

The origins of Steyning and Bramber, Sussex

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The former boroughs of Steyning and Bramber lie between 4 and 5 miles (7 km) from the Sussex coast, just north of the South Downs at the point where the river Adur begins to break through them on its way to Shoreham. As their physical proximity would suggest, their histories are closely linked. Yet they have very different origins. Steyning was a Saxon town, which apparently grew largely of its own accord; Bramber on the other hand is a hitherto unrecognized 'new town' of Norman foundation.¹

The topography of the surrounding area is shown in Fig. 1. Steyning lies on a low spur of the chalk between two streams draining north-east to the river Adur that provided water and power. The river now hugs the eastern side of its flood-plain, but in early medieval times formed a wide tidal estuary in which salt was extracted on a large scale.² The site of Bramber castle is a natural mound about 90 ft (27 m) high;³ Bramber village lies partly on land above the flood-plain south and west of the castle, and partly on a man-made causeway to the east.⁴

Steyning presumably originated as a village, and the second element of the name indicates that it existed at a relatively early stage of Saxon immigration.⁵ In later centuries it was still hemmed in to the west and south by its common fields, like any other rural settlement.⁶ The meaning of the first element (Steyn-) of the name is not certain. The suggestion that it refers to some prominent stone, possibly prehistoric, is doubtful; at any rate no such stone has been found.⁷ Another possible translation is 'stony place', either in reference to an outcrop of the sandstone that lies under the chalk, or perhaps to the sea shingle which is known to have existed nearby in the Adur estuary.⁸ Steyning is first mentioned in the legend of St Cuthman, who is said to have founded a church at an existing settlement there, perhaps in the late eighth or early ninth century. The legend is only known from the seventeenth-century *Acta Sanctorum*, where it apparently derives from manuscripts at Fécamp

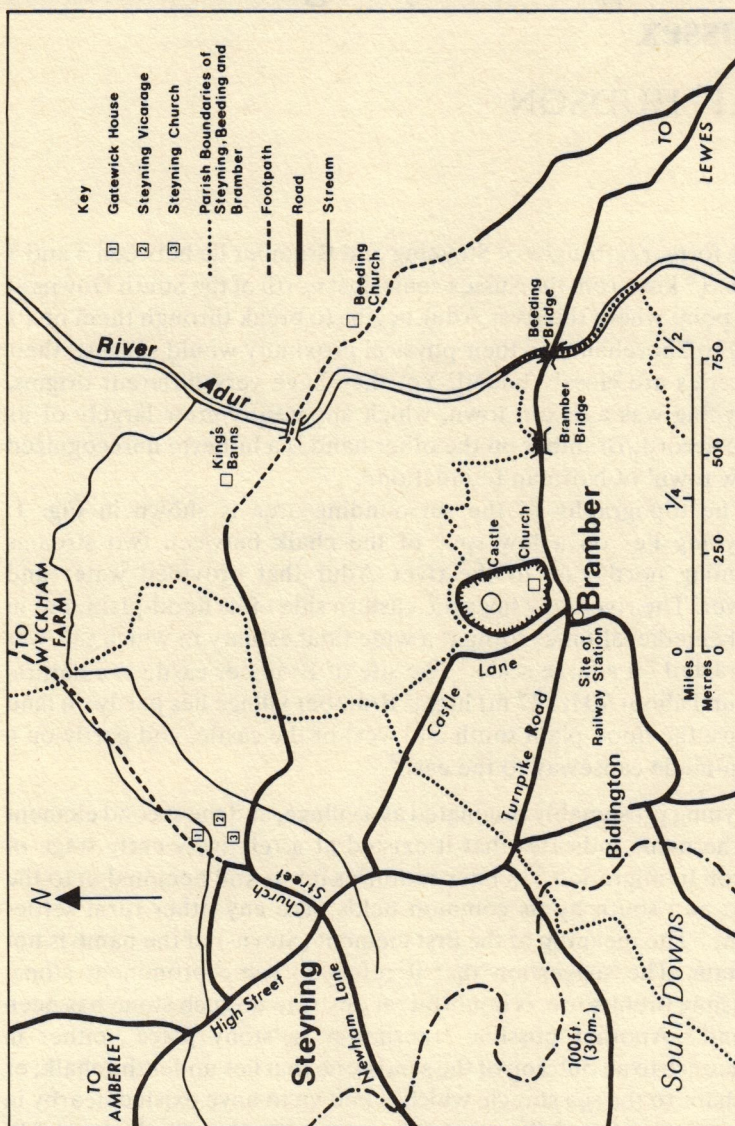


FIG 1: Steyning, Bramber and Beeding (based on Ordnance Survey 6" Map, Sussex).

abbey in Normandy of late date and uncertain authenticity. The modern local popularity of the story dates only from the (rather surprising) inclusion of St Cuthman among Lower's *Worthies of Sussex* in 1865.⁹ The legend is corroborated, however, by eleventh- and twelfth-century references to St Cuthman's parish and St Cuthman's port,¹⁰ the church's dedication being afterwards changed in favour of St Andrew.¹¹ According to the legend St Cuthman was buried at Steyning, where his shrine became an object of pilgrimage; since the same statement occurs, apparently independently, in Camden's *Britannia*,¹² it can probably be believed. St Cuthman's church presumably lay on the same site as the modern church; it was probably of wood, as the legend says, and little if anything survives of it or of any other pre-Conquest work.¹³

Steyning church was rebuilt in the late eleventh or early twelfth century as one of the grandest churches of its date in the south of England, with aisled nave and chancel, north and south transepts, and crossing tower.¹⁴ All the east parts were demolished in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the west tower was built at about the same time; the present chancel is nineteenth-century, and occupies the site of the crossing.¹⁵ A curious feature of the site is that the ground falls steeply to the east of the modern chancel. It appears probable that the Norman chancel was raised on an undercroft which contained the shrine of St Cuthman, an arrangement paralleled in other contemporary churches.¹⁶ In the 1930s four interments were found outside the present east wall of the churchyard, three of them facing east, and although there were apparently no distinguishing grave goods it is possible that one was the body of the saint himself.¹⁷

The second documentary reference to Steyning is of A.D. 858, when according to the *Annals of St Neots* King Ethelwulf, father of King Alfred, was buried there before removal to Winchester Cathedral.¹⁸ The fact indicates the importance of the church by that date, corroborating the theory that it contained St Cuthman's shrine. Evidently too, it was then under the patronage of the royal house of Wessex. The manor of Steyning in fact belonged to the kings of Wessex and their successors (with the exception of a short period after Alfred's death in 899), until Edward the Confessor (1042–66) granted its reversion to Fécamp abbey.¹⁹

