MEDIEVAL JETTONS DISCOVERED IN WIVETON

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Nearly 1,200 metal objects, half of them coins, tokens and jettons, have been recovered recently by metal detectorists in the Wiveton area. The author has made a detailed study of these objects and has already published, in the previous issue of The Glaven Historian, *a report on the tokens. This article describes a collection of 120 metal counters, or jettons, and shows how analysis can give an insight into their use and add to our knowledge of the area in medieval and Tudor times.*

Introduction

A research study is in progress to analyse 1193 metal objects found mostly on the Wiveton side of the on the Wiveton-Blakeney boundary in recent years, and to use the results to extend the known history of the Glaven ports. All the finds were recorded on site, checked and subsequently entered into a computer database. The first report on these finds concerned the tokens and was published in *The Glaven Historian*.[1] It showed that Wiveton sailors were purchasing items from all along the coast in the mid 1600s. This article examines a collection of reckoning counters, or jettons, found in the same fields and attempts to determine how they were used and when. Of all the Wiveton metal finds, 120 (10%) were jettons of which more than half were manufactured in Nuremberg, Germany.

The Reckoning Counter

The reckoning counter or jetton/jeton (English), jetton (French) or rechen-pfennig(German), are coin-like and normally of copper or brass. Those found in England are mostly foreign. The counters were used on checkerboards for reckoning accounts in a similar way to beads on an abacus.[2] Jettons are undated and were produced from about 1220 to about 1650. They are a very common metal detecting find and typically most (c.60%) are from Nuremberg. Coins usually carry a date and have a denomination while tokens show where and by whom they were issued. Jettons are unlike coins or tokens in that they were not intended to have a monetary value; they were to be used only as counters. With jettons we know the country and often the town where they were made. For the Nuremberg jettons we know or can deduce the manufacturer, from which a production date can be inferred.

The Checkerboard

The jettons were used on counting boards (chequer or 'exchequer' boards) which were of different types. Some Edward II jettons show an exchequer board like a 'draft board' with a 6 x 6 pattern which would accommodate the six values of the Roman numeric system: D, C, L, X, V, I. One of the commonest forms of checkerboard depicted on woodcuts, and some jettons, consisted of horizontal lines, each line representing a power of ten. The woodcut shown in Figure 1 is from a German book on arithmetic of 1503 and depicts two alternative methods of arithmetic.[3] Boethius on the left is calculating in writing using Arabic numerals while Pythagoras is shown calculating with jettons on a reckoning board based on Roman

