

eISSN: 2445-3595

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14201/shhme.32101>

THE PEASANT MODE OF PRODUCTION AND SYSTEMS OF EXCHANGE IN ENGLAND AND NORTHERN FRANCIA: C. 500 TO C. 700¹

*El modo de producción campesino y los sistemas de intercambio en Inglaterra y Francia
septentrional desde el año 500 al 700*

Irene BAVUSO

*Department of History and Art History, Utrecht University. Drift 6, 3512 BS Utrecht, The Netherlands. C. e.:
i.bavuso@uu.nl. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9176-1750>*

Recibido: 2025-06-01

Revisado: 2025-07-29

Aceptado: 2025-08-30

ABSTRACT: This article considers the model of the peasant mode of production developed in Chris Wickham's *FEMA*, concentrating on England and Northern Francia. According to Wickham, these two regions constitute instances of the two different ways in which the ideal model of the peasant mode could work on the ground during the early medieval period. In England we see the «tribal» form, in which rural communities were economically autonomous, while in Francia —where elites were much more powerful— Wickham identified islands of peasant autonomy, surrounded by areas of strong aristocratic power. After assessing Wickham's discussion of these two territories, this article discusses systems of exchange, and the participation of local communities in those systems, before considering some of the recent developments in both historical and archaeological research on peasants, bottom-up perspectives, networks and rural communities. Moreover, some of the key elements in Wickham's model of peasant economies —redistribution, reciprocity, the centrality of gift-giving, social rank and the impermanence of strong hierarchies— are also reassessed.

Keywords: peasant mode of production; England; Francia; exchange and trade; networks.

¹ Many of my ideas on long-distance exchange took shape during my DPhil, which was supervised by Chris Wickham and Helena Hamerow. This article owes much to our continuous conversations, during my doctoral years and afterwards. I also wish to express my gratitude to Robert Portass and Peter Sarris for inviting me to contribute to this special issue and for their editorial work, and to the two anonymous readers for their perceptive comments.

RESUMEN: Este artículo examina el modelo del modo de producción campesino desarrollado en *FEMA* de Chris Wickham, centrándose en Inglaterra y el norte de Francia. Según Wickham, estas dos regiones constituyen ejemplos de las dos formas diferentes en que el modelo ideal del modo campesino podía funcionar durante el periodo altomedieval. En Inglaterra vemos la forma «tribal», en la que las comunidades rurales eran económicamente autónomas, mientras que en Francia —donde las élites eran mucho más poderosas— Wickham identificó islas de autonomía campesina, rodeadas de zonas de fuerte poder aristocrático. Tras evaluar el análisis de Wickham sobre estos dos territorios, este artículo analiza los sistemas de intercambio y la participación de las comunidades locales en dichos sistemas, antes de considerar algunos de los avances recientes en la investigación tanto histórica como arqueológica sobre los campesinos, las perspectivas «desde abajo», las redes de intercambio, y las comunidades rurales. Además, se reevalúan algunos de los elementos clave del modelo de economías campesinas de Wickham: la redistribución, la reciprocidad, la centralidad de la donación, el rango social y la permanencia de las jerarquías fuertes.

Palabras clave: modo de producción campesino; Inglaterra; Francia; intercambio y comercio; redes.

SUMMARY: 0 Introduction. 1 The peasant mode of production in England and northern Francia. 2 Local communities and systems of exchange in the earliest post-Roman period, from c. 450 to c. 650. 2.1 The archaeological evidence and some theoretical concepts. 2.2 The sixth-century long-distance system of exchange. 3 Conclusions. 4 Works cited.

0 INTRODUCTION

Twenty years after its publication, *FEMA* continues to be a work with which every historian of the European early Middle Ages should engage. In addition to its contribution to the socio-economic history of each of the individual regions it covers, its chief attribute is the model of comparison it offers, which is both empirically robust and analytically compelling. One idea central to *FEMA* is that, in various parts of Europe, the socio-economic framework of the early post-Roman centuries provided improved conditions for the members of peasant societies —in comparison, that is, to what peasants endured in earlier and later periods. This is so, Wickham tells us, because peasant communities after c. 400, in general terms, were not subjected to elite dominance to the same degree that they had been under the Roman empire. Moving from the general to the particular, readers of *FEMA* will recognise the importance Wickham places on stressing the varying conditions in which peasants lived; put simply, peasant life differed depending on the specific conditions of the economy and society, and the power that aristocracies held, in every given region. This notwithstanding, the peasant mode of production, as defined in *FEMA*, represents one of the theoretical cores of the book —one which has promoted the study of peasants and peasant societies in regional and micro-regional perspectives, bringing us closer to «the way people behaved on the ground»².

² Wickham, *Framing*, 539.

The present article focuses on the northernmost territories considered by Wickham, northern Francia and England, a «North Sea» zone which differs in many ways from the Mediterranean world that represented the principal focus of Wickham's research in *FEMA*. Here I consider the idea of the peasant mode of production from a perspective that privileges systems of exchange. This contribution first reassesses what *FEMA* proposes about the development of the peasant mode of production in England and northern Francia. After that, I discuss local communities in the context of the systems of exchange that characterised the sixth and seventh centuries (that is, before northwestern Europe's economy flourished starting from the late seventh and eighth centuries). Taking Wickham's model and more recent scholarship as my guides, discussion herein addresses patterns of landownership, settlement hierarchies, and archaeological evidence for exchange. In so doing, the article reconsiders some of the theoretical pillars of the peasant mode of production—that is, redistribution, reciprocity, the centrality of gift-giving in a context of marginality of commerce, and the formation of rank societies and non-permanent hierarchies.

1 THE PEASANT MODE OF PRODUCTION IN ENGLAND AND NORTHERN FRANCIA

In the ideal type of the peasant economy proposed in *FEMA*, the basic unit of production is the household, whose members direct the labour process on the land they work. Typically, every member of the household is required to work (although the household is rarely egalitarian because it is shaped by major social divides such as gender and free/unfree)³. In this system, the very characteristics of exchange, and of the household economy *in toto*, mitigate against an increase in agricultural production; accordingly, because production rarely exceeded subsistence levels, significant inequality did not come to characterise social relations. The household economy is marked by the need for mutual support: central to its internal workings are the logic of reciprocity, non-commercial mechanisms such as gift-exchange, and a type of exchange which is—and Wickham is here adopting a pillar of substantivist terminology—socially embedded⁴. This type of economy is based on the constant reproduction of the social network itself, and exclusion from this network represents too great a risk to the survival of the individual household. Thus, the surplus that the household produces is reinvested in the social network, in order to ensure that the household continues to form part of that network; this reinvestment takes the form of non-commercial exchange, or of social practices characterised by collective consumption. It is this mechanism that makes the accumulation of large surpluses difficult to achieve, for large surpluses run counter to the social and economic

³ This and the following are based on Wickham, *Framing*, 535-47. On the peasant mode of production and elite demand as the essential driving force see also Wickham, «Productive Forces»; Wickham, «Rethinking the Structure».

⁴ On substantivism see Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, «The Economy» and *Primitive, Archaic*; Dalton, «Karl Polanyi's Analysis». On embeddedness, see Granovetter's definition: «the intersection of economic with noneconomic aspects of society, including not only social networks and their consequences but also cultural, political, religious, and broadly institutional influences» (Granovetter, *Society and Economy*, 15).

logics underpinning peasant existence. Here, market exchange has a very marginal role—a point worth stressing, and to which I will return later in this contribution. This is not to say that this economic logic does not also foster social differentiation, which is shaped through the dynamics of gift-exchange; in this model, gifts create bonds of reciprocity, and the individual who is able to give more generous gifts than his peers accumulates social prestige, and thus gains more elevated social rank⁵. However, the crucial point is this: this gift-exchange system creates a type of social differentiation that is not structurally permanent.

The fundamental basis for the development of the peasant mode of production in early medieval western Europe is the general weakness of fiscal extraction, and the concomitant impoverishment of elites. While elites remained richer than the peasant majority, their relative wealth was less marked than it had been under the Roman empire. The decrepitude of state-level fiscal exaction acted as a precondition for the emergence of peasant economy, because the «new» weaker elites of the fifth and sixth centuries exercised less power and less control over the peasant majority than elites had done hitherto. For Wickham, it is this situation of diminished elite control of peasant-generated resources which created the space for better conditions for peasant societies, which in turn took the form of more autonomy and less burdensome work. Wickham defines the peasant mode of production as «the patterns of the peasant economy that can be found when landlords or the state do *not* take surplus in a systematic way» (*italics original*)⁶. The non-systematisation of the appropriation of surplus is a structural feature of peasant economies, even in societies in which less powerful elites continued to attempt to exploit peasants. Elites may even have demanded tribute, but at levels that rendered it marginal to the overall economic system⁷. Wickham himself summarised the situation as follows: «the peasant mode in the early medieval West does not seem to have often existed in a *pure* state: there were aristocrats almost everywhere»⁸.