After the Norman conquest a college of secular canons belonging to Fécamp existed at Steyning;²⁰ it was mentioned in 1185, and was perhaps alluded to eighty years earlier.²¹ The college, however, succeeded to what was evidently a Saxon minster establishment,

founded either by St Cuthman or by one of Steyning's royal lords; the erroneous statement made in 1290 that the church had been granted to Fécamp by King Alfred may therefore have some basis in fact.²² The minster parish was presumably identical with the local estate that belonged to the kings of Wessex and included Beeding, King's Barns (a significant name), and Annington in Botolphs.²³ Both Bramber and Beeding were still subject to Steyning's ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the late eleventh century,²⁴ and Ashurst and Warminghurst to the north and north-west remained chapelries of Steyning as late as the sixteenth century.²⁵ The constitution of the college as it existed in the thirteenth century, moreover, shows traces of a minster establishment; the provost and three canons each had a prebend which may have corresponded to a later parish: Steyning, Ashurst, and Warminghurst were presumably three, and the fourth was perhaps West Angmering near Arundel, whose church also belonged to Fécamp.²⁶

The reversion of Steyning church with that of the manor was presumably given by Edward the Confessor to Fécamp abbey, and confirmed to it by William I.²⁷ However, as a former royal church, Steyning later had some characteristics of a royal free chapel; for instance, when the office of abbot was vacant the Crown presented to prebends. Further, Fécamp claimed exemption from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction except that of the pope, and in the 1270s the abbot successfully prevented Archbishop Peckham from carrying out a visitation.²⁸ As late as 1851 the incumbent paid no procurations, and in 1777 the vicar attended only occasional visitations out of respect to the bishop.²⁹

The site of the college is unknown. There is no evidence to support the suggestion either that it lay immediately north of the church, or that it occupied the site of Gatewick House further north across the stream,³⁰ though Gatewick was later a sub-manor of Steyning manor. The most likely possibility is that it stood on the site of the later vicarage, north-east of the church;³¹ since the college is not known to have ever had more than four members³² its buildings would not need to be large. The disconnected layout of the church and the college, together with Gatewick House, perhaps the original manor-house, recalls the sites of Saxon royal 'palaces', for instance at Cheddar or at Yeavering in Northumberland.³³ It seems possible that Steyning too was once the site of such a 'palace'.³⁴

As a result of its importance as a royal and religious centre, and like other places characterized by Professor Everitt as 'primary towns', Steyning became the centre of a hundred, perhaps in the

tenth century.³⁵ The area of the hundred, however, apparently did not correspond to that of the minster parish, as Page showed was often the case in southern England,³⁶ for Beeding, Ashurst, and Warminghurst all lay outside it in later times. Steyning lay at the centre of the hundred area, and the hundred meeting-place may have been nearby.³⁷

The date at which Steyning acquired an urban character is uncertain, but there is no reason to think it was very early. The first indication of urban status is the existence of a mint there in the early eleventh century, perhaps the successor to those of Burpham (near Arundel) and Cissbury. The mint continued in use until the time of William II.³⁸ The likelihood that the town is not early is strengthened by the fact that it was not included in the defence system of Edward the Elder recorded in the 'Burghal Hidage' of between 911 and 919. Indeed, no specific provision is made in that document for the defence of the vulnerable Adur estuary, for there is no *burh* listed between Burpham and Lewes.³⁹

Steyning's site was highly favourable to the growth of a town, since it lay at the crossing point of two old routes. One was the road along the Upper Greensand ridge north of the downs, which ran throughout Sussex linking many sites of settlement, and which seems to have passed Steyning church *en route* for a crossing of the Adur between King's Barns and Beeding church.⁴⁰ The other route, followed by the modern Newham Lane and Church Street and continuing past Gatewick House and Wyckham Farm to Henfield, linked the coastal area south of the downs with the Weald.⁴¹ The section south of Steyning was apparently called the Portway in the late fifteenth century, indicating its destination as Steyning with its market (OE. *port*), and the section north of the town was still called Portway Lane in the nineteenth century.⁴² That the road is older than the town, however, is proved by the Roman terraceway by which it originally climbed the downland scarp.⁴³

Steyning also enjoyed water communications in Saxon times; a port is mentioned in late eleventh- and twelfth-century documents, in terms which show that it had existed before the Conquest.⁴⁴ The site suggested by Salmon, east of Bramber castle mound, would have been a long way from the settlement, and it seems much more likely that the port lay near the church. An arm of the river would formerly have extended up to there, and in the winter of 1924-5 its course was shown during heavy flooding in the area.⁴⁵ Archaeological evidence has shown that the original site of Steyning was near the church; evidence of habitation has been found both within the

area of the churchyard and to its south and west, with artefacts datable between the tenth and twelfth centuries.⁴⁶

Though the town probably grew naturally at first, its development may afterwards have been boosted by deliberate planning. The area south and south-west of the church shows traces of a possible grid-pattern of streets and property boundaries, which might indicate a late-Saxon planned town with Church Street as its spine.⁴⁷ If so, it would match other southern English towns of the same period like Wareham and Wallingford. Moreover in the physical relationship of town and church, Steyning parallels the Saxon 'new towns' at Durham, St Albans, and possibly Peterborough.⁴⁸

In 1066, Steyning had 118 burgages, and 123 in 1086.⁴⁹ Four moneyers were recorded at the mint in the reign of Edward the Confessor.⁵⁰ Though Domesday Book does not refer explicitly to markets and fairs there, it can be presumed that Steyning had both, and it was evidently then the centre of the surrounding region, which the same source shows to have been particularly thickly populated. Its agricultural origin, however, was shown by the statement that in 1066 the burgesses had performed villein service at the lord's court.⁵¹

Bramber on the other hand did not exist in 1066. In order to understand the circumstances in which the new town was founded it will be necessary first to consider the Norman political settlement of Sussex and the vexed question of the origin of the rapes.⁵² In later centuries the county was divided laterally into six administrative areas called from west to east the rapes of Chichester, Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Pevensey, and Hastings. Each contained a town, a port, and a castle. The first evidence of their existence is in Domesday Book (1086) where, however, only five are listed, Chichester then being part of Arundel.⁵³

The view of Stenton and others is that the rapes were of Saxon origin.⁵⁴ The word 'rape' is apparently Anglo-Saxon; cognate words in Dutch and Old High German meaning 'district' were adduced by Stevenson.⁵⁵ Moreover there are references in Domesday Book to rapes existing in some form before the Norman conquest.⁵⁶ In view of the large number of hundreds in Sussex⁵⁷ it seems reasonable that there should always have been some intermediate unit between hundred and county for administrative convenience. That was certainly the case in Kent, where there were also many hundreds, and where intermediate units called lathes existed in Saxon times. Their original arrangement, which had been obscured by the time of

