nave, a south porch and a fine flint-faced tower. Davy (MS vol. 25, p. 44) noted in 1810, and again in 1831, that the chancel had originally been much longer, with a plan showing remains of the north wall and traces of the east and south walls extending the length of the chancel to a little more than twice what it was in his day (Fig. 72). Subsequently, in a major restoration in the mid-19th century the chancel was restored to its original length and faced in Kentish ragstone. Davy also noted, and showed on his plan, that a stable had been erected on the north side of the ruined part of the chancel, where the wall was still standing to a height of eight to ten feet.

The nave is 47ft 9ins long (14.55m) by 19ft 1in wide (5.81m) internally, and is constructed largely of septaria, with lime-stone fragments and tile used for repairs, the whole plastered over, internally and externally. Two small, narrow, Norman single-light windows were found in the north wall during the excavation, each with round heads cut from single blocks. At the east end of the north wall there is a blocked rood stair. No traces of Norman work were observable in the south wall, but the existing plaster was not stripped.

There is a single-lancet Early English window immediately east of the south porch; and a two-light window with 'Y' tracery to the east, probably a replacement of an earlier window. The north and south doors are opposite one another one third of the way along the nave from the west end; the north door long since disused. Both doorways have two-centred outer arches, flatter rear arches and plain chamfers. The south porch is large, with blocked two-light windows in both the north and south walls. The moulded doorway is flanked by simple flint flushwork panelling; there has been rebuilding in brick in the gable in the 19th century. There is a sundial on the east jamb of the doorway. The chancel arch has attached shafts with moulded capitals and bases and a simple, outer moulding reaching to ground level. The chancel, as has already been mentioned, is entirely rebuilt, including the buttresses at the junction with the nave.

The tower, flint faced with stone dressings, is rectangular in plan, with diagonal buttresses, and has been inserted into the west end of the nave by removing the original west wall, the easterly buttresses meeting the older nave walls at an angle. It was in the lower part of the east wall and north-east buttress of the tower that the fragment of Saxon cross shaft was found.

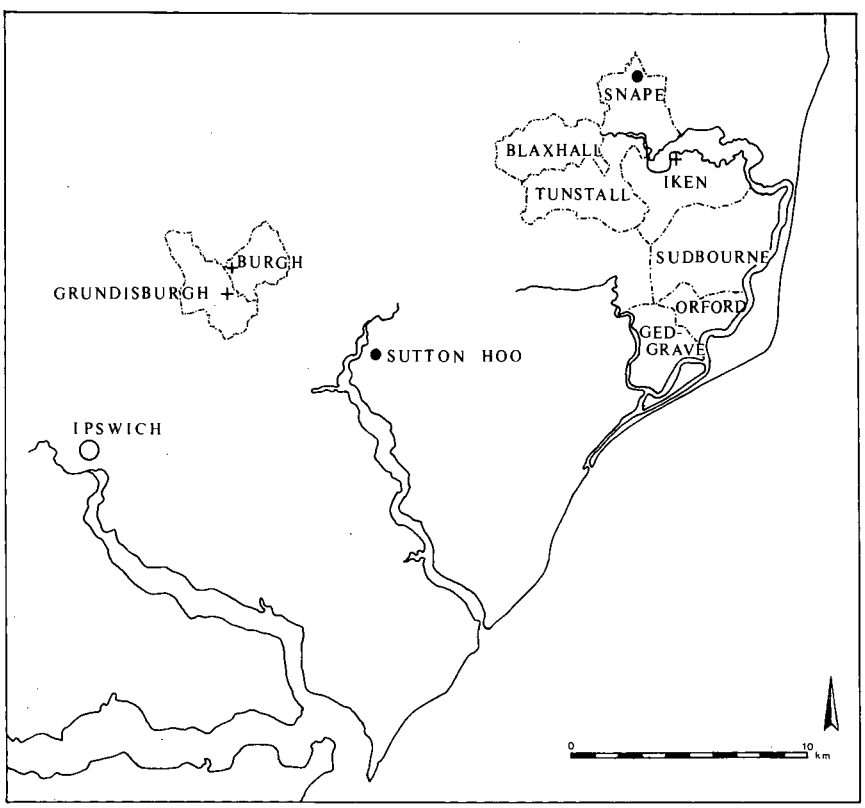

FIG. 69 — South-east Suffolk showing principal places mentioned in the texts and selected parish boundaries.

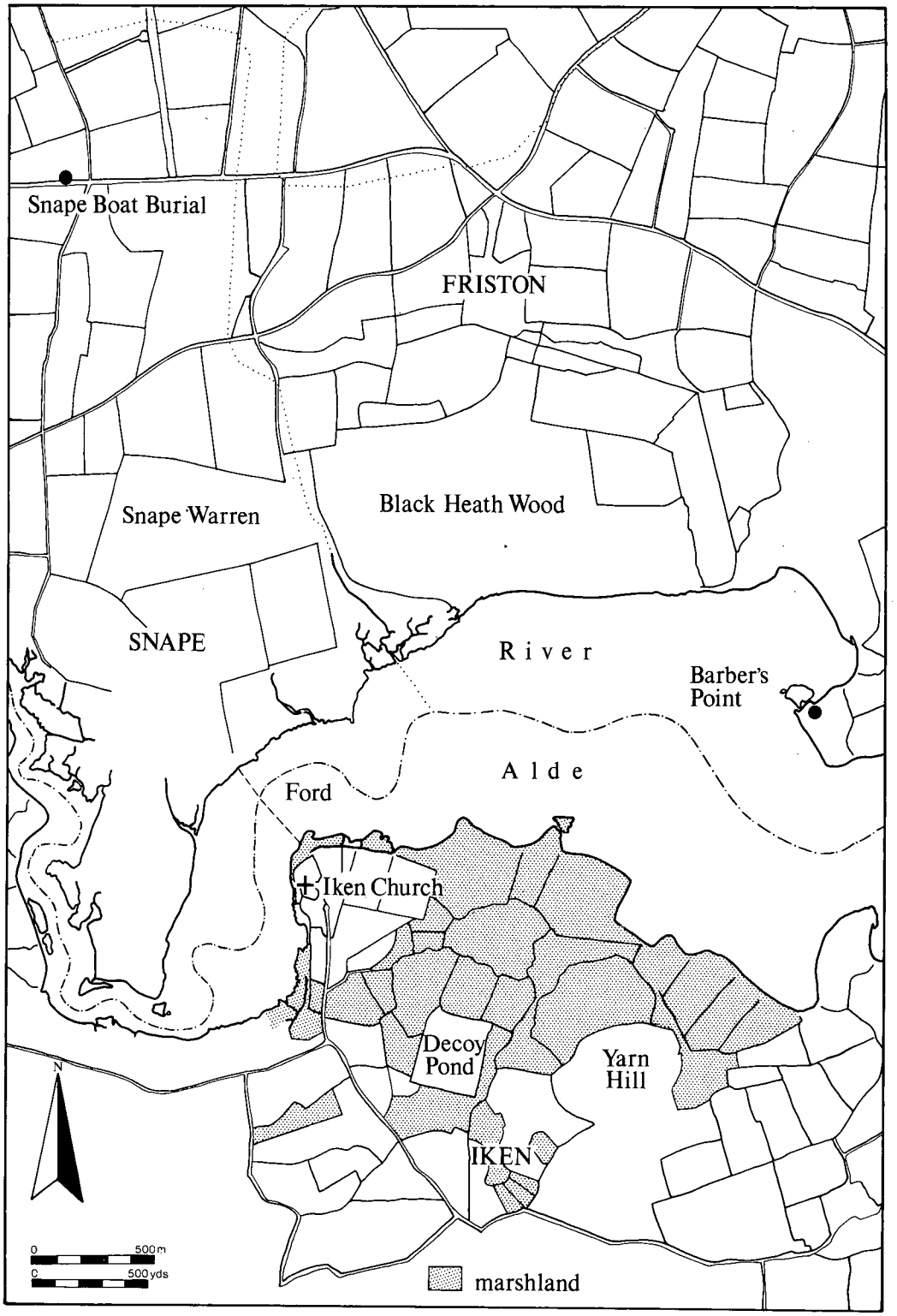

FIG. 70 — Location map: Iken church, the Alde and surrounding marshland.