What, then, of the applicability of this model in the North Sea zone that forms the focus of this article? If we want to talk about England and northern Francia together, the first thing to note is that, although they are comparable from a socio-economic point of view, many distinctive characteristics set them apart. Among the many elements that make them comparable there is the general relatively weak continuity with the late Roman world that both areas exhibited. From the point of view of exchange systems, northern Francia and England were strongly connected, as can be seen from an archaeological perspective, and both were integral parts of a wider North Sea network of exchange. This is attested by the major *emporia*, the large coastal trading sites that started to flourish from roughly the late seventh century and which connected northern Francia and England with Scandinavia and beyond. Yet the two areas present important differences

⁵ On the gift see e.g. Mauss, «Essai sur le don»; Malinowski, *Argonauts*; Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities*; Thomas, *Entangled Objects*; Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions*; Godelier, *L'énigme du don*; Komter, *Social Solidarity*. Also below n. 44.

⁶ Wickham, *Framing*, 261.

⁷ On tribute as marginal see de Graca, «Peasant Mode», 170-1, who however seems to be thinking about a total «absence of relations of exploitations ... and extra-economic coercion».

⁸ Wickham, *Framing*, 542.

with respect to their economy. In *FEMA*, each of them is classified as part of one of the two patterns of the peasant economy that represent ways in which the peasant mode can work on the ground. England is one of the few territories, mainly located in northern Europe, that are characterised by the «tribal form» of the peasant mode, in which the elite did not control the economy of rural communities, which were autonomous from an economic point of view. In these economies tributes were paid but they were not structurally significant. In the second kind of pattern, which characterises northern Francia, we encounter groups of peasants consisting of independent proprietors, but these islands of peasant autonomy were surrounded by areas of strong aristocratic power —areas, that is, in which the feudal mode of production dominated. Being potentially more exposed to the power of the elites, these peasant groups were also more at risk of losing their autonomy. Areas of «tribal form» may be spotted in particular parts of Francia, such as in the mountainous Vosges; yet they were rare, and, according to Wickham, socially marginal. On the latter point, it is significant to note that studies on mountainous territories in the early medieval period have, since *FEMA*, contributed to rethinking the supposed marginality of these lands. This idea, after all, is a commonplace of certain kinds of sources, such as hagiographies, and it is connected with a sense that mountains were liminal places; nonetheless, as recent studies have argued, mountain lands may have been economically important in some regions of the post-Roman West, and may even have been sought after for this reason⁹. These recent reappraisals do not undermine Wickham's interpretation, since mountain zones remained peripheral from the point of view of the central political powers of the early post-Roman period¹⁰.

There are many ways in which one could underline the influence that *FEMA* has had on historical methodology, but in what follows I want to concentrate on how Wickham successfully integrated several fields of research, creating a synthesis that has still not been matched. Above all, *FEMA* played a pivotal role in making historians fully appreciate that archaeology was (and remains) indispensable to the serious study of the early Middle Ages. In part, Wickham turned to archaeology because of the notorious dearth of written evidence for the economy of large parts of northern Europe in these centuries. In addition, however, Wickham recognised that archaeology opens up perspectives that cannot be addressed by looking exclusively at the written sources. Archaeology is especially important for the study of peasant societies, since written sources were mostly written and preserved by the higher strata of society. As Wickham himself has noted, the dialogue between the two disciplines is far from straightforward —which makes the

⁹ Schroeder, «Early Medieval Landscapes».

¹⁰ The discussion generated by *FEMA* is far too vast to be fully acknowledged here; but see the collection of articles in *Historical Materialism* 19.1 (2011), which includes Wickham's reply, «The Problems». There and in other publications John Haldon and Jairus Banaji discuss, among other things, definitions of modes of production, the late Roman state, and tenancy and the colonate (Banaji, «Late Antiquity»; Haldon, «Framing»; see also Banaji, «Aristocracies, Peasantries»; Haldon, «Mode of Production»; Wickham, «How Did the Feudal Economy Work?»). For a reassessment of these three Marxist models see now Tedesco, «How Marxists». Moreland, «Land and Power», and Astarita, «Peasant-Based Societies» are specifically on (respectively) England and Francia. See also the collection of articles in *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9.1 (2009), which engaged with *FEMA*; among them, Faith, «Forces and Relations», focused on England.

achievement of *FEMA* all the more striking¹¹. Apart from the inclusion of archaeological data, Wickham's research also had the great merit of engaging with and including models and ideas derived from major works of economic anthropology and sociology; the thought of Pierre Bourdieu, Marcel Mauss, Karl Polanyi, Marshall Sahlins and Marilyn Strathern (among others) clearly contributed to the basic elements that form the ideal type of the peasant mode of production — elements such as redistribution, non-commercial exchange, rank societies and hierarchisation. From a theoretical perspective, it is now widely recognised that reflections current in economic anthropology and sociology enrich our perspectives on early medieval socio-economic history —and here, in particular, of systems of exchange, to which we now turn.

2 LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND SYSTEMS OF EXCHANGE IN THE EARLIEST POST-ROMAN PERIOD, FROM C. 450 TO C. 650

Much research has been devoted to peasant societies and peasant economies in England and Francia since *FEMA*¹². In this section, however, I will look specifically at what Wickham's model entails for systems of exchange, as many questions remain unresolved with respect to how exchange was transformed after the late Roman period (in qualitative terms, and in terms of organisation, among other factors), and how local communities may have entered new networks.

Over the last few decades, historical and archaeological research on exchange in the areas under consideration has importantly shifted its focus toward bottom-up views of socio-economic development. Yet the role of elites in the exchange systems of the early medieval period should not be overshadowed. For this reason, this section opens with a few words on elites and landownership in the two territories, as seen from the written sources, in order to set out the basic differences between England and Francia. I will then discuss archaeological evidence in relation to hierarchisation and artisanal production in England, given that, in Wickham's view, these two spheres were key to mapping the peasant mode of production on the ground; this section will also reconsider some of the theoretical concepts at the heart of the model of peasant economy. Lastly, I will use the case of the sixth-century long-distance network between southern England and northern Francia to show that it is possible to add further layers of complexity to our knowledge of those earliest post-Roman systems of exchange that preceded the economic revival of the seventh and eighth centuries.

Wickham attributed great importance to the role played by elites in driving economic change. Elites were the principal forces fuelling demand and thus underpinning

¹¹ Wickham, «Fonti archeologiche».

¹² The scholarship on these topics for Francia and England after *FEMA* cannot be condensed here; but in addition to the references in these footnotes, see, for example, Devroey and Wilkin (eds.), «Autour de Yoshiki Morimoto» (here, on models: Devroey and Wilkin, «Diversité»); Dierkens *et al.* (eds.), *Penser la paysannerie*; Feller, *Paysans et seigneurs*, esp. 3-100; Patzold and Tedesco, «Beyond the Manorial Economy»; Zeller *et al.*, *Neighbours and Strangers*.

exchange during the first centuries of the early medieval period¹³. In the northern areas I am discussing here, as elsewhere, Wickham's argument about the centrality of elites focuses on the evidence of documentary sources, as well as on archaeological materials. In Francia, the charters produced before the year 800 already show large concentrations of lands in the hands of churches, monasteries, and laymen¹⁴. If, as mentioned above, on the one hand Wickham found that there was some space for peasant economies in peripheral areas such as the Vosges, on the other hand, in the Frankish kingdoms, we can also see the extreme case of the Île-de-France. There, charters and other written sources show that elites (including ecclesiastical foundations, most notably Saint-Denis and Saint-Germain-des-Près) amassed such vast properties that there was hardly any space for autonomous peasant economies to develop¹⁵.

The socio-economic characteristics of the aristocracy in territories located north of the Île-de-France during the early Merovingian period have, however, been the subject of debate, and not all scholars agree with Wickham's suggestion that elites there were already strong in the early Merovingian period¹⁶. Guy Halsall, for instance, points to the evidence from laws and cemeteries to propose that, with the exception of the area of Trier, in the early Merovingian period the power of the aristocracy in the north was precarious, and that for this reason elites needed to cultivate connections with kings, coming to function as a «service aristocracy». For Halsall, the elite came to hold a more secure power only from the late sixth/first half of the seventh century¹⁷. The documentation also allows us to draw clear regionally varied pictures of landownership and to identify the structures of farming, and thus, to detect the peasant mode of production¹⁸. For instance, we can point to several interesting cases of fragmented patterns of landed property, spaces in which we might expect the peasant mode of production to be in operation. The development of small landed holdings can be seen from the documentation of St Peter, Ghent, which together with St Bertin was one of the most important ecclesiastical landowners in this part of northern Francia¹⁹. Instead, to the east of this area,

¹³ For a snapshot of the main theoretical frameworks available when *FEMA* was published see Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, 359-75.

¹⁴ On the wealth of churches and churches' economy see recently Wood, *The Christian Economy*.