Domesday Book, has recently been reconstructed by Witney, who shows that they were centred on royal vills and pre-dated the formation of the hundreds.⁵⁸

However, none of the many Saxon charters of Sussex estates mentions the existence of rapes.⁵⁹ Moreover, three things suggest that in the late eleventh century they were feudal rather than local governmental units. First, they are usually referred to in Domesday Book by the names of their lords, not by territorial titles, as if they had been created for those lords rather than given to them as existing entities. Secondly, their boundaries did not always tally with the boundaries of the hundreds, as those of intermediate local governmental units would be expected to do. Instead, for instance, three hundreds in western Sussex were divided between adjacent rapes, Easwirth between Bramber and Arundel and Wyndham and Fishersgate between Bramber and Lewes; the resulting areas were later often known as half-hundreds.⁶⁰ Thirdly, the layout of the rapes in north-south strips seems especially well suited to Norman defence needs, keeping the various lines of communication between England and Normandy in separate lordships. Indeed the closest institutional parallels with the rapes are the compact feudal castelries of other border areas, for instance the marcher lordships of Wales or the honors of Richmond and Pontefract in Yorkshire, of which lands were similarly held by military service for the defence of a vulnerable area of the new Norman kingdom.⁶¹ If the rapes in the form we know them are of Norman creation, however, it seems possible that they replaced Saxon divisions of the county which were called by the same name. Salzman suggested two such divisions, which he called provisionally East and West Sussex,⁶² and another may have been the territory of the 'Haestingas', which apparently had some kind of separate status in the early eleventh century.⁶³

Like other frontier castelries, four of the five rapes were entrusted to close friends or relations of William the Conqueror: Chichester with Arundel to Roger de Montgomery, Lewes to William de Warenne, Pevensey to Robert, count of Mortain, and Hastings to Robert, count of Eu. The towns of Lewes, Pevensey and Hastings were of Saxon origin, but Arundel was founded by its first Norman lord.⁶⁴

The rape of Bramber immediately stands out as anomalous in two ways. First, its lord, William de Braose, was not apparently a close associate of the Conqueror; indeed very little is known about him at all.⁶⁵ For that reason among others, Salzman argued that he was not

among the original grantees of Sussex fiefs, and that the rape of Bramber was created after the other four.⁶⁶ The Rev. William Hudson had shown in 1912 how the boundaries of the rapes diverged in some places from those of the archdeaconries and pre-Reformation deaneries; in particular the boundary between Chichester and Lewes archdeaconries did not match the boundary between Bramber and Lewes rapes, but cut the former area in half. Assuming that the deaneries were created c. 1075, i.e. after the rapes, he suggested as the explanation that the areas of the rapes had afterwards been altered.⁶⁷ Salzman, continuing the argument, suggested that Bramber rape was carved out of Lewes and Arundel rapes at some time between c. 1075 and 1086, the date of Domesday Book.⁶⁸ Unaccountably, however, he ignored a charter of 1073 in which William de Braose granted *inter alia* demesne tithes from a large area to his newly-founded collegiate church at Bramber; since that area was apparently the same as Bramber rape, it seems that Braose had the rape by then.⁶⁹ Dr Mason in pointing out Salzman's omission nevertheless accepted the idea of the later origin of Bramber rape; assuming an earlier date for the creation of archdeaconries he argued that the rape was formed c. 1072, though he admitted that the time schedule implied was very tight.⁷⁰ However, the argument for Bramber's later origin is based on the assumption that the archdeaconry and deanery boundaries would inevitably follow existing rape boundaries; but if the rapes were feudal units there seems no reason why that should be so. As we have seen, even the boundaries of other secular administrative areas did not always match those of the rapes. Moreover, it was as vital to defend the Adur estuary as any other, and there seems no reason why a castelry there should have been created later than elsewhere in Sussex. Had Bramber not been a separate fief from the start the lands within it must have been held of either Lewes or Arundel rape, but there is no hint of that in Domesday Book.⁷¹

The second way in which Bramber differs from the other rapes is that its lordship was not the same as that of its chief town, Steyning, where Fécamp abbey's title was confirmed proleptically by the Conqueror before he set sail.⁷² The division of lordship inevitably caused friction. Curiously, a similar division was avoided in Hastings rape, where Fécamp had held before the Conquest the manor of 'Rameslie', including the 'new town' of Hastings. Though the abbey was confirmed in the bulk of that estate, Hastings itself was granted by William to the lord of the rape, Robert count of Eu.⁷³ The friction at Bramber was made worse by the fact that William de

Braose retained in demesne a large estate adjacent to Steyning on the east. Though it was also called 'Steyning' in Domesday Book, it had nothing to do with the borough, but seems to have been identical with what was later the manors of King's Barns and Bidlington, both of which descended in the Braose family.⁷⁴ In later times the lands of both manors extended right up to the town, and it is fair to assume they did so in the late eleventh century too.⁷⁵

The place-name Bramber apparently means a bramble thicket; by 956 it had been transferred to one of the channels of the river Adur,⁷⁶ and it was also applied later to the castle which William de Braose had built by 1073, the date of the document already cited, in which it is mentioned.⁷⁷ The castle was built on an outlying hide of another Braose demesne manor, Washington, 3½ miles (6 km) west of Steyning.⁷⁸ There is no evidence for an earlier fortification on the site as has often been stated.⁷⁹ Nor is there any evidence for pre-Conquest settlement at Bramber, for a church, or indeed for a river-crossing; hence the castle was sometimes known at first as Steyning castle, and the rape as Steyning castelry.⁸⁰ Once the castle was built, however, Braose set about challenging the local influence of Fécamp abbey by a programme of encroachment which parallels on a smaller scale the depredations of Bishop Odo on the estates of the archbishop of Canterbury in Kent, or of Urse d'Abitot on monastic lands in Worcestershire.⁸¹ The abbey complained to the king, and the record of the royal judgement on the case, given in 1086, enables Braose's activities to be discerned in great detail.⁸²

In the first place Braose had founded a college of secular canons at the castle before 1073, endowing it by the charter already mentioned with lands, tithes, and other revenues in his rape.⁸³ Several other Norman lords founded such establishments, for instance at Hastings and Wallingford.⁸⁴ At Bramber the college lay not in the castle itself in the usual way, but in a subsidiary earthwork outside.⁸⁵ Besides other endowments Braose attempted to grant it parochial rights over his manor of 'Steyning' (the future King's Barns and Bidlington manors). The decree of 1086, however, enjoined that spiritual rights over that land should remain with Fécamp. Bodies that had been buried at Bramber church were ordered to be dug up by Braose's men and reburied at Steyning, and the dean of the college surrendered the fees he had received 'for the burials, for wakes, for tolling the bells, and for all mortuary dues'.