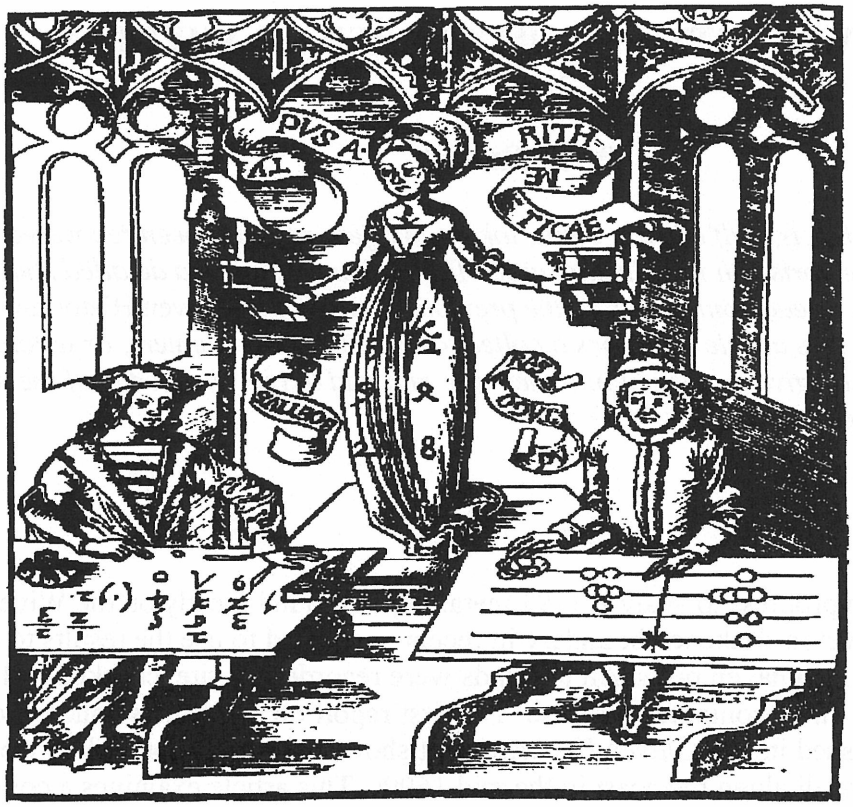

Figure 1

A woodcut of 1503 depicting 'Arabic' and 'Roman' accounting

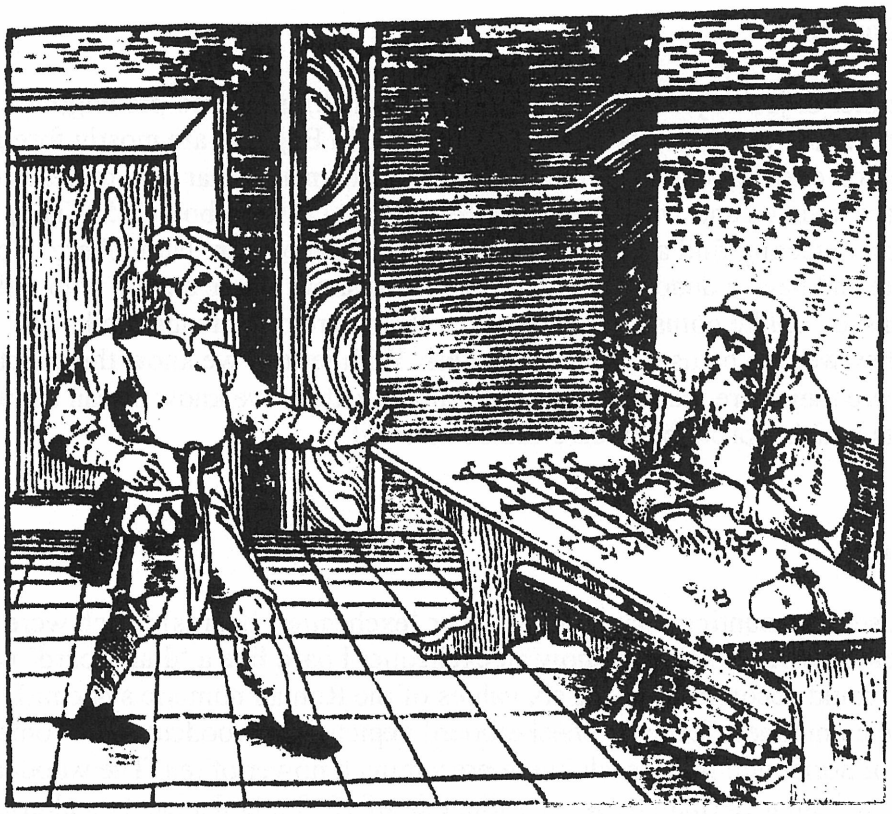

Figure 2 A woodcut of 1553 depicting a checkerboard

numerals. Typically a cross is shown on the top line (1000s) and the jetton between the second and third lines indicates 50. A pile of jettons is shown by his right hand and where there are three or four jettons on the same line they are shown overlapping - jettons are usually thin and easily stacked.

The woodcut in Figure 2 shows a checkerboard with coins and jettons.[4] The board appears to be a permanent structure.

