

It is intended to analyse the various conditions and effects on a system, of change in two populations confronted as the result of an invasion/migration. The areas in which change is potentially observable and those in which change has occurred using documented examples will be discussed, though the emphasis will be placed on the components of an invasion/migration in order to isolate various theoretical configurations rather than on the analysis of historic examples.

TERMINOLOGY terms currently used in archaeological literature and definitions

invasion - act of making a hostile inroad into	} place, country
migration - move from one to another	
intrusion - thrust forcefully into	
incursion - hostile invasion, sudden attack on	
infiltration - gradual unobserved influence upon	
imposition - exact influence upon	

OBSERVABLES areas in which it is claimed that change might be observed

- physical type
- settlement type
- artifact type
- continuity and change of site location and distribution
- language

FACTORS governing the choice of terminology and form in which such activities manifest themselves in the archaeological record

- intention - measured by reciprocal relationship between the extremes of pure military aggression and peaceful settlement
- scale - the size of native and incoming populations
- time - length of time over which such activities take place
- structure-- social structure of native and incoming populations

During the last 20 years the works of Polanyi, Fried, and Service have provided a model of social evolution which identified the presence of reciprocity with egalitarian societies and redistribution with ranked societies. This model has been used by other anthropologists and archaeologists and was elaborated, especially by Service, into the 'Chiefdom-Redistribution-Ecological Specification triad', where settlement location in diverse microenvironments necessitates redistribution. According to Service; "certain geographic circumstances will favor the development of redistribution, and when combined with embryonic leadership like the big-man system, will tend to promote leadership toward a status hierarchy with an institutionalized system of central power." (Service, 1975:75).

However, at least 2 recent works have seriously challenged the Polanyi-Fried-Service model. Both studies (Earle, 1977; Peebles, 1977) use the ethnographic evidence for chiefdoms in Hawaii to demonstrate that ecological diversity is not present; that exchange of subsistence level products is not an essential part of the food procurement system; and that what exchange there is takes the form of balanced reciprocity conducted at the boundaries of dispersed settlement units and not at central places. Nevertheless, redistribution does occur, but provides only the elite with benefits, primarily primitive valuables. Redistribution, therefore, does not seem to be the dominant mode of economic exchange as predicted by the above model.

One of the results of these 2 studies is that redistribution is now seen to be one of the effects, rather than as the cause, of societal development. Abandoning redistribution as an indicator of the shift from egalitarian to ranked society, some archaeologists (eg. Peebles, 1977; Wright and Johnson, 1975) have formulated cybernetic models studying the development of hierarchically arranged regulators which alter the ability of the society to process energy and information. Redistribution may then be studied as one form of regulator.

To do this, however, the various forms of redistribution will need to be considered and defined more fully. Earle (1977) has gone some way to achieving this by creating a general typology of redistributive mechanisms. They are 1. Leveling mechanisms (ie. counteracting-wealth accumulation. Centralized leadership not essential). 2. Institutional mechanisms characterized by central leadership. This 2nd mechanism is subdivided into a) Householding, ie. domestic redistribution, b) Share-out, ie. 'profit' sharing, and c) Mobilization, ie. tribute extraction for the benefit of a group not coterminous with the contributors.

In this brief paper there is only time to consider briefly of what value, if any, is the concept of redistribution. Should it be dismissed, ignored, or redefined?

Earle, T.K. 1977. 'A reappraisal of redistribution; complex Hawaiian chiefdoms'. in Exchange Systems in Prehistory, Earle and Ericson, eds. pp. 213-229.

Peebles, C. & S. Kus, 1977. 'Some archaeological correlates of ranked society.' in Amer. Ant. v. 42. no. 3. pp. 421-448.

Service, E. 1975. Origins of the State and Civilization. NY. Norton.

Wright, H.T. & G. Johnson, 1975. 'Population, exchange, and early state formation in southwestern Iran.' Amer. Anthropol. 77 pp. 267-89.

what subsistence strategies are, why they came about, how they effect, or are affected by, other 'processes' ( technological development, external stimuli, etc) or in general terms, what does the recognition of a particular subsistence strategy of series of strategies tell us about the people involved? These are all questions which can be related to any people under study.

When dealing with agriculturalists, as opposed to hunter-gatherers, the situation is often made more complex due to increased general complexities of cause and effect factors. I will be putting forward a situation concerning the interpretation of 'subsistence strategies' in theoretical terms, but based on ideas concerned with approaching this topic in Shetland.

