



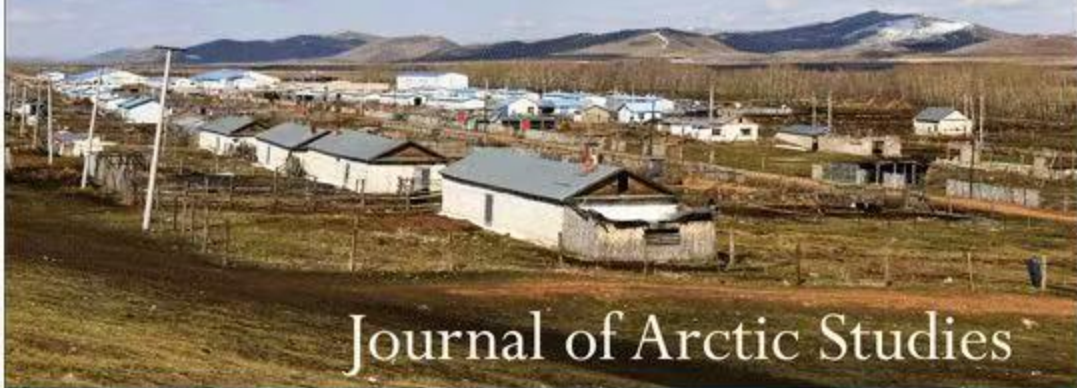
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北冰洋研究

第八辑



Journal of Arctic Studies

上海三联书店



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前沿观察



构建精神全景： 非洲南部桑人岩石艺术中的秩序与无序^{*}

大卫·路易斯-威廉姆斯 大卫·皮尔斯 著
(赵子莉 孙宇洋 译 徐峰 校)

摘要：在西方人看来，桑人岩石艺术就是不同图像的杂乱堆积。然而，从桑人信仰的角度来看，岩板本身就是根据某些原则设计的。本文解读了其中一些规则，并分析了其在南非东开普省的一处遗址中的岩板上的具体体现。

关键词：非洲南部 桑族 岩石艺术

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献 言

谨将此文献给研究非洲南部的两位先锋学者——蒂姆·马格斯（Tim Maggs）和汤姆·霍夫曼（Tom Huffman）。

^{*} 本文译自 J.D. Lewis-Williams and D.G. Pearce, 2019. Constructing spiritual panoramas: order and chaos in southern African San rock art panels. *Southern African Humanities*, Vol.21 pp.41—61. 感谢作者与期刊授权翻译。

Constructing Spiritual Panoramas: Order and Chaos in Southern African San Rock Art Panels

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Abstract: To a Western eye, San rock art panels are chaotic accumulations of disparate images. Yet the panels themselves, seen in the light of San beliefs, are constructed according to certain principles. This article identifies some of those principles and exemplifies them by analysing a panel at a site in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa.

Key words: Southern Africa; San, rock art.

DEDICATION

This article is dedicated to two leading southern African researchers, Tim Maggs and Tom Huffman.

In 1967, after years of finding and recording Western Cape Province rock art sites, Tim innovatively analysed “a number of sites in close proximity” so that he could assess “the content of this art” in “objective and numerical form” (Maggs 1967: 100). In addition

1967年,在历经多年的寻找和记录西开普省的岩画点后,蒂姆创造性地分析了“许多位置相近的岩画点”,以便他在“客观和量化的形式”下来评估“这种艺术的内涵”(Maggs 1967: 100)。除了提供量化的数据外,蒂姆还对“观察到的特征”尝试作一些解释(Maggs 1967: 100)。他发现“样本中的动物群构成并非该地区动物群体的真实反应”(Maggs 1967: 101)。相反,一种名为“大角斑羚”的羚羊在其中很受重视,蒂姆对此推断道:这种羚羊可能具有“某种宗教或其他特性上的重要性”(Maggs 1967: 101)。十六年后,在与朱迪·西利(Judy Sealy)合作撰文时,蒂姆一并考虑了西开普省的几何形绘画,其中有一些围绕着大象的图:“大象与锯齿以及其他形状的组合表现的是桑人出神表演(trance performance)的一个阶段,其间,大象作为一种文化上受控制的、高度情绪化的恍惚力量的象征,被叠加在生理控制的幻觉形式上”(Maggs & Sealy 1983: 48)。

当时,汤姆·霍夫曼注意到,一些研究者怀疑桑人岩画中的宗教性角色是否在整个非洲南部都有效,尤其是那些在很大程度上(又不完全是)与治疗(入迷)舞蹈相关的角色(Huffman 1983: 49)。因此,他评估了宗教性角色在津巴布韦岩画中的有效性,认为诸如“濒死”(dying)和“水下”(underwater)这类“入迷象征”(trance metaphors),是津巴布韦岩石艺术的核心所在,就像它们已经在夸祖鲁-纳塔尔(KwaZulu-Nata)和东开普省的德拉肯斯堡(Eastern Cape Drakensberg)的岩石艺术中所呈现的那样(Huffman 1983)。霍夫曼还讨论了大尾羊与后来女权主义兴趣焦点所在的“母神”(mother goddesses)形象(Solomon 1994)。他注意到,这些绘画者将一些“母神”形象与处于入迷状态的人物相联,并推断:“母神形象是另一类绘画,其中蕴藏的某种力量被用来协助入迷”。(Huffman 1983: 52)。随后,其他研究人员发现了更多的证据:关于精神领域的信仰渗透在津巴布韦的岩画中,同时解释了迄今为止被称为“混形”(formlings)^①的神秘图像(Mguni 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006; Walker 1996)。

本文作者之一的大卫·路易斯-威廉姆斯还愉快地提及了一些他的个人经历:1977年,蒂姆作为外审专家友善地评议了他的博士论文。随后在

^① 译者注:“formlings”由德国人类学家里奥·弗罗贝尼乌斯(Leo Frobenius)提出,代表具有一系列复合形状的绘画形式。这种绘画多出现在津巴布韦的桑人岩画中,南非北部也有少量发现。

to providing quantitative results, he offered “some interpretation of the features observed” (Maggs 1967: 100). He found that “the faunal component of the sample is not a true reflection of the faunal population of the area” (Maggs 1967: 101). Instead, there was an emphasis on eland, an antelope that, Tim rightly concluded, may have had “some particular importance of a religious or other nature” (Maggs 1967: 101). Then, 16 years later and writing with Judy Sealy, Tim considered geometric paintings in the Western Cape, some of which encased depictions of elephants: “The combination of elephants with zigzag lines and other shapes suggests a stage of San trance performance in which the elephant, a culturally controlled and highly emotive symbol of trance power, was superimposed upon physiologically controlled hallucinatory forms” (Maggs & Sealy 1983: 48).

At this time, Tom Huffman noticed that some researchers doubted that the religious role of San rock art, especially but not entirely in relation to the curing (trance) dance, was valid throughout southern Africa (Huffman 1983: 49). He therefore assessed its validity in Zimbabwe. He concluded that ‘trance metaphors’, such as ‘dying’ and ‘underwater’, are as central to Zimbabwean rock art as they had been shown to be in the KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape Drakensberg (Huffman 1983). He also discussed images of fat-tailed sheep and the so-called ‘mother goddess’ figures that were later to become a focus of feminist interest (Solomon 1994). He noted that the painters associated some of the ‘mother goddesses’ with human figures that are in trance and concluded: “The mother goddess figures, then, are another category of paintings where some kind of potency is being exploited for trance” (Huffman 1983: 52). Subsequently, other researchers uncovered further evidence: beliefs about the spirit realm permeated Zimbabwean rock art and explained hitherto enigmatic images known as ‘formlings’ (Mguni 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006; Walker 1996).

On a more personal note, David Lewis-Williams is delighted to record that Tim was a well-disposed South African external examiner for his 1977 PhD thesis. Then, in 1980, Tom facilitated his move from the University of the Witwatersrand Department of Social Anthropology to the Department of Archaeology, of which he was the recently appointed head. David owes a lot to both of them. Although neither Tim nor Tom was a full-time rock art researcher, each made a valuable contribution to

1980年，汤姆又促成了他从威特沃特斯兰德大学的社会人类学系转到考古系，并被任命为负责人。威廉姆斯在很多方面受惠于蒂姆和汤姆，尽管这两位都不是全职的岩画学者，但他们都为我们了解桑人及其艺术做出了宝贵贡献。最为重要的是，他们都在自己首要的兴趣领域——铁器时代研究方面取得了重大进展。因此，编撰一辑《南部非洲人文科学》(*Southern African Humanities*) 以示对二位的敬意是非常有价值的。

独特的面板^①

在过去半个多世纪里，南非岩石艺术研究人员所采用的理论、方法和技术都发生了变化(Lewis-Williams 1995a, 1995b, 2006a)。从早期的“地毯式”解释开始，如“为艺术而艺术”，人们的注意力转到了可以根据桑人的信仰和习俗来解读的特定类型的图像上。然后，研究人员又将图像回归到民族志语境中推断出了广泛的、尽管非常不同的解释。这些新的综合性解释有着各式各样的表述，如“宗教表达”“萨满教实”“神话”“与精神领域的接触”。

现在的麻烦在于，研究人员可能很容易就把问题搁置在那里，为艺术而艺术的笼统解释已经被另一种无所不包的解释所替代。与西方艺术的类比说明了这种情况。艺术史家一致认为，许多欧洲文艺复兴时期的艺术都是基督教的。但是他们发现，仅仅说明一幅画描绘了例如耶稣诞生的画面，然后就就此打住，这是不够的。相反，他们以自己的方式审视每一件艺术品，试图发现创作者们如何将基督符号编织在一起，针对那些为人们所熟知的主题来构建一种个人的、细致入微的观点。艺术史家在解读图像时，也会考虑绘画创作时的社会经济背景。我们认为，可以采用这种复杂的方法来研究桑人艺术。

然而，研究人员必须谨防用西方人的眼光看待桑人岩画。与大多数传统西方艺术不同的是，每一块桑人岩画面板都不是完成时，实际上它们并非单个艺术家所创作出来的有框架的“艺术作品”。相反，每一块面板上的图像都在不断累加，而相继而来的画家们不会预见到这些图像的“结束”。

随着时间的流逝，画家们在现存的面板中加入自己的贡献，或者评论，甚至挑战。在一些图像群中，不同“风格”的图像被添加到图形组中，使它

① “面板”指的是岩石表面的一个涂绘区域，它可能密集地覆盖着图像，也可能仅用少数描绘进行轻微的装饰。理想情况下，每块面板都由未涂绘的岩石表面与其他面板隔开，但实际上，画作通常分散在岩棚中，不可能分成面板。面板不构成主位类别。

our knowledge of the San and their art. But, principally, both made cardinal advances in Iron Age research, their own primary area of interest. An issue of Southern African Humanities compiled in honour of these two researchers is richly deserved.

UNIQUE PANELS1

Over the last half-century and more the theory, methods and techniques employed by southern African rock art researchers changed (Lewis-Williams 1995a, 1995b, 2006a). From early, 'blanket' explanations, such as 'art-for-art's-sake', attention shifted to specific types of images that could be interpreted in the light of San beliefs and practices. It then moved back to broad, though very different, explanations that researchers inferred from these ethnographically contextualized images. These new comprehensive explanations were variously phrased as 'religious expression', 'shamanistic practices', 'mythology' or 'contacts with the spirit realm'.

