

ST. BOTOLPH (BOTWULF) AND IKEN.

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The importance of St. Botolph, as one of the foremost missionaries of the seventh century and as a pioneer of the Benedictine Rule in England, is attested by the dedication of more than seventy churches, by the five towns and villages which recall his name, by the frequent references to his building of the Monastery of Ikanhoe in 654, by the visit St. Ceolfrid paid to him among the "Eastern Angles" in or about 670 for the purpose of studying his institutions, and by the posthumous honours accorded to his memory and to his relics. The destruction of Ikanhoe in 870, two centuries after his time, accounts in part for the scanty and confused character of the materials relating to his life, but their meaning has been obscured by the assumption, repeated even within the last few years by one writer after another, without examination or misgiving, that Ikanhoe was in Lincolnshire. That St. Botolph may, in the course of his labours, have visited the Witham is probable, but there is no evidence either in support of the Boston tradition, to which Higden refers, or in favour of Leland's supposition that Wickanford, a suburb of Lincoln, was the site of Ikanhoe. Ikanhoe must be sought within the limits of the East Anglian Kingdom, and the purpose of this paper is to show (1) that the identification of Ikanhoe with Iken—a view held by Lord John Hervey, the translator of the Suffolk portion of Domesday, by Miss F. Arnold Forster in her "Studies in Church Dedications," and by J. C. Cox in the "Victoria History of Suffolk," Vol. II., p. 7—not only fits in with the few records we possess, but (2) helps to solve the principal chronological difficulties, (3) throws a faint

light on St. Botolph's early career, (4) suggests the origin of the mistake by which "Adolph" was substituted for "Jurmin" in Folcard's Life, (5) explains why the Abbot St. Botolph was venerated as a Bishop at St. Edmundsbury, and (6) enables us to trace roughly the vicissitudes of his mortal remains, their interment at Ikanhoe, their re-interment at or near Grundisburgh, and their subsequent partition and translation.

The dedications to St. Botolph number more than seventy, extending from East Anglia in a westerly direction to Warwickshire, northward through Lincolnshire into Yorkshire, and southward through Essex and London into Kent and Sussex. It is not possible to discriminate accurately between dedications arising out of St. Botolph's own presence, those which are associated with the translation of his remains, and those which may have been due to later Benedictine revivals in the 10th and 11th centuries. Mr. F. Bond (*Church Dedications*) refers to 65 dedications to St. Botolph. Of these 64 are enumerated by name by Miss F. Arnold-Forster. To them may be added the demolished church of St. Botolph in Fybridge at Norwich, Botolph Claydon in Buckinghamshire, and the chantries or free chapels of Broome, Bale, Scarning, Tattington and Upwell in Norfolk, besides probably a good many others. Sixteen are in Norfolk, and six in Suffolk, viz., Burgh, Culpho, Thurleston (Parker gives Whitton by mistake, but see Domesday), Iken and North Cove. To these may perhaps be added one of the Rickinghalls (now St. Mary), and possibly Hasketon, of which the dedication is not mentioned in Domesday, though it is now called St. Andrew, in common with its neighbour Burgh, sometimes described as Burgh St. Andrew, though it was originally Burgh St. Botolph. The significance of some of these

dedications will be brought out in connection with the migration of St. Botolph's remains.

(1) The reasons for identifying Ikanhoe with Iken in Suffolk are overwhelming in their cumulative force; (a) the name, in connection with which Mr. Claude Morley has drawn my attention to the distinctive suffix in the entry "in parochia de ycano," in a 14th century rent-roll of Butley Priory (East Anglian N. and Q. XI., p. 59, 1905); (b) the dedication, and (c) the situation as described both in Folcard's Life and in the Slesvig Breviary (*Acta Sanctorum*, June 17th, Vol. III., p. 402, sqq., Venice, 1743), the winding course of the river being the same in both accounts, though the former dwells more on the "dismal swamps" which still exist, and the wintry aspect, while the latter emphasizes the beauty of the summer scene. The course of the Alde or Ore, as indicated in 16th century maps and, as late as 1618, in Robert Reyce's Breviary of Suffolk (ed. Lord Francis Hervey, 1902, p. 12), was different from what it is now, and tallies with the two descriptions. (d) The permission to build the monastery was granted by an East Anglian king whose jurisdiction cannot in 654 have extended into Lincolnshire. (e) The words in the commemorative sermon on St. Ceolfrid, preached at the combined Abbey of Wearmouth and Jarrow in or about 730 ran thus: "Pervenit et ad Anglos Orientales, ut videret instituta Botuulfi abbatis, quem singularis vite et doctrinæ virum, gratiaque Spiritus plenum, fama circumquaque vulgaverat." (*Bede's Op. Minora*, ed. J. Stevenson, p. 319; *Plummer's Bede*, I., p. 389; tr. by D. S. Boutflower, Sunderland, 1912.) By Bede and his school the phrase "Angli Orientales" is always used accurately and definitely of the East Angles. When Folcard wrote in the 11th century, he used the phrase "Southern Angles" in a vague and general