Figure 3 The Reichenmeister depicted on a jetton with an alphabet on the reverse

The reproduction of the jetton in Figure 3 is by permission of the British Museum. On the obverse the 'accountant' or Rechenmeister is seated with counters placed on the counting board. A fringe is shown around the accounting area indicating that it is a cloth. On some jettons the cloth and its fringe hang over the side of the table. On similar depictions of the Rechenmeister type a moneybag is shown on the left and an account book on the right. The tables depicted seem small and portable. They could have been set up anywhere; at a market, fair or where wool or cloth, say, was traded. In these Nuremberg jettons the Rechenmeister is attired in expensive dress of the day although it may not be typical of the English 'reckoners' in Wiveton! It is clear that account books and the alphabet were associated with the accountants and that they were well educated. Few people would have been able to use the jettons or 'exchequer'.

At first sight the obverse of this jetton appears to show an inaccurate representation of the alphabet: the double Z appears to be an error. Not so. Gebert[5] and Mitchener[6] both point out that the jetton was produced by Hans Zweingel, hence the duplication of the letter Z. On similar jettons produced by Hans Schultes II there is an S following the Z. Similarly, Hans Schultes III has HS and Hans Mueller jettons have HM. Even though the name of the manufacturer may not be shown it is possible by such means to recognise who produced the jettons and to give an approximate date of manufacture.

There is an indentation in the edge of this jetton, which of course can be seen on both sides. In both photographs the indentation is on the left, which seems possible only if the photograph of the Rechenmeister were reversed. He would therefore have been left handed, a derogatory depiction at the time and unlikely. The explanation is that earlier Nuremberg jettons did not have the orientation of the reverse and obverse dies aligned during stamping. In this case they were nearly 90° out of alignment so that the front was sideways on compared with the back. The orientation is a further aid to dating the jettons.

History

The ancient Greeks and Romans used pebbles and bone disks for calculations. Seashells have been used as counters in schools until quite recently. The Roman pebbles were half-spheres of limestone called 'calculi' from *calculus*, a limestone pebble. Metallic counters or jettons, not intended for circulation, are normally of brass or copper rather than silver. They were in use in France early in the thirteenth century. The earliest precisely dated jettons were struck for Queen Blanche of Castile between 1223 and 1226.

Figure 4 Edward I Jetton, Bifoiliate Crown of class 10, 1302

The earliest English jettons are from 1280. When Edward I revised the coinage in 1279 some of the dies for the official coinage were used to produce jettons. To differentiate them from coins these early English jettons were wholly or partly pierced. The Edward I jetton from Wiveton (Figure 4) can be accurately dated to 1302 due to the very distinctive crown and full face. There is a mark on the face where it has not been completely pierced. Later pieces that were not 'official' jettons and made by merchants were similarly pierced. Figure 5 shows another Edward I (1272-1307) jetton from Wiveton, with a central perforation. After the reign of Edward I, English production diminished and French jettons were imported in quantity.

Fig 5 Jetton of Edward

Jettons are intimately connected to the Roman numeric system which is more difficult to handle than the Arabic. However, the Arabic notation, which includes zero, was gaining acceptance in Europe and by 1299 Venetian merchants were ordered to use it. In England, and most of northern Europe, the Roman numerals continued to be used for counting. By the fourteenth century many French jettons were appearing, together with some from the Low Countries. The jettons from Tournai (now in Belgium) were mass-produced from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century the centre of production moved to Nuremberg, continuing there into the mid-seventeenth century. The common brass jettons from Nuremberg are sometimes incorrectly called Nuremberg *tokens*.

The medieval concept of the reckoning counter became obsolete with the decline in the use of Roman numerals. Arabic numerals and written calculations began to prevail. By the seventeenth century written computation had largely replaced the manual accountancy and jettons were then mainly used as gaming counters.

Documentary References

In King's Lynn library there is an unsigned manuscript notebook, dating from around 1920, which contains references to jettons and counting boards drawn from a range of English documents.[7] These include:

- In the 'Return as to Ordinances of the Gild of the Holy Cross, Bishops (King's) Lynn', 1309: *Ye schuld bring ye catel* [goods]... *And leyn upon ye cheker bifor ye aldirman*

This shows an early use of the checkerboard in Norfolk.