The danger now is that researchers could easily leave the matter there, the blanket art- for-art's-sake interpretation having been replaced by another all-embracing explanation. An analogy with Western art illustrates the situation. Art historians agree that much European Renaissance art is Christian. But they find it inadequate to state simply that a picture depicts, for instance, the Nativity and then to leave it at that. Rather, they examine each work of art on its own terms to discover how its creator wove together Christian symbols and thereby constructed a personal, nuanced view of well-known subjects. As they interpret images, art historians also consider the socio-economic contexts in which paintings were made. We argue that a complex approach of this kind can be adopted in the study of San rock art.

Researchers must, however, guard against seeing San rock paintings through Western eyes. Unlike most traditional Western art, each San rock art panel was not a complete, framed 'work of art' by (to all intents and purposes) a single artist. On the contrary, each panel was a growing accumulation of images for which successive painters had no preconceived 'end' in sight. As years went by, painters participated in existing panels by adding their own contributions to or comments on or even challenges to the work of their predecessors. In some instances, images in a different 'style' were added into groups of figures so that they became part of the original composition (e.g. Lewis- Williams & Dowson 1999: fig. 45). As they worked, they knew that, later, someone would see their images and probably add to the panel. Panels stand in their present form simply because

们成为原始构图的一部分 (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1999: fig. 45)。当他们在岩面上创作时, 他们知道, 后来人会看到这些图像并加入创作。面板之所以能定格在当前的状态, 是因为传统的桑人社区在 19 世纪末已不复存在。

我们认为, 或许可以进一步提出, 连续的画家们在此创作, 至少在某种程度上, 是为了让其他人能够从中受益, 并参与到这种精神领悟和经历的积累记录中来。每一幅画都被保留, 这样连续的艺术师就可以参与其中, 而不仅仅是观看——尽管观看图像中广泛变化的细节无疑是重要的。现存的图像触发并塑造了进一步的宗教经验和信仰。许多图像不仅仅是精神世界中的事件和实体的描述, 而且是一种表现。其他的, 尤其是羚羊的图像, 是超自然力量的储藏库, 人们激活它来进入精神领域, 治愈病人、制造雨水, 以及实现其他目的。这两种图像都反馈到人们的信仰和期望中, 而且促进了宗教体验 (Lewis-Williams 1995c)。因此, 面板不仅仅是宗教经验和领悟的记录。每一块岩面都是进入精神领域的新旅程的“发射台 (launch-pad)”, 是进一步深刻体验的“邀请”或门户 (Lewis-Williams 2002, 2003; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a) (在接下来的章节中, 我们将提到图像和制作图像的行为在意义上可能发生的变化)。

因此, 数以千计的面板中的每一块都是独一无二的, 并且它们具有累积的意义, 值得详细研究。面板是动态、进化的概念对研究人员如何开展此类研究具有重要意义。在我们看来杂乱无章、不相关的图像, 对连续的图像制作者和观众来说却是连贯而有条理的。

如果研究者要详细研究画板, 他们需要揭示并具体说明桑人画家们在添加新画时所遵循的原则。尽管可能有一些重叠, 但我们不能简单地假设在传统的、有框的西方绘画中所应用的平衡、透视和“引导视线” (leading the eye) 的构图原则也适用于桑人岩画面板的构建。我们必须另辟蹊径, 寻找桑人对动态面板的理解。这可以区分为两个层次的调查: 语义和句法 (指狭义上的“意义”和连接, 而非与语言学的扩展类比)。

首先, 我们需要看到个别画家是如何微妙地描绘常见的桑族符号和隐喻的。在大多数彩绘岩棚中, 单个图像的个人差异显而易见。它们看上去无穷无尽, 构成了桑人岩画的一大魅力。画家们根据他们希望在特定的岩板中实现和传达给观众的内容设计了这些变化。更重要的是, 他们希望向后来的参与者画家传达这些变化。不太常见的是, 也有少数画家发明了新颖的方式来描绘他们的信仰和经历。例如, 东北部自由邦省的一位画家用螃蟹 (Dowson

traditional San communities ceased to exist towards the end of the nineteenth century.

We think that we may go further and suggest that successive painters worked, at least in part, so that others would be able to benefit from and participate in the accumulating record of spiritual insights and experiences. Each panel was sustained so that successive artists could participate in it, not merely look at it—though viewing the widely varying details of the images was doubtless important. Existing images both triggered and moulded further religious experiences and beliefs. Many of those images were manifestations, rather than merely depictions, of events and entities in the spirit world. Others, especially images of eland, were reservoirs of the supernatural potency that people activated to enter the spirit realm, to cure the sick, to make rain, and to achieve other ends. Images of both kinds fed back into people's beliefs and expectations and, moreover, facilitated religious experiences (Lewis-Williams 1995c). Panels were therefore not merely records of religious experiences and insights. Each was, in addition, a 'launch-pad' for new excursions into the spirit realm, an 'invitation', or gateway, to further profound experiences (Lewis-Williams 2002, 2003; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a). (We refer to possible changes in meaning that images and the act of making them may have undergone in a subsequent section.)

Each of the thousands of panels that have come down to us is therefore simultaneously unique and—cumulatively—meaningful. Each warrants detailed study. The notion of dynamic, evolving panels has important implications for how researchers undertake such studies. What may appear to us as chaos, confused scatters of unrelated images, were for successive image-makers and viewers coherent and meaningful.

If researchers are to study panels in detail, they need to uncover and specify the principles that San image-makers exploited when they added new paintings. Although there may have been some overlap, we cannot simply assume that the same compositional principles of balance, perspective and 'leading the eye' that obtain in traditional, framed Western pictures applied in the construction of San rock art panels. We must seek uniquely San understandings of what were dynamic panels. Two levels of enquiry may be distinguished: semantics and syntax (in the restricted sense of 'meaning' and linking rather than an extended analogy with language).

First, we need to see how individual painters nuanced their depictions of common San symbols and metaphors. Personal variations in individual images are evident in most painted rock shelters. Seemingly endless, they constitute one of the great fascinations of San rock art. Painters devised these variations in accordance with what, in specific panels, they

1988; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1999: 140) 而不是常见的鱼来表现精神上的“水下”体验的概念 (e.g. Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: figs 6.10, 6.11, 7.3)。在另一个自由邦省的遗址, 一位画家设计了一些人类头部和躯干的图像, 看起来有点像鱼 (也出现在石板中) 和蝌蚪的混合体 (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004b)。

因此, 我们在许多遗址发现了不同寻常且引人注目的图像, 这些图像要么是对常规图像的精心设计, 要么是表达意义的新颖载体。由于它们的精细和独特性, 这两种图像为研究人员提供了比 (表面上但实际上远非) “简单”图像更多的信息。正如考古发掘者寻找遗存丰富的遗址来挖掘, 岩石艺术的研究者也应该研究复杂的岩画, 因为它们有丰富的潜力可增进理解。

其次, 在考虑单个图像的语义后, 研究人员需要解决整个图像面板的句法。

从这一点来说, 在概念层面上理解了单个图像在石板 (或石板的一部分) 上位置的含义后, 研究人员就可以开始探究连续世代的桑族画家将新旧画关联起来的原则 (Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974, 1992, 2006b; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2008)。

已有研究表明, 这些原则不仅适用于图像本身, 也适用于图像与岩石表面自然特征之间的关系, 这是一个关键点, 后面一节我们还会再谈 (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 147, 180—181, 200)。

语义和句法这两个层次的探究是相互关联的。单个图像的含义和关联, 以及画家绘制这些图像的更广泛的信仰和经验领域, 显然影响了他们能否将图像彼此联系起来的方式 (Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974)。语义和句法是一枚硬币的两面: 句法创造了意义。目前, 研究人员在理解单个图像的特征方面取得的进展, 远远超过揭示大面板如何连接在一起的原理。那么, 非洲南部的岩石艺术研究者如何解决句法的问题呢?

研究的实用性

所有的研究人员都需要进行大量的田野调查, 同时还需不断地补充新的材料。当艺术史家评估他们对文艺复兴时期绘画的看法时, 他们可以通过查阅关于那个时期艺术的插图丰富的书籍来补充他们对原始画作的个人经验。

wished to achieve and convey to their viewers and, importantly, to later participant painters.

Far less frequently, a few painters invented novel ways of depicting their beliefs and experiences. For instance, instead of using the usual images of fish to convey notions of spiritual ‘underwater’ experiences (e.g. Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: figs 6.10, 6.11, 7.3), a painter in the north-eastern Free State Province depicted crabs (Dowson 1988; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1999: 140). In another Free State site, a painter devised images with human heads and torsos that look somewhat like a cross between fish (also present in the panel) and tadpoles (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004b).

The unusual and arresting images that we find in many sites are thus either nuanced elaborations of ‘run-of-the-mill’ types of images or novel vehicles for meaning. Because of their elaborations and their uniqueness, these two kinds of images carry more information for researchers than (apparently but actually far from) ‘simple’ images. As excavators seek out rich sites in which to sink their trenches, so too rock art researchers should address complexly painted panels, for it is these that are rich in potential for increased understanding.

Secondly, having considered the semantics of individual images, researchers need to address the syntax of whole panels of images. At this point, knowing that the significances of individual images situate panels (or parts of panels) conceptually, researchers can begin to detect the principles whereby successive generations of San painters related their paintings to existing images (Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974, 1992, 2006b; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2008). Research has already shown that these principles applied not only to the images themselves but also to relations between images and natural features of the rock face, a crucial point to which we return in a later section (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 147, 180—1, 200).

These two levels of enquiry, semantics and syntax, are interrelated. The meanings and associations of individual images, together with the broader areas of belief and experience from which the painters drew them, clearly impacted upon the ways in which painters could or could not relate them one to another (Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974). Semantics and syntax are two sides of a single coin: syntax creates meaning. At present, researchers have made far more progress in understanding the features of individual images than in uncovering the principles that held large panels together. How can southern African rock art researchers tackle the matter of syntax?

PRACTICALITIES OF RESEARCH

Whilst it is indisputably essential for all researchers to study a great number of

因此,非洲南部的岩石艺术研究者也需要接触大量的有关岩画的记录或已出版的资料,而不仅仅是精选的图像。那么“适当记录”是什么意思呢?

完整地记录面板涉及多种技术。其中摄影可以展示颜色的深浅、岩石表面的旋转和切面。描摹(tracing)技术起到补充作用(这种工作非常耗时),它能够展现岩石的特征,以显示照片中不可见或模糊的、严重褪色图像的最小细节。这些微小、模糊的特征,有时只有针头大小,但却对理解图像至关重要。我们必须记住,副本是出于特殊目的制作的,它们不能替代原件。例如,本文配置的黑白图旨在显示图像的具体组成部分和岩石表面的特征,其中一些在照片中很难或不能识别。它们和其他类似的东西并不是图像的完美复制品。

(关于岩画)全面的副本工作已经开始。20世纪60年代和70年代,哈拉尔德·帕格(Harald Pager)在南非的恩德德玛峡谷(Ndedema Gorge)和纳米比亚的布兰德山(Brandberg)沿着这些路线进行了调查。尽管画家们绘画的岩面细节有时难以在珍贵的彩色照片和黑白摹本中分辨出来(Pager 1971; 1989, 以及这一系列的后续各卷;关于这一系列和其他书中的记录问题,见Lewis-Williams 1990)。近期,斯蒂芬·汤利·巴塞特(Stephen Townley Bassett)^①再次(2001年和2008年)小心翼翼地再现了布满图像的岩面,遗憾的是到目前为止他还没有记录过大型的完整面板。岩石艺术研究所目前正在编写一部关于德拉肯斯堡山脉主要遗址的专著。

地点: RSA FET3

我们拟从东开普省的RSA FET3(图1)地点的一幅彩绘丰富的岩面局部入手,来考察语义和句法。它所在的整幅岩面有21米长,2.2米高。^②我们讨论的部分长1.05米,宽0.85米(图2)。^③我们之所以选择这个部分是因为

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- ① 斯蒂芬·汤利·巴塞特,南非艺术家,致力于真实记录和保护南非岩画。
 - ② 1945年,南非艺术家沃尔特·巴蒂斯取下了RSA FET3面板的一部分。在这一过程中,为了得到想要的两幅图像——一只带阴影的彩色羚羊和一只扭头的白色短角羚,他似乎破坏了许多。他移走的那件作品目前由威特沃特斯兰德大学的岩石艺术研究所保管。
 - ③ 1979年,保罗·登·霍德(Paul den Hoed)、布鲁斯·福代斯(Bruce Fordyce)以及其他岩石艺术研究所的成员拍摄并描摹了RSA FET3的岩板。2009年,大卫·皮尔斯(David Pearce)检查并修正了图2中所示部分的描摹。30年来,岩板上的某些部分已明显褪色,方解石在许多图像上形成。

sites in the field, supplementary sources are also necessary. When art historians evaluate ideas that they have formed about, say, Renaissance paintings, they can supplement their personal experiences of the original pictures by consulting compendious volumes that illustrate the art of that period. So, too, southern African rock art researchers need access to a great many appropriately recorded and published rock art panels, not just selected images. But what does 'appropriately recorded' mean?