sense, to distinguish them from the Angles of Northumbria. (f) "Ic," "Ik," and "Ick," as in Ickworth, Ickborough, Iken, the Icianos of the Antonine Itinerary and many other names, suggest a place in the country of the Iceni. (Skeat is surely wrong in deriving all places with those prefixes from the name of a person. Other philologists are safer guides on this point). (g) As Ikanhoe was destroyed in 870 by the "interfectores Sancti Eadmundi" (chronicon monasterii Urivallensis, i.e. Jervaux, in Leland's Collect I., 217), and as St. Edmund was put to death in Suffolk, Ikanhoe may be presumed also to have been in Suffolk.

(2) According to the "genealogia et vita Ste. Ethelredæ" (Leland's Collect I., 589, 590), and the "Liber Eliensis," "in 654 King Anna was slain by Penda, King of the Mercians, in the 19th year of his reign, and was buried at Blythburgh. There, too, was buried Jurmin, his son, who was later on translated to the church of St. Edmund at St. Edmundsbury (Beodricsworth). Anna was followed in his kingship by his brother Adelhere in whose time St. Botolph built a monastery at Ikanhoe. King Adelhere was slain in the second year of his reign by the host of Oswy, King of Northumbria."

The "Saxon Chronicle," under the year 654, says: "This year King Anna was slain, and Botulf began to 'timber' that minster at Ikanhoe." The word here rendered "timber" is the one which is used in the same chronicle with regard to the orders given by Kenwal in 643 to "timber" the old church at Winchester. It does not, therefore, necessarily mean that the monastery was begun then, still less that the grant of land was made in that year, but that a more durable building of timber was erected, perhaps in the place of what may have been a temporary erection made of mud and wattles. The point has some bearing on the

chronology given by the later biographers, which fits in better with the comparatively long reign of the saintly Anna than with the brief reign of Ethelhere, which lasted only from the battle of Blythburgh to the battle of the Winwaed, and was marked by his forced subservience to the non-Christian Penda of Mercia. The Slesvig Breviary states that seven years elapsed from the time of St. Botolph's introduction to the King till the date of the grant of land; and Folcard's Life suggests that prolonged negotiations took place before that event, and that several persons had to be consulted, St. Botolph not being desirous that the royal domain should be impaired or that private possessors should be dispossessed against their will, but preferring that land previously untilled and unoccupied should be bestowed upon his monastery. The confusion as to names and genealogies is natural in late writers; for instance, Jurmin is said in the "Liber Eliensis" to have been the son, while Florence of Worcester and others with greater likelihood call him the nephew of Anna. The names of Ethelmund and Edmund assigned to the King by Folcard and the Slesvig Breviary respectively are perplexing, but the context shows in both cases that they are intended for Ethelhere's predecessor. The name of the queen is given by Folcard as Saewara Sywara; and Searle, who gives the rival genealogies on pp. 282-3 of his "Anglo-Saxon Bishop's, King and Nobles," assumes her to be Anna's wife. The "Liber Eliensis," at any rate, shows how the names of St. Botolph and St. Jurmin came to be associated in the public mind, long before the simultaneous translation of their bodies.

Two journeys—two out of several—are stated to have been undertaken by St. Botolph in the course of the twenty years to which the Slesvig Breviary refers. The first was to the banks of the Thames, where he built a church in honour of St. Martin. In view of the close

relations between Kent and East Anglia, the site should probably be sought on the Kentish side of the river, perhaps near Northfleet, where a dedication to St. Botolph supplies a connection. It is conceivable, however, that Tempsford (aet Taemeseforda) on the Bedford Ouse may be the neighbourhood intended. The second journey, thirteen years after the building of what may be understood to be Ikanhoe, though the name is not mentioned, was due to the need for change and rest caused by the bite of a snake (as might happen even now on Iken heath), and resulted in the construction of two churches, both dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, "remote from the sea, in a vast solitude, with a "rivulus" flowing through the valley, and accessible through forests or jungle (per spinosa loca)," apparently somewhere in East Anglia, as the grant came from the same king who granted the monastery. Conjecture might suggest the district in which Botesdale (Botolvesdale) is situated, were it not that the nearest group of churches dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul is at Eye, Hoxne and Brockdish, several miles away. (The fact that Hoxne had a Chapel dedicated to St. Edmund at the time of Theodred does not in itself render Hoxne impossible). Clare and Kedington are too far off, and Halvergate and Tunstall (in Norfolk), though near Limpenhoe St. Botolph, are too close to what was then the sea. The Livermeres have two churches, one dedicated to St. Peter and one to St. Peter and St. Paul. Pettistree (St. Peter and St. Paul) and Loudham (dedication unknown) would not have meant much of a change from Iken. Norfolk promises better, as Barnham-Broome and Wrampingham in the Hingham Deanery are dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, while St. Botolph is patron of Barford and of one of the Morleys. North of Norwich, Tattington, besides a church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, had a chantry of St. Botolph; Sall, Oulton and Heydon are all dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, Barningham and Hevingham

to St. Botolph. At Foulsham an image of St. Botolph was carried about as late as 1506. These, however, are matters rather for the consideration of Norfolk archæologists.