- From Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, 'The Shipmannes Tale' c. 1385-1400:
  his bookes and his bagges many con
  the Leith bifor him at his counting-board

  ('Many a ledger and money-bag he got
  And laid them out upon his counter-board')

- In the inventories of Reading Town Hall, under the years 1521,1522,&1523:
  ij carpelles [cloths] *to cover the chequer*

In the last-named year the word is written 'exchequer'. It seems that 'carpelles' were needed annually; in a public office the friction of the metal casting-counters or jettons might well wear out the fabric in a year. It prompts the question of what happens when a portion of the jettons are lost: replace individual pieces with dissimilar jettons or replace the whole set?

- In a letter to John Paston, 30th January 1453, Margaret Paston refers to:
  your cofors and countewery [counters]

- and in a will of 1549: *to my cousyng Elizabeth Johnson a counntter*

- The will of Mr Thompson, Rector of Ashton-Under-Lyme, Lancs, 2nd September 1553 states: *I give to my brother my counter bourd in the haule*

It appears a rector would have counters and a counting board at this period, and it is reasonable to expect the same of the rectors of Wiveton.

The Wiveton Jettons

Table 1 summarises the metal detecting recoveries in Wiveton. It can be seen that more than half were numismatic finds (coins + tokens + jettons). Jettons comprised 10% of all the metal finds and 19% of all the numismatic finds. They are a very common metal-detecting find in Wiveton as elsewhere.

Metal artefacts	Number	Percentage*
Jettons	120	10
Coins	456	38
Tokens	40	3
Coins+tokens+jettons	616	52
Other metal finds	577	48
Total metal artefacts	1193	100

**Nearest integer.*

Table 1 Summary of the Wiveton metal detecting finds

An advantage of the full recording of all the finds in Wiveton is that it provides a comparative record. In particular, we know the relative proportion of jettons to coins found. In private collections and museums it is only those artefacts collected and retained that can be analysed, but there may not be any connection between the quantity collected and those discovered. For example, the numismatic collection in the Norfolk Museum Service has 15,000 items of which 300 are jettons (2%). For Wiveton nearly 20% are jettons. Similarly the museum has only one jetton for every nine tokens while in the Wiveton finds there are 3 jettons for one token. In the museum collection the jettons are probably under-represented by a factor of ten and tokens over represented.

To gauge the relevance of the Wiveton jettons a benchmark is required, but a museum collection is unsuitable for a statistical comparison. Mitchiner has described the extensive analysis of 1,212 jettons recovered from the Thames foreshore. The origins of these jettons are summarised in Table 2. Most (92 %) were manufactured between 1300 and 1650. The table shows that in this collection England dominated production from 1300 to 1400, France and Tournai 1400-1450 and Nuremberg, Germany, 1450-1650. In this Thames foreshore collection there is a peak in the period 1550-1600. The numbers are boosted by many English pewter jettons, but Mitchiner says that this is unrepresentative and is due to the production and distribution of jettons close by the foreshore.

Date	England	France & Tournai	Low countries	Germany	Number of Jettons	% of 1212 Jettons
1270-1300	70%	30%			30	2½ %
1300-1350	92%	8%			146	12%
1350-1400	75%	24%	2%		110	9%
1400-1450	4%	91%	4%		46	4%
1450-1500		26%	1%	73%	91	7%
1500-1550		7%	6%	87%	244	20%
1550-1600	62%	1%		37%	310	26%
1600-1650		2%		98%	173	14%
1650-1700		3%		94%	34	3%
1700-1750				100%	22	2%
1750-1800				100%	5	½%
1800-1850				100%	1	-
Total					1212	100%

Table 2 Summary of the jettons found on the London foreshore

A simplified tabulation comparing the attributable Wiveton and London finds is shown in Table 3. The London 'adjusted' figure excludes the Elizabethan jettons that are probably over-represented. Those described as 'Continental' in the Wiveton finds log book have been included in the Low Countries column for recording purposes. However, the conclusion is obvious that the Wiveton jettons have a similar profile to those found in London. The variation between these sites is slight considering the difficulties of identification and the statistical variation due to the small number of Wiveton jettons. One in five are English, one in five are from France, Tournai and the Low Countries, and 3 out of five from Nuremberg.

