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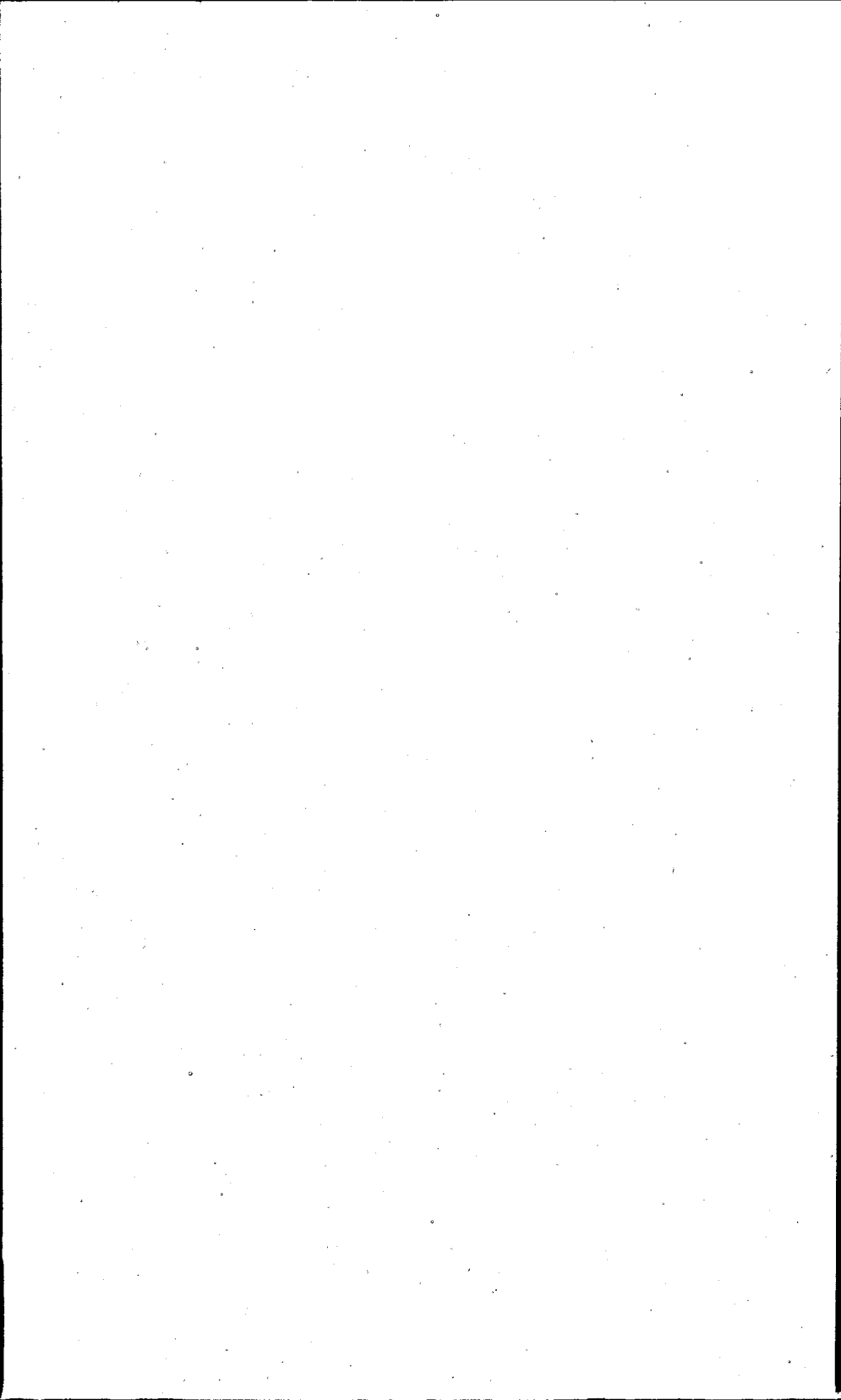
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