Secondly, Braose was interfering with traffic to Steyning and its

port. The somewhat cryptic wording of the document on this subject is as follows:

Concerning the toll which he [Braose] was taking at his bridge from the men of Fécamp abbey, it was decreed that it should not be given, since it was never given in the time of King Edward; and by the king's command whatever had been received was given back, the tollman swearing that he had not received more. Concerning the ships which go up to the port of St Cuthman, it was decreed that they should be quit for 2d going up and coming down, unless they should make another market at William's castle.

The distinction between the two tolls may be that the first was taken from foot-passengers and the second from river craft. A more likely explanation is that the first sentence relates to the abbey's tenants, and the second to the ships of others; in that event the last clause apparently abrogates Braose's right to take toll from the latter if he should set up a rival market. Similarly, there are two possible explanations of the reference to the bridge at Bramber. One is that a bridge existed in 1066, at which the tenants of Fécamp abbey did not pay tolls. The other, more likely, theory is that Braose had built it since then. Such a major effort of civil engineering could only have been achieved by a great lord or corporate body; Fécamp abbey clearly did not claim it as theirs, and it is described in the document as belonging to Braose.

The nature of the new 'bridge' has hitherto been misunderstood. Documents before c. 1230 refer to only one bridge (*pons*) but those after that date to two, a greater and a lesser, which are clearly the same as the later Bramber and Beeding bridges. Holden has suggested that only the bridge on the site of Beeding bridge existed originally, the western channel being crossed by a ferry, and that the second bridge was built in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.⁸⁶ It seems unlikely, however, that part of the river should have been left uncrossed for so long, and a document of 1103 certainly implies that traffic to Steyning could be altogether blocked.⁸⁷ Clearly the word *pons* should here be translated 'causeway', as in a grant of the late twelfth century by which William d'Aubigny, earl of Arundel, granted to Pynham priory timber for the repair of 'the wooden bridge in the middle of Arundel causeway (*ligni pontem qui est in medio pontis de Arundell*)'.⁸⁸ The Bramber causeway was presumably of timber open-work construction, which later became solid in places as silt piled up against it, and as land was reclaimed on either side. Remains of such a timber causeway have twice been found south-east of the castle, the piles discovered on the more

recent occasion being possibly datable to the late eleventh century.⁸⁹

The construction of the causeway was evidently intended to divert east–west traffic away from Steyning; instead that traffic was to pass through the borough which, again like other Norman lords,⁹⁰ William de Braose founded under the walls of his castle, and whose markets and fairs were to rival and replace those of Steyning. The new borough is not mentioned specifically in the 1086 decree, since in itself it was not an encroachment; however, a road which Braose had laid out on Fécamp abbey's land, and which he was ordered to destroy, was perhaps associated with it. The borough's absence from Domesday Book too can perhaps be explained by its newness. References in the Battle abbey chronicle and cartulary, however, show that it existed at this period. According to the chronicle William de Braose gave to the abbey eight houses (*mansuras*) 'in . . . burgo de Brembrae'. Since the passage concerned occurs just before William I's death is mentioned the grant was presumably made before 1087. The chronicle goes on to say, in an interesting passage, that Braose gave the eight 'burgesses' power to buy and sell freely and without toll within their houses except on market day, when goods were to be sold publicly.⁹¹

The cartulary contains a confirmation of the same grant c. 1100 by William de Braose's son Philip, in which the burgages are described as 'the houses built in the land of the saltern (*illas domos que facte sunt in terra saline*)'.⁹² The description seems to indicate that they were situated on reclaimed land along the causeway, in the same way as were the burgages of the 'new town' at Stockbridge in Hampshire, founded c. 1200.⁹³ In the mid-thirteenth century the borough extended along the causeway as far as Bramber bridge, but apparently no further.⁹⁴ The market-place of Bramber apparently lay south-west of the castle in later centuries, and was obliterated when the railway was built.⁹⁵ A northern limb of the borough extended from it along Castle Lane, the old road to Steyning; some houses there were also destroyed for the railway, and foundations of others had been visible in the early eighteenth century.⁹⁶

Various other encroachments are mentioned in the 1086 decree. A ditch which had been cut through the abbey's land to take water to the castle was ordered to be filled up. A park and a warren which had also been laid out on the abbey's land were ordered to be destroyed, and Braose was also directed to restore to the abbey its share of a wood called 'Hamoda' which he had seized. The locations of the park, warren, and wood are unknown, but they may well have

lain in the north of the county, where Fécamp still held outlying lands in later centuries.⁹⁷ The wood had value as providing timber and pasture for swine; similarly the marshland which Braose was also ordered to leave alone would have had value both as pasture and as a source of salt.

The last two items mentioned in the 1086 decree show Braose's encroachments reaching into Steyning town itself. The first concerns eighteen burgages which he was said to have seized there. They were ordered to be surrendered to the abbey, but not long afterwards William's son Philip seized them again; by another royal decree of 1103 he was allowed to retain them, but as tenements of Steyning borough.⁹⁸ They were still so held in 1229 by a later member of the Braose family,⁹⁹ but no further reference is found to them. In later times, however, there were several houses in the eastern angle between Church Street and High Street in Steyning which belonged to Bramber borough for electoral and probably also for local government purposes. It seems possible that they represented the eighteen burgages of the late eleventh century which had continued to descend in the Braose family and their successors and had therefore come to be attached to Bramber instead of to Steyning borough.¹⁰⁰

Secondly, Braose had annexed for himself a share of the Steyning market tolls. A reference in the charter of 1073 suggests that he had already done so by that date.¹⁰¹ It is not clear what right he had to it, but the 1086 decree awarded him half the toll at the Saturday market, and his descendants clearly retained it. In 1210 during forfeiture of the Braose lands the Crown received £5 15s 8d from the 'custom' and perquisites of Steyning, apparently including market tolls;¹⁰² in 1368 a later lord of Bramber, John Mowbray, still had a share of the tolls;¹⁰³ and the Mowbrays continued to claim half in the fifteenth century, though they apparently received nothing at that time.¹⁰⁴

At the end of the eleventh century, therefore, the Braose family's attempt to challenge the influence of Fécamp abbey in Bramber rape had been foiled. Bramber college was dissolved, perhaps as a result of the 1086 decree, and its endowments were transferred at some time before 1096 to a new foundation, Sele priory, at Beeding.¹⁰⁵ Bramber borough continued to exist; in the thirteenth century it had a small port which served as an entrepôt for Wealden timber and its inhabitants included some merchants.¹⁰⁶ But Bramber was never very prosperous; in 1334 it had by far the lowest taxation assessment of any borough in the county, and in 1341 it was

said to be completely impoverished, with no merchants or tradesmen of any substance.¹⁰⁷ Though it afterwards sent members to Parliament until 1832, at first often jointly with Steyning, that right evidently reflected less the status of the borough than that of its late medieval lords, the Braoses and the Mowbrays.