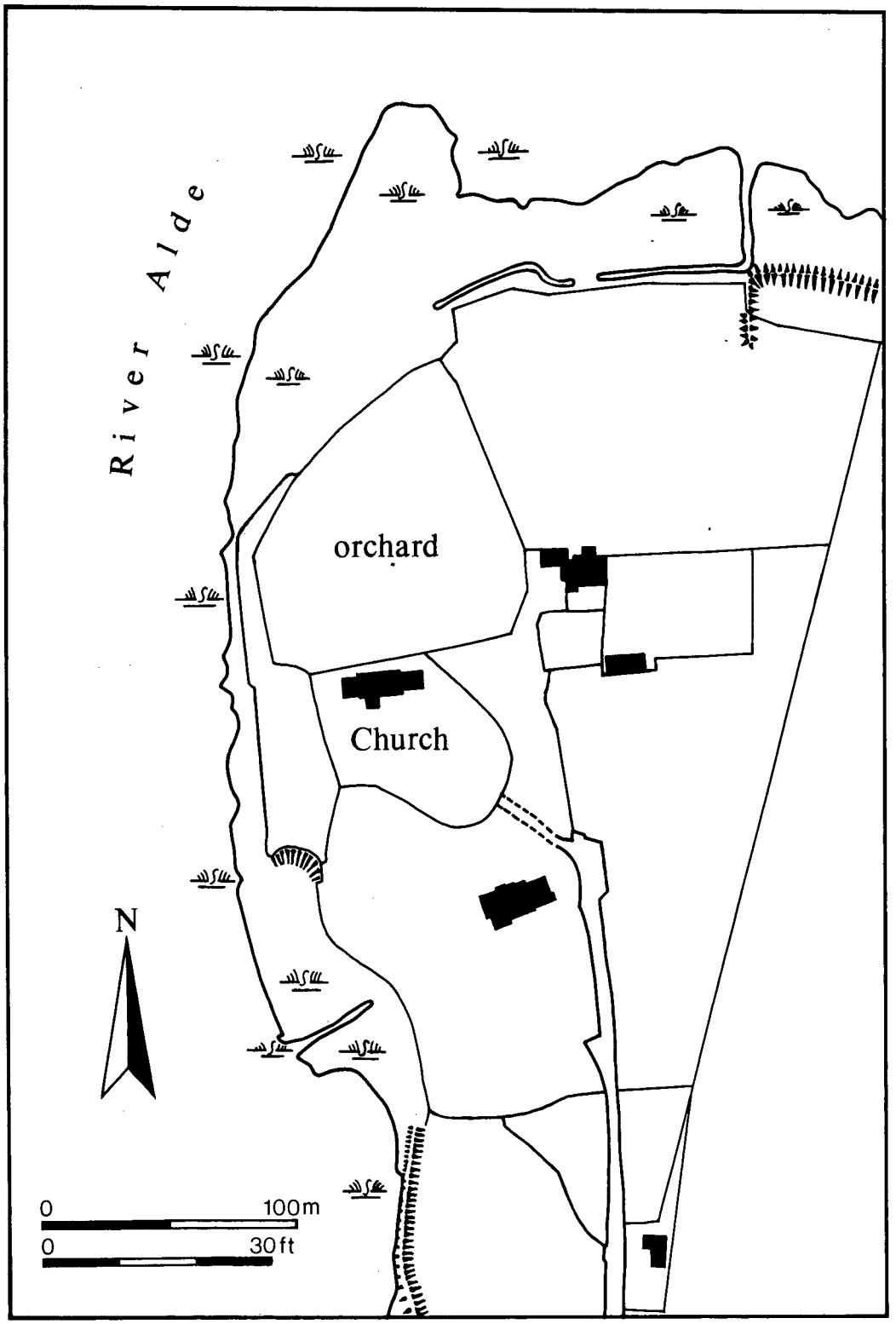

FIG. 71 — Iken peninsula: detail.

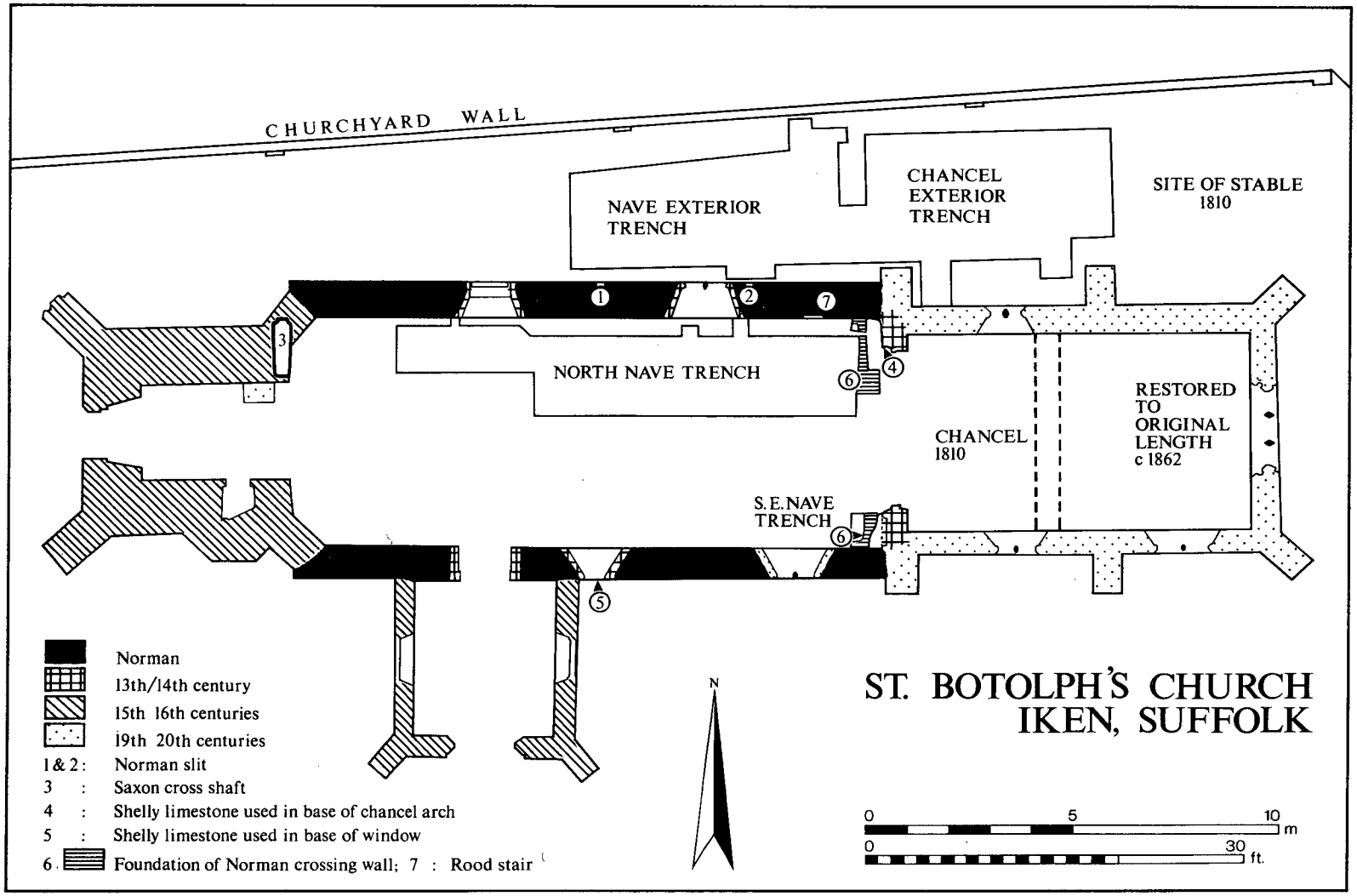

FIG. 72 — Plan of Iken church: excavated areas.

There is a west door with a two-centred arch and hood-mould, above which there is a Perpendicular, three-light window with transomes. The belfry openings are of two cinquefoiled lights with a four-centred arch. The internal stair to the tower is a three-sided projection against the south-east buttress.

The Excavation

The discovery of part of an Anglo-Saxon cross shaft in the base of the tower (Pl.XXa) provided an opportunity to excavate, in the summer of 1977, within the nave and in the narrow space between the north wall and the churchyard wall. The excavation had to be conducted with the greatest sensitivity; graves were observed, but not disturbed and the whole site carefully restored to former levels. All the work was done by hand with a small team of excavators.

The Excavation in the Nave

The northern half of the nave was examined from the chancel steps to a point six feet west of the north door opening. In spite of reports that the entire interior of the nave had been stripped to natural after the fire and filled with rubble preparatory to laying a concrete floor, it was found that this was not, in fact, the case. It would appear that the collapsed debris, pews and floor were removed and the site levelled to a depth of a few inches only. The south edge of the excavation was taken to the bricked edge of a heating channel which ran down the centre of the nave from just opposite the north/south doors, to the chancel steps. Immediately beneath the rubble the soil in the nave was relatively level; this ginger-brown, sandy soil was almost stone free and cleaned remarkably well, with the result that a series of post-holes were at once apparent. These post-holes, up to 35cm deep, formed two paired rows (Fig. 73) for most of the exposed area, but toward the chancel arch the pattern was confused. These post-sockets were clearly late in the sequence and must surely relate to scaffolding in the building of the nave or re-roofing at some stage.

From the plan (Fig. 73) and the difference in the fills, it is possible to discern more than one phase for these features: the majority of the post-holes were filled with a greenish/grey or blue clay, sometimes mixed with sand. Three had a yellowish clay with sand and traces of mortar and two had sand and mortar only. In the case of the latter five post-holes two were cut by post-holes with blue clay in their fills. At the western end of the excavation no post-holes were found, but there were large areas of disturbance, possibly later than the post-holes. Only in one area, toward the east of the series, is there a break in the pattern, suggesting that the grave (004), in that position, was later than the post-holes.

Cautley (1975, 300) records that the nave roof was of the 'late' arch-braced type and, as such, is likely to have been of 15th-century date. The lack of disturbance of the clay packed post-holes in the nave may suggest that at least the main series belong to that date. It should, however, be noted that evidence of the use of the same clay was found in the foundation trench of the nave wall (Feature 114).

Following the removal of the post-holes, a number of graves became apparent, together with the outline of the foundation trenches for the Norman nave wall and the chancel arch. In view of the unstable nature of the exposed base of the nave wall only three small cuttings were made to section the foundation trench and to test the stratigraphy in the main trenches.