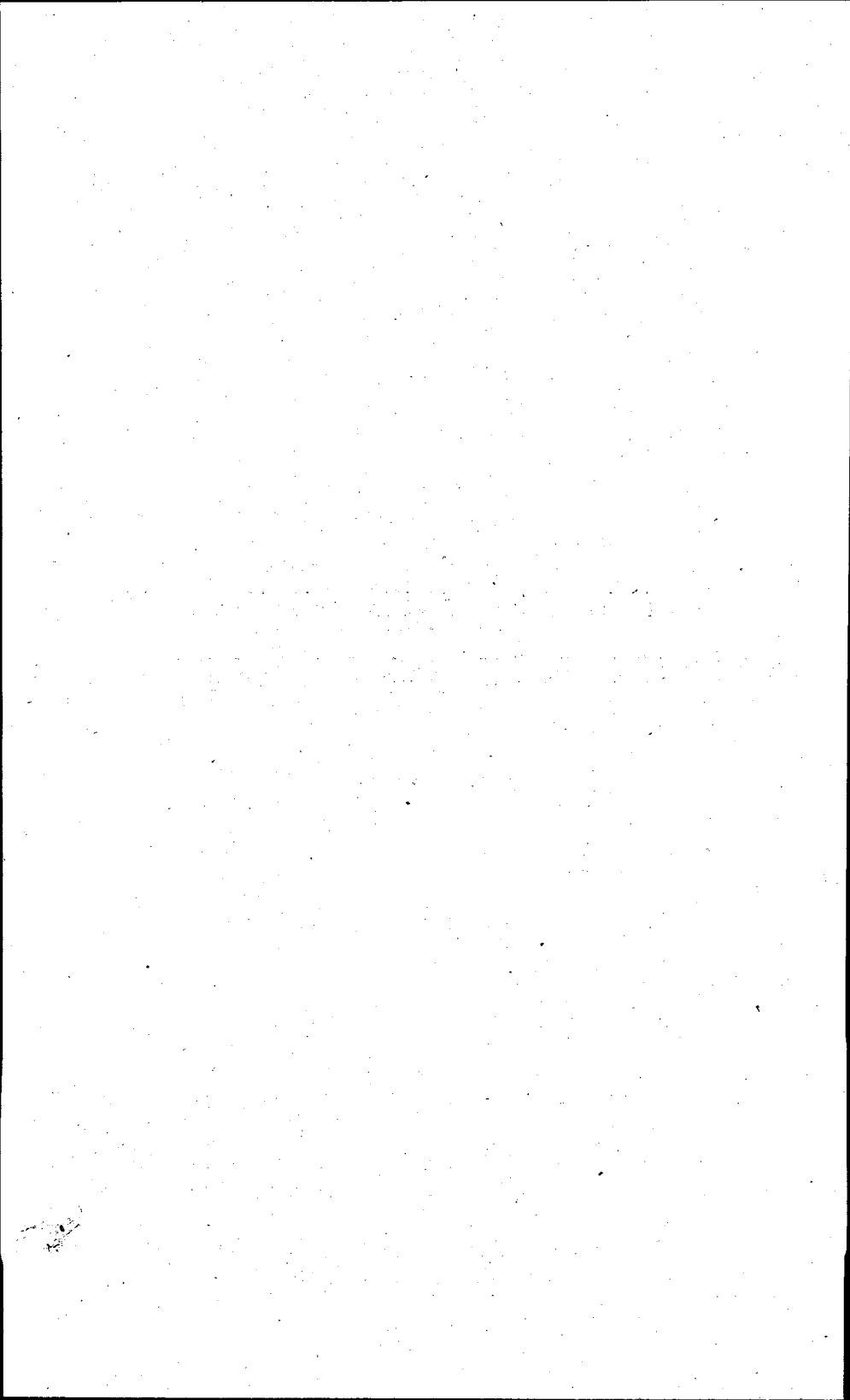
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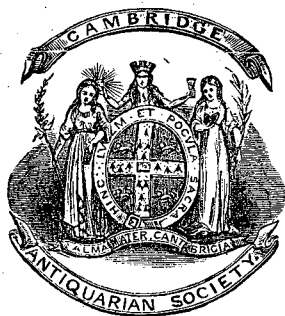


CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN  
PROCEEDINGS AND COMMUNICATIONS.



PROCEEDINGS  
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**Cambridge Antiquarian Society,**  
WITH  
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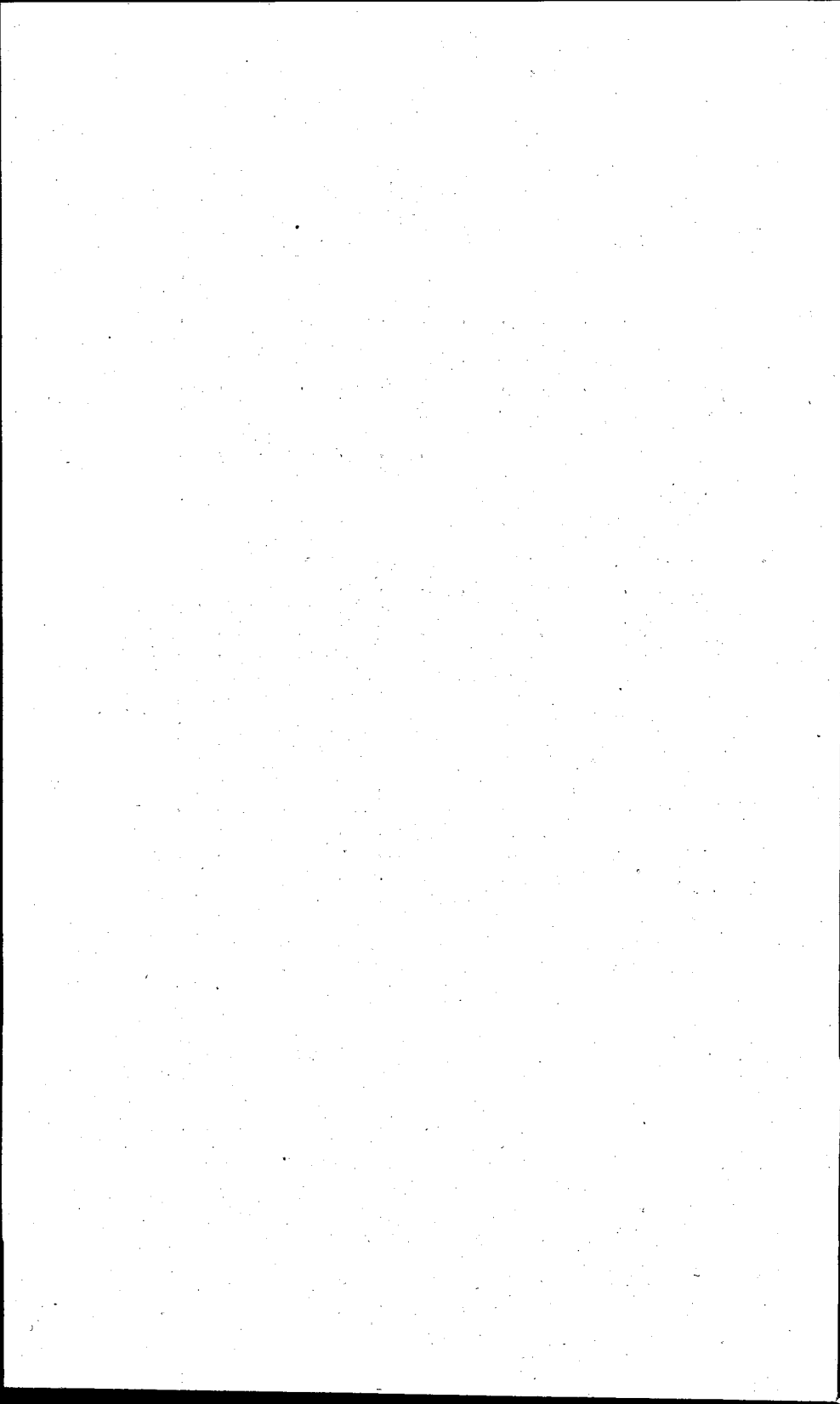
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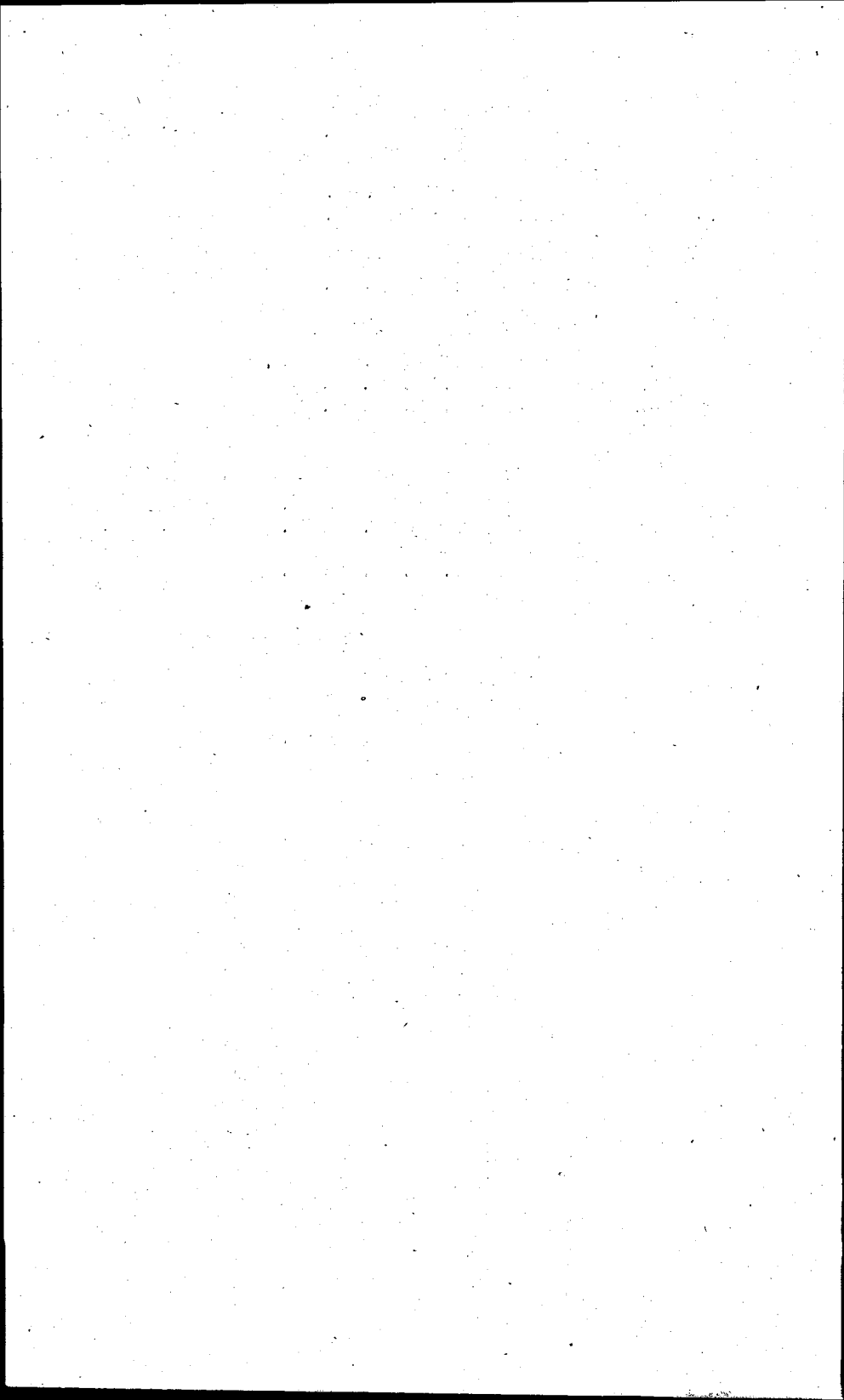
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was no danger of surprise or ambushade. These considerations alone would point to the site of the battle lying somewhere within the limits described. Finally, we have the words of Tacitus giving a description of the place which suits very accurately any of the four great ditches, each in turn approached and passed through by the Icknield Way.