In or about 670 St. Botolph must have been back at Ikanhoe on the occasion of St. Ceolfrid's visit, and if the words that St. Ceolfrid acted as baker to the monastery are rightly understood by Plummer (Bede, *Introd.* p. 25) and Leach (*Schools of Med. England*, p. 53) to refer to Ikanhoe and not to Ripon, his sojourn there must have been of no short duration. The approximate date presents no difficulty, as St. Ceolfrid's visit first to Kent and then to East Anglia took place immediately after his ordination at Ripon (669) and before his return to Ripon and subsequent meeting with Benedict Biscop. The visit he is said by the S.B. to have paid to Rome late in life is within the bounds of possibility; nor is there any reason for disputing the date 680 given by Capgrave as that of St. Botolph's death, which took place, according to Folcard, "on the 17th of June (quarto decimo Kalendas Julii), in the presence of the brethren, in the monastery which he had built." He was buried, as Folcard says, at Ikanhoe. (The statement that he was buried at Medeshamstede (Peterborough) near the river Nene relates to a stage in the translation of part of his remains to Thorney Abbey, in the eleventh century). The mention of St. Botolph's "age and infirmities" suggests that he must have been well over sixty at the time of his death; and, if his arrival at the East Anglian court was in 647, that is, seven years before the "timbering" of Ikanhoe, at least twenty-seven years of the earlier portion of his life remain to be considered.

(3) The period immediately before his return to England (presumably in 647) is occupied by his sojourn

at a monastery in "Saxonia," which the Bollandists rightly understand to mean Northern France, as "Old Saxony," near the Elbé had at that time no monasteries and was in fact as yet unconverted to Christianity. "Saxonia" was sometimes applied to the district East and South East of Boulogne, and by extension to "Francia," and Folcard in a later passage uses the words "in partibus Galliæ" as equivalent to "Saxonia." There, in what was doubtless the double monastery of Farmoutier-en-Brie (Faræ Monasterium in Brige, or Eboriacum), he met two sisters of the king whom Folcard erroneously calls Ethelmund, and to them he owed his introduction to the East Anglian court. Anna's daughter Ethelburga and his step-daughter Saethryd (Bede III., 8) became abbesses of Farmoutier; but so many of the princesses of that time were educated there that it is not possible to identify the names of the two. They were quite young ("tenelulæ") at the time, and this is an additional reason for assigning the date to Anna's reign.

We now come to the unsolved and perhaps insoluble difficulty of St. Botolph's origin. Folcard describes him as "de Saxonica gente," but says that he was loved by the "Scots" because "he illustrated by his example what he had preached with his mouth." The Slesvig Breviary, on the other hand, states that he was a "Scot" (that is, Irish) of royal descent. The Saxon name Botwulf (or at any rate the Saxon termination, for the first syllable is found both in Celtic and in Saxon names) is not in itself conclusive, as names were sometimes changed, Maelduib, for instance, that of the Irish founder of Malmesbury, being altered to Maildulf, and the original name may have been Saxonized into Botwulf as it was afterwards Normanized into Botolph. St. Botolph's name does not appear in the Sarum Missal, and is not associated in any way with the West of England; but it is found in the York

Calendar, the Kalendar of Herdmanston (which is based mainly on the Sarum Missal); the Aberdeen Martyrology and Breviary, the Arbuthnott Missal and the Calendarium de Nova Farina (Ferne in Ross); and St. Botolph's day was still observed in Scotland at the end of the 14th century, as Alexander Stewart the "Wolf of Badenoch" is recorded to have burnt Elgin Cathedral on that day. (Forbes, Kalendar of Scottish Saints, p. 233; Arbuthnott Missal, preface, p. 67). Something turns on the relative value of Folcard's Life and of the Slesvig Breviary. The former was written (as Mabillon states, and as we know from the prologue, printed in Sir T. Duffus Hardy's cat. of British History, I., p. 373) by Folcard, who was not an Englishman, but became Abbot of Thorney after the Norman Conquest, though he had come to England in the days of Edward the Confessor. He wrote, therefore, about four hundred years after St. Botolph's time. The materials used in the Slesvig Breviary, on the other hand, are at least as old as the early part of the eleventh century, and incorporate traditions which go back to the beginning of the eighth, when St. Willibrord, the Northumbrian apostle of Frisia and founder of the see of Utrecht, penetrated "usque ad ferocissimos Danos" only a few years after St. Botolph's death. Olaf Worm, Rector of Copenhagen Academy in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, gives an account in his "Fasti Danici" (1643) and his "Runic Lexicon" (1650) of the appearance of St. Botolph's name in the old Runic Kalendars, states that the three days ending on June 17th (St. Botolph's Day) were formerly known in Denmark as the Botelmas or Bodelmas (St. Botolph's Mass), and describes a staff inscribed in runic characters with the names of St. Vitus, St. William and St. Botolph. The insertion of the name of St. William, Abbot of Eskilhoe in the diocese of Roskilde, shows that the staff cannot have been older than the thirteenth century. Whether the