The task of recording complete panels entails a combination of techniques. These include photography to show the shades of colour and convolutions and facets of rock faces. Complementary meticulous (and time-consuming) tracings show those rock features and, in addition, the smallest details of badly faded images that are invisible or ambiguous in photographs. Minute, faint features, sometimes the size of a pinhead, are often crucial to an understanding of images. Always, we must remember that copies are made for particular purposes and that they are not substitutes for the originals. For instance, the black-and-white, diagrammatic tracings accompanying this article are designed to show specific components of the images and features of the rock face, some of which are hard or impossible to discern in photographs. They and others like them are not facsimiles.

A start on the provision of comprehensive copies has been made. In the 1960s and 1970s, Harald Pager undertook work along these lines in the Ndedema Gorge, South Africa, and in the Brandberg, Namibia, though the details of the rock faces on which the painters placed their images are sometimes hard to discern in his otherwise estimable coloured photographs and black-and-white copies (Pager 1971; 1989, and subsequent volumes in this series; on recording problems in this series and other books, see Lewis-Williams 1990). More recently, Stephen Townley Bassett (2001, 2008) has taken care to reproduce the rock surfaces on which images were placed, though he has not so far undertaken the recording of large, complete panels. The Rock Art Research Institute is currently engaged in preparing a monograph on a major Drakensberg site.

SITE RSA FET3

As a step towards addressing the two levels of enquiry that we have identified (semantics and syntax), we consider a portion of a densely painted panel in an Eastern Cape Province site, RSA FET3 (Fig. 1). The entire panel is approximately 21 m long by 2.2 m high. ² The portion that we discuss is 105 cm by 85 cm (Figs 2). ³ We have selected this

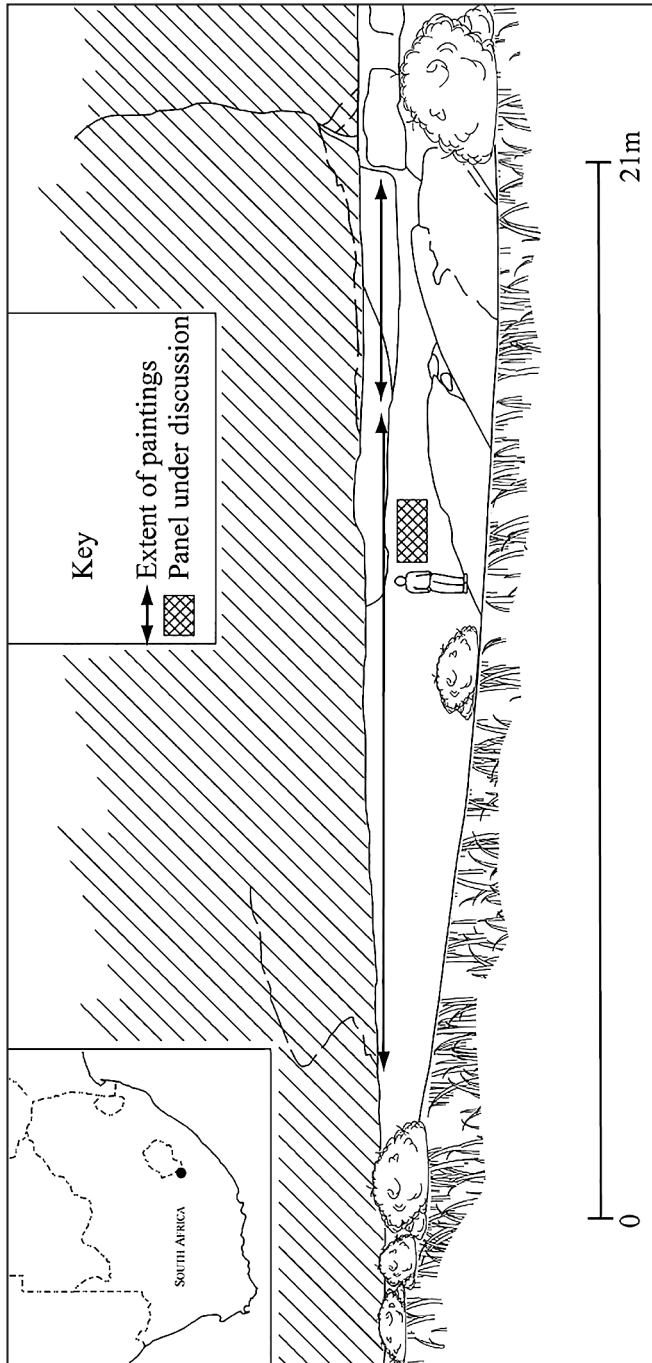


图1 RSA FET3 地点中岩棚的示意图, 同时展示了所选石板的位置。
插图表明了 RSA FET3 岩画遗址位于非洲南部

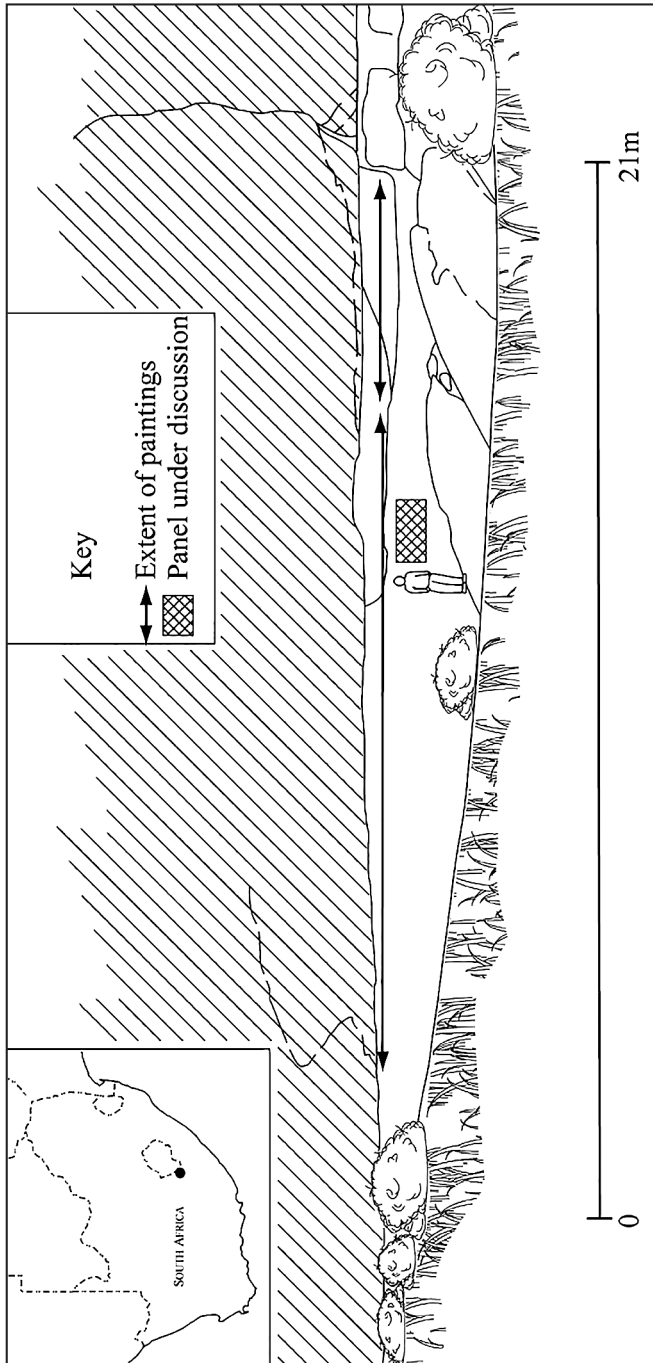


Fig. 1 A diagram of the RSA FET3 rock shelter showing the location of the selected panel. The inset shows the location of the RSA FET3 rock art site in southern Africa

它说明了 (尽管不是全部) 我们寻求的一些句法原理。因此, 本文并不为这项研究提供最终的结论: 相反, 它是识别句法形式和分析完整面板的一个预备工作。

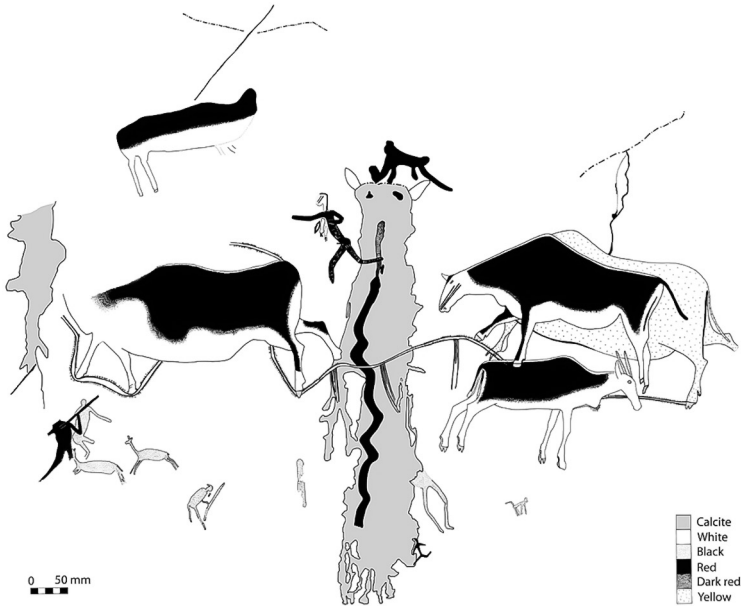


图 2 部分彩绘临摹

RSA FET3 是一处相对小型的岩棚 (图 1), 它面朝北, 位于一条常年不息的溪流的南岸上方 5 米处。洪水泛滥时, 小溪水流湍急、水面涨溢, 溪水在岩棚的入口处回旋, 将岩棚与周围山坡隔开。但在正常情况下, 岩棚的地面是干爽且适宜居住的, 尽管它只能容纳约六个人。遗址中的一些绘画保存得非常好, 但也有部分已经褪色严重、漫漶不清。因此, 我们承认, 其他研究人员可能会对一些褪色的区域有不同的看法。然而, 构成本文内容的 (岩画) 特征是足够清楚的。

对整幅岩面以及选定部分的检查表明, 不止一位画家参与了此处岩画的制作, 当然这一认识很难得到实际证明。我们只能说, 一些图像的外观与其他图像如此迥异, 让人感觉它们出自多人之手。此外, 有些图像比其他图像褪色更严重, 这使人想起 (并非证明) 时间的流逝。

因为我们需要先了解图像本身的含义, 然后才能解决岩面的选定部分如何连接在一起的句法问题。所以我们首先要指出 (岩面上) 主要图像的多种

portion because it illustrates some, though not all, of the syntactical principles that we seek. This article is thus not a closed enquiry with final results: rather, it is preparatory to the larger task of identifying forms of syntax and analysing complete panels.