The foundation trench for the nave wall became visible in places as soon as the site was cleared of rubble. It was found to continue south across the opening of the chancel arch and was traced to the edge of the heating channel down the centre of the nave. A small excavation in the south-east corner of the nave confirmed the presence of the trench there. At the western end of the excavation in the nave the edge of the trench was some 30cm from the edge of the nave wall, but rapidly narrowed to 6cm toward the east end. At the crossing the inner edge of the

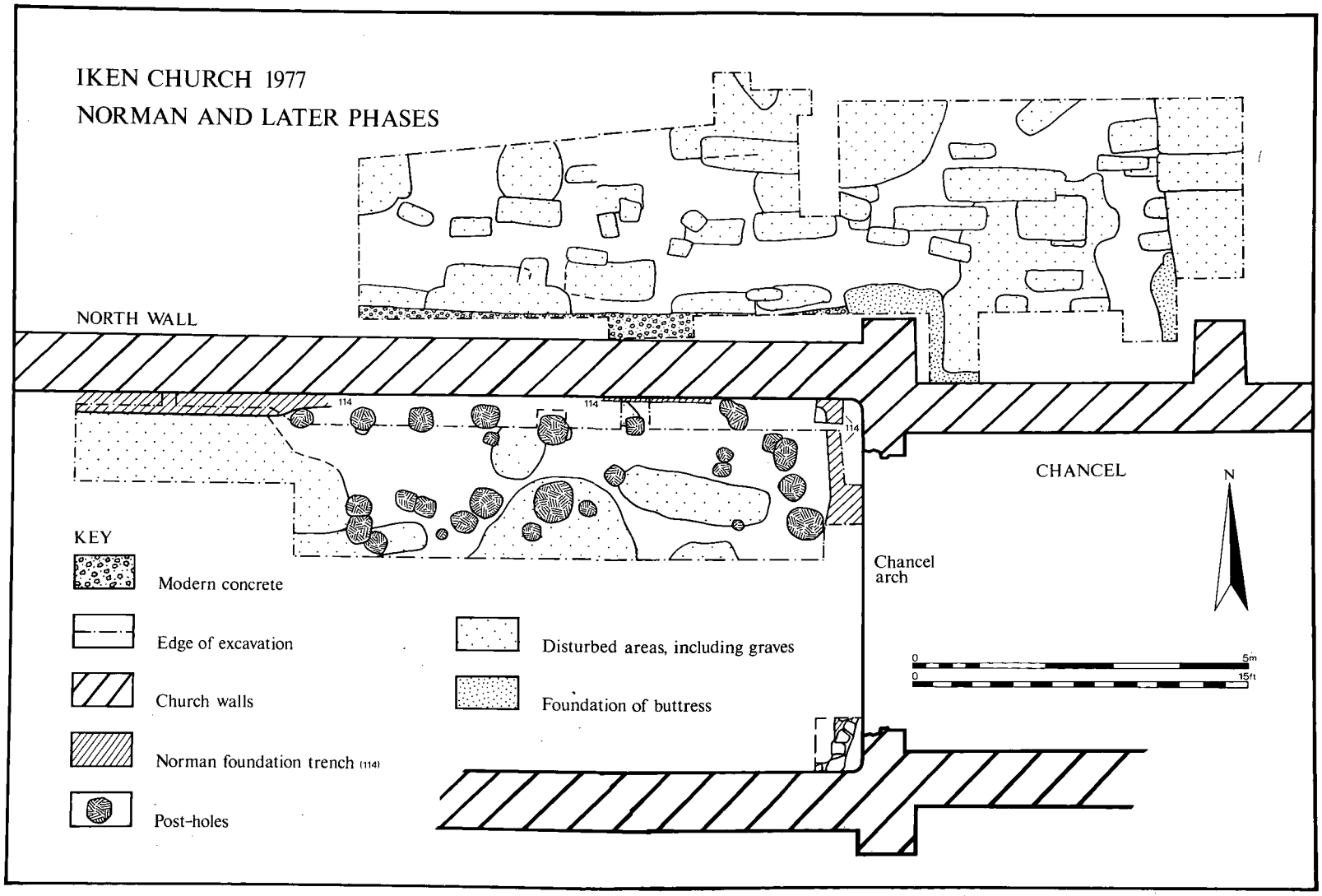

FIG. 73 — Iken church: Norman and later phases.

foundation trench was 50cm from the edge of the 15th-century chancel arch. The width and nature of the foundation trench at the crossing suggests that the original Norman opening had been much narrower. The trench itself was steep sided, 1.5m deep beneath the lowest layer of septaria blocks of which the nave walls are constructed. The filling of the trench consisted of a series of layers of rounded flint pebbles, of average size 3 x 2 x 2cm; sand and septaria and hard packed yellowish-brown and blue clay, with rounded flints and septaria. The mortared septaria forming the core of the wall could barely have penetrated the original ground surface.

At 58cm from the surface the excavation was narrowed and taken down a further 28cm to clarify suspected further graves. A series of graves were identified (Fig. 74), some of which were cut by the Norman foundation trench for the nave wall. (Graves 165, 163, 113; cutting 168, 164 and 153; 154 and, by the chancel crossing, grave 126 cutting 134).

Two other graves are worthy of note: 155 obscured by 034, a large pit, had a distinct coffin outline. Apart from fragments of the skull at the west end only faint, discoloured traces remained of the rest of the skeleton. Grave 086 was squared, the outline traced to the edge of the Norman foundation trench where it appeared to be truncated by it. The pit was excavated to the level at which human bones appeared and found to contain parts of a dismembered skeleton; a detached skull, lying face-down, with no associated vertebra, was seen to have a hole at the rear of maximum extent 10 x 5cm. No lower jaw was seen. The skull was found to be above one of a pair of articulated legs and parts of the ankles, with the femurs to the west. Other ankle bones and the feet were above the second femur at the west end of the pit. There was no evidence to suggest that these bones were disturbed and reburied by the building of the nave wall.

In the narrow space between the churchyard wall to the north and the nave and chancel, a broad trench was stripped to the level of the natural sand. The whole area was found to be much disturbed by graves and pits dug to receive bones disturbed by later grave digging.

A modern concrete plinth has been inserted along the whole length of the north wall of the nave. This protruded for 40cm beyond the edge of the wall and was carried down for at least 80cm and so totally destroyed any trace of the outer line of the foundation trench of the wall. The buttress at the junction of the nave and chancel was not underpinned and the mortared foundation for that extended for 50cm beyond its outer edge.

In the trench to the north of the nave wall a number of lumps of yellowy-green clay were found at a depth of *c.* 30 to 35cm from the modern ground surface. Their distribution can be seen in Fig. 74. At 70cm from the surface larger areas of yellow-green clay were found, close to the nave wall. Although badly cut about by graves and, at the extremities, totally destroyed, enough remained to show that there had been two shallow, clay-filled trenches at right-angles to one another. The east to west feature (152) was 40cm wide, the north to south feature (151) 50cm wide. The east/west line was at an angle of 6° north of the Norman nave wall and, at the west end, was cut by the concrete plinth of the nave wall. The lumps of yellowy-green clay already noticed suggest that a similar feature had been destroyed by grave digging, some 2.3m from the main east to west alignment. In section the clay was 12cm thick, filling a shallow trench with sloping sides.

A further patch of similar clay (110) was found closer to the north wall of the chancel in an area much disturbed by burials. Although it could not be traced very far the fragment found appeared to be in its original position. Clay does not occur naturally on the site and it is important to note that the clay in features 151, 152 and the scattered fragments beyond is not the same as the yellowy-blue clay found in the interior of the church.

The clay was cut by the modern concrete plinth underpinning the nave wall so that it is reasonable to assume that the clay-filled trench predates the Norman nave and that it represents a foundation for timber walling. The projection to the north would suggest a side chamber, the north wall of which is perhaps represented by the line of clay fragments disturbed by later graves.