Instead of an indigenous population developing or receiving 'agricultural stimuli', or indeed the gradual spread of agriculturalists into an area, there is the possibility that, on islands, an already developed agricultural system is implanted onto a region that is more or less suited to the system as introduced. If, however, the imported strategy 'works', even if it is not the 'best' strategy for the region will it still be maintained? Might not such considerations override our contemporary view of what a 'best' strategy might be, which centres on efficiency, least effort etc? Can such concepts as increased perception of the environment help, or mislead?

This aspect, which might be termed the effect of the 'mental template' is present in most situations, but the effect is difficult to measure in complex societies. By choosing areas where such effects may be highlighted the contribution of the 'past' as viewed by the people we are studying can be assessed as well as factors of adaptability, responsiveness etc.

H.P.W.

This paper takes as its theme the extraction of data concerning economic organisation from studies of pottery from archaeological contexts. The major factors governing pottery distribution are seen to be craft-specialisation demand for pottery, means of transport, features of the natural and man-made landscape and the distribution of raw materials. These factors seem to be largely independent of the social and economic organisation of the society, which are the areas in which our primary interest lies. There does not appear to be any way of circumventing this problem, by choosing variables which only reflect this social and economic pattern and it is suggested that we have to approach the problem in stages. Firstly modelling the ~~the~~ distribution process in selected modern ethnographic and archaeological examples (where the social and economic variables are known from other sources) and secondly applying these models to examples from prehistoric or proto-historic societies.

The possible methods of analysis appropriate to such a study are discussed. Of the various methods of quantifying the relative proportions of vessel types in an assemblage only sherd counts and weight counts can be performed on total collections. Estimated vessel equivalents are based on the rim and base sherds only and can therefore only be ~~used~~ used on large collections. With small collections both sherd counts and weight counts can be deceptive and minimum collection sizes below which quantification is meaningless will have to be designated (Ian Hodder has used 30 sherds as a threshold while Clive Orton has suggested 100 sherds). The basic technique for distribution studies is regression analysis and Hodder has used this technique to document several of the factors discussed above (notably transport routes). To apply regression analysis to some of the problems of local trade ~~will~~ will require the collection of data in a different manner to that normally practiced, probably through intensive area surveys linked with studies of the settlement hierarchy in the area.

#### Aspects of Wealth

David A. Hinton

Attitudes to personal ornament vary from society to society: to what extent are documentary sources misleading about such attitudes, at to what extent is archaeological material representative? These questions will be considered in relation to Anglo-Saxon and English Medieval evidence.

Hallstatt graves and social structure

Tim and Sara Champion

We start with data and a problem; we then suggest that the problem can be more profitably approached by a more general consideration of similar phenomena. The data are the rich graves of Eastern France and Southern Germany in Hallstatt D; the problem is the explanation of their appearance, and more particularly, their disappearance. The various explanations for their rise and fall are briefly reviewed, and are found wanting.

It is suggested that one useful approach is to consider the role of rich graves in social development, and other comparable phenomena from European prehistory are assessed. All are short-lived, and societies depositing such graves can be seen as in an unstable or transitional state. Two groups can be distinguished: one where such graves accompany the development of early states, the other where no significant social development is apparent, but there is reversion to the previous state. In both cases the graves presumably reflect exploitation of local resources, and underline the role of trade in social development.

By contrast, the Hallstatt D graves and the associated sites show some signs of state formation, albeit impermanent, and the structure of society which ensues is very different from what went before.

"Talking to Neanderthal Man: Language and Communication in the Palaeolithic" C. S. Gamble

The Medium is the Mousterian. Recent advances in teaching non-verbal languages to primates has ~~now~~ again chipped away at the traditional definition of homo sapiens as the only articulate communicator. This raises an interesting area <sup>for</sup> of speculation of the relation between language, communication and culture that is particularly relevant for the palaeolithic where it has been shown that Neanderthal man lacked the necessary structural apparatus for fully articulate speech. Symbol systems and ritual behaviour do however proceed the H.sap. sap. changes to the voice box, thereby suggesting a <sup>sequence</sup> process to the acquisition of the most human of human traits.

J. Bourdillon

From Past to Present - some anomalies in bone.

The collection of animal bone from Hamwih (Saxon Southampton) is large enough for much cross-checking of the results, and some interesting discrepancies have come to light. It is suggested that particular care is needed in selecting appropriate categories, if data collected in the present are to be fully valid for the past: it appears that with organic material the process of attrition and loss is likely to have been both massive and differential.