¹⁵ Wickham, *Framing*, esp. 398-406; 546-7. Since, as already discussed, peasant economies are connected to a weakness of fiscal extraction, it should be noted here that there is a part of the scholarship who has argued for a strong fiscal continuity from the late Roman period; see e.g. Durlat, *Les finances publiques*; Magnou-Nortier, *Aux origines*. On taxation and fiscal lands see the work by Josiane Barbier, e.g. «Le fisc» with further references. On the possible intensification of surplus extraction in the seventh century (which was nevertheless lower than in Carolingian times) the case of the *agrarium* is notable: Sato «L'*agrarium*»; see also Wickham, *Framing*, 109-10.

¹⁶ Wickham, *Framing*, esp. 178-86 on aristocracy in northern Francia before the seventh century.

¹⁷ Halsall, «From Roman *fundus*»; citation of «service aristocracy» at p. 288. A major point where Wickham and Halsall read the evidence differently is the Argonne ware. See also Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, 353-7. Theuvs, «Long-Distance Trade», argues for weak elite control in the sixth and in much of the seventh century.

¹⁸ For a broad overview which also includes comparative perspectives with England see Devroey *et al.* «Agricultural Production».

¹⁹ Smith, *Europe after Rome*, esp. 167-73; Bavuso, «Small Lands».

a significant amount of middle-size elite landownership has been recognised from the documentation of the middle course of the Meuse²⁰.

On the contrary, the situation and extent of landownership in the eastern part of England are much more difficult to follow, because the written sources, narrative and documentary, are incomparably fewer than in Francia. For the kingdom of Kent, which is the area best covered by charters in the south-east, we have less than a hundred extant charters (including the spurious ones) for the period between the second half of the seventh century (the earliest period of charter production in England) and the end of the eighth century²¹. Nonetheless, what is clear is that when we do have charters, we can readily identify elites —distinctions between *ceorl* (free peasant) and *eorl* (nobleman) are attested already in the laws of Æthelberht (beginning of the seventh century). But although there clearly were elites in England, they were not comparable in scale to those we encounter in Francia: put simply, in England elites were less wealthy. We do not see the widespread accumulation of properties distributed across different regions in England that we do in Francia, where elites engaged in this kind of activity. From a socio-economic point of view, there remain grounds for comparison, especially with the north of Francia (which experienced more discontinuities than the southern part of Francia), but we may be comparing apples and oranges here. The sixth-century kingdoms of eastern England were much smaller (and were characterised by simpler socio-economic, administrative and political structures) than the Merovingian kingdoms, and polities of similar stature and size had not yet begun to take shape. The landscape of socio-economic life and power was different as well. For one thing, the degree of continuity of urban life was markedly different; moreover, the process of structuration of land and property that came with the emergence of powerful churches and monasteries did not begin to cohere until the second half of the seventh century.

No part of this picture has been significantly challenged, let alone radically redrawn, since *FEMA* appeared in 2005. But if the picture provided by the written sources on landownership has not fundamentally changed since *FEMA*, there is at least scope for reassessing some of the features of Wickham's model, thanks in great part to archaeological excavations that have taken place since 2005. It is also helpful to revisit and revise some of the anthropological concepts underpinning the peasant mode of production that Wickham drew upon in *FEMA*.

2.1 *The archaeological evidence and some theoretical concepts*

From the point of view of material culture, Wickham identified «the weakness of artisanal elaboration» and «the weakness of settlement hierarchy» as two major elements that speak for the existence of peasant economies²². Both are connected with the basic

²⁰ Wilkin, «Le patrimoine».

²¹ Charters relating to the landed property in Kent are mostly held in the archives of Christ Church and St Augustine (both in Canterbury), and Rochester: see respectively Brooks and Kelly, *Charters of Christ Church*; Kelly, *Charters of St. Augustine's Abbey*; Campbell, *Charters of Rochester*.

²² Wickham, *Framing*, 545.

characteristics of the ideal type: that is, weak and non-permanent hierarchies, low levels of elite demand, structural obstacles to the accumulation of surplus. This constitutes a solid framework for assessing peasant societies on the ground, and it is of course significant, as Wickham points out, that all these elements can be seen in England during the earliest post-Roman period. Since the publication of *FEMA*, the general picture of strong socio-economic decline in England has not been overturned: a steeper hierarchisation in society remains a process visible only from around the seventh century.

Starting with settlement hierarchies, Rosamond Faith noted that early post-Roman England may have been characterised by mixed farming, with little separation between communities of pastoralists and agriculturalists, and that the model of «intensification and abatement» may well apply for the «Early Anglo-Saxon period» (as the phase ca. 450-650 is generally called in archaeological terms in England)²³. According to this model, two different strategies of land use can be identified, which depend on the degree of external pressure on peasants. The switch from intensification to abatement may happen when external pressure decreases; thus, according to Faith, in periods of «abatement economy» —as seen in early post-Roman England— we can hypothesise that there was a growth in the importance of pastoralism, and that less effort was expended on agriculture. Crucially, a greater dependance on livestock would have meant that there was less scope for the elite to appropriate peasant surplus²⁴. This situation of «abatement economy» started to change only around 800, thanks to the investment in cereal agriculture by both peasants and lords, and thanks to population growth²⁵. Such a model thus recognises that bottom-up forces can also drive economic change.

A connection between the earliest centralised granaries and watermills (among other facilities) and high-status sites appears to be archaeologically visible in some regions during c. 680-830, which has thus been recognised as a crucial period of change (the grounding idea is that there is a connection between the growth of cereal farming and the growth of socio-economic inequality). Moreover, it is from this period that we have evidence for substantial livestock enclosures, which implies a strategy of stronger cooperation between farmers²⁶.

While the existence of weak settlement hierarchies is generally confirmed, excavated settlements continue to be incomparably fewer than the excavated cemeteries —a severe obstacle to our reconstruction of social differentiation and hierarchy within

²³ Faith, «Forces and Relations»; Faith proposes a different dynamic of change in rural societies than that suggested by Wickham.

²⁴ See Faith, «Forces and Relations», and Banham and Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms*.

²⁵ Faith, «Forces and Relations», 38-9.

²⁶ See Hamerow, «The *FeedSax*», 16-8, with references, including to McKerracher, *Farming Transformed*. This is part of the work of the recently completed ERC project «Feeding Anglo-Saxon England (FeedSax): The Bioarchaeology of an Agricultural Revolution», led by Helena Hamerow, which focused on key farming developments —systematic crop-rotation; low-input, «extensive» cultivation regimes; and widespread use of the mouldboard plough— up to the 13th century. See McKerracher and Hamerow (eds.), *New Perspectives*. From the middle of the seventh and the eighth centuries, important transformations of the settlement landscape (reflecting socio-economic developments), and agricultural growth, are also visible in northern Francia: see Peytremann, «L'apport»; on settlement archaeology there see also Peytremann, *Archéologie*.

and between early communities. Moreover, early excavated settlements have in general preserved too few objects to allow for refined recognition of the nature of the sites, and of their role in the landscape²⁷. Notwithstanding these ever-present issues, since *FEMA* some excavations have strongly contributed to modifying our view of the Early Anglo-Saxon period. The excavation of Lyminge, East Kent, is surely one of these, as it clearly shows that accumulation of resources and social hierarchisation were possible from a very early period²⁸. As we have seen, the absence of economic accumulation is central to the ideal type peasant mode of production —although Wickham noted that, on the ground, things may be partially different insofar as the presence of a local elite (which had more resources) may be more stable than assumed by the ideal type²⁹. Lyminge is located in a strategic position well-connected to the coast of East Kent and within the long-distance maritime network that linked south-eastern England to Francia. The early post-Roman settlement started around the late fifth century, and the finds (including glass vessels, which are rather rare for the period in England) point to a high-status presence already in the sixth century. The excavated royal hall has been dated to the first half of the seventh century, and then, later on, a monastery was established —a trajectory, from a royal to a monastic centre, which is confirmed by an early charter of the late seventh century³⁰. By that stage, kings already possessed mineral resources, for iron is mentioned in this early document, and —crucially— excavations have now shown that ironworking was ongoing in the sixth century as well —well before the charters³¹. Lyminge allow us to observe a landscape in which the connection between elites and the control of natural resources was established early; furthermore, in this case the archaeological and written sources complement each other. Yet the site is not unique: Rockingham Forest (in Northamptonshire) offers another example, for here there is evidence of the early exploitation of iron³².

Cases such as these add complexity to a picture of socio-economic development that has been framed within the idea of a transformation from «ranked» to «stratified»

²⁷ Even when significant amounts of objects are found, it may be difficult to understand the nature of these settlements: see Hamerow, *Rural Settlements*, 99-101, discussing the case of the Middle Saxon settlement at Flixborough, North Lincolnshire. Flixborough's nature as lay rural estate centre, proposed after excavation, has been contested in favour of an interpretation that considers it to have been a minster. See Loveluck, *Rural Settlement*; Blair, «Flixborough Revisited».

²⁸ On Lyminge see below n. 30.

