

Kirtlington [co. Oxford], tithe in Bicester, and the chapel and tithe in Tew.¹ Jordan de Say possessed an interest in Langrune,² a place where Adeliz sister of Robert de Rumilly made a benefaction to the abbey of Troarn.³ Gilbert de Say (son of Jordan),⁴ issued from his castle of Marigny (the canton in which Remilly is situated) a charter to the abbey of Aunay in 1151, for the health of the souls of his parents, his brother Enguerrand, and others.⁵ Not later than 1157 Richard du Hommet and Agnes his wife (evidently daughter and heir of Gilbert de Say) included the church of Remilly in their gifts to Aunay;⁶ and c. 1160 Richard gave the church of Marigny to the same house with the consent of dame Lucy de Alneto and of his wife Agnes and his son William.⁷ In the period 1210-20 William du Hommet held in chief of Philip Augustus the honour of Remilly, (*Rumilli*), bailiwick of Coutances, for 2½ knights' fees.⁸

The deductions from this evidence suggest, first, that Robert de Rumilly took his name from Remilly, dept. Manche; and, secondly, that Jordan de Say acquired his interest in Remilly in right of his wife Lucy, who was very likely a daughter of Robert de Rumilly.⁹ It can be supposed that she inherited his lands in Normandy and a small interest in his lands in England, and that Cecily de Rumilly, his other daughter, inherited the bulk of his English lands.

In attempting a solution of the main problem—namely to trace a descent of William de Say the younger from Robert de Rumilly—there are two pieces of evidence relating to William de Say the elder, husband of Beatrice de Mandeville, which must be examined :

(i) There is a clause in the second charter of the empress Maud to Geoffrey de Mandeville, issued between Christmas 1141 and the end of June 1142, by which she granted that William de Sai and his heirs should have all the lands and tenements which had belonged to his father (*quae fuerunt patris sui*);¹⁰ the latter unfortunately is not named.

¹ *Gallia Christiana*, inst., col. 89. For the identification of the English places see Stapleton in *Rot. Scacc. Norm.*, ii, p. clxxxvii.

² *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 480; where Jordan de Say occurs among the benefactors of the abbey of Troarn.

³ See p. 1 above; she also gave land in Asnières, where Jordan de Say gave land to Aunay.

⁴ Jordan's sons, Engerranus, Gilbert and Peter are mentioned in a confirmation charter of king Henry I to Aunay. (*Haskins, Norman Institutions*, p. 298).

⁵ *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 522.

⁶ *Gallia Christiana*, xi, inst., col. 89; *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 525.

⁷ *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 527.

⁸ *Recueil des Historiens . . . de la France*, xxiii, 609.

⁹ Stapleton suggested that Lucy was a sister of Cecily de Rumilly in *Rot. Scacc. Norm.*, ii, p. clxxxvii.

¹⁰ Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 169. It may be significant that a later clause granted that a Matthew de Rumilli should have the land of his father which Geoffrey de Turevill was holding. The relationship of this Matthew to Robert de Rumilly is not known; but he must not be confused with Matthew, son of William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly, who died some years before the date of the empress's charter (see p. 6 above).

(ii) According to the accepted account William de Say was slain at the siege of Burwell castle in 1144.¹ But it is certain that he survived his brother-in-law Geoffrey de Mandeville; for he and Beatrice his wife and William his heir, for the soul of earl Geoffrey and their own health, confirmed to St. Neot's priory land in Eaton Socon, co. Bedford, which Hugh de Beauchamp, who was his man in respect thereof, had given for the soul of the same earl.²

The only likely solution appears to be that Jordan de Say and his wife Lucy, whose principal interests lay in Normandy had a younger son William de Say the elder. Their son Gilbert, as has been shown, must have been in possession of their Norman lands by 1151; and in 1141-42 the Empress's charter secured, so far as she was concerned, the position of William in the English lands. The date of Jordan's death is not known. The language of the Empress's charter suggests that he was then dead—assuming that he was the father of William de Say the elder. On this point, however, a difficulty arises. Jordan de Say, as shown above, had interests in Oxfordshire. In 1130 he was pardoned 23s. for danegeld in that county.³ Now there is a charter issued by a certain Jordan de Sai by which, for the soul of his son William on the day when he handed him over for burial at Eynsham, he gave to Eynsham abbey the church of Sulethorne [Souldern, co. Oxford]; witnessed by Ranulf his son, and two priests named.⁴ The latest date is 1161 in view of a confirmation of archbishop Theobald⁵; and it is not improbable that this confirmation was issued in 1148 during the vacancy in the see of Lincoln, in which diocese Souldern lay. The early history of Souldern seems obscure; but it is significant that in 1278-79 the manor was held by Thomas de Leukenore of Thomas de Arderne, who held of the heirs of Say.⁶