tradition actually goes back to St. Willibrord, whose work was largely destroyed for two centuries after his death, though it was kept alive at Echternach and in the related monasteries, or whether it can only be traced back to the early part of the eleventh century, when the bishops of Scania, Funen and Roskilde were consecrated in 1022 by Aethelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the time when Canute was interesting himself in the removal of St. Botolph's remains, is a question which cannot be answered definitely; but the tradition is sufficiently ancient and widespread to give importance to the statements contained in the lections of the Slesvig Breviary.

If St. Botolph was really, as that Breviary asserts, of Scottish, that is, Irish, birth, is there any way of reconciling this with Folcard's ascription of Saxon origin? "Saxon," without an adjective, was applied more frequently in Bede's time, *e.g.* Bede IV., 14, and for some years afterwards to inhabitants of Sussex than to those of Essex and Wessex, whose designation is usually accompanied by an adjective. (Similarly "Saxonia," when applied to foreign parts, generally meant "Francia," whilst "old Saxony," near the mouth of the Elbe, was usually called "Vetus.") Recent ethnological research, which points to the close affinity between the Saxons and Franks on the one hand, and between the Angles, Suabians, and Lombards on the other, helps to elucidate these distinctions. Sussex was not converted till the very end of the seventh century, but, when Wilfrid went there in 681, he found in existence a small Irish monastery at Boseham (Bede, IV., 13), under one Dicul 'de natione Scottorum,' probably the same as the Dicul in whose hands (as well as in those of Foillan and Gobban) St. Fursey had left his East Anglian monastery of Cnoberesburg (Burgh Castle) a good many years earlier on his departure for Lagny in the other "Saxonia" (Northern France). St.

Fursej, as we know from Bede, was favoured both by Sigebert and by Anna ; and, if St. Botolph was an inmate of the Sussex Monastery under Dicul before going to Farmoutier-en-Brie, it is possible that a writer four centuries later may have thought him to be a Sussex man, especially if his Irish birth was obscured by a Saxonized name. The existence of Botolph (Buttolfs) in Sussex, as well as of Hardham and Heene, all of which have churches dedicated to St. Botolph, helps to support this hypothesis. At Ikanhoe, however, St. Botolph applied the rule of St. Benedict, not the Irish Rule, but, like him, as Folcard puts it, "vetera novis miscens, et nova veteribus."

(4) The question how the name and fame of St. Botolph reached Slesvig may be taken in conjunction with the explanation of the error by which Folcard, copied by later writers such as Capgrave, substitutes "Adolf" for "Jurmin" as the name of the one with whom the posthumous honours are associated. The mistake is doubtless due to the fact that Jurmin's eldest brother was Aldulfus (Ealdwulf), at a later date King of East Anglia, that the names Ealdwulf and Eadwulf are often confounded, and that Jurmin's brother was taken to be St. Botolph's brother. The Bollandists point out, from the analogy of St. Gildard and St. Medard, that two saints, half a century apart from each other, have sometimes been erroneously described as brothers, owing to the accident of their cult on the same day. This does not, however, explain the further statement by Folcard that "Adolf" became a bishop in the "Trajectensis ecclesia." No such bishop is known in connection with the sees of Utrecht (which St. Willibrord had not founded while St. Botolph was still alive), or Maestricht, or Arras (Atrebatum Trajectus). The see or province of Utrecht (Trajectum, or Ultrajectum) is almost certainly intended, and the Lives of St. Willibrord state that he

consecrated several bishops in Frisia. One of them (probably without a see) may have borne the name of "Adolf," thus heightening the confusion. If he came from Ikanhoe—and St. Willibrord, himself a Benedictine, usually chose Benedictines as his helpers—the mistake would become more intelligible, and an additional argument would be supplied in favour of the earlier, as compared with the 11th century, penetration of St. Botolph's name into Slesvig, of which St. Willibrord and his companions attempted the conversion. Folcard states that "Adolf" returned to Ikanhoe and died there. This is neither impossible nor improbable, in spite of the error which makes him the brother of St. Botolph. St. Willibrord became Archbishop of the Frisians in 695, presumably fifteen years after St. Botolph's death, and Archbishop of Utrecht in 722. Though a Northumbrian, he was educated in the Irish monastery of Rathmelsigi. If, therefore, the Slesvig Breviary's account of St. Botolph's Irish origin goes back ultimately to St. Willibrord, the authority is one which cannot be treated lightly.