Over a longer period, however, the Braoses and their successors were the victors. In the first place Sele priory accumulated extensive lands, tithes and other revenues in the rape,¹⁰⁸ and came easily to eclipse Steyning college as its chief religious foundation; after c. 1260 when the latter was dissolved, Sele had no rival.¹⁰⁹ Secondly, it was presumably because of the setback to Bramber that William de Braose or his son Philip soon afterwards planted a second borough in the rape, New Shoreham at the mouth of the Adur.¹¹⁰ Before long Shoreham had replaced Steyning as the chief town and port of the area, which it remained during the later Middle Ages. Though the relative ranking of the two towns was reversed for a time after that, the greater natural advantages of Shoreham's site had made it once again the more important of the two by the nineteenth century.¹¹¹ Fécamp abbey meanwhile had transferred its favour to its other great Sussex estate of Rameslie, where Rye had been founded (also as a 'new town') by 1086, and where Winchelsea later followed.¹¹² The rise and decline of those two towns, however, is another and equally eventful story.

Notes

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² L. F. Salzman, 'Industries', in *V.C.H. Sussex*, II (1907), p. 232.

³ K. J. Barton and E. W. Holden, 'Excavations at Bramber Castle, Sussex, 1966-7', *Archaeological Journal*, cxxxiv (1977), p. 13.

⁴ Cf. Geological Survey Map 1", drift, sheet 318 (1938 edn.).

⁵ M. Gelling, 'The Evidence of Place-Names', in *Medieval Settlement, Continuity and Change*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (1976), p. 207.

⁶ W(est) S(ussex) C(ounty) R(ecord) O(ffice), Wiston MS. 5591; *ibid.* TD/W 118.

⁷ A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, I (English Place-Name Society, vi, 1929), p. 235; Anon., 'The Steyning Grave Slab', *Sussex Notes and Queries*, viii (1940-1), pp. 169-70; T. Medland, 'Notices of the Early History of Steyning and its Church', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, v (1852), p. 111.

⁸ Mawer and Stenton, *Place-Names of Sussex* I, pp. 235-6; E. Turner, 'On the Ancient Bridge Discovered at Bramber in the Year 1839', *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, II (1849), p. 75.

⁹ *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. H. Thurston and D. Attwater (4 vols, 1956), I, pp. 280-1; M. A. Lower, *The Worthies of Sussex* (Lewes, 1865), pp. 23-6; *Asser's*

Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of St Neots, ed. W. H. Stevenson, newly ed. D. Whitelock (Oxford, 1959), pp. 213–14.

¹⁰ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154*, ed. H. W. C. Davis *et al.* (4 vols, Oxford, 1913–69), i, p. 106; *The Cartae Antiquae, Rolls 11–20*, ed. J. C. Davies (Pipe Roll Society, 2nd series, xxxiii, for 1957, 1960), p. 150; *Calendar of Documents preserved in France illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. J. H. Round (1899), pp. 37–8; cf. below.

¹¹ The change had been made by 1263: C(alendar of) P(apal) L(ettres), 1198–1304, p. 387.

¹² W. Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographical Description of . . . England, Scotland and Ireland*, transl. P. Holland (1610), p. 313.

¹³ Some coffin slabs from the pre-Conquest church were used in the foundations of the Norman one: P. M. Johnston, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture', in *V.C.H. Sussex*, II (1907), p. 360; M. H. Bloxam, 'Notes on Places visited at the Annual Meeting, 14 Aug. 1863', *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, xvi (1864), p. 238. Fragments of wood which may have come from St Cuthman's church were found under the vestry in 1956: W.S.C.R.O., Par. 183/7/8.

¹⁴ Johnston, *V.C.H. Sussex*, II, pp. 367–8; W. P. Breach, 'Farnefold of Steyning', *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, LIX (1918), p. 96; J. Dallaway and E. Cartwright, *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex* (2 vols, 1815–30), II (2), p. 168; Medland, *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, v, p. 120; E. Turner, 'Steyning and West Grinstead Churches and the Ancient Castle of Knepp', *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, xxii (1870), p. 6; W. H. G[odfrey], 'Sussex Church Plans, xxii, St Andrew, Steyning', *Suss. N. and Q.*, IV (1932–3), p. 211; W.S.C.R.O., Par. 183/7/1.

¹⁵ Breach, *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, LIX, pp. 96–7; P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice). Exchequer, Special Commissions of Inquiry, E. 178/2290; Dallaway and Cartwright, *Western Suss.*, II (2), p. 167; W.S.C.R.O., Ep. I/22/1 (1636); *ibid.* Ep. I/26/1, f. 1.

¹⁶ The possibility was hinted at by Godfrey, *Suss. N. and Q.*, IV, p. 212, but I owe this suggestion to Mr A. P. Baggs, Architectural Editor, *Victoria County History*.

¹⁷ W.S.C.R.O., MP 150, f. 54v.; Anon., *Suss. N. and Q.* VIII, pp. 169–70; E. W. Cox, 'The Steyning Stone', *Sussex County Magazine*, XII (1938), p. 707.

¹⁸ *Asser's Life of Alfred*, p. 132; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock *et al.* (1961), p. 44.

¹⁹ *Asser's Life of Alfred*, p. 213; E. E. Barker, 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters, Part II', *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, LXXXVII (1948), p. 135; *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, ed. J. M. Kemble (6 vols, 1839–48), IV, p. 229. The authenticity of the charter of Edward the Confessor is doubted by F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), p. 16 n.1.

²⁰ L. F. Salzman, 'The Collegiate Church of Steyning', in *V.C.H. Sussex*, II (1907), pp. 121–2.

²¹ *The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester, 1075–1207*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting (Canterbury and York Society, 1964), pp. 190–1; Davies, *Cartae Antiquae*, p. 151.

²² C(alendar of) I(nquisitions) M(iscellaneous), I, p. 424.

²³ Barker, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* LXXXVII, p. 135; E. E. Barker, 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon Charters, Part III', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* LXXXVIII (1949), pp. 79–80.

²⁴ Davis *et al.*, *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* I, pp. 104, 106, 137; II, p. 406; Davies, *Cartae Antiquae*, p. 150; cf. below.

²⁵ V. J. B. Torr, 'An Elizabethan Return of the State of the Diocese of Chichester', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* LXI (1920), p. 112; F. W. Steer, *Guide to the Church of St James, Ashurst* (Chichester, 1969), pp. 9–10.