²⁹ Wickham, *Framing*, 542.

³⁰ On Lyminge see Thomas, «Life»; Thomas and Knox, *Lyminge Interim Report 2014*; Broadley, «Preliminary Observations» on glass production; Thomas, «Monasteries». Various contributions in McKerracher and Hamerow (eds.), *New Perspectives*, discuss Lyminge. The charter for Lyminge, which is considered to be authentic (see Kelly, *Charters of St. Augustine's Abbey*, 34-6) is S 12 (here and below, I follow the numbering given by Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*), dated to AD 689. On the Continent, important research on royal centres in their landscape has been conducted by Barbier: see e.g. Barbier, «Le système palatial franc».

³¹ On this see Thomas, «Monasteries».

³² Evidence of early iron exploitation in Rockingham Forest has been found at Fineshade, not far from the Roman iron-working site at Laxton Bridge. See Jackson and Tylercote, «Two New Romano-British Iron-Working Sites»; Mudd, «Early to Middle Saxon Iron Smelting Furnaces»; Hall, «Iron Working». There is also evidence that the monastic site of Peterborough exploited iron. See Wall, «Middle Saxon Iron Smelting»; Blair, *Building*, 251.

societies—a transformation that is manifested when access to resources becomes unequal, thus triggering steeper social differentiation.³³ While not undermining the idea that portable wealth underpinned the power of elites (a fundamental characteristic of «ranked» societies), the fact that some areas seem to evidence an early relationship between elites and important natural resources shows that models of socio-economic development need to consider an articulated picture, consisting of myriad local variations.

A few words should be said here on the institution of the *feorm*, which is thought to be central to the relationships between peasants and kings in early medieval England, and thus to the peasant mode of production. *Feorm* only appears in the sources in the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period (that is, the period roughly between the middle of the seventh and the middle of the ninth century), though it is in fact deemed to predate it. The word is generally understood to mean annual renders of food owed by free peasants, collected to provision itinerant royal courts. Thus, this obligation has been taken to be something akin to tax. Yet Faith has argued that behind *feorm* there was a strong shared idea of hospitality and reciprocity, and, as such, that this institution was key to the moral economy of early medieval England³⁴. However, recent work by Tom Lambert and Sam Leggett suggests that the sources referring to *feorm*—starting with Ine's Law 70.1, which is probably the most famous of all such references—in fact refer to the goods due on the occasion of lavish but infrequent feasts, and not to goods handed over for the everyday consumption of the kings' household³⁵. An especially interesting element stressed by Lambert and Leggett in support of this hypothesis is that lists such as Ine's Law include (in addition to perishable food, which could not be stored for long) an extremely large amount of animal proteins. Importantly, this is inconsistent with the findings of isotopic analysis, according to which the early medieval diet of both the peasantry and the elites in England was based on cereals, thus confirming the exceptional character of this exchange. And yet, even if we accept this revised interpretation of the *feorm* and its function, the economic significance of the *feorm* obligation would still remain³⁶. In other

³³ For the traditional model see Fried, *The Evolution*. On some applications in post-Roman England see Härke, «Early Anglo-Saxon Social Structure»; Scull, «Social Transactions». For critiques of this model see Moreland, «Concepts»; and, in different contexts: Chapman, *Archaeology*; Yoffee, *Myths*; Lull and Micó Pérez, *Archaeology*; Routledge, *Archaeology*.

³⁴ On *feorm* see now Faith, *The Moral Economy*, esp. 49-57. The concept of moral economy has assumed a certain centrality in recent socio-economic discourses on the early medieval period. In addition to Faith's 2020 book, see for instance Fouracre, «Lights». Pioneering studies on moral economy date back to the 1970s and especially the work of James C. Scott and Edward P. Thompson, though the concept has its roots in the earlier debate between formalists and substantivists (See Thompson, «The Moral Economy»; Scott, *The Moral Economy*). The idea of moral economy encompasses a large range of meanings—including moral norms and regulation of behaviour, but also obligations perpetuated through interactions—, all of which may be usefully applied to research on the early medieval peasantry, as well as to systems of exchange in this period. Works that stress different meanings of moral economy are for instance Garraty, «Investigating Market Exchange»; Carrier, «Moral Economy»; Lutz and Skambraks, «Introduction».

³⁵ Lambert and Leggett, «Food».

³⁶ Lambert and Leggett, «Food» in effect note that, from an economic point of view, we are still talking about the same quantities and types of food. The isotopic analysis at the base of their work is provided in Lambert and Leggett, «Food and Power in Early Medieval England: A Lack of (Isotopic) Enrichment».

words, however the *feorm* functioned, it represents a form of exploitation of the free peasants, and the next question to consider would then be how burdensome *feorm* was for the economic life of the individual households that had to provide the goods³⁷. This is not to say that this shift in meaning would not have important economic implications, however. For as Lambert and Leggett note, it would have serious repercussions for our understanding of the role played by royal lands in providing food. This is indeed a crucial point, since it potentially complicates our view of kings as consumers as opposed to producers—and again stresses the need of localised analyses and models³⁸. In southern England, the vast amount of royal land that is apparent when we start having charters may well be indicative of the kings' possible role as producers, at least in some areas. Royal involvement in production is relatively more visible in northern Francia, for instance in connection with salt production. *Salinae* connected with royal lands are documented in the Talou, on the coast of Normandy, north of the estuary of the Seine; and it is important to note that the latter is a strong focus of royal lands from an early period³⁹.

Alongside weak settlement hierarchies as a sign of the economic simplification of early post-Roman England, Wickham pointed to a weakness of artisanal production. In general, ceramics are Wickham's preferred medium to explore material culture and networks of exchange in *FEMA*, as the ubiquity of pottery sheds light on short-distance and everyday exchange, as well as long-distance exchange of a more commercial nature. From this point of view, there is no escaping the fact that the fifth-century shift in England towards an exclusive regime of hand-made ceramics is a strong sign of economic decline⁴⁰. But pottery is not all. If one takes other kinds of objects as proxies for exchange, things appear less grim, or, at least, we can enrich our perspectives⁴¹. Indeed, if we look at the objects buried as personal items in the graves of cemeteries between the fifth and the seventh centuries, we find a much more impressive and wider range of artisanal elaboration than by looking at ceramics. The high artisanal level that personal items buried in lavish graves could reach during this period is well-known, in England as well as in Europe in general. Yet even if we exclude elites, many personal items that found their way into the graves of rural communities in England were made with materials that came from afar: the prime example in the sixth century is amber, which mostly originated in the Baltic. While amber beads (which constituted the most common way to use amber as jewelry in this period) are not particularly difficult to shape, other objects needed more skilled craftsmanship. A case in point is the use of mercury, which in this period had to be imported from the Iberian Peninsula. Mercury was an essential component for the gilding

³⁷ Faith, *The Moral Economy*, 53.

³⁸ If *feorm* is the basic source of food supply, then, as Faith, *The English Peasantry*, 38, noted: it «may have ensured that many royal villas remained collecting centres rather than agrarian enterprises».

³⁹ On landownership around the Seine estuary see Bavuso, «Monastic Foundations». On royal lands and salt-working in the Talou see *Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis coenobii* VI.2 and *Vita Lamberti* 3.

⁴⁰ On this point see also Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*; for a recent assessment of pottery production and patterns of reuse between the fourth and the sixth century see Fleming, *The Material Fall*, esp. 51-94, on how the shift toward hand-built pots was less brusque than previously thought, and late Roman production persisted until around the 420s.

⁴¹ See Moreland, «Land and Power», for a similar point on *FEMA*.

techniques then in use (the fire-gilding of a mercury-gold amalgam), and the ubiquitous presence of gilded objects across England in the sixth century indicates that, at least in this shape, it was accessible even to rural communities. Admittedly, the quantity of mercury needed for fire-gilding is not great; yet the technique needed sophisticated knowledge and skills, mercury had to travel long-distances, and as a material in the medieval period it can be generally regarded as a luxury good⁴².

Differentiated access to imported goods, and changing values of materials and artisanal items, are important elements that need to be considered for investigating networks of exchange in the early post-Roman period. Before moving on to discuss such networks, however, a few words are needed on the concepts of gift-exchange, the marginality of commercial exchange, reciprocity and redistribution —which are key in Wickham's peasant mode of production. The aim of the following paragraph is to highlight that precisely because it is difficult to recognise commercial exchange (as distinct from reciprocity and redistribution), the idea that commerce was marginal, let alone non-existent, is problematic. This idea was shaped by theories in economic anthropology and sociology that tended to see the boundaries between all these categories as more sharply defined than has been proposed in recent scholarship.