(5) The difficulty about "episcopus" and "abbas" is easily surmounted. If, like many others, St. Botolph was a missionary bishop, or episcopus regionarius, without see or promise of succession, his name would not appear in any list of diocesan bishops. The fact, however, would be known at St. Edmundsbury owing to its relative proximity to Ikanhoe. Some analogy may perhaps be furnished by the status of his contemporary St. Disibod, an Irish missionary bishop in "Alemannia," after whom the Disibodenberg near Creuznach is named. He acted as an abbot-bishop, without jurisdiction outside his abbacy, and elsewhere celebrated Mass "not after the order appointed for bishops, but according to the usage of poor presbyters." St. Fursey, too, is described more than once as

a "bishop," though generally as an "abbot" (Plummer's *Bede* II., p. 171). Mr. F. Bond ("Church Dedications") describes a window, apparently of the 15th century, in the church of Wiggshall St. Mary Magdalen, Norfolk, as representing St. Botolph, mitred, wearing Mass robes, crosier (? pastoral staff) turned outwards, right hand in act of benediction. (The neighbouring church of Wiggshall St. German may perhaps be really Wiggshall St. Jurmin, as William of Malmesbury calls St. Jurmin St. Germin, and even his learned editor in the *Rolls Series* mistakes him for St. German. There would be no special significance in a dedication to St. German in East Anglia). The usages of St. Botolph's time must not be judged by the stricter standard of uniformity which prevailed in later years. As Haddan and Stubbs point out (*Councils*, III., p. 106), with regard to 664, "the whole of England, except Kent, East Anglia, Wessex, and Sussex, was at the beginning of that year attached to the Scottish communion; and Wessex was under a bishop, Wini, ordained in Gaul and in communion with British bishops; Sussex was still heathen (as also the Isle of Wight); so that Kent and East Anglia alone remained completely in communion with both Rome and Canterbury."

The passage from the *Annals of St. Edmundsbury* (Bodleian MS. 297, given in *Arnold's Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, Vol. I., p. 352) runs thus (anno 1095); "Translati sunt nihilominus cum rege beato et reliquiis multis sanctorum corpora duorum sanctorum, videlicet Botulphi . . . episcopi et Jurmini clitonis Christi, amboque, ut percipimus, illo delati sunt tempore Lefstani abbatis." A marginal note in the manuscript adds, with regard to the space between "Botulphi" and "episcopi": "duo verba exaninata sunt." It is reasonable to conjecture that the two

missing words are "abbatis et." Archdeacon Hermann (*Miracula Sti. Edmundi*, Arnold's Memorials, I., p. 88), speaks of St. Botolph as a "pontifex almus." In most Kalendars he appears as "abbas" or "abbas et confessor" and in the St. Edmundsbury Litany in the "Officia mortuorum" (Harl. MS. 5334) as "Confessor."

(6) The identification of Ikanhoe with Iken explains much that is obscure in connection with the accounts of the translation of St. Botolph's remains. The Chronicle of Jervaux (Leland's Collect, I., 217) states that Edgar granted leave to Ethelwold Bishop of Winchester, to have the body of St. Botolph removed from his monastery at 'Ikanno, quod S. Botolphus in vita sua construxerat, et postea per interfectores S. Edmundi destructum fuerat, transferri." As Edgar reigned from 959 to 975, and Ethelwold was Bishop of Winchester from 963 to 984, the date when permission was given to remove the body must have been between 963 and 975. According to the same Chronicle, the body of St. Botolph was to be divided into three parts by order of the King, the head to go to the monastery of Ely, the middle part to Thorney, and the rest reserved for the King and subsequently presented by Edward the Confessor to Westminster Abbey. The royal decision is here recorded, but it is not stated how soon it was carried out, and a considerable interval elapsed from the date of the decision (963-975) to the time of Edward the Confessor (1043-1066). A variation on the apportionment of the relics is given "e libello de locis quibus Sancti in Anglia requiescunt" (Leland's Collect. II., 408), to the effect that the bones of St. Botolph were transferred from Ikanhoe by St. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, and were to be divided into three parts (not necessarily at Ikanhoe), the head going to Ely, the middle part to Westminster, and the rest to Thorney.

Between the time of Edgar and that of Edward the Confessor, we are told by Bodleian MS. 240 (Arnold's Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey I., 361) that Canute gave permission for the bones of St. Botolph and of St. Jurmin to be removed to St. Edmund's Abbey respectively from Grundisburgh and from Blythburgh, but that this was not actually carried out till the time of Abbot Leofstan (1048-1065), whose abbacy covers the greater part of the Confessor's reign. If the permission granted by Canute was given in or about 1022, the year of the consecration of three Danish bishops by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it might help to explain the spread of St. Botolph's fame in Denmark. The Bodleian MS. 297 already quoted (Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey, I. 352), probably an older manuscript than the Bodleian MS. 240, makes no mention of Canute, but gives a fuller account of the translation of the remains of St. Botolph and St. Jurmin to St. Edmundsbury at the time of Abbot Leofstan, stating that those of St. Botolph had been interred at or near Grundisburgh ("apud quandam villam Grundesburc nominatam"), and that, in the dark night in which the translation took place, a column of light was seen above the "feretrum" and dispelled the darkness. Another legend (in the St. Evroult d'Ouche MS. of the "Officium S. Botolphi," quoted in the Acta Sanctorum, June, III., p. 400) mentions the fifteen days' fragrance of his embalmed body:

Ter quinis eremus dat aromata mira diebus,
Membra sacrata Deo redolent charismate tanto.