It would involve a series of coincidences if the Jordan de Say of the Eynsham charter was not the same person as Jordan de Say of Normandy.⁷ But if this identification can be upheld it must

¹ This statement, cited in *Complete Peerage*, new ed., v. 120, is made in notes on the abbots of Ramsey in some fragments of a Ramsey Register; pd. in *Chron. Ramsey*, p. 347, where it is stated that both William de Say and Geoffrey de Mandeville were slain at the siege. Actually Geoffrey appears to have died of his wound shortly afterwards, on 14 or 16 Sept. (*Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 221-3).

² St. Neot's Chartulary, Cotton MS. Faustina A. iv, f. 54; a transcript kindly provided by Professor Stenton. ³ *Pipe Roll 31 Hen. I*, p. 5.

⁴ *Eynsham Cartulary*, Oxford Hist. Soc., i, no. 153.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 41.

⁶ *Rot. Hundr.*, ii 823b. These heirs, however, were the heirs of Say of Richard's Castle, as is shown by *Rot. Claus.*, i, 261a (a reference kindly supplied by Mr. M. W. Hughes), who were descended from Eustachia de Say wife of Hugh FitzOsbern. Her identity is unknown (*Eyton, Shropshire*, iv, 304); and the Souldern evidence may suggest a connexion with the family of Jordan—a point which, however, is outside the scope of the present Appendix.

⁷ It may be noted that Souldern, c. 6½ miles from Bicester, is one corner of a parallelogram of which the other three corners are Bicester, Kirtlington and Tew; and certainly, as shown above, the Norman Jordan de Say and Lucy his wife had interests in the last three places.

be made on the supposition that the latter was alive later than Sept. 1144, and was not dead at the date of the Empress's charter of 1141-42;¹ and, even so, it would be difficult to account for his being in England at the date of the funeral. However that may be, the Eynsham charter introduces a complication which is an incomplete reason for discarding, and which possibly provides an additional reason for supporting, the suggested explanation that William de Say the elder was a grandson of Robert de Rumilly through his mother Lucy wife of Jordan de Say.

On this hypothesis Jordan de Say had another son named William; for in his *carta* of 1166 William de Say the younger had an uncle William de Say who was then holding of him a knight's fee in Wheatenhurst.² It is significant that this William de Say the uncle can almost certainly be identified as the William de Say, brother of William de Say, who gave the tithe of his mill of Wheatenhurst, with the consent of his lord William de Say, to the abbey of Troarn³—a house of which Robert de Rumilly⁴ and Jordan de Say⁵ had been benefactors.

Two further points, for what they may be worth, can be added. First, a Rumilly family (whose connexion with Robert de Rumilly is not known) had a tenancy in Little Tew, co. Oxford; and it was in Tew where the chapel and tithe were among the gifts made to the abbey of Aunay by Jordan de Say and Lucy his wife, as noted above. Secondly, like the Jordan de Say who gave the church of Souldern, a member of a Rumilly family was a benefactor of Eynsham abbey.⁶

Additional note.

While the above was passing through the press the following record of an important document, which throws light on some of the questions discussed, was discovered:⁷

Charte notice de Hengered de Sai mentionnant la dédicace de l'église de Saint-Pierre de Marigny (*de Marineio*) par Geoffroy de Montbray, évêque de Coutances, à la prière de Robert, fils de Rainfray de Remilly (*de Rumilleio*), dont la femme Muriel était morte et enterrée dans cette église; Robert donne en dot à l'église le bourg qu'il avait dans Marigny au-delà du pont, et dans lequel son frère Geoffroy n'avait point part, parcequ'il avait acheté le fonds de ses propres deniers de Geoffroy fils Ami, et qu'il y avait bâti ledit bourg; il le donne libre et franc de toutes rentes et de tous services; il y ajoute un sextier de froment sur deux moulins de la paroisse, la franchise de la maison du prêtre Boson et la dîme de l'autre bourg; il confirme tous ces dons en

¹ This difficulty can be explained on the assumption that Jordan had made over his English lands, or the greater part of them, to his son William in his lifetime, retaining, perhaps, his Oxfordshire interests.