The theoretical distinction between commercial and essentially non-commercial exchange, where gift is the preeminent example, owes much to substantivist ideas that started around the middle of the twentieth century. These theories held that pre-modern (that is, pre-capitalist) economies were socially embedded and thus followed a logic unlike that of the capitalist mode, which was characterised by its principal actor, the *homo economicus*, and his pursuit of «rational self-interest». Formalists, on the contrary, thought that the model of rational behaviour and optimisation of utility is a universally valid one and thus could make sense in pre-modern contexts⁴³. Substantivist ideas in turn intersect with theories on the gift, a line of research with a particularly rich tradition in anthropology and sociology, as well as in medieval history⁴⁴. Yet one of the many results of this research on the gift is that the divide between commodity and gift is not as rigid as one might assume. This realisation has ramifications for the debate surrounding the difference between pre-modern and modern economy (since the gift has been taken as a quintessential form of embedded exchange); but it also has important consequences for the very pillars forming the framework of the definition generally used to discuss gift in early medieval scholarship.

In early medieval studies, gift-exchange is generally taken to work within and through relationships of reciprocity, and to serve the function of creating and re-creating social bonds. Here, *reciprocity* is a key concept emphasised by historians (a concept that, it is worth stressing, does not imply an egalitarian society). However, anthropological research shows that reciprocity is not straightforwardly applicable to gift-exchange, as for

⁴² See Bavuso, «Trade in Mercury».

⁴³ See above n. 4.

⁴⁴ On the gift in medieval studies see e.g. Grierson, «Commerce»; Curta, «Merovingian»; Davies and Fouracre, *The Languages*; Nelson, «The Role»; Nicolay, *The Splendour*; Naismith, «The Economy»; Visintini, «Gift-Giving». Also above n. 5.

instance suggested by David Graeber, who recognised that gift-exchange in fact works with several different moral logics: reciprocity may not play an important role in relationships within families; and hierarchical relationships work through the logic of the precedent, that is, customs⁴⁵. Moreover, when we say that the gift has the function of creating or cementing social bonds, it should be clarified that the length of the relationships between the parties in the context of gift-exchange is not set in stone: it may be permanent, but it may also be temporary⁴⁶. Non-commercial mechanisms of exchange, reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange usually coexist. The problem here is to distinguish between these different mechanisms starting from archaeological evidence, since different modes of exchange may produce similar patterns on the ground⁴⁷. At this juncture, Kenneth Hirth's distributional approach may be useful: according to his model, reciprocity and redistribution result in a distribution of archaeological artefacts that reflects established hierarchy and social networks, while market exchange results in a more homogeneous access, encompassing units of different rank⁴⁸. Thus, large quantities and widespread patterns of distribution of specific items and materials may suggest market exchange. If, then, it is not advisable to understand commercial and non-commercial mechanisms in a dichotomic perspective, and if it is difficult to differentiate between different mechanisms from archaeological evidence, we must conclude that to think about market exchange as marginal to early medieval societies may be mistaken. This is not to say that there were not phases of decline or growth of markets and market exchange; as already mentioned, the seventh and the eighth centuries were an important period of economic growth in north-western Europe⁴⁹. Yet the idea of the «marginal market», which is often associated to cases of extreme decline in the post-Roman period —such as fifth- and sixth-century Britain— may mask important processes of socio-economic development.

2.2 *The sixth-century long-distance system of exchange*

The long-distance network that connected southeastern England and northern Francia is a good case to observe what complex systems of exchange may look like in the sixth century, even in areas characterised by strong economic decline. This specific system is likely to have worked through different mechanisms: local communities had access to it, and it was not utterly driven by kings —although it was connected to the socio-economic development of the elite.

⁴⁵ See Graeber, «On the Moral Ground». On the issue of reciprocity in gift-exchange see also Pyyhtiinen, *The Gift*; Adloff, *Politics*.

⁴⁶ See Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value*.

⁴⁷ This is the problem of «equifinality», already highlighted in the now classic modes of exchange model developed by Colin Renfrew. See Renfrew, «Trade as Action»; Renfrew, «Alternative Models».

⁴⁸ See Hirth, «The Distributional Approach»; Hirth, «Finding the Mark». See also Stark and Garraty, «Detecting Marketplace Exchange», who develop a «regional production-distribution» approach in which the crucial aspect is specialised production.

⁴⁹ See e.g. Hansen and Wickham, *The Long Eighth Century*; Halsall, «From Roman *fundus*»; Malbos, *Les ports*; Blair, *Building*.

The material culture of the cemeteries of the sixth century shows a remarkable integration of the rural communities of southern England within the long-distance traffic with the Continent. Communities in coastal areas had easy access to landing sites, and the parts of boats that have been found in some early graves in East Kent may point to a special relationship that some of these communities had with the sea⁵⁰. It has been suggested that the decision to inter parts of boats should be interpreted as evidence of a wide involvement of society in maritime traffic⁵¹. This example of a wider bottom-up involvement counters the idea of a maritime exchange conducted and controlled from the top-down. This is an important point, as bottom-up approaches and frameworks have fundamentally reshaped current research on long-distance exchange in northern Europe. This is evident in the work conducted on the North Sea *emporía*, which shows that scholarly interest has shifted its focus from top-down economic behaviour (for instance examining the role of kings in the commerce passing through the trading centres), to the lower economic actors that were the backbone of trade, such as merchants and craftsmen, the investigation of the role of production in the rise of these sites, and the *emporía*'s connections to their rural hinterland⁵². And yet, in the case of the system of exchange between southern England and northern Francia, bottom-up forces were not the only ones at work. In fact, the network that connected the two regions well before the flourishing of the *emporía* in the late seventh and eighth centuries can be shown to have played a part in the development of local elites and communities in south-eastern England. Indeed, contrary to what is sometimes proposed for the Early Anglo-Saxon period, local elites appear to be recognisable through material culture even before the early seventh-century princely burials⁵³. Coastal dynamism did not imply that the communities developed free from political control, as has been suggested in the case of England and northern Francia⁵⁴. On the contrary, centres of power are a widespread phenomenon of coastal areas well integrated into the long-distance network, from an early period —as visible in the case of Lyminge⁵⁵.

Since the publication of *FEMA*, new research has addressed the integration of rural communities in early medieval systems of exchange. Northern Francia, where much archaeological research has been conducted on local societies, represents an important

⁵⁰ On landing sites and the long-distance network in southern England and Francia in the sixth and early seventh century see e.g. Delmaire, «La situation»; Richardson, «Far-Fetched Treasures»; on parts of boats in Kentish graves see Brookes, «Boat-Rivets».

⁵¹ Fleming, «Elites, Boats».

⁵² See e.g. the recent volumes on the excavation of Ribe in Denmark: Sindbæk, *Northern Emporium*. Vol. 1 and Vol. 2; and those of the Kaupang Excavation Project by Skre, and by Pedersen. See also Palmer, «The Hinterlands»; Hamerow, «Agrarian Production»; Naylor, «*Emporia*».

⁵³ E.g., Faith, *The Moral Economy*, suggests that elites can be seen in laws earlier than in archaeological materials.

⁵⁴ On maritime communities, and their possible early detachment from political power see Loveluck and Tys, «Coastal societies»; Loveluck, «Central-Places»; Tys, «Maritime and River Traders».

⁵⁵ In East Kent, early centres of power and lands connected to the kings close to the coasts include, among others, Eastry, where an early centre may have been in existence already in the sixth century (Hawkes, «Eastry»; Dickinson *et al.*, «Early Anglo-Saxon Eastry»), and Sturry, which is first mentioned in an original charter in AD 679 (S 8).

case in point. This question has been especially addressed from an archaeological point of view in research on the broad area of the Rhine. There, Frans Theuws investigated peasant agency in the sense of access to the long-distance traffic and showed that rural communities had wide access to imported goods during the sixth and seventh century⁵⁶. Of course, the broader area of the Rhine–Meuse–Scheldt Delta was essential to the long-distance system of communication and exchange, so a higher influx or passing of goods is likely to reflect on a wider distribution among local communities. In the case of this particular area, a vibrant dynamic of maritime and riverine traffic is also recognisable from the fact that many smaller trading centres were active at the same time as the *emporium* of Dorestad (and even earlier)⁵⁷. In principle, the connection between a large influx of imports and goods, and a greater access to them among the population at large is not a given; yet it is significant that this is something that can be seen in other, different strategic areas during the same period. From this point of view, the broader territory of the Delta is similar to what we see in Kent: that is, several small trading sites (though Kent did not develop an *emporium* comparable to Dorestad), and a high level of access to imported goods among a larger part of the population—which means that imports reached rural communities. Importantly, wider access to imports can be detected archaeologically in other areas of northern Francia which were likewise well located in the network of the long-distance traffic. This is for instance the case in the coasts of the Pas-de-Calais (where the important *emporium* of Quentovic would develop from the seventh century), and on the coasts of the Normandy Peninsula. The latter was integrated in the traffic that passed along the Seine and reached Hampshire, where Hamwic was to flourish from the seventh and eighth century, and the Isle of Wight, which was a key hub for traffic before Hamwic⁵⁸.