Fig. 2 The tracing of the painted section

RSA FET3 is a comparatively small rock shelter (Fig. 1). It is north-facing and situated 5 m above the south bank of a perennial stream. In times of extreme flooding the stream becomes a torrent and laps at the entrance to the shelter, thus cutting it off from the surrounding hillside. But under normal conditions the floor is dry and the site eminently habitable, though it can accommodate about only half a dozen people. Some of the paintings in the site are remarkably well preserved, but a number are badly faded and smeared. We therefore acknowledge that some of the faded areas may be seen differently by other researchers. Nevertheless, the features that form the substance of this article are clear enough.

Examination of the entire panel, as well as the selected portion, suggests that more than one painter participated in its construction. This is a difficult point to establish empirically. All one can say is that the appearance of some images is so different from that of others that we sense a different hand. Moreover, some images are more faded than others, and this suggests (rather than proves) the passage of time.

Because we need to understand the significance of the images themselves before

语义关联，此处不细说。我们所说的大部分内容的证据已经在一些出版物中得到了全面阐述。事实上在我们看来，本文所讨论的图像的意义无可争议：它们有丰富的桑人民族志材料可以证明，足以作为进一步探索其意义的可靠基础。

语义学

大角斑羚

如图 2 所示，我们讨论的那部分面板在视觉上主要是对大羚羊的带阴影的多色描绘（整个遗址也是如此），其中一些在我们看来格外绚丽。在该遗址的 211 幅图像中，有 66 张是大羚羊的，而短角羚只有 16 幅。^①

在一些地区，大量描绘大角斑羚是桑人岩画的一个众所周知的特征。早在 1908 年，伦敦东方研究院的斯瓦希里语和班图语教授爱丽丝·沃纳就写道：

给予大角斑羚的突出地位似乎与它在布须曼人心中的地位相一致。斑羚之于布须曼人，就像牛之于游牧的班图人——不仅是他们的主要食物来源，在某种意义上也是一种神圣的动物（Werner 1908: 393）。

半个世纪后，南非艺术家、桑族岩石艺术研究者沃尔特·巴蒂斯（Walter Battiss）得出了相似的结论：

根据非洲南部各地发现的成千上万的大角斑羚图像判断，人们可能会说：画家们崇拜大角斑羚，它的画像具有非常特殊的宗教意义。彩绘的大角斑羚由此成为一种象征，具有一种魔力或宗教含义，现在我们已经失去了这种含义。（Battiss 1958: 61—2）。

在巴蒂斯写下这些话的十年后，研究人员开始比以前更深入地探索 19

^① 本文中的这些和其他定量陈述来自 20 世纪 70 年代初编制的清单，部分已发表在路易斯-威廉姆斯的文章中（1974）。

we can address the matter of the syntax that holds the selected portion of the panel together, we begin by pointing to the manifold semantic associations of the principal images. We do not go into detail. The evidence for much of what we say has already been comprehensively set out in a number of publications. Indeed, the significances of the images that we discuss seem to us uncontentious: there is abundant San ethnography to confirm them, and they are a reliable foundation for further explorations of meaning.

Eland

SEMANTICS

As Figures 2 and 3 show, the portion of the panel that we discuss is visually dominated by shaded polychrome depictions of eland (as is the whole site), some of which are, to our eyes, extraordinarily beautiful. Of the 211 images in the site, 66 are of eland. By contrast, there are only 16 images of rhebuck.

The large number of eland depictions is a well-known feature of San rock art in some regions. As early as 1908, Alice Werner, Professor of Swahili and Bantu Languages at the London School of Oriental Studies, wrote:

The prominence given to the eland seems to correspond with the place it occupied in the bushman imagination. It was to them what the ox is to the pastoral Bantu—not only their principal food provider, but in some sense also, a sacred animal (Werner 1908: 393).

Half a century later, Walter Battiss, a South African artist and student of San rock art, reached a similar conclusion:

Judging by the thousands of representations of the eland found at sites all over Southern Africa, one might say that the painters worshipped the eland and that its representation had a very special religious significance. The painted eland thus became a symbol and had a magic, or religious, meaning now lost to us (Battiss 1958: 61—2).

A decade after Battiss wrote these words, researchers began to explore nineteenth- and twentieth-century San ethnography more deeply than previously. As a result, they challenged

和 20 世纪的桑人民族志。经过研究,他们对巴蒂斯所认为的关于大角斑羚的复杂含义可能已经消失了的看法(事实上也是当时普遍认为的)表示质疑(Lewis-Williams 1972, 1977, 1981a; Vinnicombe 1972, 1976)。如今,很少有严谨的研究人员怀疑,大角斑羚在西方的理论术语中是一个具有多重含义的符号(Lewis-Williams 1981a, 1998; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a)。文尼科姆在对大角斑羚的诸多关联苦思之后,总结了自己的观点:“(大角斑羚)充当了物质世界和精神世界之间的纽带,是布须曼人最深的审美感受和最高道德与智力思考的中心。”(Vinnicombe 1976: 353)。更具体地说,桑人民族志表明,这种羚羊与女孩的青春仪式、男孩的第一次杀戮仪式、婚姻和药物,以及治疗、舞蹈有关。这些都是桑人物质和精神世界之间的主要纽带(Lewis-Williams 1981a)。大角斑羚不仅出现在所有这些仪式中,也存在于神话中。斑羚的存在指向了一个仪式网络,以及一个潜在的宇宙观和宗教信仰体系(Lewis-Williams 1972: 61—4, 1981a: 61, 106—7, 1987, 1997)。关于大角斑羚的多种关联的详细信息已被广泛发表(for summaries, see Lewis-Williams 2003; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a)。

然而,这种羚羊含义的其中一部分确实需要加以解释,因为它在 RSA FET3 中很突出。大角斑羚的画不仅仅是绘画。正如我们所指出的,它们就像动物本身一样,不仅是象征,还是超自然力量的储存库,这种力量渗透在物质和精神世界中,使萨满巫师能够治愈病人、制造雨水、旅行到遥远的地方和领域、辨别未来,寻找他们想要捕猎的动物(Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a)。然而,研究者们往往很少关注最后一个功能,可能是担心这看起来像在鼓吹一种在桑人民族志中没有证据证明的天真的狩猎魔法(Hollmann 2007; Lewis-Williams 2002: 131; Thackeray 1983)。

图中右边重合部分上层的羚羊处于垂死状态(图 2)。它头部低垂,因为当箭毒生效时,羚羊就会耷拉着头。羊脸上还涂绘着 3 条红线。这些线条可能表示了从动物鼻子流回的血液。(Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1999: 80—1)垂死的羚羊口吐白沫。而且,当一只大角斑羚死去时,它会释放出它所拥有的巨大潜能。今天,生活在喀拉哈里沙漠的桑人喜欢在尸体旁表演出神舞蹈,这样他们就能利用这种释放的能量(Lewis-Williams 1981a: 84; Lewis-Williams & Biesele 1978: 128)。

当我们思考 Ju/hoan 语言中的一个单词 tcheni 时,羚羊、死亡、能量的

his (and indeed the then widely-held) belief that the probably complex meanings of the eland were forever lost (Lewis-Williams 1972, (1977) 1981a; Vinnicombe 1972, 1976). Today few, if any, serious researchers doubt that the eland was, in Western theoretical terms, a polysemic symbol (Lewis-Williams 1981a, 1998; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a). Grappling with the eland's many associations, Vinnicombe summed up her view: the eland "served as a link between the material and the spiritual worlds [and] was the focus of the Bushman's deepest aesthetic feelings and of his highest moral and intellectual speculations" (Vinnicombe 1976: 353). More specifically, San ethnography shows that this antelope was implicated in girls' puberty rituals, boys' first-kill observances, marriage and the medicine, or curing, dance, the San's principal link between the material and spiritual worlds (Lewis-Williams 1981a). The presence of eland not only in all these rituals but also in myths points to a ritual network and to an underlying cosmology and system of religious beliefs (Lewis-Williams 1972: 61—4, 1981a: 61, 106—7, 1987, 1997). Details of the manifold associations of the eland have been widely published (for summaries, see Lewis-Williams 2003; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a).

One component of this antelope's significance does, however, require comment because it is prominent in RSA FET3. Paintings of eland were not merely pictures. As we have pointed out, they were, like the animal itself, reservoirs, rather than merely symbols, of the supernatural potency that permeated the material and spiritual worlds and enabled San shamans to cure the sick, make rain, travel to distant places and realms, discern the future, and seek out animals they wished to hunt (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a). Writers have, however, tended to pay little attention to the last of these functions, perhaps for fear of appearing to advocate a naïve form of hunting magic for which there is no evidence in San ethnography (but see Hollmann 2007; Lewis-Williams 2002: 131; Thackeray 1983).

The upper eland in the superposition on the right is in a dying posture (Fig. 2). Its head is lowered, as eland lower their heads when arrow poison is taking effect. It also has three red lines painted on its face. These lines probably depict blood streaming back from the animal's nose (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1999: 80—1). Dying eland also foam at the mouth. Moreover, when an eland dies, it releases the great quantity of potency that it possesses. Today San living in the Kalahari like to perform a trance dance next to the carcass so that they can tap into this released potency (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 84; Lewis-Williams & Biesele 1978: 128).

This set of links between eland, death, release of potency, and the trance dance

释放和出神舞蹈之间的联系会变得更加清晰。Tcheni 的意思是“跳舞”，猎人在猎取大角斑羚时用以表达回避或尊重。他们相信，不以这种或其他方式“尊重”一只被猎杀的大角斑羚，可能会导致它逃跑。因此，在追踪羚羊时，他们会窃窃私语说他们在狩猎“舞蹈”（Lewis-Williams 1981a: 63—4; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 118）。一次成功的羚羊狩猎可以提供大量的脂肪和肉，而且更重要的是，这通常会促成药物舞蹈（medicine dance），在这个舞蹈中，萨满会“死亡”，这样他们就可以访问神灵的世界。

狩猎、垂死的羚羊和出神舞蹈之间的概念和物质联系，就隐藏在画家们对 RSA FET3 岩板的整体阐述背后。尤其是在对人类的描绘中。

人类图像

RSA FET3 中绘制的 116 个人像中有 6 个是在选定部分。图 2 左下角的三个似乎与两只短角羚相关，还有一个部分被方解石冲刷所遮蔽；在它下面是另一个（人像）。

最复杂的（因此也是信息量最丰富的）人像就在巨大的白色方解石的左边，在两只突出的大角斑羚之间。尽管他看起来在向左手边的羚羊方向移动，并且右臂也伸向了左手边的羚羊，但他似乎并没有与羚羊有一个明确的、自然的关系，不过这个结论还有待商榷。值得注意的是，他的脸上画着两条红线；它们从鼻子向后延伸，可能代表出血。鼻出血经常出现在出神舞蹈绘画的背景中（e.g. Lewis-Williams 1981a: 78, 81, 83, 95—7, 98—99, 112, 2003: figs 29, 67; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 90, 97—100, 112, 149, 207, figs 5.3, 5.4, 6.9, 6.10, 6.11, 7.5, 8.5, 8.7）。

当桑人萨满（或“巫医”）“死亡”（进入深度出神状态）时，他们有时会鼻出血，就像被毒箭射中而死亡的羚羊一样（Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 66, 90, 97—100, 112, 149, 207—208, 图 5.3, 5.4, 6.6, 6.10, 6.11, 7.5, 7.6, 8.5）。人类脸上的红线，以及不太常见的羚羊脸上的红线，是桑人岩画的一个特点。

RSA FET3 的人像和羚羊都呈现垂死的状态。这种相似之处让人想起 19 世纪的一个桑人对羚羊头人像的著名观察：他说，这些（岩画上的）人物与羚羊“由于你们所见的那些绘画中的舞蹈，而同时受到了伤害”（Orpen 1874: 2）。在这种说法下，“损害”（spoil）指进入深度入迷状态，桑人用“死亡”来描述这种体验；Ju/hoansi 部落的桑人用他们表示“损害”意思的词句来表

becomes clearer when we consider the Ju/'hoan word *tcheni*. It means 'dance', and hunters use it as an avoidance, or respect, word when they are hunting eland. Not to 'respect' a hunted eland in this and other ways could, they believe, lead to its escape. While stalking an eland, they therefore whisper to one another that they are hunting 'dance' (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 63—4; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 118). A successful eland hunt provides a vast quantity of fat and meat and, significantly, usually precipitates a medicine dance in which shamans 'die' so that they can visit the spirit realm.