I venture then to submit that there is a reasonable probability that the passage of Tacitus refers to two of those great earthworks which still exist. The Fleam Dyke and Devil's Ditch, fit best the historian's description, and they certainly were the strongest positions, and thus the most likely to be occupied by the Icenii at such a juncture.

Professor E. C. CLARK expressed the gratitude of the Society to Professor Ridgeway for his most happy and interesting identification, which almost commanded acceptance; he further noted the vague and fragmentary style in which battles are generally described by Roman historians (with few exceptions, such as Livy's account of the battle by lake *Trasimenus*), and suggested that Tacitus probably gained his ideas of British topography from his father-in-law Agricola.

The Rev. W. G. SEARLE commented as follows upon the origin and date of Ingulf's History of Croyland Abbey:

The chief part of the 'Historia Croylandensis,' published by Fulman in 1684, consists of the history of the monastery from 716 to 1095, compiled by the then abbot of the house, Ingulf, writing thus at the very end of the 11th century. It made its appearance in the literary world early in Queen Elizabeth's reign, being first mentioned by Dr Caius in 1568. It was not, however, printed till 1596, when it was at once welcomed as an interesting and valuable addition to our historical materials by our leading historians, Camden, Dugdale, Fuller, and others, an example followed by many important historical writers in France. In England it has been used by countless writers, and so has made its way into standard works on English history. But, though so widely accepted as genuine, there have not been lacking more sceptical students, who have brought forward such anachronisms in the signatures to the charters contained in it, such mis-statements in the historical

parts, and examples of such use of words belonging to much later date, that historians like Bishop Stubbs and Professor E. A. Freeman condemn it as a work of absolute worthlessness as an authority.

Yet the work, though an invention, is one of medieval times, some writers putting it in the time of Edward II., others in that of Henry V.; and besides this, the writer, whoever he may have been, though ignorant, in many points, of the real facts of the assumed date, and at times very careless, was clever enough, or lucky enough, to introduce details which receive very often most unexpected corroboration from perfectly authentic sources.

The author, who is supposed to be writing about 1095, was evidently acquainted with the chief historians of the 12th century, Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury and others, and this is sufficient to place the composition of the *Ingulf* late in the 12th century at the earliest, or in the reign of Henry II.; while, as he knew a *Chronicle of Peterborough* (MS. Cott. Claudius A. v.) which breaks off in the year 1368, it cannot be earlier than the end of the reign of Edward III. From the Patent Rolls in the Public Record Office we know that two of the charters, that of 716 of the foundation, and that of 948 of the restoration, of the Monastery, were in existence in 1393; but as these are more than extremely doubtful, if their genuineness be not absolutely impossible, this only shews that the process of manufacture had begun before that date, in the reign of Richard II. The book, though apparently in existence in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., was unknown to Bale, the diligent investigator of English literary history; and this is the more remarkable as two, if not three, copies were in existence, one which yet remains at the British Museum of about 1490, and another, the so-called *Autograph of the Ingulf*, which was kept at Croyland in the Church chest about 1610, but has since disappeared. A writer, who has contributed much to the compilation of the *Ingulf*, is a monk, *Ordericus Vitalis*, who visited Croyland in 1115. But here the difficulty presents