In northern Francia, hierarchies of exchange systems and different categories of markets are attested from the very beginning of the early medieval period, as synthesised by Wickham. In his assessment of the system of exchange of seventh- and eighth-century northern Francia, long-distance exchange that reached the *emporium* was regarded as peripheral in relation to the core of the economic system⁵⁹. However, the archaeological evidence for traffic beyond the major *emporium* may modify this picture, as it shows that larger areas of the coasts in Francia were incorporated into the long-distance maritime network. This network had a role in the orientation of the economic interests of lay and religious actors, with important results that modified the landholding landscape of the coastal territories, as in the case of monastic foundations in strategic coastal areas⁶⁰.

From the written sources, it is clear that northern Francia possessed articulated webs of market exchange that functioned at many levels, from the very local to those that

⁵⁶ Theuws, «A World», 180-6; Theuws, «Long-Distance Trade» See also the research published in the context of the ERC Advanced Grant «Rural Riches: The Bottom-Up Development of Post-Roman Northwestern Europe», led by Frans Theuws.

⁵⁷ Van Es and Verwers, «Early Medieval Settlements».

⁵⁸ On Normandy and the Pas-de-Calais see Bavuso, «Monastic Foundations», with references. On the Isle of Wight see Ulmschneider, «Archaeology, History».

⁵⁹ Wickham, *Framing*, 803.

⁶⁰ See Bavuso, «Monastic Foundations».

operated across greater distances⁶¹. While these webs in post-Roman England were surely less complex, archaeological evidence can provide a more articulated picture of the system of exchange even before the late seventh century —that is, when the *emporia* started to flourish— thus permitting alternative views to Wickham's idea that, before this period, «there is relatively little [...] that implies any developed form of exchange network»⁶². We can now see that as early as the sixth century, widespread routes connected northern Francia with the south-eastern part of the England, forming a network of exchange that does not seem to be in line with a picture of a distribution dominated by kings⁶³. In the strategic hubs of the sixth-century transmarine networks —in southeastern England: East Kent and the Isle of Wight— a large part of the population had access to imported items and materials; this is similar to what can be found in the areas of northern Francia that are well-connected to the network of traffic, as for instance shown by the above-mentioned work by Theuws. In these specific areas, Hirth's distributional approach may be helpful to recognise that a widespread presence of non-local goods and materials among and within the communities may be a sign of ongoing market exchange. It is also worth emphasising that the amber and mercury-gilded objects discussed above were not even restricted to the most strategic areas only —and they are important case-studies because their numbers are high and their distribution widespread. All of this adds complexity to our understanding of the stratification of the local communities and the diversified access they had to goods (a research desideratum that was recently recognised in the case of Francia)⁶⁴. It also allows us to develop a focus on the local perspective while integrating it with discourses on elites and political power. In England, indeed, the long-distance system of trade and exchange is likely to have played an important role in the development of local communities and in the shaping of local elites, which are already visible in the sixth century; moreover, and crucially, we can see some degree of hierarchisation even in this early period, as shown by the early connection between elites and natural resources.

3 CONCLUSIONS

The peasant mode of production remains an inspiring model through which to investigate local societies in England and northern Francia. This article sought to show how, working within this framework, new discourses can be pursued, starting from a reconsideration of the historical and archaeological evidence, and combining it with new insights on exchange drawn from different disciplines. Among the territories analysed in *FEMA*, post-Roman England is as close as the evidence comes to the ideal-type society of the peasant mode of production proposed by Wickham. In this model, commercial

⁶¹ Wickham, *Framing*, 794-805.

⁶² *Ibidem*, 808.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, 808, discusses royal domination over distribution of goods in the context of the *emporia*. The notion of royal control over the *emporia*'s trade has been challenged by scholarship, which now points at collection of tolls as the main royal interest there: see e.g. Loveluck and Tys, «Coastal Societies».

⁶⁴ These research objectives were advocated for Francia by Wilkin, «Preserving», 182.

exchange plays a marginal function and does not represent a key element of the economy, which is instead contingent upon social networks that are produced and reproduced thanks to mechanisms of reciprocity and redistribution. This article has argued that commercial exchange played a bigger part than previously recognised. Research on pre-modern and non-commercial exchange, especially among non-medievalists, has readdressed some of the key concepts surrounding exchange, as well as crucial issues on the visibility of markets and other exchange mechanisms in the archaeological evidence. Coupled with the archaeology, these studies may help us in adding further layers of complexity to our understanding of early medieval exchange, allowing us to see what part it played in the internal articulation of «peripheral» economies. Among other potential developments of lasting application, further studies that follow Wickham's methodological and analytical example may allow us to reframe gift-exchange by disconnecting it from a straightforward association with the category of reciprocity; and to ask questions about how reciprocity may or may not work in contexts of imbalanced and hierarchical relationships of power. In connection to the ever-changing picture offered by archaeology, all of these developments have the potential to open interesting vistas on how to identify and study trade in the light of scarce written sources. They also promise to illuminate the participation of different social strata in this exchange; and, ultimately, to offer clues with respect to the role of systems of exchange in post-Roman polity-building.

4 WORKS CITED

- Adloff, Frank. *Politics of the Gift. Toward a Convivial Society*. Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1332/policypress/9781529226225.001.0001>
- Astarita, Carlos. «Peasant-Based Societies in Chris Wickham's Thought». *Historical Materialism* 19/1 (2011): 194-220. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156920611X564716>
- Banaji, Jairus. «Aristocracies, Peasantries and the Framing of the Early Middle Ages». In *Theory as History. Essays on Modes of Production and Exploitation*, 215-50. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004183681.i-406.44>
- Banaji, Jairus. «Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages: What Kind of Transition?». *Historical Materialism* 19/1 (2011): 109-44. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156920611X564680>
- Banham, Debby and Rosamond Faith. *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199207947.001.0001>
- Barbier, Josiane. «Le fisc du royaume franc. Quelques jalons pour une réflexion sur l'État au haut Moyen Âge». In *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat – europäische Perspektiven*, Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser (eds.), 271-86. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009.
- Barbier, Josiane. «Le système palatial franc: genèse et fonctionnement dans le nord-ouest du *regnum*». *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 148/2 (1990): 245-99. <https://doi.org/10.3406/bec.1990.450580>
- Bavuso, Irene. «Monastic Foundations and Coastal Interactions in the Normandy Peninsula». In *Transitions and Relationships over Land and Sea in the Early Middle Ages of Northern Europe*, Andrew Richardson et al. (eds.), 89-101. Sandgate: Isle Heritage CIC, 2023.

- Bavuso, Irene. «Small Lands and Mobile Objects: Socio-Economic Change in Northern Francia, c. 5th-8th c.». In *The European Countryside during the Migration Period: Patterns of Change from Iberia to the Caucasus (300-700 CE)*, Irene Bavuso and Angelo Castrorao Barba (eds.), 319-35. Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110778298-014>
- Bavuso, Irene. «Trade in Mercury: Crafts, Networks, and Demand in Post-Roman Western Europe». *Journal of Late Antiquity* 17/2 (2024): 525-57. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110778298-014>
- Blair, John. *Building Anglo-Saxon England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400889907>
- Blair, John. «Flixborough Revisited». *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 17 (2011): 101-7.
- Broadley, Rose. «Preliminary Observations on the Anglo-Saxon Glass from Lyminge». *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 20 (2017): 117-26.
- Brookes, Stuart. «Boat-Rivets in Graves in Pre-Viking Kent: Reassessing Anglo-Saxon Boat-Burial Tradition». *Medieval Archaeology* 51 (2007): 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1179/174581707x224633>
- Brooks, Nicholas and Susan Kelly. *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Campbell, Alistair. *Charters of Rochester*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Carrier, James G. «Moral Economy: What's in a Name». *Anthropological Theory* 18/1 (2018): 18-35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1463499617735259>
- Chapman, Robert. *Archaeology of Complexity*. London: Routledge, 2003. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203451779>
- Curta, Florin. «Merovingian and Carolingian Gift-Giving». *Speculum* 81 (2006): 671-99. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0038713400015670>
- Da Graca, Laura. «Peasant Mode of Production and the Evolution of Clientelar Relations». In *Studies on Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production*, Laura da Graca and Andrea Zingarelli (eds.), 158-203. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004263703_007
- Dalton, George. «Karl Polanyi's Analysis of Long-Distance Trade and his Wider Paradigm». In *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, Jeremy A. Sabloff and Carl C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (eds.), 63-132. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975.
- Davies, Wendy and Paul Fouracre (eds.). *The Languages of the Gift in the Early Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Delmaire, Roland. «La situation de détroit avant Quentovic». In *Quentovic. Environnement, archéologie, histoire*, Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart, and Laurent Verslype (eds.), 77-83. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Éditions du Conseil Scientifique de l'Université Lille 3, 2010.
- Devroey, Jean-Pierre. *Puissants et misérables: système social et monde paysan dans l'Europe des Francs (VIe-IXe siècles)*. Brussels: Académie Royal de Belgique, 2006.
- Devroey, Jean-Pierre and Alexis Wilkin (eds.). «Autour de Yoshiki Morimoto. Les structures agricoles en dehors du monde carolingien: formes et genèse». *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 90/2 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.2012.8322>
- Devroey, Jean-Pierre and Alexis Wilkin, «Diversité des forms domaniales en Europe Occidentale». *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 90.2 (2012): 249-60. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.2012.8323>
- Devroey, Jean-Pierre, Alexis Wilkin and Alban Gautier. «Agricultural Production, Distribution and Consumption around the North Sea, 500-1000». In *The Agro-Food Market. Production,*