The conceptual and material links between hunting, dying eland and trance dancing lay behind the painters' overall elaboration of the RSA FET3 panel. They are seen especially in the depictions of human beings.

Human figures

Of the 116 human figures painted in RSA FET3 six are in the chosen section. Three in the lower left part of Figure 3 appear to be associated with two rhebuck. One is partially obscured by a calcite wash; just below it is another.

The most complex (and therefore potentially most informative) human figure is just to the left of the large white calcite run and between the two prominent eland. Although it appears to be moving in the direction of the left-hand eland and has its right arm extended towards that eland, it does not seem to be in a clear, naturalistic relationship to the eland, though this conclusion is open to debate. Significantly, it has two red lines painted on its face; they lead back from its nose and probably represent haemorrhaging. Nasal bleeding is often shown in the painted contexts of trance dances (e.g. Lewis-Williams 1981a: 78, 81, 83, 95—7, 98—9, 112, 2003: figs 29, 67; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 90, 97—100, 112, 149, 207, figs 5.3, 5.4, 6.9, 6.10, 6.11, 7.5, 8.5, 8.7). When San shamans (or 'medicine people') 'die' (enter deep trance), they sometimes suffer a nasal haemorrhage, as does an eland when it dies as a result of being shot with a poisoned arrow (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 66, 90, 97—100, 112, 149, 207—8, figs 5.3, 5.4, 6.6, 6.10, 6.11, 7.5, 7.6, 8.5). Red lines on the faces of human beings and, less commonly, on eland are a feature of San rock art.

Both the human figure and the eland in RSA FET3 are 'dying'. This parallel recalls a nineteenth-century San man's now well known observation on antelope-headed human figures: he said that they had been "spoilt at the same time as the elands and by the dances of which you have seen paintings" (Orpen 1874: 2). In this statement 'spoil' means to enter deep trance, the experience for which the San also use the word 'die'; the Ju/'hoansi

示进入出神状态 (Lewis-Williams 1980: 474—475; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 171—173)。这位 19 世纪的桑人自己也证实了对“损害”的这种解读, 他补充说, 在莱索托 (Lesotho) 南部的一幅岩画中, 牵着一只雨兽的人“被舞蹈损害了, 因为他们的鼻子流血了”(Orpen 1874: 10)。总而言之, 这些细节丰富的图像不可避免地指向了羚羊、人类、出神舞蹈和“死亡”(通往精神领域的通道)之间的联系。羚羊和萨满会同时“死亡”。

画面左下角的狩猎插图可能描绘的是一种个人经历, 部分源于对狩猎精神和物质体验的更宏大的描绘, 正如我们在下一节开始看到的那样, 它们贯穿了整个岩棚。

光之线

边缘带有白点的红线进一步暗示了, 潜能、垂死的羚羊和流血的人像所隐喻的领域在相互渗透。不同寻常的是, 在 RSA FET3 遗址中, 线条有三种形式: 常见的两侧带有白点的红线; 某些部分包含两条平行的红线, 线的上方和线中间有圆点; 在其他部分中, 一条红线上有白色的笔画。

这一主题在莱索托和南非的东南部山区很常见, 并且已经被广泛讨论过 (Biesele 1993: 72; Keeney 2003; Lewis-Williams 1981b; Lewis-Williams et al. 2000; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1999: figs 22, 23, 35c, 41a, 41b, 80, 87a; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 55, 91, 97, 152, 179, 181, fig. 6.11)。这些线条代表桑人所说的他们在出神状态下看到的“光线”。在口头叙述与岩画描绘中, 萨满在通往灵界的旅途中, 沿着这些线条步行和攀爬。这里出现的“光之线”是一个强烈的象征, 指向岩板的主题: 宗教的感悟和跨宇宙的体验。

许多民族学家都描述了桑族关于“光之线”的信仰。桑人认为, 这些闪亮的, 有时像网一样的线条会引导萨满走向伟大的神 // 格瓦 (Gauwa) 在天空中的住所、地下王国, 以及地面上的其他地方。例如, 洛娜·马歇尔 (Lorna Marshall) 写道: “当医生处于出神状态, 他们会去那所房子。……他们沿着从天空垂下的绳索向上”(Marshall 1962: 240; 另见 1962: 242 和 1999: 25)。尼古拉斯·英格兰 (Nicholas England) 也写道: 上帝“放下一根绳索来帮助灵魂升天”(England 1968: 431—432)。理查德·卡茨 (Richard Katz)、梅根·比塞尔 (Megan Biesele) 和维尔纳圣丹尼斯 (Verna St Denis) 有一章的题目是“攀登这种线通往神之居所”(Katz et al. 1997: 103—113)。

San use their word for ‘spoil’ to mean to enter deep trance (Lewis-Williams 1980: 474—5; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 171—3). The nineteenth-century San man himself confirmed this reading of ‘spoil’ by adding that people leading a rain-animal in a southern Lesotho rock painting were “spoilt by the —dance, because their noses bleed” (Orpen 1874: 10). All in all, these sorts of detailed images inescapably point to links between eland, human beings, the trance dance and ‘death’ (passage to the spirit realm). The eland and the shamans ‘die’ at the same time.

The hunting vignette in the lower left of the panel may have been a personal experience in part derived from the grander portrayal of the spiritual and material experience of hunting that, as we begin to see in the next section, stretches through the whole shelter.

A thread of light

The interpenetration of realms that is implied by potency, dying eland and the bleeding human figure is further suggested by the red line fringed with white dots. Unusually, the line at RSA FET3 takes three forms: the usual red line fringed on both sides with white dots; some sections comprise two parallel red lines with the dots above and between the lines; in other sections a single red line has white strokes across it.

This motif, common in the south-eastern mountains of Lesotho and South Africa, has been extensively discussed (Bieseles 1993: 72; Keeney 2003; Lewis-Williams 1981b; Lewis-Williams et al. 2000; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1999: figs 22, 23, 35c, 41a, 41b, 80, 87a; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 55, 91, 97, 152, 179, 181, fig. 6.11). The lines represent the ‘threads of light’ that San say they see when they are in trance. In both verbal reports and rock paintings, shamans crawl or walk along or climb these lines on their way to the spirit realm. The presence here of a ‘thread of light’ is a powerful pointer to the overall concerns of the panel: religious insights and trans-cosmological experiences.

Numerous ethnographers have described San beliefs about ‘threads of light’. San say that these shining, sometimes web-like, lines lead shamans to the Great God//Gauwa’s dwelling in the sky, to a realm beneath the land-surface, and to other locations on the ground. For instance, Lorna Marshall noted that “[w]hen medicine men are in trance they go to that house. ... They go up by a cord that hangs down from the sky” (Marshall 1962: 240; see also 1962: 242 and 1999: 25). Nicholas England also wrote of god letting “down a cord to assist the soul’s ascent” (England 1968: 431—2). Richard Katz, Megan Bieseles, and Verna St Denis have a chapter entitled “Climbing the threads to God’s village” (Katz et al. 1997: 103—13). Shamans “climb the invisible threads to

萨满“爬上看不见的线来到上帝的村庄，拯救病人的灵魂，并把他们带回我们的村子”(Katz et al. 1997: 80)。

一位喀拉哈里沙漠 (Kalahari) 的萨满 Cgunta! elae, 描述了他曾看见的链条, 一下子让人联想到岩画:

有些链条上有圆圈或圆点。它们是你爬上天空的台阶。这些台阶有的是白色闪亮的, 有的是红色的。……那条白色的线笔直向上, 引领你走向神明。你可能会认为它是由一块块鸵鸟蛋壳做成的。每一块都是你的登天之阶 (Keeney 2003: 83)。

在图 2 中, 这条线始自右边大羚羊的后蹄, 并延伸到左边, 与它的前蹄连接, 然后线穿过方解石, 与左边大羚羊的后蹄连接, 并穿过它的身体, 与其前腿相接, 然后上升, 接着向左摆动。因此, 两只羚羊看起来都在沿着这条线行走, 这条线同时穿过其中一只的身体。当一个画家将另一只羚羊叠加在右边的大羚羊上时, 他或她会确定新图像的位置, 使新的羚羊的蹄也与线条相连。“添加”的图像显然是为了与之前的图像联系起来。

正如我们提到的, “光之线”的描绘形式各不相同 (Lewis-Williams et al. 2000; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990), 但很多画作都非常相似, 以至于一些研究人员怀疑它们是否由一个画家所绘。但带有图案的岩棚之间的距离相当远, 说明情况并非如此。更有可能的是, 我们在这里处理的是一种地理上扩展的句法形式。对于这项艺术的桑人观众和参与者而言, 任何岩棚中的“线”都可能是一个更大网络的一部分, 这个网络将岩棚串联在一起, 就像萨满通过他们的灵魂出窍之旅将岩棚和居住者联系起来一样 (Lewis-Williams 1982; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a)。对“线”的描绘在巴克利东部 (Barkly East) 序列中看起来相对较新, 尽管这一点无法确定。它们可能来自最近的时期, 也许是 18 和 19 世纪。如果这样的话, 这类“线”是在讲班图语的农民和白人殖民者的到来危及了传统桑人社区的经济和社会生存能力的时期被绘制的。族群间的社会关系和构成族群关系的亲属关系对生存变得越来越重要。作为回应, 萨满可能会实施更多的脱离身体的幻游, 以了解生活在遥远地方的人们在动荡时期的情况, 并保护他们。

God's village to rescue the souls of the sick ones, and bring them back to our village" (Katz et al. 1997: 80).

In a way that strikingly recalls the rock paintings, a Kalahari shaman, Cgunta !elae, described the 'chains' that he saw:

Some chains have circles or dots on them. They are the steps you climb up to the sky. Some of these steps are white and shiny, while others are red. ... The line that is white goes straight up and it takes you to God. You may see it as made of pieces of ostrich egg shell. Each piece is a step that you can climb to the sky (Keeney 2003: 83).

In Figure 2, the line leaves a rear hoof of the eland on the right and extends to the left so that it connects with the front hoofs of the same animal, crosses the calcite run, connects with the rear hoofs of the eland to the left, enters its body, emerges from its body, connects with its front legs and then rises before swinging off to the left. Both eland thus appear to be walking along the line, which, at the same time, passes through the body of one of them. When a painter superimposed another eland on the eland to the right, he or she positioned the new image so that its hoofs also connected with the line. The 'added' image was clearly intended to relate to the earlier one.