²⁶ *The Chartulary of the Priory of St Peter at Sele*, ed. L. F. Salzman (Cambridge, 1923), p. 15; C.P.L. 1198–1304, pp. 387–8; J. H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels, 1100–1300* (Manchester, 1970), p. 74. Since Angmering is apparently not fully accounted for in Domesday Book, West Angmering may be represented by the 33½ hides belonging to Fécamp abbey's Steyning estate which lay in Arundel rape; similarly the second church mentioned at Steyning might be West Angmering church

rather than Ashurst or Warminghurst as is usually assumed: L. F. Salzman, 'Translation of the Sussex Domesday', in *V.C.H. Sussex*, I (1905), pp. 392, 429, 450.

²⁷ Davis *et al.*, *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* I, pp. 55–6; cf. below.

²⁸ Denton, *Royal Free Chapels*, pp. 24, 74–5; C.I.M., I, p. 424; C(alendar of) P(atent) R(olls), 1258–66, p. 28; D. J. A. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962), p. 41.

²⁹ Medland, *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, v, p. 123; B(ritish) L(ibrary), Additional MS. 5698, f. 248.

³⁰ The first theory is put forward by Turner, *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, xxii, p. 5, and the second is implied by the contention made in 1920 that Gatewick House incorporated the remains of a monastic grange probably coeval with the church: W.S.C.R.O., Par. 183/7/5 (sale catalogue, 1920).

³¹ Cf. Medland, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* v, p. 117.

³² Cf. Mayr-Harting, *Acta of Bishops of Chichester*, pp. 190–1.

³³ P. Rahtz, 'Buildings and Rural Settlement', in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Wilson (1976), pp. 65–8.

³⁴ The suggestion is that of Mr K. J. Barton, who excavated at Steyning in the 1960s.

³⁵ A. Everitt, 'The Primary Towns of England', *Local Historian*, xi (1974–5), pp. 263–77; cf. F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd edn, Oxford, 1971), pp. 292–3.

³⁶ W. Page, 'Some Remarks on the Churches of the Domesday Survey', *Archaeologia*, LXVI (1914–15), pp. 61–102.

³⁷ A field-name The Hundred Acre is recorded on the Steyning–Wiston boundary: F. Duke and E. W. Cox, *In and Around Steyning* (Steyning, 1954), pp. 102–3.

³⁸ J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage* (2 vols, 1960–3), I, pp. 127, 135, 144; R. H. M. Dolley and D. M. Metcalf, 'The Reform of the English Coinage under Edgar', in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley (1961), p. 146.

³⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1956), pp. 246–9, 494–6.

⁴⁰ R. Budgen, *An Actual Survey of the County of Sussex* (1724); W.S.C.R.O., Par. 16/7/3, f. 19a verso.

⁴¹ O(rdnance) S(urvey) Map 6", Sussex LI (1879 edn); *ibid.* 1:25,000 TQ 11 (1958 edn).

⁴² P.R.O. Special Collections, S.C. 2/206/43, m. 14v.; W.S.C.R.O., TD/W 118; cf. A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, II (English Place-Name Society, xxvi, 1956), p. 70. A division of the common fields called Portway furlong lay along the road south of the town: W.S.C.R.O., TD/W 118; C.P.R. 1547–8, p. 281.

⁴³ I. D. Margary, *Roman Ways in the Weald* (3rd edn, 1965), p. 180.

⁴⁴ E.g. Davis *et al.*, *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.*, I, p. 127.

⁴⁵ E. F. Salmon, 'Bramber Castle', *Suss. N. and Q.*, vi (1936–7), p. 174; G. Mitchell, 'St Cuthman's Port', *Suss. County Mag.*, xxi (1947), p. 127; Geological Survey Map 1", drift, sheet 318 (1938 edn); W.S.C.R.O., MP 150, f. 10v.

⁴⁶ D. M. Wilson and D. G. Hurst, 'Medieval Britain in 1962–3', *Medieval Archaeology*, viii (1964), p. 289; 'Medieval Britain in 1967', *ibid.*, xii (1968), p. 162; 'Medieval Britain in 1968', *ibid.*, xiii (1969), p. 267; P. Drewett *et al.*, 'Rescue Archaeology in Sussex, 1977' *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology*, xv (1978), pp. 58–61; W.S.C.R.O., MP 150, ff. 52v., 54v.

⁴⁷ Cf. O.S. Map 6", TQ 11 SE. (1961 edn). I owe this suggestion to Mr Barton.

⁴⁸ M. Biddle and D. Hill, 'Late Saxon Planned Towns', *Antiquaries Journal*, LI (1971), pp. 80–1, 84–5; M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (1967), pp. 326–7.

⁴⁹ Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, I, p. 392.

⁵⁰ North, *Eng. Hammered Coinage*, p. 135.

⁵¹ Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, I, p. 392; cf. A. Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs* (Oxford, 1904), p. 57.

⁵² See bibliography in J. F. A. Mason, 'The Rapes of Sussex and the Norman Conquest', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* cii (1964), p. 68 n. 1.

⁵³ J. H. Round and L. F. Salzman, 'Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', in *V.C.H. Sussex*, i (1905), p. 351; L. F. Salzman, 'The Rape of Chichester', in *ibid.*, iv (1953), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁴ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon Eng.* p. 294; Mawer and Stenton, *Place-Names of Suss.* i, pp. 8-10; J. E. A. Jolliffe, 'The Domesday Hidation of Sussex and the Rapes', *English Historical Review*, xlv (1930), pp. 427-35; G. R. J. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', in *Medieval Settlement, Continuity and Change*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (1976), p. 28.

⁵⁵ Mawer and Stenton, *Place-Names of Suss.* i, p. 8; W. H. Stevenson, 'Senlac and the Malfossé', *English Historical Review*, xxviii (1913), pp. 297-8. It has also been suggested that the word may derive from Old Norse and from Norman usage: Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, iv, p. 1 n. 2; Mason, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* cii, p. 92.

⁵⁶ Round and Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, p. 354.

⁵⁷ *Domesday Book, Sussex*, ed. J. Morris (Chichester, 1976), Notes, p. [2]; H. Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls* (1930), pp. 280-2.

⁵⁸ K. P. Witney, *The Titish Forest, a Study of the Weald of Kent from 450 to 1380 A.D.* (1976), pp. 32-3, 36, 39, 48, following e.g. N. Neilson, 'Introduction to the Kent Domesday', in *V.C.H. Kent*, iii (1932), pp. 179-81. Cf. F. Hull, 'The Lathe in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxxviii (1954), pp. 97-100; Cam, *Hundred and Hundred Rolls*, pp. 270-2.