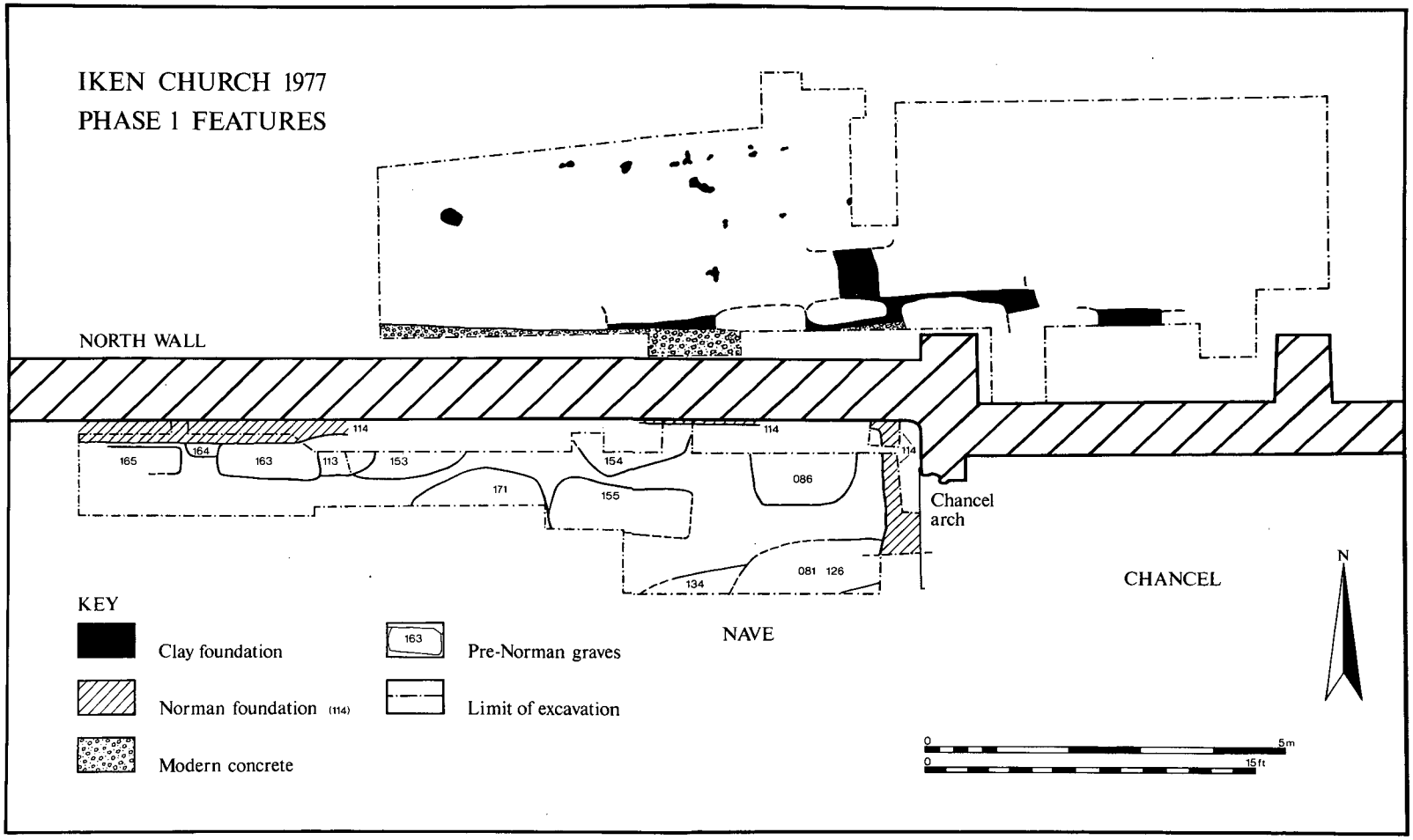

FIG. 74 — Iken church: Phase I features.

At the east end of the trench outside the chancel, traces of the 19th-century stable recorded by Davy in 1810 were found, consisting of a wall footing of mortared septaria blocks and a rough flint-cobble floor.

The Finds

In the nave the close-packed graves had disturbed soil to a depth of 80cm. These disturbed levels produced eighteen sherds of Romano-British pottery, including one fragment of samian. A further six fragments of coarse ware were recovered from grave fills. Within the nave, two sherds of early medieval ware and one possible piece were found; one from immediately below the rubble infill (in 002), one possible sherd from a grave (136) and, more importantly, a rim sherd from an upper level in the foundation trench (120 in 114) for the Norman nave. Ten sherds of local, later grey wares of the late 12th — 13th century were found in the nave, two in the upper layers (001, 002); four in post-holes (017, 018) and four in graves (014, 015, 034). No fragments of Ipswich or Thetford wares were found within the existing church. Externally, the sequence is quite different. Only one Romano-British sherd was recovered; three sherds of Ipswich ware (two stamped), two sherds of Thetford ware; five sherds of Early Medieval ware, 505 sherds of 12/13th century grey wares, two 13th-century Saintonge glazed sherds all from general disturbed layers and eight post-medieval sherds.

Fig. 75; 1, 2: Ipswich ware. Sandy fabric with rectangular, cross-hatched stamps. Possibly from same vessel, probably a spouted, lugged pitcher.

Fig. 75; 3: Polychrome Saintonge Ware. Clear glaze, over green horizontal stripe and part of figure outlined in black. Two joining fragments, from general layer (040), 35cm above the natural.

Fig. 75; 4: Rectangular slab of stone with main surfaces polished and edges chipped to shape. Green igneous rock, olivine with felspar crystals. From just above natural levels (084) in trench to north of chancel. Probably decorative inlay from a tomb.

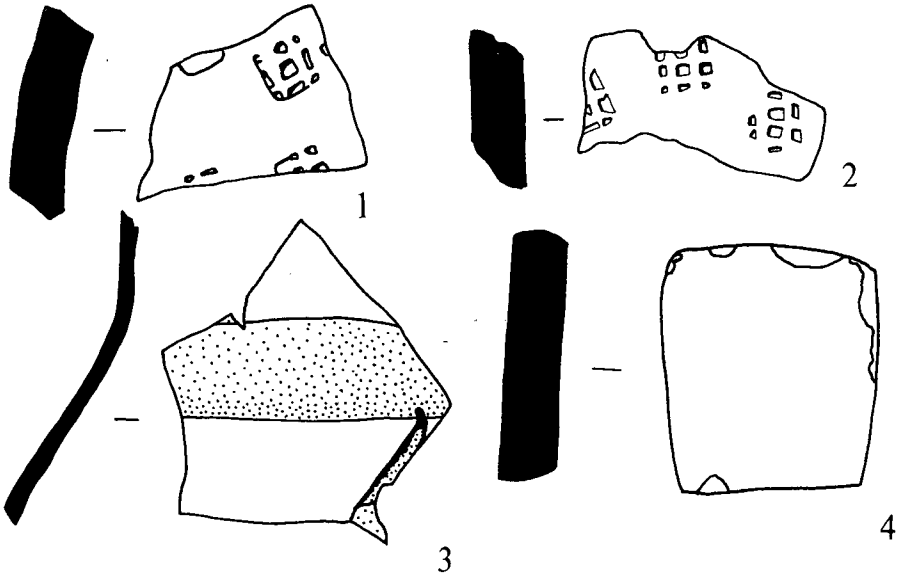

FIG. 75 — The finds: Ipswich ware; Saintonge ware and stone inlay.

The Cross Shaft (Fig. 76; Plates XXa-XXII)

The fragment consists of the lower part of a monolithic cross-shaft, rectangular in section and tapering slightly toward the upper, broken, end. The freestanding portion is 1.5m long, with a further 14cm of broken tenon at the base. From the proportions of the surviving piece, it is very likely that the complete cross was originally at least 3m high. The tenon has a rounded profile which appears to be original; presumably the base must have been a substantial block of stone. There is extensive damage; the broken upper end has a rounded, weathered appearance and the tenon has lost about a third of its mass. A long crack extends from the fractured tenon into the body of the shaft, plainly visible through the cross on side C and probably the cause of the deep flaking scar on side A.

Side C : Two panels of interlace above an equal-armed cross. The uppermost panel is loose, poorly designed interlace although it does, in fact, work. It is enclosed by a single border which extends down to the second panel. This second panel is a more competent rendering of a simple knot design based upon a diagonal cross. Even so, although the design is understood, the execution is rather loose. The third design is of an equal-armed cross within a circle. Unfortunately the crack extends across the middle and the resulting flaking has destroyed the centre. The cross stands in relief against the background. Although well carved, it is not symmetrical, the left and right arms being of unequal widths.

Side A : This side is extensively damaged. The top panel is incomplete, but has, within a heavy border like the middle panel of side C, a complex interlace pattern. Initial impressions of the design suggest that the main elements are two pairs of animal legs or beaks diagonally interwoven with ribbon interlace. An alternative solution is offered here (Fig. 8, E) which shows all the elements as part of a compacted pattern which works, but was not properly understood as a design. The central panel has clear animal ornament without interlace, a coiled, wolf-like creature, with open mouth and protruding tongue is facing downwards. Only the tail and rear limbs are depicted, under and over the body. The body is outlined; the pointed ear, nostril and eye clearly visible. Beneath this animal the surface is badly damaged but on the right side, beneath the first animal, part of the head and other members of a second can just be discerned with oblique lighting. The muzzle, eye and pointed ear are apparent, with a suggestion of the lower jaw and a pointed fragment lower down. The two animals are facing each other as part of the same design; there is no dividing frame. A suggested reconstruction of this animal is offered here (Fig. 76, E) as another coiled shape opposing the one above. Below this point the stone has flaked so that nothing remains of the lowermost panel.

Side B : The upper part of this narrow side was that which was first seen in the east wall of the tower. The design consists of a tight running scroll with tendrils in the upper part where the scroll tends to degenerate into separate elements.

Side D : The second narrow side has an angular interlace at the bottom, which becomes an untidy series of knots towards the top.

The reconstructions in Fig. 76, E, F, do not agree with Professor Cramp's interpretation but are offered here as an alternative view.