As we have mentioned, the form of depictions of 'threads of light' varies (Lewis-Williams et al. 2000; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990), but many are remarkably similar, so similar that some researchers have wondered if they were all painted by a single artist. The considerable distances between shelters with the motif suggest otherwise. What seems more likely is that we are here dealing with a geographically extended form of syntax. For San viewers of and participants in the art, the 'threads' in any given shelter may have been part of a larger web that linked shelters in the same way that shamans themselves linked shelters and their occupants by their out-of-body journeys (Lewis-Williams 1982; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a). Depictions of the 'threads' usually seem to be comparatively fresh in the Barkly East sequence, though one cannot be definite on this point. It is possible that they date from recent periods, perhaps the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. If so, they were painted during a time when the economic and social viability of traditional San communities was endangered by the arrival of Bantu-speaking farmers and white colonists. Inter-band social relations and kinship ties that constituted a

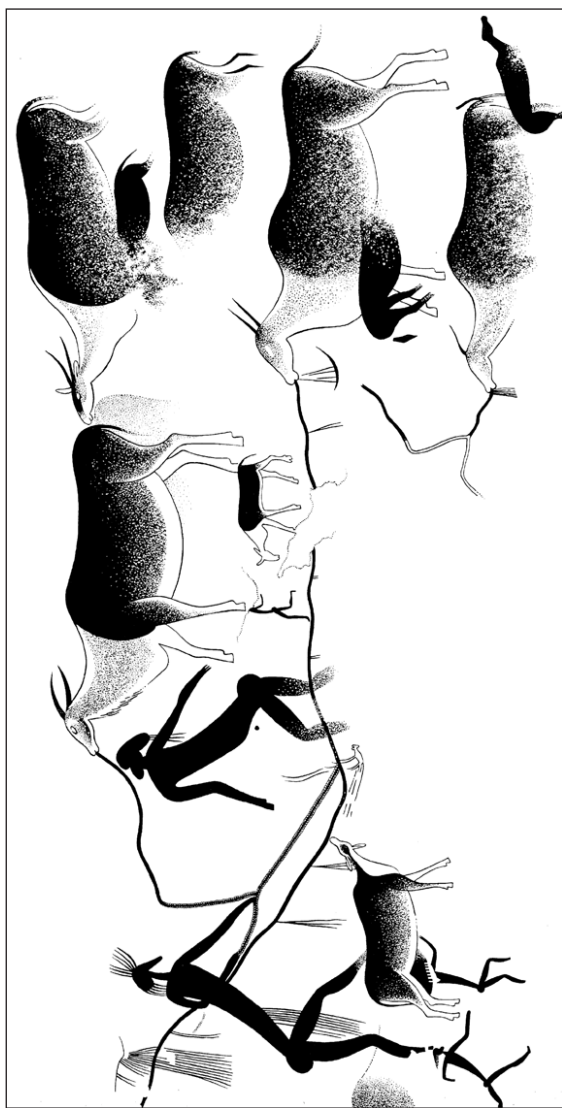


图3 哈拉德·帕格对东开普省赫歇尔地区一处岩画的临摹图(岩石艺术研究所)

我们正在讨论的岩板对这一主题进行了罕见但并非独一无二的阐述。画面中有三个地方存在从“光之线”垂落红线组合的现象。另一个例子如图3所示，位于赫歇尔地区(Herschel District)，在RSA FET3以北大约60公里处。在这幅画中，一个人拿着一根“光线”，如同一根绳索。“线”通向两只羚羊，其中一只在流血。这条线上也有几个地方有线条垂下(Pager 1975: 79)。将这条线与流血的羚羊和人像比较后，(我们)认为这条线本

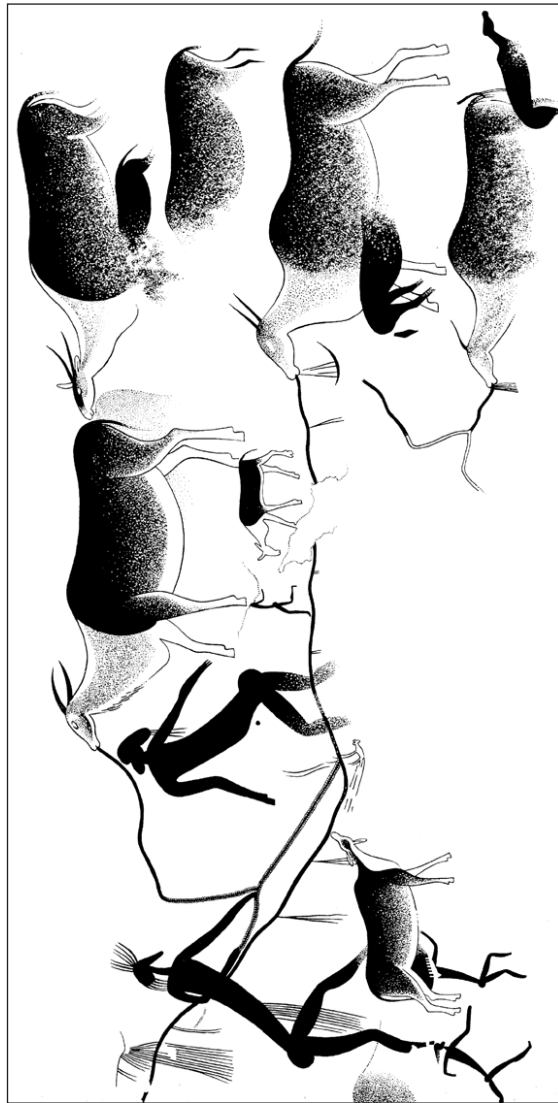


Fig. 3 A tracing by Harald Pager of a rock art panel from the Herschel District of the Eastern Cape Province (Rock Art Research Institute)

band nexus were becoming more important for survival. Shamans may have responded by making more of their extracorporeal journeys to find out how people living far apart were faring in those turbulent times and to protect them.

The panel under discussion presents a rare, though not unique, elaboration of this motif. At three places the ‘thread of light’ has sets of red lines falling from it. Another example is shown in Figure 3; it is in the Herschel district, some 60 km north of RSA

身就在流血。同样, RSA FET3 遗址的线似乎也在流血。因此, 图 2 中流血的人像不仅与流血的羚羊一致, 也与“光之线”相同。在我们对这一主题做出明确的解释之前, 还需要更多“流血的线”(bleeding threads) 的例子。

句 法

岩面

对于桑人画师来说, “光之线”是一种明确的视觉方式, 将有时相隔数米的图像联系起来。对许多西方人来说, 另一种不那么引人注目的方式是画师对于岩画位置的选择。大量的绘画证据和桑人民族志结合表明, 人们认为精神领域隐藏在岩石背后: 许多绘画从岩石表面出现或进入岩石表面 (Lewis-Williams 2003: figs 42, 43, 44, 2006b; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990: figs 1, 2, 3a, 3b, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: fig. 7.6)。这些岩画是沟通世俗世界与精神领域的媒介。因此, 岩面是一个特定的背景, “放置”并赋予其上绘制的所有图像以意义: 它是世界之间的“面纱”(veil) (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 147, 180—181, 200)。在 RSA FET3 中, “面纱”上图像的存在所暗示的可能的遥远关系通过“光之线”变得明确。倘若没有“光之线”, 我们认为岩石只不过是一个毫无意义的支撑, 我们就会认为这些分离的图像是不相关的。将它们联系起来的是“光之线”和“面纱”本身。它们不仅彼此相关, 而且与岩石背后的精神领域有关。

在 RSA FET3, 岩石表面的重要性得到了丰富且独特的发展。在中部的两只大角斑羚之间, 有一个突出的白色方解石, 它从岩石表面的水平缺口处出现。一位画家在方解石上加上了白色耳朵、两只红色眼睛和一条红色“之”字形的线条, 从而创造了一个动物头从岩石中向外看的效果。据我们所知, 这种利用自然特征的方式是独一无二的。

图 2 左侧大角斑羚的头部被另一条方解石脉遮盖, 使大角斑羚头部模糊, 这很可能是故意为之。绘制者意在表明: 世俗与神灵世界相互交织, 而图像就是它们之间的“面纱”。

在图 2 右上部分, 岩面上的一个小台阶被以类似的方式利用。在这里,

FET3. In it, a man holds a ‘thread of light’ as if it were a rope. The ‘thread’ leads to two eland one of which bleeds. The line has lines falling from it in several places (Pager 1975: 79). Comparison of the line with the bleeding eland and human figure suggests that the line itself is bleeding. Similarly, the line at RSA FET3 also appears to be bleeding. The Figure 3 bleeding human figure is thus consonant not just with the bleeding eland but also with the ‘thread of light’. More examples of ‘bleeding threads’ are required before we can reach a definite interpretation of the motif.

SYNTAX

The rock face

For San rock painters, ‘threads of light’ were an explicit, visual way of relating images, sometimes a few metres apart, to one another. A further, for many Westerners, less noticeable, way derives from the support on which painters placed their images. A combination of much painted evidence and San ethnography suggests that the spirit realm was believed to lie behind the rock face: numerous paintings emerge from, or enter into, the rock face (Lewis-Williams 2003: figs 42, 43, 44, 2006b; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990: figs 1, 2, 3a, 3b, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: fig. 7.6). These paintings were mediators between the material world and the spirit realm. The rock face was thus a specific context that ‘placed’ and gave meaning to all the images painted on it: it was a ‘veil’ between worlds (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: 147, 180-1, 200). At RSA FET3, possible distant relationships implied by the mere presence of images on the ‘veil’ are made explicit by the ‘thread of light’. If there were no line and we believed the rock to be no more than a meaningless support, we would assume these separated images to be unrelated. What relates them is both the ‘thread of light’ and the ‘veil’ itself. They are all related not only to one another but also to the spirit realm behind the rock.

The significance of the rock face is richly, indeed uniquely, developed at RSA FET3. Between the two central eland there is a prominent white calcite run that emerges from a horizontal notch in the rock face. A painter added white ears, two red eyes and a red zigzag line that extends down the calcite, thereby creating the effect of an animal head looking out from the rock. As far as we know, this way of exploiting a natural feature is unique.

The head of the eland on the left of Figure 2 is obscured by another calcite run. It is possible that the obscuring of the head of the eland in this way was intentional. The painter wished to show that images interweave the ‘veil’ between the spirit and material realms.