Place	England	France & Tournai	Low Counties 'Continental' [2]	Germany
London	36 %	11 %	2 %	51%
London adjusted [1]	21 %	14 %	2 %	63 %
Wiveton	17 %	18 %	5 %	60 %

[1] *London Thames foreshore jettons less the Elizabethan pewter. See text.*
[2] *Jettons recorded as 'continental' in the Wiveton records. See text.*

Table 3 Comparison of the Wiveton and London foreshore jeton recoveries

In England and most other European countries, manufacturing was controlled by king and state. The Nuremberg jettons, however, were produced and controlled by known families and guilds. Gebert documented these manufacturers in 1917. A few masters that are relevant to the Wiveton jettons are listed below:

Hans Schultes 1	1553 – 1584
Hans Schultes 2	1586 – 1603
Hans Schultes 3	1608 – 1612
Hans Krauwinkel 1	1562 – 1586
Han(n)s Krauwinkel 2	1586 – 1635
Wolf Lauffer 1	1554 – 1601
Wolf Lauffer 2	1612 – 1651
Wolf Lauffer 3	1650 - 1670

An indication of the family domination of the European production of jettons can be seen from this simplified tabulation of the dated manufacturing periods. Schultes, Krauwinkel and Lauffer jettons are included in the Wiveton finds - clear evidence that they were being imported into Wiveton throughout the sixteenth century. Figures 6 and 7 show typical named jettons from Nuremberg found in Wiveton.

Figure 6 'Hans Krauwinkel Nuremberg', a typical jetton from the Wiveton finds

Figure 7 'Hans Schultes', a poor copy from the Wiveton finds

Jetton Clusters.

When metal detecting, a person rarely moves very far. When the Wiveton metal detectorists returned to the recording tent their finds were logged as received and the record sheets reflect the proximity of the artefacts when found. It has been noted that the jettons appear to be found in clusters. The question is whether or not the clustering of jettons is due to chance, which might be possible considering the large number of jettons found.

If the jettons were considered to be lost at random then some would be found together as clusters. Table 4 shows that most will be found as single jettons. There should be ten groups of just two jettons and only one group of three. Crucially, a random recovery of 120 jettons in 1193 artefacts should not produce any group of four or more.

Number of Jettons found together	1	2	3	4	>4	
Number of these clusters	97	10	1	0	0	
Total Jettons in the clusters	97	20	3	0	0	=120

Table 4 The *Theoretical* distribution assuming a random loss of jettons

If the Wiveton data is examined in more detail then it is apparent that the jettons in a cluster are usually of the same type. For example, one group of four are all *Rose/Orb* jettons. Another group of four are all described as *English jettons c. 1280-1343, Rampant Lion.* A further group of three are all described as *English jettons 1280-1343*. To find clusters of three or more English jettons is even more unlikely. That these clusters exclude the most common Nuremberg jettons further indicates that they were not lost at random but come from a common source. There seems little doubt that many jettons were lost in groups probably from the same set.

The actual clustering of the Wiveton jettons is shown in Table 5. There are fewer singles and double jetton clusters and more three jetton clusters than expected. Most notably there were five clusters of four jettons found yet the random distribution predicted none.

Number of Jettons found together	1	2	3	4	>4	
Number of these clusters	81	5	3	5	0	
Total Jettons in the clusters	81	10	9	20	0	=120

Table 5 The *Actual* distribution of jettons found in Wiveton

Jetton Sets

It is possible to determine the minimum number of jettons required on a checkerboard. A set of 50 jettons might suffice for addition and subtraction but more are needed for multiplication and division. It seems likely that 100 or so jettons would be purchased together as a set. Mitchiner says that presentation sets of 100 were produced.