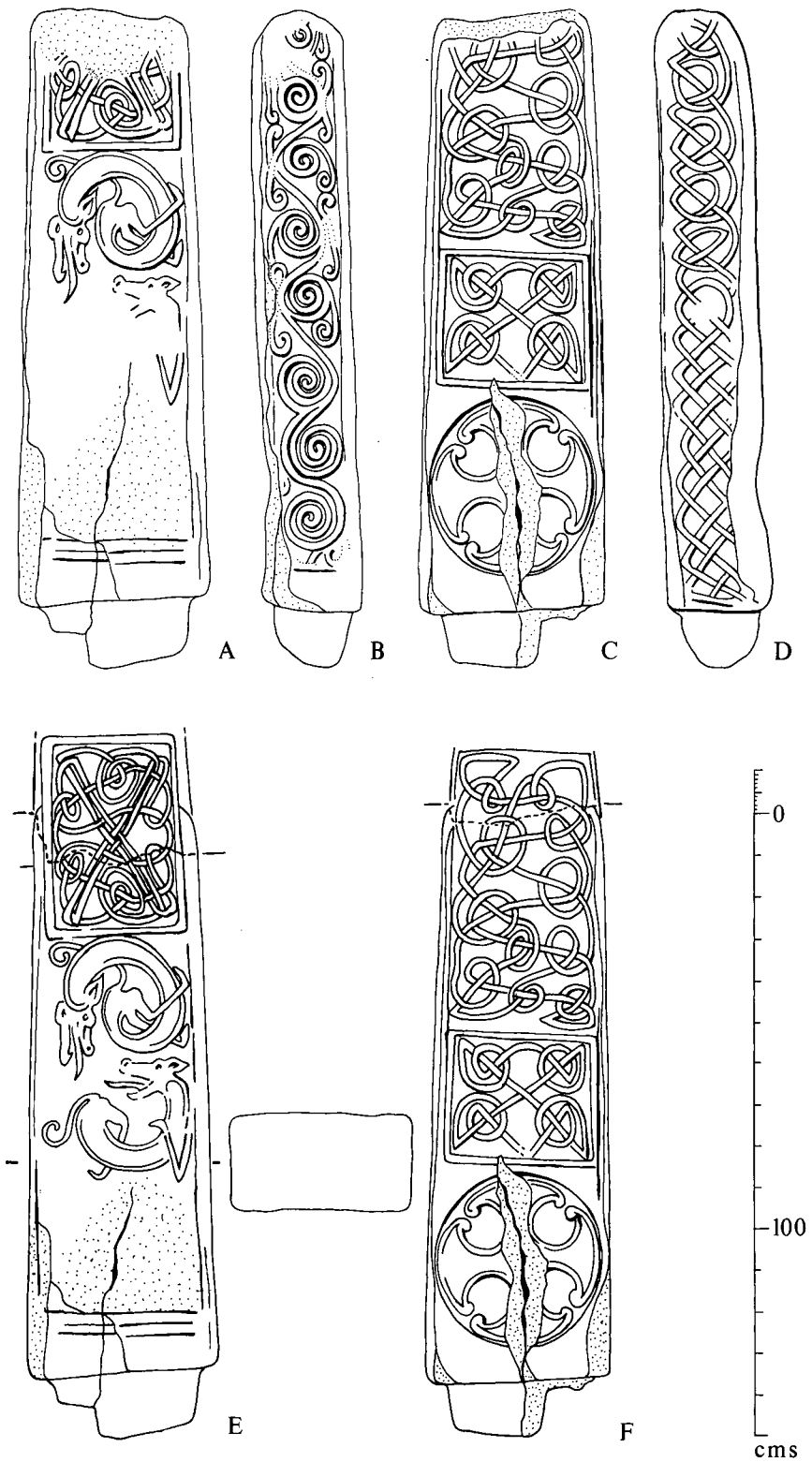

FIG. 76 — Iken cross-shaft: sides A-D as extant; E and F with suggested reconstructions.

Conclusions

The existing stone structure of Iken church is clearly of Norman origin, built on a site of an earlier timber framed building, with evidence of Middle Saxon occupation. The pre-Norman burials cannot be closely dated but are likely to be associated with the earlier structure as they only occur on one side of it. The dating of the cross shaft to the late 9th or early 10th centuries by Professor Cramp suggests that the cross was commemorative and could be assumed to be still standing when Ulfkitell came to remove the saint nearly 100 years later. The following phases can be identified:

Phase 1	Some unknown Romano-British occupation, possibly with a preceeding Iron Age presence.
Phase 2	Middle-Saxon. Three sherds of Ipswich ware.
Phase 3	Late Saxon/Norman. Two Thetford ware sherds.
(Unphased)	Pre-Norman graves in nave, and clay foundations of a timber building on a different alignment outside the Norman north wall of the nave.
Phase 4	Early Medieval. The Norman nave with its foundation trench, a more massive chancel arch, and a chancel of unknown proportions.
Phase 5	Considerable activity in the late 13th/14th century (524 sherds) replacement of the chancel arch, modifications to the doors and windows in the nave.
Phase 6	Later medieval building: the tower (1450) with re-use of Saxon cross fragment; re-roofing of the nave, addition of south porch.
Phase 7	Post-medieval modification and restructuring of the chancel.

THE IKEN CROSS-SHAFT

by Rosemary Cramp

The lower part of a cross-shaft discovered by Stanley West in 1977 built into the base of the tower of Iken church may indeed have served as a memorial to St Botolph, even though it was carved many years after his death. It is dangerous to infer from a single piece of sculpture that it was unique or of special significance in its time, since the survival of such pieces is so random. Nevertheless in Suffolk, unlike Northumbria or Mercia, cross-shafts are not commonplace features in church walls. Indeed this shaft is unusual in its region. There are plenty of slab grave covers from excavated church yards in Eastern England from Lincolnshire to Cambridge, but even these are comparatively late. It is possible that this monument represents an attempt to copy a monument type from another region or of an earlier age, since, on every face the motifs, with the notable exception of the fan-armed cross-head, and the animals on the broad faces, are waveringly and even incompetently produced.

The cross is 1.5m high with a broken tenon at the base and is of slab-like section, which in other regions, such as Northumbria, would be considered a late characteristic (Fig. 76, A-D).

On one broad face, A, the ornament is weathered away save at the top where parts of two panels survive; in the uppermost which is surrounded by an inner roll moulding, seem to be the heads of two creatures, with long,beaked jaws with rolled tips, enmeshed in interlace. Below an elegant, confidently drawn ribbon animal with a coiled contoured body. It has a canine head with open jaws and extended tongue; its eye is lightly dotted and it has a pointed ear. Its hindquarters terminate in long spindly legs and a tail which passes under its body and terminates in a tight coil. The head of a second beast of similar type is just discernible below, but the stone has so flaked away that the rest of it is lost. The origins of such creatures in 7th/8th-century Insular manuscripts can hardly be in dispute and it would seem that the dog

was part of a more extensive composition which extended to the base of the shaft. Nevertheless the interlace on the upper panel and the compositional layout of the animal below is not easy to parallel in a specific manuscript.

Face B is entirely covered by a spiral scroll. Each volute is tightly coiled into a dotted centre and is surrounded by pendant tendrils. The fine strands and tightly coiled side tendrils are reminiscent of 8th/9th-century scrolls in the North-West such as those of Lowther or Heversham in Cumbria (Kendrick 1938, XCII) although the scrolls have both leaves and fruits. This scroll is reminiscent of a plant scroll.

Face C is divided into three panels. At the top is a panel of fine stranded muddled interlace of no known type and below four knots joined by long diagonals. At the base is an elegant fan armed cross with a fine moulded outline. The difference between the confidence of the cross carving and the sprawling interlace above is very striking. Such interlace which consists of linked knots in broken sections is found on work of the early Viking age in the North such as that in Hart, Durham, and there is one cross from the East Midlands — Edenham Lincolnshire — which also has such interlace and a blundered scroll. It would seem therefore that the parallels for the interlace are of the late 9th/early10th century.

The cross-head is strangely placed at the foot of the cross and reminds one of the placing of crosses on recumbant slabs where they can be at both ends of a face. Crosses of this type occur largely in western contexts; at Newent, Gloucester; Rowley, Staffordshire; or combined with a ring-head, at Bath. They seem to be 9th/early10th century.

Face D is covered by a fine, six-stranded interlace which appears to change its pattern from the top to the bottom of the shaft. It conforms to no defined geometric type (see Cramp 1984, Figs. 14-24) but appears to be formed from a single run of knots with crossing outside strands.

In summary the monument looks like a late 9th/early 10th-century piece which is either copying or remotely reflecting alien motifs. Late 9th/early 10th-century crosses in Wessex such as Colerne, Steventon, or Ramsbury (Kendrick 1938, XCVIII, C) favour animal ornament which is reminiscent of Insular metalwork, so that this could be a reflection of that style. On the other hand the plant scrolls and interlace have the appearance of copying Northumbrian or Mercian models. It is possible that if this was a late 9th/early 10th-century memorial to Botolph, it was felt appropriate to raise up an old fashioned looking memorial to him, and the animal ornament could have been derived from a manuscript or piece of prestigious metal-work which had been traditionally linked with his name, whilst the cross was taken from a contemporary source such as a grave slab.

All of this is sheer supposition in order to account for the strange muddling of motifs; but Norman Scarfe's paper does provide a context and traditional links both with Northumbria and the western kingdoms which could be significant.

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE REVIEWED

by Norman Scarfe

Again, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* provides the starting line. Under the year 654 (653 in Text E), the chronicler recorded: 'In this year [King] Anna was slain, and Botwulf began to build the Minster at *Icanho*'. The *Chronicle* occasionally combined two unconnected statements in one sentence, but there is a clear, and significant, connexion between the two parts of this one. In the first big *Sutton Hoo* volume, Rupert Bruce-Mitford considered the relevance of that sentence as a pointer to the location of *Icanho* at Iken, in south-east Suffolk, close to the heart of King Anna's East Anglian kingdom (Bruce-Mitford 1975, 707 n.): in that same footnote, he also floated the suggestion that *Icanho* minster 'may well have been founded in commemoration of Anna.'