- Distribution and Consumption*, Leen van Molle and Yves Segers (eds.), 13-68. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.RES-EB.4.00023>
- Dickinson, Tania M., Chris Fern and Andrew Richardson. «Early Anglo-Saxon Eastry: Archaeological Evidence for the Beginnings of a District Centre in the Kingdom of Kent». *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 17 (2011): 1-86.
- Dierkens, Alain, Nicolas Schroeder and Alexis Wilkin (eds.). *Penser la paysannerie médiévale, un défi impossible?*, Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.psbbonne.27926>
- Durlat, Jean. *Les finances publiques de Dioclétien aux Carolingiens (284-888)*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990.
- Es, Willem A. Van and Willem J. H. Verwers. «Early Medieval Settlements along the Rhine: Precursors and Contemporaries of Dorestad». *Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries* 2 (2010): 5-39.
- Faith, Rosamond. «Forces and Relations of Production in Early Medieval England». *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9/1 (2009): 23-41. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2009.00194.x>
- Faith, Rosamond. *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997.
- Faith, Rosamond. *The Moral Economy of the Countryside. Anglo-Saxon to Anglo-Norman England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108766487>
- Feller, Laurent. *Paysans et seigneurs au Moyen Âge, VIII-XV siècles*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2017². <https://doi.org/10.3917/arco.felle.2017.01>
- Fleming, Robin. «Elites, Boats and Foreigners: Rethinking the Birth of English Towns». In *Città e campagna nei secoli altomedievali*, 393-426. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2009.
- Fleming, Robin. *The Material Fall of Roman Britain, 300-525 CE*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812297362>
- Fouracre, Paul. «Lights, Power and the Moral Economy of Early Medieval Europe». *Early Medieval Europe* 28/3 (2020): 367-87. <https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12409>
- Fried, Morton H. *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology*. New York: Random House, 1967.
- Garraty, Christopher P. «Investigating Market Exchange in Ancient Societies: A Theoretical Review». In *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*, Christopher P. Garraty and Barbara L. Stark (eds.), 3-32. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010.
- Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis coenobii*. Ed. Pascal Pradié. *Chronique des abbés de Fontenelle (Saint-Wandrille)*. Paris: Belles Lettres, 1999.
- Godelier, Maurice. *L'énigme du don*. Paris: Fayard, 1996.
- Graeber, David. «On the Moral Ground of Economic Relations: A Maussian Approach». *Journal of Classical Sociology* 14/1 (2014): 65-77. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X13494719>
- Graeber, David. *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780312299064>
- Granovetter, Mark. *Society and Economy: Framework and Principles*. Cambridge, MA-London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017.
- Gregory, Chris A. *Gifts and Commodities*. London: Academic Press, 1982.
- Grierson, Philip. «Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence». *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series*, 9 (1959): 123-40. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3678808>
- Haldon, John. «Framing the Early Middle Ages». *Historical Materialism* 19/1 (2011): 47-72. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156920611X564653>

- Haldon, John. «Mode of Production». In *The SAGE Handbook of Marxism*, Beverley Skeggs, Sara R. Farris, Alberto Toscano, and Svenja Bromberg (eds.), vol. I, 24-44. London: Sage, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781529714371.n3>
- Hall, Neil. «Iron Working in Anglo-Saxon England: New Evidence to Show Fresh Iron Smelting of Ironstone Ores from the 6th-10th Centuries CE». *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 19 (2018): 344-51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2018.02.019>
- Halsall, Guy. *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511802393>
- Halsall, Guy. «From Roman *fundus* to Early Medieval *grand domaine*: Crucial Ruptures between Antiquity and the Middle Ages». *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 90/2 (2012): 273-98. <https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.2012.8325>
- Hamerow, Helena. «Agrarian Production and the *Emporia* of Mid Saxon England, ca. AD 650-850». In *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, vol. 1, *The Heirs of the Roman West*, Joachim Henning (ed.), 219-32. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 2007. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110218848.2.219>
- Hamerow, Helena. «The *FeedSax* Project: Rural Settlements and Farming in Early Medieval England». In *New Perspectives on the Medieval «Agricultural Revolution»: Crop, Stock and Furrow*, Mark McKerracher and Helena Hamerow (eds.), 3-24. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv333ktnp.8>
- Hamerow, Helena. *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199203253.001.0001>
- Hansen, Inge L. and Chris Wickham (eds.). *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2000. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004473454>
- Härke, Heinrich. «Early Anglo-Saxon Social Structure». In *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century*, John Hines (ed.), 125-70. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997.
- Hawkes, Sonia Chadwick. «Eastry in Anglo-Saxon Kent: its Importance, and a Newly-Found Grave». *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 1 (1979): 81-113.
- Hirth, Kenneth G. «Finding the Mark in the Marketplace: The Organization, Development, and Archaeological Identification of Market Systems». In *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*, Christopher P. Garraty and Barbara L. Stark (eds.), 227-47. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1086/204759>
- Hirth, Kenneth G. «The Distributional Approach. A New Way to Identify Marketplace Exchange in the Archaeological Record». *Current Anthropology* 39/4 (1998): 451-76.
- Jackson, Dennis A. and Ronald F. Tylecote. «Two New Romano-British Iron-Working Sites in Northamptonshire – A New Type of Furnace?». *Britannia* 19 (1988): 275-89. <https://doi.org/10.2307/526201>
- Kelly, Susan. *Charters of St. Augustine's Abbey Canterbury and Minster-in-Thamet*. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Komter, Aafke. *Social Solidarity and the Gift*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511614064>
- Lambert, Tom and Sam Leggett. «Food and Power in Early Medieval England: A Lack of (Isotopic) Enrichment». *Anglo-Saxon England* 49 (2020): 155-96. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0263675122000072>
- Lambert, Tom and Sam Leggett. «Food and Power in Early Medieval England: Rethinking *Feorm*». *Anglo-Saxon England* 49 (2020) 107-53. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0263675122000084>
- Loveluck, Christopher. «Central-Places, Exchange and Maritime-Oriented Identity around the North Sea and Western Baltic, AD 600-1000». In *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in*

- the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*. Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (eds.), 123-66. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.SCISAM-EB.1.101091>
- Loveluck, Christopher. *Rural Settlement, Lifestyle and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context, Excavations at Flixborough vol. 4*. Oxford: Oxbow, 2007.
- Loveluck, Christopher and Dries Tys. «Coastal Societies, Exchange and Identity along the Channel and Southern North Sea Shores of Europe, AD 600-1000». *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 1 (2006): 140-69. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11457-006-9007-x>
- Lull, Vicente and Rafael Micó Pérez. *Archaeology and the Origin of the State: The Theories*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Lutz, Martin and Tanja Skambraks. «Introduction: Reassessing Moral Economy». In *Reassessing the Moral Economy. Religion and Economic Ethics from Ancient Greece to the 20th Century*, Tanja Skambraks and Martin Lutz (eds.), 1-11. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-29834-9_1
- Magnou-Nortier, Élisabeth. *Aux origines de la fiscalité moderne. Le système fiscal et sa gestion dans le royaume des Francs à l'épreuve des sources (ve-xie siècles)*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2012.
- Malbos, Lucie. *Les ports des mers Nordiques à l'époque Viking (viii-xe siècle)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.HAMA-EB.5.113350>
- Malinowski, Bronisław. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific. An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Routledge, 1978. (1st ed. 1922). <https://doi.org/10.2307/3031829>
- Mauss, Marcel. «Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques». *Année Sociologique* 1 (1923-1924): 30-186.
- McKerracher, Mark. *Farming Transformed in Anglo-Saxon England: Agriculture in the Long Eighth Century*. Oxford: Windgather Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv13gvg10>
- McKerracher, Mark and Helena Hamerow (eds.). *New Perspectives on the Medieval «Agricultural Revolution»: Crop, Stock and Furrow*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv333ktnp>
- Moreland, John «Concepts of the Early Medieval Economy». In *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand*, Inge L. Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds.), 1-34. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2000. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004473454_004
- Moreland, John. «Land and Power from Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England?». *Historical Materialism* 19/1 (2011): 175-93. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156920611X564707>
- Mudd, Andrew. «Early to Middle Saxon Iron Smelting Furnaces at the Kitchen Garden, Fineshade Abbey, Northamptonshire». *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 34 (2006): 81-95.
- Naismith, Rory. «The Economy of Beowulf». In *Old English Philology: Studies in Honor of R.D. Fulk*, Leonard Neidorf, Rafael J. Pascual and Tom Shippey (eds.), 371-91. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781782048152.020>
- Naylor, John. «Emporia and Their Hinterlands in the 7th to 9th-Centuries AD: Some Comments and Observations from England». *Revue du Nord hors série* 24 (2016): 59-67.
- Nelson, Janet L. «The Role of the Gift in Early Medieval Diplomatic Relations». In *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto Medioevo*, 225-53. Spoleto: Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2011.
- Nicolay, Johan A.W. *The Spendour of Power: Early Medieval Kingship and the Use of Gold and Silver in the Southern North Sea Area (5th to 7th century AD)*. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing and University of Groningen Library, 2014.