In the upper right part of Figure 2, a small step in the rock face has been used in a comparable way. Here, a thin red line, partly double, emerges from the step and extends down the rock; it lacks the fringing white dots that characterize the long, horizontal and

一条部分双线的细红线,从台阶上出现,并顺着岩石向下延伸;它缺少了那些标志性的白色边缘小点,这些小点是长的、水平的和分叉的线条的特征。细线向下一直延伸至重叠的大角斑羚。在左上方,第二条红色细线的上端被小心地引导着穿过岩石台阶上的一个小缺口。这些线似乎代表着“光之线”以外的东西;它们也不能与“光之线”上垂落的血线相提并论。它们究竟代表什么,我们目前无从得知。当然,西方人很容易错过或忽视这些画作,认为它们无关紧要,但它们对桑人来说却有着巨大意义:来自神灵世界的某些东西正透过岩石“面纱”而来。

场景关系

在讨论单个图像的语义时,我们提到了图像相互关联的一种方式。这是一种场景关系:动作将画面结合在一起,例如,舞蹈或狩猎的描绘。虽然在遗址的其他地点也有一些,但在 RSA FET3 面板的选定部分中只有一个有说服力的场景关系,即画面的左下方有一小群人看起来正在狩猎。这种句法形式在西方及其他艺术中也有相似之处,因此是许多研究人员倾向于强调的。

像这样的面板上的大角斑羚图像是独立、反复地描绘,还是构成了一个在日常生活中可以看到的整体上的场景关系?至少在某些情况下,来自不同地区的画家似乎想要描绘一个有意义的整体。喀拉哈里北部的 Ju/'hoan 桑人能够识别出这个地点以及其他地点的羚羊画作的副本,并将其视为季节性不同的兽群 (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 48)。根据他们指出的标准,我们可以得出结论:RSA FET3 所描绘的是一群夏末时节的大角斑羚群:有雄性也有雌性;还有一只幼年大角斑羚(图 2 右下角;该岩面的其他部分,参见 Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1999: fig. 59)。随着冬季临近,大群的夏季羚羊散去,雄性羚羊呈现更孤立的形态,而雌性和幼羚待在一起。在两个堆叠的大角斑羚下面增加了一只幼羚,强调了斑羚群的夏末组合。RSA FET3 岩面的其他部分还有别的幼羚。这种在艺术中对季节进行描绘的手法已经引起了人们的关注。(Eastwood et al. 1999; Lenssen-Erz 2000; Mazel 1982, 1983)。

并置和概念关系

虽然有众多的人或动物图像不处在叙事或场景关系中,但它们似乎会被刻意地绘制在一起,即便岩棚内还有大量可供绘制的岩面空间 (Lewis-

bifurcating line. It reaches down to the superimposed eland. To the upper left, the upper end of a second thin red line is carefully directed to pass through a small notch in a step in the rock. These lines appear to represent something other than ‘threads of light’; nor are they comparable to the blood lines that fall from the ‘thread of light’. Exactly what they represent we cannot at present say. Certainly, they are examples of paintings that Westerners may easily miss or overlook as being insignificant, but they were probably immensely significant for the San: some component of the spirit realm was coming through the rock ‘veil’.

Scenic relationships

In discussing the semantics of individual images we mentioned one way in which images are related one to another. It is scenic relationships: instances where action holds images together in, for instance, depictions of dances or hunts. Though there are a few others elsewhere in the site, there is only one persuasive scenic relationship in the chosen section of the RSA FET3 panel. It is the small group down left which appears to represent a hunt. This form of syntax has parallels in Western and other arts and is therefore the one that many researchers tend to emphasize.

Should the eland images in panels such as this be seen as separate, repetitive depictions, or do they constitute a whole that is observable in daily life and is therefore an instance of scenic relationships? In at least some cases, it seems that the painters of multiple eland intended to depict a meaningful whole. Ju/’hoan San in the northern Kalahari were able to identify copies of paintings of eland from this site and others as seasonally distinct herds (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 48). Drawing on criteria that they pointed out, we can conclude that the group of eland depicted at RSA FET3 represents a herd as constituted at the end of summer: there are male and female eland, as well as a young eland (in the lower right of Figure 2; for a further section of this panel see Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1999: fig. 59). As winter approaches, the large summer herds of eland disperse, the males adopting a more isolated configuration, while the females and young stay together. The addition of a young eland below the two superimposed eland emphasises the late summer configuration of the eland herd. There are other young eland in other parts of the RSA FET3 panel. Seasonality as suggested in the art has received some attention (Eastwood et al. 1999; Lenssen-Erz 2000; Mazel 1982, 1983).

Juxtaposition and conceptual relationships

Numerous images of people and animals that do not seem to be in a narrative, or scenic, relationship often appear to be deliberately placed next to one another, even though there is plenty of unpainted rock in a shelter (Lewis-Williams 1972, 1992, 2006b). In such instances, we need to bear in mind the significance of the ‘veil’.

Williams 1972, 1992, 2006b)。在这样的例子中, 我们需要记住“面纱”的重要性。

此外, 我们必须探究可能存在的概念关系, 例如人和大角斑羚脸上的红线所暗示的关系, 以及从“光之线”上落下的血液。这三种图像是由有关进入神灵世界的概念联系在一起。这个例子很明显; 另一些则不那么重要, 很容易被不熟悉图像细节意义的研究人员忽视, 或者误解为桑人艺术主要是叙述性的。我们怀疑, 主要的(尽管不是全部)是概念关系让大型岩板变得更有意味。

而几乎可以肯定的是, 这里存在不同类型的概念关系。有些, 如用血联系起来的山羊、人像和“光之线”, 就指向了复杂的宗教信仰经历中的某种对等或因果关系。有些学者的探索已经超出了现有的信仰, 还有一些学者对既存的信仰发出了挑战, 甚至反驳, 并产生了社会影响。(Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a, 2004b)。所有这些可能性(毫无疑问还有其他的可能性), 都一定一直存在于桑人灵活可变的宇宙观和意识形态中。这是一个具有挑战性的研究领域。

叠加

图2中特别有趣的是, 画家小心翼翼地在已经存在的动物图像上叠加了一只大角斑羚, 并调整了第二张图像, 使它的蹄子也接触到“光线”。晚画的羚羊后面的前蹄被画成与这条线接触的样子(现被幼羚覆盖而不可见)。因此, 第二只羚羊和第一只一样, 与“光之线”有相同的关系。新的羚羊“倍增”, 但不会抹掉原有的。后来, 当年轻的羚羊被叠加在线上, 之前的上层羚羊的后腿透过小羊间替显现, 给人一种它晚于幼羚的错觉。

叠加在桑人岩画中很常见。对RSA FET3所在区域进行的定量研究表明, 叠加是一种重要的句法形式, 而非对旧的、不再有价值的图像的随机覆绘(over-painting)(Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974; see also Lewis-Williams 1992, 2006b; cf. Pager 1975: 72—4)。某些类别的图像被偏爱作为初始元素, 这些较低的绘画限制了后来的题材范围。叠加的图像表明桑人岩画是三维的(Lewis-Williams 1992)。桑人萨满在岩棚中出神时所经历的心理图像被投射到“面纱”及现有的画作上(Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a)。视觉幻象的神经心理学研究将这种体验与幻灯片或电影放映进行了类比(e.g. Cohen 1964; Klüver 1926: 505, 506; Knoll et al. 1963: 208; Siegel 1977: 134)。因

In addition, we must explore possible conceptual relationships, such as the one implied by the red lines on the faces of the human figure and the eland, as well as the blood falling from the ‘thread of light’. These three images are linked by concepts concerning entrance into the spirit world. This example is fairly obvious; others are less so and can be easily missed by researchers who are unfamiliar with the significances of the details of images or are locked into the misconception that San rock art is largely narrative. We suspect that, overall, it is principally, though not entirely, conceptual relationships that, for the San, made sense of large panels.

But, almost certainly, there were different kinds of conceptual relationships. Some, perhaps like the blood-linked eland, human figure and ‘thread of light’, point to some sort of equivalence or causality within complex religious experiences. Others may have explored beyond commonly held beliefs. Still others may have challenged or even contradicted existing beliefs and thus have had social consequences (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a, 2004b). All these possibilities and no doubt others must have been situated within what was (and still is) the San’s flexible cosmology and ideology. Here is a challenging field for research.

Superpositioning

Of particular interest in Figure 2 is the careful way in which a painter superimposed an eland on an already existing image of that animal, adjusting the second image so that its hoofs also contacted the ‘thread of light’. The trailing front leg of the upper eland was painted to contact the line (now invisible below the young eland). The second eland thus participates in the same relationship as the first with the ‘thread’. The added eland ‘doubles up on’, but does not obliterate, the existing one. Later, when a young eland was superimposed on the line, the bold paint of the upper eland’s trailing leg shows through the paint of the young eland and gives a false impression of being later than the young eland.

Superpositioning is commonly found in San rock paintings. A quantitative study conducted in the area where RSA FET3 is situated showed that superpositioning was a significant form of syntax, not a random over-painting of old and no longer valued images (Lewis-Williams 1972, 1974; see also Lewis-Williams 1992, 2006b; cf. Pager 1975: 72–4). Certain categories of images were favoured as initial elements, and these lower paintings restricted the range of subjects from which the second could be selected.

Superimposed images suggest that San rock art was three-dimensional (Lewis-Williams 1992). Mental images that San shamans experienced in trance in the rock shelters were projected onto the ‘veil’ and its existing paintings (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a). Neuropsychological studies of visual hallucinations have compared this experience to a slide or film show (e.g. Cohen 1964; Klüver 1926: 505, 506; Knoll et al. 1963: 208; Siegel 1977: 134). The overall effect created by the superimposition of an image over another thus

此，图像堆叠在岩面上所产生的整体效果，再现了萨满艺术家自身的宗教体验及出神时所看到的图像。桑人可能很难（或没必要）区分他们投射的究竟是心理意象或只是普通绘画（Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990）。正如一位19世纪的桑人所说，“因为巫师看到了我们这些非巫师的人看不到的东西”（Bleek 1935: 24; Hollmann 2004: 240）。

和并列相似，叠加也可能存在多种类型。一些叠加可能旨在汲取现有图像的力量；而其他的则可能具有不同含义。桑人岩画中那类可被我们称为句法的东西，还需进一步讨论。

一些总体价值

这组相互关联的复杂图像包含了什么含义？

1836年，传教士托马斯·阿尔布塞特（Thomas Arbousset）和弗朗索瓦·多马斯（François Daumas）在非洲南部旅行时，记录了一段桑人祷文：

主啊，难道你不喜欢我吗？
主啊，带我去找雄性角马……
我很想填饱肚子；
我的大儿子，我的大女儿，都想填饱肚子。
主啊，把角马，带至我的箭下。
（Arbousset & Daumas 1846: 256）

阿尔布塞特和多马斯在祷文中称“主”为“康塔（kaang ta）”，现在改为康根（/Kaggen），他是南部桑人的骗子神。一个多世纪后，马歇尔（Marshall）（1999: 148）与居住在喀拉哈里沙漠北部的Ju'/hoansi桑人合作，记录了一段向伟大的神高瓦（//Gauwa）的祈祷，其中一部分内容是：

我希望有好运，看到动物。
让我今天撞见一只死去的动物。
高瓦神，帮我们找一只动物。
高瓦神，帮帮我们。
我们快饿死了。

replicated the shaman-artists' own religious experience and way of seeing images projected onto surfaces. It may have been difficult (or unnecessary) for the San to distinguish between their projected mental imagery and the paintings (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1990). As a nineteenth-century San man remarked, "For a sorcerer sees things which we, who are not sorcerers, do not see" (Bleek 1935: 24; Hollmann 2004: 240).

As with juxtapositions, superimpositions were probably of different kinds. Some may have been intended to draw on the potency of existing images; others may have had different meanings. What we may call the semantics of syntax in San rock art needs to be explored.

SOME OVERALL MEANINGS

What meanings does this set of complexly interrelated images contain?

While on their 1836 journey through southern Africa, the missionaries Thomas Arbousset and François Daumas recorded a San prayer:

Lord, is it that thou dost not like me?
Lord, lead me to a male gnu...
I like much to have my belly filled;
My oldest son, my oldest daughter, like much to have their bellies filled.
Lord, bring a male gnu under my darts.

(Arbousset & Daumas 1846: 256; lineation added)

Arbousset and Daumas give the 'Lord' in this prayer as 'kaang ta', now transcribed as/Kaggen. He was the southern San trickster deity. Working with the Ju/'hoansi San of the northern Kalahari just over a century later, Marshall (1999: 148) recorded a similar prayer to the Great God//Gauwa, part of which reads:

I wish to have good luck and see animals.
Let me find a dead animal today.
//Gauwa, help us that we find an animal.
//Gauwa, help us.
We are dying of hunger.