² *Red Bk. of Exch.*, p. 374; and *cf.* p. 2 above.

³ See p. 2 above.

⁴ See p. 1 above.

⁵ See p. 32*n* above.

⁶ *H.K.F.*, i, 125.

⁷ The reference is *Archives de La Manche, Inventaire Sommaire, Série H.*, vol. i, p. 7—abbaye d' Aunay, H.46 (Liasse)—i pièce parchemin; with the headings: 'xi^e siècle' (*i.e.* for the ceremony, not the confirmation), and 'Paroisse de Marigny.'

plaçant un couteau (*quemdam cultellum*) sur l'autel;—Pierre, fils de Geoffroy, seigneur de l'église sous Robert, donne quatre acres de terre situées auprès de l'église, la dîme de son moulin et de sa terre;—Aitard du Mesnil-Aleaume (*de Mesnillo Adelelmi*) donne sa dîme à la même église, ce que confirme Robert fils Rainfray, seigneur suzerain;—tout cela est fait en présence de l'évêque, de Geoffroy son archidiacre, et de Pierre son camerier; de Geoffroy et de Guillaume de Hauteville (*de Altavilla*), de Robert fils de Havard, de Serlon fils Amé (*Hamati*), de Herbert de La Hogue (*de La Hoga*), de G. Pain et Vin, de Geoffroy de Camprond, de Silvain, de Pierre prêtre du Lorey, de Hosbert prêtre de Saint-Lô;—à la prière de Robert l'évêque qui était prêt à chanter la messe donne l'absolution à tous ceux qui concéderaient, maintiendraient et défendraient ces donations et il excommunie tous ceux qui porteraient sur les objets donnés une main téméraire : tunc episcopus coram clero et populo concedentes et defendentes et manutenentes vice sancti Petri absolvit; subtrahentes et devastantes de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto et de sancta Maria matris (*sic*, lisez matre) domini et de omnibus angelis et archangelis et de omnibus prophetis et de omnibus apostolis et martiribus et confessoribus et virginibus excommunicavit;—confirmation de cette donation par Hengered de Sai donnant de la terre et des maisonnettes situées à gauche de l'église en échange d'un sextier de froment qui n'était plus payé; ses temoins sont : Robert d'Asnières, Hugues de Sai, Robert de Saint-Ebrémond, Roger Leisant, Osbert Dacien, Pierre de Saint-Benoît, Robert Fossart.

Apart from any other points of interest this record shows that Hengered de Sai, who issued the confirmation, was the representative and presumably the heir of Robert de Remilly of Marigny. It has been suggested above that Lucy wife of Jordan de Say, two of whose sons were named Enguerrand and Gilbert (p. 32), was a daughter of and heir to the Norman lands of Robert de Rumilly, the benefactor of the abbey of Troarn. It is difficult to avoid the conclusions that Hengered de Sai was the same person as Enguerrand, Jordan's son, and that he was the predecessor of his brother Gilbert, who was in possession of the castle of Marigny in 1151 (p. 32); and further that the two Roberts were identical. If so the record not only supports the suggested parentage of Lucy, but proves that Robert de Rumilly who acquired lands in England was the son of Rainfray de Remilly, and had a wife named Muriel, buried at Marigny, and a brother named Geoffrey.

Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances, named in the record, held the see from 1048 to 1093. As Robert de Rumilly must have been born about the middle of the eleventh century, the church of Marigny was presumably dedicated towards the end of Geoffrey's tenure of the see, shortly before Robert de Rumilly's gift to the abbey of Troarn in 1094-96. This is supported by the mention of Peter, the bishop's chamberlain, who occurs in 1091.¹

As noted in the Appendix above the church of Marigny was given to the abbey of Aunay, c. 1160, by Richard du Hommet with the consent of his wife Agnes, who was almost certainly the daughter and heir of Gilbert de Say.

¹ *Gallia Christiana*, xi, inst., col. 222D.