The East Anglian kingdom was created, and then very effectively christened, during the first half of the 7th century. The recorded details are scanty, but circumstantial evidence suggests that both the formation of the kingdom and its adoption of Christianity took place in extremely warlike, not at all peaceful, conditions. It cannot be supposed that Raedwald, whose rule covered the first quarter of the century, established his supremacy as Bretwalda over the remaining Anglo-Saxon kingdoms without fighting and the exercise of formidable strength. The Sutton Hoo helmet, sword and shield — and the ship itself — are impressive symbols of might, as well as superb craftsmanship. But, with Raedwald's death in 624/5, the Bretwaldaship passed to his protégé Edwin of Northumbria. This must have reflected the reduced prestige and power of Raedwald's immediate successors in East Anglia. Then, after Edwin's defeat and death in 632, the forces of Penda of Mercia rapidly expanded and presented an ugly, indeed terrible, threat to East Anglia. He soon wrested back from East Anglia the lands of Middle Anglia — Leicester and the East Midlands — and put his son Peada in charge. Then he invaded the East Anglian kingdom, and not until Oswiu of Northumbria's victory over Penda at the Winwaed in 654 could the East English begin to feel safe again.

That constant threat of harassment and military incursion by Penda's heathens from the Midlands provided the conditions — coincided with the two formative decades — in which Christianity came into East Anglia. The precise dating of events in these years is still open to argument (Bruce-Mitford 1975, 696-98). An acceptable framework seems to bring King Sigeberht (described by Bede as 'very Christian and learned') to rule East Anglia in 630/1. A fugitive in Gaul from his uncle Raedwald's hostility, he there accepted Christianity, and, as soon as he began to reign, took care that his whole kingdom shared his faith. Anxious to imitate the good institutions he had seen in Gaul, he founded a school. (It was perhaps at Dunwich, but Bede was not specific.) From Canterbury, the Archbishop sent him Bishop Felix, born and ordained in Burgundy, who supported him superbly in these efforts, and brought him teachers and masters from the Canterbury school (Colgrave and Mynors, 1969, 190, 266-68). Sigeberht personally preferred the kingdom of heaven: he handed his earthly kingdom to his kinsman Ecgric, 'who had previously ruled part of the kingdom' (Middle Anglia? Norfolk?). He himself withdrew into a monastery he had founded: at *Betrichesworde* (Bury St Edmunds), according to the local tradition recorded in the *Liber Eliensis* (Blake 1962, 11). After Sigeberht had been there some years (*multo tempore*), Penda launched his first attack. The East Anglians must have allowed their fighting force to decline fatally during the decade after Raedwald, and now they dragged Sigeberht out in the forlorn hope of stiffening the army's morale. He declined to bear arms, however, carried a wand into battle, and both he and Ecgric were slain and their army beaten by Penda's heathens.

Before this first of Penda's East Anglian aggressions, *Betrichesworde* (Bury) presumably

seemed a safe enough site for a monastery. Another East Anglian monastery was founded during Sigeberht's reign: an ascetic Irish saint, Fursa, established himself in *Cnobheresburg,* a '*castrum*', 'near the sea': probably in the great Roman fort, Burgh Castle, overlooking the Yare estuary north of Lowestoft, but conceivably at Caister-on-Sea (Colgrave and Mynors 1966, 268-77; Johnson 1984, 119-20). And Bishop Felix himself received the seat of his bishopric in Dunwich 'city', i.e. presumed Roman fort (Colgrave and Mynors, 190), also on the coast, remote from Penda. Bede spelt this city *DOMMOC*, the *Liber Eliensis, DUNUUOC.* It has recently been argued that *DOMMOC* might have been the Roman fort at Felixstowe, but that argument was fairly well disposed of by Professor Whitelock (Whitelock 1972, 4 note 2). Whether *DOMMOC/DUNUUOC* was at Dunwich or Felixstowe, Iken may be seen to fit into a pattern of coastal monastic sites (which, *c.* 650-60, came to include Bishop Cedd's two Essex establishments at Bradwell-on-Sea and Tilbury).

The period of Felix's successful evangelism as bishop was measured, by Bede, as seventeen years: these were 630/1 to 647/8, covering Sigeberht's reign and most of Anna's. It is generally reckoned that Sigeberht was slain by Penda's heathens in 636/7. Professor Whitelock argued (1972, 6) that 'Penda was hardly likely to be strong enough to attack the East Angles until after he had defeated Oswald of Northumbria in 641'. But that argument may be reversed. Would he have been strong enough to attack Oswald until after he had defeated East Anglia? At all events, King Anna succeeded Sigeberht probably in 636/7. He succeeded a king slain by Penda, and was himself, as we saw at the beginning of this article, slain by Penda in 654, the year the minster at *Icanho* was founded. Felix's bishopric was no kind of pastoral idyll, more a saga: Penda put East Anglia's new Christianity on the anvil: an enduring link was forged between Christianity and patriotism.

There is a record of at least one other incursion, presumably by Penda, and probably *c.* 651. This is the Nivelles *Additamentum de Foillano,* written within six years of Fursa's death (Whitelock 1972, 6). *Cnobheresburg* was wrecked and apparently extinguished. Fursa's successor as abbot (his half-brother Foillan) was saved from death only by the approach of King Anna. Foillan got his church valuables and books away by ship to France. 'The most Christian King Anna was expelled.' What is meant here by Anna's 'expulsion' is not clear. It may mean that his death at Penda's hands three years later, (again presumably) near Blythburgh, occurred during an attempt to return from exile.

If speculation is permitted, I think Anna, after his 'expulsion', may have lived in exile among the *Magonsaetan* near Ludlow or Shrewsbury in Shropshire, as far away as possible from East Anglia. Dorothy Whitelock (1972, 12 and n.) admitted the authenticity of a story told by Osbert of Clare of a canon of Bromfield, near Ludlow, who had spoken with people who had seen a vision of Anna's daughter, St Etheldreda, *at a church dedicated to her on the Welsh border.* Professor Whitelock dismissed Osbert's claim that a little wooden church had been built there by King Anna: 'it is impossible that he should found a church on the far side of heathen Mercia.' Well, it would provide an explanation — otherwise lacking — for Osbert's extraordinary story. Furthermore, Bede expressly stated (Colgrave and Mynors, 280): 'King Penda did not forbid the preaching of the Word, even in his own Mercian kingdom, if any wished to hear it. He merely despised those Christians who did not live up to their faith.' Professor Whitelock accepted the *Icanho*-Shropshire link attested by Aethelheah, Botolph's successor *c.* 674-90 as abbot of *Icanho,* in an exchange of landed endowments between *Icanho* and the double monastery at Wenlock. It seems perverse to reject as 'impossible' Osbert's circumstantial explanation of an otherwise very improbable link across the whole width of England.

It seems all the more feasible that, *c.* 651-654, Anna was in the land of the *Magonsaetan* (south Shropshire and Herefordshire) as soon as you look closely into his family history. King

Eorcenberht of Kent (ruling 640-664) married one of Anna's daughters, Seaxburg. (Bede's tribute to Anna was: 'a good man, with good and saintly offspring'. Colgrave & Mynors, 234.) King Eorcenberht's kinswoman (probably his brother's daughter), Eormengild, married Merewalh, ruler of the *Magonsaetan*. In short, Anna's daughter, queen of Kent, was closely related, probably aunt, to the wife of the ruler in south Shropshire. What more natural than that Anna should find refuge there? If so, what more likely than that he would found a church there? Nor is it really surprising that Merewalh's daughters vied with Anna's in being saintly. One of them, Mildred, went back to her mother's kingdom as abbess of Minster, between Richborough and Reculver. It has been assumed that, when she died *c.* 700, her grandfather's nephew Aldwulf (king of East Anglia 662/3-713) dedicated a church in Ipswich to her. After centuries, it became the Town Hall, probably on the site of a 7th-century *vicus regius*, with the Cornhill already marked out as the town's chief *forum* (Scarfe 1972, 101). Finally, no wonder that, when St Mildburg, another of Merewalh's saintly daughters, founded the double monastery at Wenlock, she linked it to the revered memory of Botolph. His successor as abbot of *Icanho* gave her lands that included '97 hides at Wenlock'. It is hard to see how a Suffolk abbot would have Wenlock lands to give unless there were some such personal links as I have suggested. Like the late Professor Whitelock, I have not felt able to accept the story that Botolph was chaplain in a nunnery abroad where abbess Liobsynde of Wenlock had been educated, not that I find it improbable. It seems based on even less verifiable evidence than the Osbert of Clare story I have been examining.

That story is the nearest we approach to an authenticated early statement connecting *Icanho* with Anna — apart from the sentence in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that sparked off Dr Bruce-Mitford's conjecture that *Icanho* might have been a memorial to Anna. In addition to his kingship during the testing years of Penda's attack, Anna's better-known qualifications for remembrance in a new monastic house were the examples of 'goodness' attributed to him by Bede. He and his nobles helped Fursa extend and improve his monastic buildings at *Cnobheresburg*. And through Anna, according to Bede (*ibid.*, 234), King Cenwealh of Wessex accepted Christianity. He had made the mistake of marrying Penda's sister and then repudiating her. In consequence, in the later 640s, he spent three years in exile in East Anglia with good King Anna.