It would be interesting if the number of sets lost could be estimated. To do so it would be necessary to determine how many types of jettons were found. Although most jettons could be identified fairly accurately it requires time and effort. Even to differentiate a French from an early Nuremberg 'rose/orb' jetton is not easy.

Examining the Wiveton records it is possible to identify 23 different descriptions. Some of these categories overlap to such an extent that there may be more or fewer types. For example, the following are a selection of just five of the descriptions in the finds record:

Nuremberg		(17)
Rose/Orb	Nuremberg	(18)
Rose/Orb	French or Nuremberg	(8)
Krauwinkel	Nuremberg	(8)
Rose/Orb	Hans Krauwinkel Nuremberg	(2)

These 53 jettons could represent a single set or they might all be different and originate from 53 sets. There is a possibility of using this categorisation in the future to estimate the number of sets involved.

Jetton Location

Jettons have been recovered from eight fields. If all the fields had jettons that were lost at random then one could predict the origins of the jettons found in each field by distributing the number from each field according to the overall proportions. Table 6 shows both the expected and actual origins of the jettons.

Origin of Jettons	Field								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total
'Continental'	**2** (0)	**0** (0)	**3** (1)	**0** (1)	**0** (1)	**1** (2)	**0** (0)	**0** (1)	**6**
English	**0** (1)	**0** (0)	**1** (3)	**1** (2)	**4** (2)	**7** (4)	**0** (1)	**0** (1)	**13**
French	**4** (2)	**3** (1)	**4** (5)	**1** (3)	**2** (3)	**5** (9)	**1** (2)	**4** (2)	**24**
Nuremberg	**0** (4)	**0** (2)	**13** (13)	**13** (8)	**7** (8)	**19** (18)	**7** (4)	**3** (6)	**62**
Unknown	**2** (1)	**0** (0)	**3** (3)	**0** (2)	**2** (2)	**3** (4)	**0** (1)	**5** (2)	**15**
Total jettons	**8**	**3**	**24**	**15**	**15**	**35**	**8**	**12**	**120**

Bold – *numbers found in each field*
( ) *comparitive figure –assumes all fields have the same distribution.. See text.*

Table 6 The origins of the jettons found in each field

To examine the distribution more closely and to suggest some implications a profile of each field has been constructed (Table 7). The metal detectorists undertake a 'search' of a field and fields may be searched more than once. In the table, all the jettons have been accumulated for each field. The more often a field is searched the more jettons are likely to be found. From the table it can be seen, for example, that Field F has been searched four times and produced 35 jettons. On average eight jettons are found each time a field is searched. (Two fields were perfunctorily searched a second time, each producing a single jetton. These jettons have been counted in the first search and only one search recorded for each field).

	Fields								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
Number of jettons	8	3	24	15	15	35	8	12	120
Number searches	1*	1	3	2	2	4	1*	1	15*
Jettons per search	8	3	8	7.5	7.5	8.75	8	12	Av 8

Origin of jettons as a percentage jettons for each field (nearest integer)									
'Continental'	25%		12%			3%			5%
English			4%	7%	26%	20%			11%
French	50%	100%	17%	7%	13%	14%	12%	33%	20%
Nuremberg			54%	86%	47%	54%	88%	25%	52%
Unknown '16th c'	25%		12%		13%	9%		42%	12%

Number of **groups** of two or more jettons									
English					1	2			3
French			1					2	3
Nuremberg			2	2	1	1	2	2	10

Total number of **'Rose/Orb'** jettons per field									
Rose/Orb	2		7	3		17			29

Named jettons (Nuremberg)									
Hans Krauwinkel			2	2	2	2			8
...?. Krauwinkel			3	3		1		1	8
Wolf Lauffer II			1	1					2
Hans Schultes				1					1
Numbers involved			6	7	2	3		1	19

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H

Two searches but counted as one. See text.

Table 7 The types of jettons found in each field

Origin of the jettons

This section of the table replicates Table 6 but represents the jetton counts as percentages of the total for each field. It shows more clearly which production centres dominate and which are absent.