The distance from Iken to Grundisburgh is about 14 or 15 miles; and Grundisburgh lies at or very near the spot where the roads to Thorney and Ely would diverge from the road to London. The simplest explanation, therefore, is that the tripartite division of the bones took place at or near Grundisburgh, that the portion "reserved for the king" was interred or

enshrined there in Edgar's time pending its transfer to Westminster, that in the meantime Canute gave permission for it to be taken to St. Edmund's Abbey, and that the removal of these relics partly to Westminster and partly to St. Edmund's Abbey took place in the reign of Edward the Confessor, during the abbacy of Leofstan at St. Edmundsbury, the translation being a compromise between the grant of Edgar and the grant of Canute, and a further division taking place then. Another possible, though less probable explanation is that the part intended for Ely went to St. Edmundsbury; but, if so, the historians of Ely would hardly have failed to mention this as a grievance. The relics of St. Botolph are not, however, mentioned in the Ely inventory taken just before the suppression of the monasteries. (East Anglian N. and Q., N.S., VI., 273). Thorney undoubtedly received its share of the relics, and Botolph Bridge, near Peterborough, probably indicates a stage on the route by which the translation was effected in order to avoid the portions of the fen country then under the sea. The route to Westminster would be by Culpho and Thurleston, both marked by churches dedicated to St. Botolph, by St. Botolph's, Colchester, perhaps by Roding Beauchamp, and lastly through London, where four churches in honour of St. Botolph, Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate and in former days Billingsgate, may be held to recall the passing of the procession. The translation to St. Edmund's Abbey is recorded in the passages already cited from the St. Edmundsbury records.

The question remains, where was St. Botolph's second place of interment "*apud quandam villam Grundesburc nominatam.*" Nothing appears to be known about Grundisburgh previous to the Domesday entries, but this does not preclude the possibility that Grundisburgh itself may have been the site. "*Apud,*"

however, is vaguer than "in," and usually means "at or near." To the South West of Grundisburgh lies Culpho with the dedication already mentioned. On the above hypothesis, however, Culpho would be on the route to Westminster after—not before—the tripartite division; and it is better, therefore, to look for the site immediately to the East of Grundisburgh, on the way from Iken. Here we have Burgh, dedicated to St. Botolph, with a history which goes back to Roman times, with a "Chapel Field" still known by that name, and a Chapel of St. Botolph mentioned in 1256 in the will of Walter, Bishop of Norwich. More immediately on the line of road from Iken, and also adjoining Grundisburgh, is Hasketon, with Saxon work in its church, the dedication of which is not mentioned in Domesday, and may have been changed from St. Botolph to St. Andrew, as in the case of Burgh. In Domesday, Hasketon appears under three heads, Hacestuna, Thorpe and (according to Copinger, though this is doubtful) Aluresdestuna. The probability is that either in Burgh or in the Thorpe part of Hasketon, adjoining Grundisburgh, the site of the interment should be sought; but Grundisburgh itself is not out of the question. Thorpe Manor, otherwise called Thorpe Hall Manor, is more than once coupled with Iken in post-Conquest deeds, but this may have no significance.

The subsequent vicissitudes of so much of St. Botolph's relics as found a resting place in St. Edmund's Abbey are to be found among the "gesta Sacristarum" and other materials relating to the Abbey. The first translation into the Abbey having taken place during the lifetime of Leofstan, the second translation—into the new church built by Abbot Baldwin—took place about 1095 (Arnold's Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey, I., 351-2, II., 289), when Thurston and Tolinus the sacrists arranged for the removal