⁵⁹ Mason, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* cii, p. 89.

⁶⁰ Round and Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, p. 353; *The Three Earliest Subsidies for the County of Sussex in the Years 1296, 1327, 1332*, ed. W. Hudson (Sussex Record Society, vol. x, for 1909, 1910), pp. 60, 157, 166-7, 271, 280-1; P.R.O. Exchequer, *Miscellaneous Rolls*, E. 370/11/4.

⁶¹ Round and Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, pp. 353-4; J. F. A. Mason, *William I and the Sussex Rapes* (Historical Association, 1972), p. 6; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon Eng.* pp. 627-8; F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1961), pp. 192-4; R. Lennard, *Rural England, 1086-1135* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 31-2.

⁶² L. F. Salzman, 'The Rapes of Sussex', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* lxxii (1931), p. 28; cf. Mason, *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, cii, pp. 88-9.

⁶³ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon Eng.*, p. 18.

⁶⁴ Mason, *William I and Suss. Rapes*, pp. 10-12; Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, p. 407; Beresford, *New Towns*, pp. 492, 494.

⁶⁵ Mason, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* cii, pp. 70-1.

⁶⁶ Salzman, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* lxxii, p. 26; cf. F. B. Stevens, 'The Boundary between the Rapes of Lewes and Bramber', *ibid.*, lxxiv (1933), p. 243.

⁶⁷ W. Hudson, 'The Ancient Deaneries of the Diocese of Chichester and their Relation to the Rapes of the County of Sussex', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* lv (1912), pp. 108-22.

⁶⁸ Salzman, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* lxxii, pp. 20-9.

⁶⁹ The demesne manors concerned lay between Clapham in the west, Southwick in the east, and Shipley in the north; the reason why the northern part of the rape was not included was that most of it then belonged to manors in the south of the county as outlying land: cf. P. Brandon, *The Sussex Landscape* (1974), pp. 78-84.

⁷⁰ Mason, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* cii, pp. 77-8, 87-9.

⁷¹ The land which William de Warenne received in Norfolk 'of the exchange of Lewes' need not have been in compensation for land lost from Lewes rape to Bramber, as Salzman suggests, but only for land lost to Pevensy rape: Salzman, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* lxxii, pp. 25-6; Mason, *op. cit.* pp. 79-84.

⁷² Davis *et al.*, *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* i, p. 1. Fécamp abbey enjoyed the special favour of the dukes of Normandy: D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (1964), pp. 110, 208. At the time of the Conquest Steyning was in the hands of King

Harold: Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, I, p. 392.

⁷³ M. E. Christie, 'The Borough of Hastings with St Leonards', in *V.C.H. Sussex*, ix (1937), pp. 8–10. The manor had been granted to Fécamp by Canute, but had also been usurped by the family of Earl Godwin: *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, I, p. 445; Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257–1300, p. 255; Feudal Aids, v, p. 134. In 1219 the combined estate was known as Steyning Braose: C(uria) R(egis) R(olls), viii, pp. 11–12.

⁷⁵ Arundel Castle MS. M 301, ff. 3, 4, [35, 72, 119, 218, 267]; P.R.O. Exchequer, Particulars for Leases, E. 310/25/144, f. 30; S. Fraser, *Reports of the Proceedings before Select Committees of the House of Commons in . . . Controverted Elections* (2 vols, 1791–3), II, pp. 309, 399, 413. Braose also retained in demesne the manor of Beeding on the east bank of the Adur: Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, I, p. 443.

⁷⁶ Mawer and Stenton, *Place-Names of Suss.*, I, pp. 3, 223; A. Mawer, 'The Place-Names of Sussex, Corrigenda and Addenda', *Suss. N. and Q.* vii (1938–9), p. 206.

⁷⁷ Round, *Cal. of Docs. in France*, p. 405. The castle was not then called Bramber castle as Round's abstract implies; the document reads 'ex teloneo de Staningis et castello hoc (from the toll of Steyning and the castle there)': P. Marchegay, 'Les Prieurés Anglais de Saint-Florent près Saumur', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xl (1879), p. 166. The name 'castle of Bramber' first occurs in Domesday Book: Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, I, p. 444.

⁷⁸ Salzman, *ibid.*

⁷⁹ E.g. M. A. Lower, 'The Rivers of Sussex, Part II', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xvi (1864), pp. 253–4; G. M. Hills, 'The Measurements of Ptolemy and of the Antonine Itinerary applied to the Southern Counties of England', *ibid.*, xxxi (1881), p. 68; Dallaway and Cartwright, *Western Suss.*, II (2), p. 217.

⁸⁰ Davis *et al.*, *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* I, pp. 104, 106, 137; Marchegay, *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xl, p. 167; Round, *Cal. of Docs. in France*, p. 405. There seems no reason to assume with Mason that the castelry of Steyning was smaller than the rape: Mason, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* cii, p. 74 n. 7. There are references to the 'castelry of Bramber' in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, but the title 'rape of Bramber' is not found before 1188: S(ussex) A(rchaeological) S(ociety), MS. G/1/4; *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. B. A. Lees (British Academy, Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, ix, 1935), p. 229; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty-fourth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1187–8* (Pipe Roll Society, vol. xxxviii, for 1916–17, 1925), p. 188. The pre-Conquest settlement in what was to become Bramber parish was at Bidlington, on higher ground out of the Adur flood-plain: Barker, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* lxxxviii, pp. 79–80.

⁸¹ W. R. W. Stephens, *The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I* (1901), pp. 10–11; Lennard, *Rural England*, p. 73; Neilson, *V.C.H. Kent*, III, pp. 188–9.

⁸² Full Latin text in Davis *et al.*, *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* I, p. 127; abstract in English in Round, *Cal. of Docs. in France*, pp. 37–8.

⁸³ Round, *op. cit.* p. 405.

⁸⁴ G. H. Cook, *English Collegiate Churches of the Middle Ages* (1959), pp. 8–9; Denton, *Royal Free Chapels*, pp. 119–31.

⁸⁵ Barton and Holden, *Arch. Jnl.*, cxxxiv, p. 15. The present parish church incorporates part of the late eleventh-century building.

⁸⁶ E. W. Holden, 'New Evidence relating to Bramber Bridge', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* cxiii (1975), pp. 111, 113–15; cf. Salzman, *Sele Chartulary*, pp. 4–5; C.R.R. xiii, pp. 306–7; Mayr-Harting, *Acta of Bishops of Chichester*, p. 182. For Bramber and Beeding bridges see O.S. Map 6", Sussex LI (1879 edn).

⁸⁷ Davies, *Cartae Antiquae*, p. 150, in which the bridge is ordered to be altered so as to permit free passage; cf. Holden, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* cxiii, p. 111.

