

Archaeology: the loss of innocence

DAVID CLARKE

We published last year two articles dealing with the aims and relevance of the so-called 'new archaeology': the first was by Professor Richard Watson (1972, 210-15) and the second by A. C. Hogarth (1972, 301-4). We also published a review by David Clarke of 'Explanation in archaeology' by P. J. Watson, S. A. LeBlanc and C. L. Redman (1972, 237-9). Here, Dr David Clarke, Fellow and Tutor of Peterhouse, Cambridge, sets out his considered views on the name and nature of archaeology, some of which he has already discussed in his book 'Analytical archaeology'.

The loss of disciplinary innocence is the price of expanding consciousness; certainly the price is high but the loss is irreversible and the prize substantial.

Although the loss of disciplinary innocence is a continuous process we can nevertheless distinguish significant thresholds in the transitions from *consciousness* through *self-consciousness* to *critical self-consciousness* and beyond. Consciousness is perhaps achieved when the discipline is named and largely defined by specifying its raw material and by pragmatic practice—archaeology is what archaeologists do. Thenceforth, the practitioners are linked within an arbitrary but common partition of reality, sharing intuitive procedures and tacit understandings whilst teaching by imitation and correction in the craft style (Alexander, 1964, 1-60).

Gradually consciousness develops into *self-consciousness* and sophistication erodes the paradigms of innocence. Self-consciousness dawns with explicit attempts at self-knowledge—the contentious efforts to cope with the growing quantity of archaeological observations by explicit but debated procedures and the querulous definition of concepts and classifications. The discipline emerges as a restless body of observations upon particular classes of data, between a certain range of scales, held together

by a network of changing methodology and implicit theory. Teaching, now formalized in academics and universities, attempts to condense experience within general principles and explicit rules; it is no longer possible either to teach or to learn the vast body of data and complex procedures by rote. Instead, classes of data and approaches are treated in terms of alternative models and rival paradigms; inevitably, the comparison of classes introduces counting and measuring which in turn entails a modest amount of mathematical and statistical methods and concepts.

This process is also marked by the emergence of competitive individualism and authority, since the individual's living depends on the reputation he achieves as a focus in the media or by innovation and intensive work in a specialist field. The politics and sociology of the disciplinary environment increasingly develop this 'authoritarian' state in which each expert has a specialist territory such that criticisms of territorial observations are treated as attacks upon personalities. This gradually becomes a seriously counterproductive vestige of a formerly valuable disciplinary adaptation by means of which authorities mutually repelled one another into dispersed territories, thus effectively deploying the few specialists over the growing body of data.

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