itself that, although Ordericus was of English birth, yet Bale does not mention him, and apparently, like Leland, Henry the Eighth's historiographer, who inspected the library of the Monastery before the Dissolution in 1539, had never seen a copy of the work bearing his name; and further, that, while there is only one early MS. in France, there is none in England of sufficiently early date. A MS. in the British Museum (MS. Cott. Vitell. B. xi.) contains a history of the abbats of Croyland, extending to the year 1427, extracted as to the Anglo-Saxon part of the Croyland History from Ordericus Vitalis only, a work which must have been written by a person interested in Croyland, while the Ingulf itself exists in another MS. (MS. Cott. Otho B. xiii.) written about 1490. The date of the composition of the Ingulf seems then necessarily to fall between those two periods, or somewhere about 1450. The *author* there seems no possibility of even guessing at.

Ingulf, according to Ordericus Vitalis, was a monk of the monastery of St Wandragesilus or of Saint-Wandrille in Normandy, and died in December, 1108, having been abbat for 24 years. This brings his appointment to 1086. In Domesday, among the tenants *in capite* in Surrey, is found: 'Abbas S. Wandragesili tenet Wandesorde per Ingulfum monachum,' which would seem to refer to our abbat, as the monastery, the monk, and the date, are all right, since Domesday was in course of being made in the spring of 1086, when Ingulf would still be monk, just before his appointment to the abbacy. It would be strange if there were another Ingulf of that monastery in England at that time. Ingulf had been secretary before the Conquest to Duke William, and so, living at Wandsworth close to London, he might easily obtain his promotion.

The riddle of the Ingulf is not an easy one to solve. In spite of long investigation, much yet remains to do, which yet is worth doing, that future works of history, and new editions of earlier ones, may be purged from statements derived from the Ingulf, which have no real claim to be considered other than the offspring of the fertile and ingenious brain of the unknown medieval writer of that work.

Dr LUARD stated that even that pioneer of historical investigation, Dr Maitland, had quoted stories from Ingulf as if they had been undoubtedly genuine, and mentioned that the XIth century was the usual time for forgeries of this kind rather than the XIVth. With regard to *Charters*, he thought that genuine charters had frequently the names of false witnesses attached to them, which had been introduced at a later time in order to give a higher value to the document; so that often charters were a better test of the witnesses than the witnesses of the charters.

Mr T. D. ATKINSON made the following communication :

### NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF HORHAM HALL, ESSEX.

The general history of the manor of Horham and of the families who have possessed it has been written very fully by Mr H. W. King, Honorary Secretary of the Essex Archaeological Society<sup>1</sup>. In these notes, therefore, no more will be attempted than an outline of the architectural history. It may be useful, however, before describing the building, to quote from Mr King some of the principal facts about its various owners.

Horham<sup>2</sup> is one of the five manors into which Thaxted was divided shortly after the Domesday Survey. Its history down to the end of the fourteenth century can be traced in some detail, but this is succeeded by a gap of fifty years, during which nothing is known of its owners. In 1451 the manor was held by Richard Large, of London, who was probably heir of Robert Large, Mercer, Lord Mayor in 1349, but when and how it came into the possession of this family does not appear. It was sold by the executors of Alice Large in 1494 for eight hundred marks to Richard Quadryng of Lincolnshire, who sold it again in 1502 to Sir John Cutte.

<sup>1</sup> "The descent of the Manor of Horham and of the family of Cutts." *Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc.* First Ser., Vol. iv.

<sup>2</sup> The name Horham is said to be derived from the Saxon *Ora*, a skirt or border, and *Ham*, a house, i.e. the house on the boundary. If this be so, a more appropriate name could not have been chosen, for the boundary between the Parishes of Thaxted and Broxton passes through the Hall.

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