⁸⁸ P.R.O. Exchequer, Ancient Deeds, E. 41/AA 388, m. 2.

⁸⁹ Holden, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* cxiii, pp. 106–12; P. N. B. Mabey, 'An old Causeway or Bridge at Bramber', *Suss. N. and Q.* xiv (1954–7), p. 239; W. Gardiner, 'Old Bridge at Bramber', *ibid.*, xv (1958–62), p. 29.

⁹⁰ Beresford, *New Towns*, p. 180. Other towns which owed their origin to the diversion of river crossings were Bridgnorth, Appleby, St Ives (Hunts.), and Boroughbridge: *ibid.*, p. 176; T. Allen, *A New and Complete History of the County of York* (3 vols, 1828–31) iii, pp. 407–10.

⁹¹ *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello*, ed. Anon. (Anglia Christiana Society, 1846), pp. 35–6.

⁹² B.L. Add. MS. 6344, f. 68v.; S.A.S., MS. G/1/3.

⁹³ Beresford, *New Towns*, pp. 119, 176, 449.

⁹⁴ Salzman, *Sele Chartulary*, *passim*. The priory was then promoting further reclamation east of Bramber bridge, new tenants there being allowed to keep whatever they could add to their holdings from the adjacent marsh: *ibid.*, pp. 87, 97–8. The policy was apparently unsuccessful, for nineteenth-century maps show that very little land had been reclaimed there by then in comparison with what had been achieved west of Bramber bridge, and almost no buildings existed there: W.S.C.R.O., TD/W 20; O.S. Map 6", Sussex LI (1879 edn).

⁹⁵ W.S.C.R.O., Add. MS. 9474 (map of 1729). It had been mentioned in 1498, and was presumably the 'great square (*magna placea*)' which formed part of the road between Bramber and Bidlington c. 1260: Arundel Castle MS. A 433, m. 3v.; Salzman, *Sele Chartulary*, p. 59.

⁹⁶ W.S.C.R.O., TD/W 20; *ibid.* Add. MS. 9474; [T. Cox], *Magna Britannia et Hibernia* (6 vols, 1720–31), v, p. 480; cf. Westminster Abbey Muniment 5469, ff. 5, 30.

⁹⁷ *An Abstract of Feet of Fines relating to the County of Sussex from 2 Richard I to 33 Henry III*, ed. L. F. Salzman (Sussex Record Society, vol. II, for 1902, 1903), pp. 121–2; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, vi, p. 396; Patent Rolls, 1225–32, p. 219.

⁹⁸ Davies, *Cartae Antiquae*, p. 150.

⁹⁹ C.R.R. xiii, pp. 307–8.

¹⁰⁰ Dallaway and Cartwright, *Western Suss.* II (2), pp. 157, 170, 210; Duke and Cox, *Steyning*, p. 19; Arundel Castle MS. M 301, ff. [101, 166, 330–1]; cf. P.R.O. Chancery, Miscellaneous Inquisitions, C. 145/270, no. 11. The fact that not all the houses in the town belonged to Steyning borough led to many disputes about the franchise in parliamentary elections: e.g. Fraser, *Controverted Elections*, pp. 251–441.

¹⁰¹ Round, *Cal. of Docs. in France*, p. 405; cf. above, n. 77.

¹⁰² *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twelfth Year of the Reign of King John, Michaelmas 1210*, ed. C. F. Slade (Pipe Roll Society, 2nd series, xxvi, for 1949, 1951), p. 61.

¹⁰³ P.R.O. Exchequer, Enrolments of Inquisitions, E. 152/145, no. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Arundel Castle MSS. A 361; A 433, m. 3v.

¹⁰⁵ L. F. Salzman, 'The Priory of Sele', in *V.C.H. Sussex*, II (1907), p. 60. Bramber college and church had previously been given by William de Braose to the abbey of St Florent at Saumur in Anjou, of which Sele priory was made a cell: *ibid.* After repeating Braose's attempt to gain parochial rights over the future Bramber parish with the same lack of success in the 1090s, St Florent came to an agreement with Fécamp abbey whereby it renounced all claim to parochial rights in Bramber and Bidlington in return for a grant of parochial rights in Beeding: Round, *Cal. of Docs. in France*, p. 405; Davis *et al.*, *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* I, pp. 106, 137; II, p. 406. Bramber church apparently remained a chapel during the twelfth century, but c. 1230 it became a parish church, and rectors are recorded from the mid thirteenth century: Salzman, *Sele Chartulary*, pp. 4, 10, 61, 90; *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, ed. W. D. Peckham (Sussex Record Society, XLVI, for 1942–3, 1946), p. 58; Round, *Cal. of Docs. in France*, pp. 402–4.

¹⁰⁶ *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-seventh Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1180-1* (Pipe Roll Society, xxx, 1909), p. 142; Slade, *Pipe Roll for 1210*, pp. 61-2; P.R.O. Justices Itinerant, Eyre Rolls, J.I. 1/912A, rot. 44; J.I. 1/924, rot. 61d.

¹⁰⁷ W. Hudson, 'The Assessment of the Hundreds of Sussex to the King's Tax in 1334', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* L (1907), p. 163; *Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii*, ed. G. Vanderzee (Record Commission, 1807), p. 389.

¹⁰⁸ Salzman, *Sele Chartulary*, *passim*.

¹⁰⁹ C.P.L. 1198-1304, pp. 387-8; C.P.R. 1258-66, p. 28; 1266-72, p. 388.

¹¹⁰ New Shoreham was apparently founded between 1086 and 1096, since it does not appear in Domesday Book, and since the church of St Mary 'of the harbour' was added c. 1096 to the earlier grant of Old Shoreham church to Sele priory: Salzman, *V.C.H. Sussex*, I, p. 444; Salzman, *Sele Chartulary*, p. 3.

¹¹¹ For the later history of Steyning and Shoreham see *V.C.H. Sussex*, vi(1), forthcoming. A third result of William de Braose's work was that the focus of Steyning town moved from the church and port to its modern position on the road leading to Bramber bridge; at the end of the eighteenth century the church, the vicarage, and Gatewick House were separate from the rest of the town: W.S.C.R.O., Add. MS. 1985 (map of 1791). The road through Steyning and Bramber remained the chief east-west road in Sussex throughout the Middle Ages and later: e.g. [E. Turner], 'Bramber Bridge and Chapel', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xxii (1870), p. 233; R. A. Pelham, 'Studies in the Historical Geography of Medieval Sussex', *ibid.*, lxxii (1931), p. 182.

¹¹² Beresford, *New Towns*, pp. 495-6; W. Page, 'The Borough of Rye', in *V.C.H. Sussex*, ix (1937), p. 49.