- Palmer, Ben. «The Hinterlands of Three Southern English *Emporia*: Some Common Themes». In *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), 48-60. Macclesfield: Windgather, 2003. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv138wtgdg.11>
- Patzold, Steffen and Paolo Tedesco. «Beyond the Manorial Economy: Peasant Labour and Mobility in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Europe». *Journal of European Economic History* 48/3 (2019).
- Pedersen, Unn. *Non-Ferrous Metalworkers in Viking-Period Kaupang*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2016.
- Peytremann Édith. *Archéologie de l'habitat rural dans le nord de la France du IV^e au XIII^e siècle*. Chelles: Association Française d'Archéologie Mérovingienne, 2003.
- Peytremann, Édith. «L'apport de l'archéologie de l'habitat rural à l'étude socio-économique du monde rural du vie-xe siècle dans la moitié nord de la Gaule». In *I Franchi*, 349-87. Spoleto: Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2023.
- Polanyi, Karl. *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies. Essays of Karl Polanyi*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1968.
- Polanyi, Karl. «The Economy as Instituted Process». In *Trade and Markets in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson (eds.), 243-70. Glencoe: Free Press, 1957.
- Polanyi, Karl. *The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1944.
- Pyyhtinen, Olli. *The Gift and Its Paradoxes: Beyond Mauss*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.
- Renfrew, Colin. «Alternative Models for Exchange and Spatial Distribution». In *Exchange Systems in Prehistory*, Timothy K. Earle and Jonathon E. Ericson (eds.), 71-90. New York: Academic Press, 1977. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-227650-7.50010-9>
- Renfrew, Colin. «Trade as Action at Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication». In *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, Jeremy A. Sabloff and Carl C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (eds.), 3-59. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975.
- Richardson, Andrew. «Far-Fetched Treasures: The Maritime Networks of the Kingdom of Kent». In *Maritime Kent Through the Ages: Gateway to the Sea*, Stuart Bligh, Elizabeth C. Edwards and Sheila Sweetinburgh (eds.), 195-214. Martlesham: The Boydell Press, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781800103054.011>
- Routledge, Bruce. *Archaeology and State Theory: Subjects and Objects of Power*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Sato, Shoichi. «L'agrarium: la charge paysanne avant le régime domanial, vie-viii siècles». *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998): 103-25. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4181\(98\)00002-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4181(98)00002-5)
- Sawyer, Peter H. *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1968.
- Schroeder, Nicolas. «Early Medieval Landscapes and Societies in European Lower Mountain Ranges: the Vosges and Jura, 6th-7th Century». In *The European Countryside During the Migration Period. Patterns of Change from Iberia to the Caucasus (300-700 CE)*, Irene Bavuso and Angelo Castrorao Barba (eds.), 307-18. Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110778298-013>
- Scott, James C. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Scull, Christopher. «Social Transactions, Gift Exchange, and Power in the Archaeology of the Fifth to Seventh Centuries». In *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, Helena

- Hamerow, David A. Hinton and Sally Crawford (eds.), 848-64. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199212149.013.0044>
- Sindbæk, Søren M. (ed.). *Northern Emporium. Vol. 1: The Making of Viking-Age Ribe*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.2307/lj.ctv33jb4rt>
- Sindbæk, Søren M. (ed.). *Northern Emporium. Vol. 2: The Networks of Viking-Age Ribe*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.10518934>
- Skre, Dagfinn (ed.). *Kaupang in Skiringsdal*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2007.
- Skre, Dagfinn (ed.). *Means of Exchange. Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2008.
- Skre, Dagfinn (ed.). *Things from the Town. Artefacts and Inhabitants in Viking-Age Kaupang*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2011. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.608256>
- Smith, Julia M. H. *Europe after Rome. A New Cultural History 500-1000*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Stark, Barbara L. and Christopher P. Garraty. «Detecting Marketplace Exchange in Archaeology: A Methodological Review». In *Archaeological Approaches to Market Exchange in Ancient Societies*, Christopher P. Garraty and Barbara L. Stark (eds.), 33-58. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010.
- Tedesco, Paolo. «How Marxists View the Middle Ages». In *Writings on the Tributary State and Commercial Capitalism*, 65-79. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2024.
- Theuvs, Frans «A World of Connections and Peasant Agency». In *The Merovingian Cemetery of Bergeijk-Fazantlaan*, Frans Theuvs and Martine Van Haperen (eds.), 180-6. Bonn: Habelt-Verlag, 2012.
- Theuvs, Frans. «Long-Distance Trade and the Rural Population of Northern Gaul». In *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds.), 883-915. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190234188.013.39>
- Thomas, Gabor. «Life Before the Minster: The Social Dynamics of Monastic Foundation at Anglo-Saxon Lyminge, Kent». *The Antiquaries Journal* 93 (2013): 109-45. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003581513000206>
- Thomas, Gabor. «Monasteries and Places of Power in Pre-Viking England: Trajectories, Relationships and Interactions». *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 20 (2017): 97-116.
- Thomas, Gabor and Alex Knox. *Lyminge Interim Report 2014*. Reading: University of Reading, 2015.
- Thomas, Nicholas. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991. <https://doi.org/10.4159/9780674044326>
- Thompson, Edward P. «The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century». *Past & Present* 50 (1971): 76-136. <https://doi.org/10.1093/past/50.1.76>
- Tys, Dries. «Maritime and River Traders, Landing Places, and Emporia Ports in the Merovingian Period in and around the Low Countries». In *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds.), 765-96. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190234188.013.26>
- Ulmschneider, Katharina, «Archaeology, History and the Isle of Wight in the Middle Saxon Period». *Medieval Archaeology* 43 (1999): 19-44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00766097.1999.11735624>
- Visintini, Eduard. «Gift-Giving and the Seventh-Century Frankish Church in Merovingian Hagiography: The Case of the *Vita Eligii*». *Millennium* 19/1 (2022): 1-34. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mill-2022-0002>

- Vita Lantberti abbatis Fontanellensis et episcopi Lugdunensis*. Ed. Wilhelm Levison. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 5, 606-12. Hannover-Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1910.
- Wall, William. «Middle Saxon Iron Smelting near Bonemills Farm, Wittering, Cambridgeshire». *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 17 (2011): 87-100.
- Ward-Perkins, Bryan. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Weiner, Annette B. *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-while-Giving*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. <https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520076037.001.0001>
- Wickham, Chris. «Fonti archeologiche e fonti storiche: un dialogo complesso». In *Storia d'Europa e del Mediterraneo. IV, Il Medioevo (secoli V-XV). Vol. IX, Strutture, preminenze, lessici comuni*, Sandro Carocci (ed.), 15-49. Roma: Salerno editore, 2007.
- Wickham, Chris. *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199264490.001.0001>
- Wickham, Chris. «How Did the Feudal Economy Work? The Economic Logic of Medieval Societies». *Past & Present* 251 (2021): 3-40. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtaa018>
- Wickham, Chris. «Productive Forces and the Economic Logic of the Feudal Mode of Production». *Historical Materialism* 16/2 (2008): 3-22. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156920608X296051>
- Wickham, Chris. «Rethinking the Structure of the Early Medieval Economy». In *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe. New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), 19-31. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Wickham, Chris. «The Problems of Comparison», *Historical Materialism* 19/1 (2011): 221-31. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156920611X564725>
- Wilkin, Alexis. «Le patrimoine foncier des élites dans la région de la Meuse moyenne, jusqu'au XIe siècle». In *Les élites et la richesse au Haut Moyen Âge*, Jean-Pierre Devroey, Laurent Feller and Régine Le Jan (eds.), 327-43. Brepols: Turnhout, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.HAMA-EB.3.4672>
- Wilkin, Alexis. «Preserving Stability in a Changing World: Free and Unfree Labour, Peasant Mobility and Agency on Manorial Estates Between the Loire and the Rhine». *The Journal of European Economic History* 48/3 (2019): 167-87.
- Wood, Ian. *The Christian Economy in the Early Medieval West. Towards a Temple Society*. Binghamton, NY: Punctum Books, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.53288/0371.1.00>
- Yoffee, Norman. *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States and Civilizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511489662>
- Zeller, Bernhard et al. *Neighbours and Strangers. Local Societies in Early Medieval Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526139825.00015>