thither of the "feretrum" of St. Edmund, as well as of St. Botolph and St. Jurmin. Apparently there was at that time one "feretrum" for all three, which the sacrists "laminis argenteis exsculpserant." The further translation of the remains of St. Botolph and St. Jurmin, carried out in the time of William Wardwell, the sacrist who was deposed by Abbot Sampson (Memorials, II., 291; Jocelin of Brakelond S. 22), may have been a translation into a feretry distinct from that of St. Edmund. In Jocelin of Brakelond's days there was a "keeper of St. Botolph," a fact which shows that the relics of St. Botolph were then kept apart from those of St. Edmund. Dr. M. R. James, in his "Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury" (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, no. 28, 1895), discusses the question of the site of the altar and shrines of St. Botolph, St. Thomas and St. Jurmin, presumably at the extreme East end of the Church, beyond the High Altar and beyond the shrine of St. Edmund. We are told that at Mass on Maundy Thursday the Abbot and the Prior, the former from the South and the latter from the North, incensed "the High Altar, the shrine of St. Edmund, the reliquary, the altar of SS. Botolph, Thomas, and Jurmin, and their shrines." (Liber Albus, Harl. MS. 1005, in James, p. 160). This altar is stated (Bodleian MS. 240; Memorials, I. 366) to have been built by a monk named Radulphus by order of Abbot Hugh de Northwold. St. Thomas was (Memorials I. 365) St. Thomas of Canterbury. About a century later, in the time of Abbot John de Northwold, a chapel of St. Botolph was constructed somewhere to the south of the presbytery. The plan facing p. 212 of Dr. James' work shows two possible alternative sites; and he points out that St. Botolph's arm (which is mentioned as a separate relic in a "Rituale," Harleian MS. 2977) may have been kept there, and that the larger shrine may have remained with SS. Edmund and Jurmin in the presbytery. The

“Rituale” in question (James, pp. 183-6) extends only from Advent to the 1st of May, and does not therefore include the Feast of St. Botolph (June 17th), the date on which Tolinus the sacrist had died by accident in 1096 (Bodleian MS. 240; Mackinlay’s *St. Edmund*, p. 203). It gives, however, Dec. 5th, for the arm of St. Botolph (possibly the date when that relic was transferred to the separate chapel), Jan. 24th for the translation of St. Jurmin and Feb. 15th for that of St. Botolph, and contains the directions (already quoted) for the Maundy Thursday ceremony, as well as a reference to the “camisia S. Edmundi” and the arm of St. Botolph carried in the Easter day procession. Had the “Rituale” extended beyond the 1st of May, it would doubtless have given also the 31st of May, date of the other (joint) translation of St. Botolph and St. Jurmin, as well as the 17th of June, St. Botolph’s death-day. How far the great fire of 1465 (recorded in the *Jesus College, Oxford MS., 75*, printed and translated in James, pp. 204-212) is responsible for the disappearance of St. Botolph’s relics from the Abbey Church, cannot now be determined. There was also an altar of St. Botolph in St. James’ Church, used by the Gild of St. Botolph, a gild founded “time without memory in honour of our Lord, St. Mary and St. Botolph,” as is stated in the *Gild Certificates of 1389* (Redstone, *Suffolk I. of Archæology*, XII., p. 25). A view of the ruins of a supposed chapel of St. Botolph, situated near Southgate Street, in what was afterwards the White Hart Yard, is given in *Yates’ Bury*. Possibly this may have adjoined the tenement mentioned in the *Chantry Certificates of 1546* (Redstone, *S. I. of A.*, XII., p. 40) as belonging to the Gild of St. Botolph. The members of the gild met on the eve and feast of St. Botolph (June 17th) to eat bread and cheese and to drink together (*Gild Certificates of 1389*). A manuscript Martyrology, formerly in the library of the Palazzo Altamps in Rome (*Acta Sanctorum*, June,

III., p. 405) mentions the 17th of June as the anniversary "apud S. Edmundum S Botulphi Episcopi et Confessoris." This coincidence of date shows, as has indeed been shown abundantly in the foregoing pages, that St. Botolph the Abbot and St. Botolph the Bishop are one and the same person.

One more point in regard to the later reverence paid to St. Botolph deserves notice. Just as in earlier times his name and fame penetrated into Slesvig and the adjoining regions, partly, in all likelihood, through St. Willibrord's mission, and partly owing to the close relations between Canterbury and the Danish sees in the time of Canute, so at a later date the Hanseatic merchants, whose presence and privileges in England led to so many outbursts of anti-German feeling in the fifteenth century, found in St. Botolph's cult a link with their own land. Their London "Steelyard"—Gildhalla Teutonica—was not far from the church of St. Botolph, Billingsgate; the gate at Bishopsgate, which they were under an obligation to keep in repair, adjoined another church dedicated to the same saint; at their Boston "steelyard" they came in contact with St. Botolph's church and St. Botolph's fair; and, although we do not know of a church of St. Botolph at Lynn, where their third "steelyard" was situated, the name was kept in remembrance within a few miles. There can be little doubt that Hanseatic influence, superadded to the earlier influences, helped to make St. Botolph's feast better known in North-Western Germany; it is even possible that it may have helped to account for its prominence in the Lubeck service-books and in the Cologne martyrology, though these may have been taken from the Slesvig Breviary. There is however, no evidence for tracing this influence back to the "men of the Emperor" who were encouraged to frequent the port of London as early as the reigns

of Edgar and Ethelred (Thorpe I., 300), and it is better, therefore, to look to a later date for its commencement.