Lastly, there was the celebrated saintliness of his daughters, for which some credit is probably due to him: Aethelthryth (or Etheldreda, or Audrey) who founded Ely, Seaxburg who succeeded her at Ely as abbess, Aethelberg who became abbess of Faremoutiers-en-Brie; and then a step-daughter of his followed Aethelberg there. Commenting on the departure of ladies to nunneries abroad, Professor Whitelock reflected that it 'suggests that there were at that time no nunneries in or near East Anglia: the first may have been ... Ely, about 673'. May not the activities of Penda have had something to do with the absence of East Anglian nunneries and these retreats to nunneries abroad?

There is respectable testimony (Blake, 18) that Anna's remains had been enshrined at Blythburgh, presumably near the place of his death, and that those remains were being venerated there in the 12th century. They conceivably rested in the precursor of a small monastery, ruins of which lie immediately north-east of Blythburgh parish church: Ipswich ware found there (*Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.* XXXIV, 1978, 55) suggests a real possibility of 7th-century occupation of the site of the later Blythburgh priory. So does the whalebone writing-tablet — carved with interlace — found there and presented in 1902 to the British Museum by the then owner of the Priory (Page 1911, 350-352 and Fig.). The original presence of Anna's tomb at Blythburgh seems not to preclude the theory that Anna's two surviving brothers (and successors) Aethelhere and Aethelwald might have helped Botolph establish his monastery at a suitably quiet, remote, undeveloped place. Blythburgh in those days is likely to have been

already a royal *vill,* and perhaps market — anything but quiet!

We turn now to the question of *Icanho's* identity with Iken, and to Botolph's life and his posthumous physical fortunes. Since Dr Stanley West's excavation in 1977, there seems no shadow of doubt that the *Icanho* minster stood approximately where St Botolph's church at Iken stands today, on its *ho* — which means a spur — jutting out romantically above the lonely Alde estuary (see S.E. West, accompanying). A recent attempt to argue that *Icanho* was Hadstock (in *Essex*!) has been thoroughly discounted on etymological and numerous other grounds by Edward Martin (Martin 1978, 153-59). The main toponymous evidence of identity with Iken was put forward in a long, learned and — for its date — admirable article in these *Proceedings* (1924, 29-52) by one of our former Vice-Presidents, Francis Seymour Stevenson, of Playford Mount, M.P. for the Eye Division 1885-1906 (from the age of 23!). Claude Morley had drawn his attention to a transcript of three skins mostly devoted to a 14th-century Butley Priory rent-roll. It gives the rent paid 'in parochia de ykenho' by William Fransebroun. To clinch the identification with Iken, one finds, in the 1327 Subsidy Return, a Roger Fausebroun paying 3s. subsidy in Iken-with-Chillesford-and-Dunningworth. (A house in Iken, presumably on their site, is still called Fazeboons.) Since 1924, there has been no sensible room for doubt that *Icanho* and Iken coincided. Yet the recent proponent of Hadstock (Rodwell 1976, 68-69) seems not even to have considered the possibility.

Does Domesday Book record a church at Iken? I find four of every five medieval Suffolk churches clearly referred to in Domesday Book, which however makes no mention of Iken by name. It does, though, register two churches in the adjoining *vill* of Sudbourne (Page, 1911, 456, 521), which was important as an early administrative centre of the 'Liberty of St Etheldreda' (indicating yet another close link with Anna). One of these two churches, with 16 acres, was held in Domesday Book by Gilbert de Wiscand (Wishant) of Robert Malet, who founded, shortly after the making of Domesday Book, Eye Priory. Among the gifts to the new priory from one of Malet's tenants (named Roville, but perhaps he had meanwhile supplanted Wishant), was the church of St Botolph at Yca (Eye Cartulary, E.R.O., D/DByQ 19, f. 64v.). The dedication to St Botolph luckily reduces any confusion with Eyke nearby, whose church seems not to have been dedicated to Botolph as Iken's still is: it is slightly confusing that among the Roville gifts to the new priory at Eye was the tithe of their demesne at *Clakestorp*, a lost Domesday vill in Loes Hundred and now located as having been in Eyke. The most tantalizing aspect of the gift to Eye Priory of the church of Botolph at *Yca* is the enigmatic intention expressed in the charter: 'ut sint ibi fratres monastici ordinis serviendum Deo'. If William and Beatrix de Roville wanted the priory of Eye to establish monastic brethren to serve God at St Botolph's, Yca, may they not have had an idea in mind of bringing back into service the remembered former monastery there? If so, nothing is known of their wishes being put into effect.

What do we know about Botolph himself, and does it tell us anything about what might be expected of the former building he made so illustrious at Iken?

The sole, but very impressive, glimpse of Botolph comes in an anonymous *Life of Abbot Ceolfrith* (Plummer, 1896) of Wearmouth and Jarrow. In his late twenties, after some years at Ripon with Wilfrid, who was probably the most dynamic English churchman of his remarkable generation, Ceolfrith had come south to Kent to see the form of monastic life there. Then he came to East Anglia to see the version of monasticism conducted by Abbot Botolph, himself universally acclaimed as 'a man of unparalleled life and learning and full of the grace of the Holy Spirit'. This would have been about the year 670, when *Icanho* minster had been going for about sixteen years. But apart from those phrases in the *Life of Ceolfrith,* we hear nothing more about Botolph. That Bede says nothing is disappointing. The story is alas not finally provable that when Jarrow was founded, *c.* 681, Bede, aged about eight, went there under Ceolfrith's

care, with 22 monks. The plague came among them, 'and no one was left to sing the offices except Ceolfrith and one little boy.' That boy *may* have been Bede. Anyway, accidentally or intentionally, Bede omitted all reference to Botolph. Either Ceolfrith omitted to tell Bede about him, or Bede omitted to record it. By the time Bede read the reference in the *Life of Ceolfrith,* Ceolfrith himself was beyond reach, unable to amplify.

Sometime after 1070, four centuries after Botolph lived, a *Life* of him was written by Abbot Folcard of Thorney. And there are brief references to his life in 'The Slesvig Breviary'. (Both are printed in *Acta Sanctorum*, IV, 1867, 324-30.) Both were dismissed by the late Dorothy Whitelock for their 'absurdities' (Whitelock 1972, 11, n.), but there are reasons, as we shall see, for Thorney to have preserved some local traditions that may contain a grain of truth. One thing both sources refer to is a 'Scottish' (i.e. Irish, Celtic) connexion (no more than that) in Botolph's background. I mention it because I am inclined to believe that too much has been made of the 'differences' between the Irish and Roman traditions — at least so far as they affected the conversion in East Anglia.

Professor Whitelock admitted there was at least a 'likelihood' of Irish influence in Bishop Felix's background (1972, 5). This makes it the easier to understand Fursa's settling down alongside him, a few miles along the Suffolk coast. I do not find it hard to reconcile, as Professor Whitelock did, the practice at *Icanho* of a religion 'full of the grace of the Holy Spirit' by a man of unparalleled life and learning, with the thought that his experience might have included Irish as well as (undoubted) Roman forms of the faith.

I stress this because, in her account of 'The pre-Viking age church in East Anglia' (1972, 6) Professor Whitelock 'concluded' her 'evidence of Celtic influence in the East Anglian church' and, only later (p.9) — as though it were 'of interest' but hardly fundamental — referred to the Celtic training of Bishop Cedd, and Cedd's baptism of Swithhelm, a prince of Essex, at Rendlesham, an East Anglian royal *vicus* only five miles from Iken — 'though the East Anglian church', as she put it, 'was aligned with Canterbury'. This may be making too much of East Anglia's — and for that matter Essex's — 'alignment'. We cannot reasonably doubt that Botolph was present with Cedd at Swithhelm's baptism, when King Aethelwald, Anna's brother and probably Botolph's original sponsor at Iken, 'supported Swithhelm as he ascended from the holy font' (Colgrave and Mynors, 284). Incidentally, Bede's description of this rite makes one wonder whether the font may not have been set in the floor and shaped like the mid-4th-century Romano-British-Christian font uncovered in West Suffolk at Icklingham (West and Plouviez 1976, 72-79). If Bishop Cedd's 'alignment' had been rigidly Celtic, he would hardly have been invited to play his crucial, and successful, rôle of mediator — 'vigilant interpreter for both parties' — when the differences, mainly over the dating of Easter, were finally argued out at the Synod of Whitby in 664 (Colgrave and Mynors 298). I should be surprised if the outcome were felt to be of the most urgent importance by East Anglians — or East Saxons — quite clearly tolerant of the two traditions.

As to Cedd's undoubted Northumbrian Celtic background, it seems to have had no effect on the shape of the fabric of his church at Bradwell-on-Sea, so much of it so astonishingly still standing. The Taylors confirm (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 92-93) that this remarkable survival from the 7th century bears evidence of the multiple-span arcade between nave and chancel — as at Reculver and St Pancras, Canterbury, in Kent, and with an eastern apse instead of the rectangular chancel the Northumbrians seem to have preferred. For all that has been suggested in this article about Celtic influences in early East Anglian Christiantity, it would be surprising, therefore, if the fabric of *Icanho* minster did not follow the lines of its near contemporaries in Kent and Essex. The foundation of an early timber building was revealed in the excavation, but the use of that material would not have affected the ritual function and lay-out of the church.