Groups

This section tabulates those fields where 2, 3 or 4 jettons were found at the same time and lists the number of groups by origin. As most of these groups are described as being of the same type it is an indication of where the sets (or part sets) may have been lost. If jettons are mainly lost as a set, possibly of between 50 to 100 at a time, then the most likely point of loss is near to where a group is found. In this case the nearest absolute position is the field.

Rose/Orb Jettons

The device is sketched in Figure 8. Although usually referred to as a 'rose/orb' it is more accurately described as 'an orb surmounted by a cross within a double tressure of three arches and three angles'. It was used by the French and copied by the Low Countries and also in Nuremberg where most were produced. Figure 9 shows a typical 'rose/orb' jetton from Wiveton. It is worn as is often the case. It is believed that traders punched holes in jettons to prevent them being passed as coins.

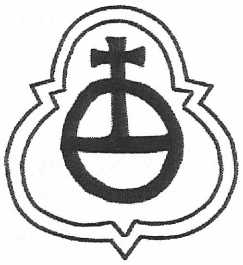

Figure 8 The Rose/Orb device

Figure 9 A Rose/Orb Jetton from the Wiveton finds

Jettons from each Field

The layout of the fields is shown diagrammatically in Figure 10. They lie in two blocks. Fields A and B are near the site of the Friary. Fields C to H are further to the south, dissected by a modern road.

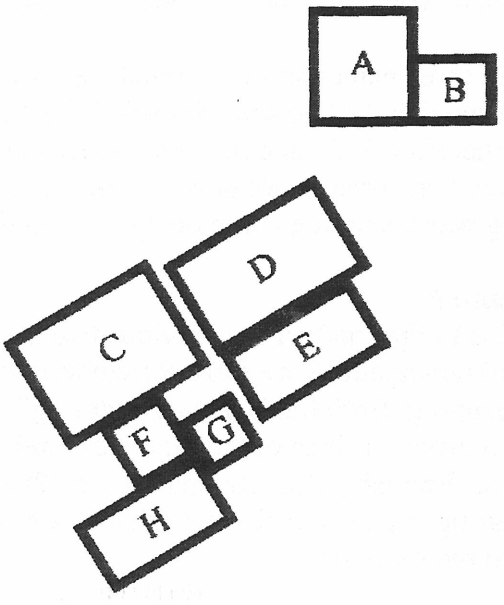

Figure 10

The field layout

Fields A and B
These two fields are next to one another, separated by an 'Inclosure' hawthorn hedge dating form the early nineteenth century. These fields are north of the Blakeney-Cley coast road and to the west of the Friary site. Field A bore two undefined jettons, described as of the 'rose/orb' type, which could be French or from Nuremberg. Two 'continental' jettons could also be French or from Nuremberg. If all four were actually from France then all eleven jettons from these adjacent fields would be French. A telling fact is that no Nuremberg jettons were recorded here, even though they are relatively easy to identify. The absence of Nuremberg jettons suggests a manufacturing date before 1450 and the lack of English jettons a date after 1400, while the peak period for the French jettons was 1400-1450. Thus there is a strong case for dating them between 1400 and 1450 and to suspect that a single set might be the sole or prime source – possibly one from the Friary?

The block of fields C to H
The Wiveton-Blakeney road now divides this block of fields but when the jettons were being produced it ran to the east. The field boundaries date from the early nineteenth century and it should be expected that adjacent fields might now contain jettons originally lost in the neighbouring field.

Fields C and D
These two fields have a similar profile, in both a significant number of Nuremberg jettons were found. The 'unknown' and 'continental' jettons may be French or from Nuremberg, but the similarity of these fields suggests that they may be primarily from Nuremberg. It is apparent that they both produced 'rose/orb' jettons.