It is easy to understand how, owing to these circumstances and the situation of the churches, the name of St. Botolph came to be associated with trade and travel. It is less easy to conjecture why he was associated in Denmark (according to Olaf Worm) with the weather and the crops, and why at St. Edmundsbury (according to Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 724) his relics were carried about in procession in connection with prayers for rain. Possibly the reference may be to the story in the Slesvig Breviary that on one occasion when distributing food to the poor at his monastery he found that none was left, and "told his disciples not to be perturbed, as the Lord would restore more than they had given, whereupon four boats laden with food and drink were seen to approach, sent by faithful friends through whom God ministered to the holy man." The Ore or Alde was navigable then far above Iken; and the boat found in a graveyard at Snape, nearly opposite Iken, and shown in the *Vict. Hist. of Suffolk* (I., p. 327), belongs to the Saxon period, and may perhaps serve as an illustration of the kind of boat which brought the provisions. Possibly, however, the explanation of St. Botolph's association with the weather and the crops is to be found in some legend which has not come down to us. Folcard dwells on the accuracy of his predictions, but gives no details, and also on his charity and his gifts of healing. The statement that he selected for habitation and cultivation at Ikenhoe land previously uncultivated shows an interest in agriculture common to most of the early Benedictines, and not peculiar to him; the legend (in the S.B.) that an eagle carried off one of his fowls near the spot where he had built a church in honour of St. Martin shows that, like many others, he kept poultry; and the old Danish saying that the land should not be manured about the time

of St. Botolph's feast would seem to be one of the many proverbs relating to husbandry and seasons, and not to refer to any tradition connected with him.

Apart from the question of St. Botolph's own origin, discussed in part 3 of this paper, and from the light thrown on the various uses of the terms "Saxones" and "Saxonia," there is little of directly ethnological interest in the available materials. There is not even the illuminating flash which shows us, in the following century, that the "imps of mischief" who annoyed St. Guthlac in the fens "spoke British." Folcard puts a speech into the mouth of the "demons" who addressed St. Botolph at Iken, but does not state in what language they spoke. If his words "eremus, ut a christicolis derelicta, sic a demonibus possessa" are to be taken literally, they imply that Christians had once resided there, presumably in British times. That earlier inhabitants had lived at Iken is shown by the neolithic remains which have been found there, and by the existence of several tumuli; but the local tradition which connects the "campen close" in the parish with the Roman-British period has not yet been investigated by archæologists, and the precise meaning of Folcard's words cannot therefore be explained. A good many instances might be given of the application of the term "dæmones," or its equivalents in various countries, by way of opprobrium to persons alien by race and by creed, when first encountered; and chroniclers of later centuries are apt to take the word in a different and more literal sense. The sculptors of the tympanum of St. Botolph's Church, Stow Longa, Huntingdonshire, given in C. E. Keyser's "Norman Tympana" (but see the 'East Anglian,' New Series, vol. x., p. 374), evidently took the demons to be literally "develen, nickers and water-ghosts." (Mr. Inskipp Ladds, A.R.I.B.A., Huntingdon, informs me that "the central figure of the tympanum has a

kind of fish's tail, and also some female characteristics, not clearly shown in the prints." The "Dæmones" at Iken may really have been a few remaining, and probably degenerate descendants of an earlier race; but it is impossible to say what race it can have been.

This paper may fittingly conclude with the Collect for St. Botolph's Day (S.B.): "Deus omnium regnorum Gubernator, et Rector, qui famulis tuis annuam Botulphi Confessoris tui, atque Abbatis, largiris celebrare festivitatem, nostrorum quaesumus dele cicatrices vulnerum, caelestisque patriæ donis refice sempiternis."

NOTE.

The following note on the configuration of Suffolk in St. Botolph's time has been supplied by Mr. Claude Morley, F.Z.S., etc. It bears closely on the situation of Iken.

"Suffolk bore a very different aspect in the seventh century from what it now presents. Since that time the whole of our east coast has been modified to a quite unknown degree. The county has lost a vast number of acres by sheer erosion; Ptolemy's "Exoche" is the most eastern point of England in Roman days and computed to have extended five miles further seaward than does Easton Bavents to-day; and it has been, perhaps rashly, said that Dunwich extended seven. On the other hand, many stretches, such as Lowestoft denes, the Hollesley salt-marshes, and most particularly the low-lying land about Iken, have considerably silted up to at least some compensating extent. Suffolk then possessed a second sea-board westward, for the erstwhile fen-sealand was open sea with very few islands, such as Ely, showing above its waves. The old coast-line from Lakenheath to Exning, where Anna was doubtless watching for Penda's attack when Saint Æthelthryth ("Etheldreda") was born, is still traceable and clearly discernable from the coast Castle, yet a considerable and complex earthwork, at Freckenham, the warrior's home. The gradual drainage, on the west, of this Fen Sea, sailed by the Norsemen who slew Eadmund and razed Botwulf's monastery, probably just north of Iken church, and of the coast marshes on the east of the county, has had the effect of reducing the volume of all our rivers by (I do not hesitate