Bede's devotion to his old master, Ceolfrith, and what is known of Ceolfrith's long life of

dedication, is impressive indirect testimony to the work of Botolph at *Icanho*. He must have been a model abbot indeed to earn that tribute from Ceolfrith's biographer: in Ceolfrith's exemplary life, and perhaps even in Bede's, Botolph's work here may begin to be measured. Under his successor Aethelheah, *c.* 674-90, *Icanho's* influence was at work as far off as Shropshire: we can imagine its impact nearer home.

Abbot Folcard of Thorney's word is accepted that Botolph died at his monastery, and was buried by his disciples, on 17 June, the day on which he is still remembered (*Acta, loc. cit.*, 328). I see no reason to question the statement of Olaf Worm, rector of Copenhagen Academy in the early 16th century (Stevenson, 37), that the three days ending on 17 June were formerly known in Denmark as the Botelmas or Bodelmas.

Two centuries after Botolph's death, Danes invaded East Anglia, killing King Edmund in 869, at Bradfield near Bury as we now think, and settling in Norfolk very much more densely than in Suffolk. Their destruction of the monasteries they came to, including *Icanho* (see below) seems only to have strengthened the faith. It is extraordinary that about 2,000 coins have been found commemorating 'Saint Edmund, King' by name, that they mostly came from East Anglian mints, and that this public celebration of his death as a saint was begun before 892, within about 20 years of his death (Blunt 1970, 234-255). This massive numismatic commemoration of a Christian martyr so soon after the event is our strongest evidence of the firmness with which Christianity was held and the speed of Christian recovery in Danish East Anglia, strengthened presumably by the tensions of Danish occupation. This late 9th-century recovery of Christianity *may* coincide with the marking of the site of Botolph's *Icanho* with a memorial cross. (The dating of the carving on the length of cross-shaft found at Iken is puzzling the experts: the end of the 9th century seems a possible date, but up to a century later is also thought possible. The precise date does not greatly alter the function of this memorial, merely shifts the time of its erection. A variety of dates can be accommodated by the Anglo-Danish history of the site.)

The Danish King Guthrum, who at least formally accepted Christianity from Alfred in 878, and according to Asser died in 890 and was buried at the royal *vill* of Hadleigh in Suffolk, may have been something of a restraining influence on his pagan fellow-countrymen in these parts. A Christian Danish king presumably revived, for instance, the church at Blythburgh, and perhaps a successor sheltered it through the renewed Viking storms of *c.* 991-1010. Otherwise, belief in the presence there of King Anna's remains is unlikely to have survived. How was Botolph's *Icanho* affected, and what became of his remains? His posthumous travels add strong confirmation to *Icanho's* identity with Iken.

The most significant records seem to be these. In the 12th century, the *Liber Eliensis* (Blake, 111) showed that Sudbourne was owned by the Danish Earl Scule in the 930s and 940s, two important decades in terms of the local revival of Christianity. Then, about the year 970, King Edgar and his Queen Alftreth gave the Sudbourne Manor to Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester (later Saint Aethelwold) in return for a translation into the English language, by Aethelwold himself, of the Rule of St Benedict (the rule by which all Benedictine monastic life was conducted — from Monte Cassino to Iken in Botolph's day and to Ely in Aethelwold's day). Aethelwold, receiving Sudbourne from the King, handed it on to St Etheldreda (Ely).

The next sources are later, from the later Middle Ages in the *Legenda* of John Capgrave and the Chronicle sometimes called John Brompton's, sometimes called the Jervaulx Chronicle. Both are quoted in the *Acta Sanctorum, loc. cit.*, pp. 324 and 330. Since there are minor differences, and since Capgrave is the earlier and more credible, we will cite him, and note the differences where relevant. From Capgrave we see that, at about the same time as the King's gift of Sudborne to Bishop Aethelwold, the Bishop got permission from the King to have the remains of saints removed from places destroyed by the Danes to the monasteries that were

being built: among these remains were Botolph's at the monastery at *Icanho* 'quod idem S Botulph in vita sua construxerat, et post-modum per interfectores S Edmundi Regis destructum fuerat' (Brompton). Capgrave described the difficulties presented by St Botolph's bones. 'When, at the order of Bishop Aethelwold, the monk called Ulfkitell, with many others, came to Botolph's tomb, and recognised the precious bones in their shroud, and in their arms tried to raise him to remove him; so firmly was he fixed that no amount of exertion was able to move him.' Moreover, the Saint's head was to be despatched to Ely, the middle of the body to the royal collectors, and 'the rest' (presumably the limbs) to Thorney. (Brompton agrees about the head going to Ely, but switches the destinations of the other parts!)

The first point we notice is that the decision of Bishop Aethelwold to dispose of holy relics from places destroyed by the Danes, including Botolph's at *Icanho,* came at roughly the same time as his grant of Sudbourne from the King, and his own grant of it to Ely. This rough coincidence itself perhaps corroborates the location of *Icanho* within the Manor of Sudbourne *c.* 970.

Next, there is that specific reference to the destruction of the *Icanho* monastery by the Danes. The whole implication of the authorised re-distribution of Botolph's bones is that *Icanho* monastery was not rebuilt, though at least enough still stood *c.* 970 to enable his tomb to be found.

Finally, we see that these *intentions* to despatch Botolph's remains in three different directions were, for whatever reasons, miraculous or otherwise, not fulfilled. For there is convincing evidence of changes of plan and further delays.

Notes written in the margin of Marianus Scotus (Arnold 1890, 361) record that King Cnut authorised the removal of St Botolph's bones from *Grundisburgh* to St Edmund's Abbey at Bury, newly founded by the King in 1020. The notes go on to record that this removal was finally accomplished one very dark night in Edward the Confessor's reign by Abbot Leofstan (1044-1065), 'a column of light dispelling the darkness above the feretory' — not a difficult effect to stage.

F. S. Stevenson, who quoted these notes from the margin of Marianus Scotus in his article on St Botolph (1924, 41) was clearly baffled, could think of no convincing explanation of the presence of Botolph's remains at Grundisburgh. Yet the explanation is surely this. Grundisburgh and Burgh St Botolph are now separate adjoining parishes. The *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names* explains Grundisburgh as 'the burg, or fort, at Grund' and adds that Grund 'very likely' was the original Old English name of the place, meaning as it did 'the foundation of an old building-site.' Presumably the name Grundisburgh originally referred to the ancient Belgic or British buildings in the massive Belgic camp behind and beneath St Botolph's church in that part of Grundisburgh now merely called Burgh. The name expanded to Grundisburgh when the *burh,* the stong-point, was brought into civil use. This impressive defensive site gives, I think, the clue to the presence of St Botolph's bones there (i.e. in what was a part of the whole Grundisburgh) in Cnut's day. The fact that the *Life* of Botolph was written by an abbot of Thorney (Folcard) in the 11th century suggests that they got their share all right. But it is by no means clear that Ely or Westminster ever received the portions Edgar allotted them. The translation of at least some remains from Grundisburgh to Bury under Cnut's authority (though accomplished in the time of the Confessor) shows clearly that they had not been distributed as Edgar instructed.

But between Edgar's orders, *c.* 970, and Cnut's establishment of Bury Abbey in 1020, there were renewed ferocious Viking raids in the neighbourhood, notably in 991 and 1010. Edmund's own mummified corpse was removed from Bury during that bleak time and taken for refuge to St Paul's churchyard in London. The hallowed relics of Botolph were, as I understand all this evidence, brought back from that exposed spur above the estuary at Iken to the relative security

of the ramparted position above the valley at Burgh. In short, the recorded details about the use of Burgh/Grundisburgh as a temporary, sheltered, inland repository for Botolph's bones, and their final transfer from there, go a long way towards confirming Iken as the site of *Icanho*.

A generation ago, in his essay on 'The East Anglian Kings in the Seventh Century' (Clemoes 1959, 49), Sir Frank Stenton wrote:

> It is remarkable that under these kings, whose reigns were generally short and sometimes disastrous, Christianity should have become rooted in East Anglia so firmly that it was unaffected by the fortunes of local rulers. There is no hint in Bede or any other early historian that the East Anglians ever relapsed into heathenism in times of trouble. The outstanding figures in the recorded history of East Anglia during these years are not the kings, but the men who established Christianity under their protection — Felix, who made his bishop's seat at Dunwich a centre for religious instruction, Fursa, the Irish ascetic of Burgh Castle, Botulf of Icanho, whose fame as an organiser of monastic life spread throughout England.

The richness of the royal ship and its treasures at Sutton Hoo has inevitably deflected attention from these remarkable churchmen, and towards the rulers of East Anglia at the end of the pagan period. Stenton's dictum may do less than justice to one or two or the early East Anglian kings: to Sigeberht for instance, and Anna, and would certainly not apply to Aldwulf, who ruled from 662/3 to 713 and who was a correspondent of the celebrated Boniface. A new appraisal of the earliest East Anglian churchmen was unquestionably overdue. Dr West's remarkable discovery of the Iken cross has concentrated our attention usefully on St Botolph, and perhaps enabled us to establish more firmly the circumstances of his exemplary life of the spirit on that spur overlooking the broad estuary at Iken.

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NOTE

[1] Whitelock *et al.*, 1961, 20. Except in quotations, we will use the more familiar Norman spelling, Botolph.

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E. R. O.	Essex Record Office.