The list of names of the jetton manufacturers for these fields is almost identical. Ten of the nineteen named jettons (53%) are from these fields. In particular, a single producer, Wolf Lauffer II, is recorded for both. He was manufacturing from 1612 to 1631, indicating a date after 1612 for the losses. There were two masters named Hans Krauwinkel: Hans Krauwinkel I (1562-1601) and his nephew Hans Krauwinkel II (1584- 1632). According to Mitchiner they were manufacturers at the same time so Hans Krauwinkel II used the spelling 'Hanns' on all his jettons. All the Wiveton records use the spelling 'Hans' and so one would assume that they were all made by the elder man. However, it would be easy to transcribe both names as 'Hans', so it is not certain that they are all by the elder man. The Krauwinkel jettons could therefore date from any time between 1562 and 1632.

There were three manufacturers named Hans Schultes but since they were not producing at the same time they had no need to distinguish their jettons. The earliest date for Hans Schultes jettons is therefore 1553 and the latest 1612. On the basis of the Wolf Lauffer II jettons it seems likely that some, if not most, of these jettons were lost after 1612 when written accounting was becoming common and checkerboards falling out of use.

Fields E and F
These fields to the south of the previous two have a similar profile, particularly if one assumes that the unknown jettons are from Nuremberg, in which case 60% and 63% respectively are from Nuremberg. Both fields have a high English count: 85% of all the English jettons found, including a group of three of the same description. A second group of four all have the same description, 'English jetton, Rampant Lion 1280-1385', and were identified in Mitchener. Another group, a pair, was found with the same description, suggesting six jettons may have come from the same set.

A French jetton was dated to 1385-1415. An interesting group of four jettons was found in Field F. It consisted of three from Nuremberg, one of which was punched with a hole to void it as currency and a fourth was French. Was this collection used for a function other than for counting when it was lost? Were they being used as coins, possibly as farthings or eighths of a penny, as suggested by Mitchener? The most likely period for using jettons as small change was when there was a severe shortage of farthings and halfpennies from the early 1600s to the introduction of the first base metal coins, the Harington farthings (1625), and perhaps on through the main period of tokens 1645-1670.

Field G
With the seven Nuremberg jettons only a single French jetton was identified and that was in a brief search in the first year. As French jettons are not easy to distinguish from early Nuremberg jettons it is possible that all the jettons from this field are from Nuremberg. The seven definitely from Nuremberg were probably close together when found since there were two groups of two and the others were handed in within a few items of the doubles.

Field H
This field is difficult to analyse because five of the twelve jettons are recorded as just 'C16th'. Two of these were found in a group of four of which the other two were French. Two more were found by detectorists who were probably close by and thus six and probably eight are French. It seems that at least one set of French and one set of Nuremberg jettons were lost in this field or nearby. Field H bounds the south of Field F. Is it possible that these fields shared their source of jettons?

Conclusions

The purpose of the overall study is to analyse recently discovered metal objects in order to enhance the known history of the Blakeney area. This article on jettons follows a previously published one on coins

General conclusions
It is clear that jettons were lost or discarded assets probably purchased at the same time and used on the same checkerboard.

There seems to be a connection between some of the jettons and the Blakeney Friary. In the future it may be possible to establish similar connections to identified individuals, such as the lords of the manors, rectors, merchants and even the revenue!

Alternative uses of the jetton have been considered; as pilgrim tokens, small change during the Civil War and as gambling tokens. No evidence from Wiveton suggests such usage.

The Market
Jettons are very common. Even so, the quantities found in Wiveton seem very high, suggesting a significant trading activity situated in open fields away from both Blakeney and Wiveton village centres: a probable market.

Other artefacts studied, including balances, coin weights, cloth seals and small change, suggest trading in cloth and the paraphernalia of the market. No records exist for a market in Wiveton but one operated in Blakeney from c.1223.

Most of the finds date from the 14th to the 17th centuries with a sharp decline after c.1650 suggesting that it ceased trading around the time of the Civil War.

This exciting evidence for the location of the Blakeney market and its existence over a period of 400 years prompts the search for more documentary evidence in church, manorial and state records. It suggests that Blakeney may have had a major role in the activities of the Glaven ports as the market centre, with Wiveton being the merchant hub and Cley the dominant port.

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