San believe that such prayers are sometimes answered by visions and dreams. Cgunta !elae, a San shaman, said: "The Big God also brings us special dreams that we call visitations. We may be shown where to find an animal for food. Other dreams show us where the honey and water are located" (Keeney 2003: 85). Some of these visions involve 'threads of light' and animals:

桑人相信这样的祈祷有时会得到梦境和幻象的回应。一位名叫斯根特·阿雷 (Cgunta ! elae) 的桑人萨满说:“大神赐予我们特殊的梦境,我们称之为显灵。我们可能会被指示在哪里可以找到动物作为食物。其他的梦告诉我们哪里有蜂蜜和水”(Keeney 2003: 85)。其中一些幻境涉及“光之线”和动物:

在舞蹈中或在我们的睡眠中,我们有时会看到一条线,它指引我们到蜂蜜所在之处……那条线宛如绳索,一头系着动物,另一头则连着你的手臂……当你看见那条线的时候,它会挂在你的手臂上,然后拉它。这时你就知道你和动物有了联系。你知道,毫无疑问,你那天会成功 (Keeney 2003: 100, 105)。

“光之线”可以引导猎人找到动物。一位名叫斯根特·凯斯 (Cgunta / kace) 的萨满说:“在我狩猎时,线将我 与动物相连,我的手臂上会有一种特殊的感觉。”(Keeney 2003: 109)。他补充道,当他看到连接他和动物的线时,他感到“轻拍”:“如果轻拍在肩膀附近很高,那么狩猎将花费很长时间。如果敲击声在你的手肘附近,你就能很快找到。”(Keeney 2003: 109)。19世纪70年代,威廉·布莱克 (Wilhelm Bleek) 和露西·劳埃德 (Lucy Lloyd) 记录了 /Xam San 族类似的信仰:“布须曼人的字母在他们的身体里……当一个人感到他的身体在(体内)轻拍时,他是完全静止的……预感是说真话的;正是通过这种方式,当它敲击时,布须曼人得到(或感知到)肉。”(Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 331)。

这些民族志记录表明,我们应当将“光之线”的描述解读为一种连接猎人与动物的纽带。但是,由于“只有医生才能看到和使用这些线条”(Keeney 2003: 127),我们必须得出结论:跟随线条的猎人和描绘线条的画家都可能是萨满。(更多关于人与动物联系的描述,请参见 Lewis-Williams 1988; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: fig. 6.11.)

桑人是否遵循前人绘制的“光之线”来“使用”像 RSA FET3 这样的面板?这些线是不是引领他们穿过“面纱”,进入神灵世界,找到羚羊?当被问及康根存在于何处时,一位19世纪的桑人答道:“我们不知道,但羚羊知道。当羚羊收到他的召唤、向其奔赴时,你还不狩猎吗?还没有听到他的呼

In the dance or in our sleep we sometimes see a line that shows us where the honey exists. ... There is a line, like a rope, from the animal that connects to your arm. ... When you see the line, it hooks up to your arm and pulls on it. That's when you know you are connected to the animal. You know, without a doubt, that you will kill it that day (Keeney 2003: 100, 105).

'Threads of light' can lead hunters to animals. A shaman known as Cgunta /kace: said, "When I hunt, I get a special feeling in my arm when the line connects me to the animal" (Keeney 2003: 109). He added that, when he sees the line joining him to an animal, he feels a "light tapping": "If the tapping is high near the shoulder, the hunt will take a long time. If the tapping is near your elbow, it will be a quick hunt" (Keeney 2003: 109). In the 1870s, Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd recorded similar beliefs among the /Xam San: "The Bushman letters are in their bodies. ... [A] man is altogether still, when he feels that his body is tapping (inside) ... The presentiment is that which speaks the truth; it is that by means of which the Bushman gets (or perceives) meat, when it has tapped" (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 331).

These ethnographic records suggest that we should see some depictions of 'threads of light' as linking a hunter to an animal. But, because "only the doctors can see and use the lines" (Keeney 2003: 127), we must conclude that both the hunter who followed the line and the painter who depicted it were probably shamans. (For more depictions of lines connecting people and animals, see Lewis-Williams 1988; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004a: fig. 6.11.)

Did San people 'use' panels like RSA FET3 by following 'threads of light' painted by predecessors? Did the threads draw them through the 'veil', into the spirit realm and thus to eland? Asked where /Kaggen existed, a nineteenth-century San man replied: "We do not know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call? Where he is, elands are in droves like cattle" (Orpen 1874: 3). In the RSA FET3 shelter, too, elands are in droves like cattle. The Ju'/hoansi say that, when a man who possesses eland potency dances and cures, eland are attracted to the place and stand out in the darkness beyond the light of the camp fire (Lewis-Williams 1981a: 83). Are they real eland or /Kaggen's 'droves' of spirit eland? A twentieth-century Nharo San shaman developed the concept of spirit eland. He said that, during a dance, he entered trance, went hunting and shot an antelope. The next day,

喊吗？神所在之处，羚羊成群”（Orpen 1874: 3）。在 RSA FET3 岩棚中，羚羊也如牛群一般成群结队。Ju'/hoansi 说，当一个拥有羚羊能力的人开始跳舞和治疗时，羚羊就会被吸引到这个地方，并在篝火之外的黑暗中脱颖而出（Lewis-Williams 1981a: 83）。他们是真的羚羊，还是康根的“成群”的羚羊灵魂？20 世纪的一位名叫纳罗（Nharo）的桑人萨满提出了“精灵羚羊”的概念。他说，在一次舞蹈中，他进入了出神状态，去打猎射杀了一只羚羊。他声称，第二天他带着家人来到杀死羚羊的地方，并吃掉了它（R. Matthews pers. comm.; Lewis-Williams 1987, 2002: 129—30）。他出神经历中的精灵羚羊变成了一个真正可供家人食用的羚羊。RSA FET3 中可能也发生了类似的事情。人们（可能是萨满）可以穿过“面纱”跟随“光之线”抵达神灵世界中大型兽群的栖息之所。在那里，他们的祈祷得到回应：康根可以带领他们沿着“光之线”找到羚羊。在桑人的思想中，狩猎和宗教经历并不是分开的：世俗和神圣领域的二分法与桑人的生活几乎没有关系。

注视 RSA FET3 面板

岩画面板的结构与以前人们注视它的方式密切相关。在 RSA FET3，整幅 21 米长的岩面不能一览无余：场地纵深不足以让观者站在足够远的距离将岩画尽收眼底。即使能看到全部，人们也必须退后很远，远到看不见我们讨论过的一些重要细节。图像的小尺寸和微小的细节吸引着观众靠近面板：为了清楚地看到画面，人们必须在岩石表面的正常西方阅读距离内。观者一旦注意到所有的细节，那么一些图像的复杂程度就会引起注意。

画面是否有一个类似起点的东西？目前在 RSA FET3 中，没有一个单一的图像或图像集群出现在我们面前，可以作为制作或观看图像的原点。观者从一开始就会被画面中的任一地方吸引。

在距离画面足够近的位置看到画像群后，观者可以左右移动，从而连续地观察画像。需要注意的是，这种横向运动与“光之线”相一致，它分岔并连接在一起，水平地穿过面板。羚羊和人沿着“线”（或与之相关的）行走的图像因此平行于横向运动，这决定了观者可以看到整个面板。跟随着“线”，观众可以发现它进出斑羚、穿透岩面。这意味着观赏艺术同样是一次精神之旅，观众将在物质与精神世界之间穿梭往返。此类旅程可以通过转变意识状态来实现，或者由处于正常精神状态的人在视觉上跟随“光之线”，并接受

he claimed, he took his family to the place where he had killed the animal and they ate it (R. Matthews pers. comm.; Lewis-Williams 1987, 2002: 129—30). The spirit eland of his religious experience became a real eland that his family could eat. It is possible that something similar could have happened at RSA FET3. People (probably shamans), engaging with the images, could follow the ‘thread of light’ through the ‘veil’ to the vast herds that inhabited the spirit world. There, their prayers could be answered: /Kaggen could lead them along a ‘thread of light’ to eland. Hunting and religious experiences were not separate in San thinking: a dichotomy between secular and sacred domains has little relevance in San life.

VIEWING THE RSA FET3 PANEL

The structure of a rock art panel was closely related to the manner in which it was viewed in the past. In the RSA FET3 site, it is impossible to view the whole 21 m long panel: the site is not deep enough for a viewer to stand far enough back to take it all in. Even if it were possible to see the whole panel, one would have to stand so far back that the crucial details, some of which we have discussed, would be invisible. The small size of the images and the minute details draw viewers into the panel: to see the images clearly, one has to be within normal Western reading distance of the rock face. Then the complexity of some of the images holds attention if all the details are to be noted.

Did panels have something like a starting point? At RSA FET3, no single image or cluster of images appears to us today to stand out as a point of origin for either making or viewing the images. Initially, a viewer can be drawn to any part of a panel.

After having moved close enough to the panel to see an image cluster, the viewer can move to left or to right and thus see the images seriatim. It is important to note that this lateral movement is consonant with the long ‘thread of light’ that, bifurcating and joining up, moves horizontally through the panel. Images of eland and people walking along the ‘thread’ (or otherwise associated with it) thus parallel the lateral movement that is necessary if a viewer is to see the whole panel. Following the ‘thread’, a viewer finds that it passes in and out of eland and also through the rock face. These characteristics imply that viewing the art entails a spiritual journey that similarly weaves between the material and spiritual worlds. Such journeys could have been experienced through altered states of consciousness or vicariously by people in a normal mental state who visually followed the ‘thread of light’ and accepted that the depictions on the ‘veil’ were an

“面纱”上的描绘是物质和精神实体的混合体。

展 望

在非洲南部岩画研究中,学者没有研究例如描绘耶稣诞生等著名主题的框架“艺术品”。每块岩石艺术面板也不是由一位艺术家创作的。相反,研究人员正在处理复杂的全景图,如果按照西方构图原则来看,这些全景图看起来像是几个世纪积累起来的混乱杂烩。显然,我们不熟悉的惯例在起作用。每一个桑人的岩石艺术遗址在某种程度上都是独一无二的,同时又以桑人的信仰体系为基础。

他们为什么要发展他们的图像面板?在这样做的过程中,每个个体都在同时交流他们的宗教观念,使其发展并具象化。绘制岩画本身就是一个复杂的仪式,不可草率为之;绘画仪式使用超自然力量操纵物质世界(Lewis-Williams 1995c)。重要的是,这些岩板本身就会反馈到社区内共享的宗教知识库中。有时,这些图像可以稳固桑人信仰:进入变动意识状态的人往往会“看到”他们期望看到的东西,而这些画作清楚地传达了有关宗教概念和经验的信息,可能创造了这种期望。但变动的意识状态也有其特殊性:由于神经细胞的随机兴奋,人们不可避免地会经历新的幻觉,对桑人来说,这可能成为他们新的信仰和岩画风格的起源。桑人也会在正常意识状态下沉思和探讨他们的经历,从而获得新的领悟以及建立新的关系(Biesele 1993: 76—7)。倘若他们能够描绘出这些非凡的景象和深刻的洞察,这些图像或许会对其他人的体验和创作产生影响。

几个世纪以来,桑人岩画的发展不可避免地引入了一种观念,即宗教(或萨满教)的艺术观无法应对变化。尽管有一些重要的出版物已经论述了从萨满教图像的积累中发现变化的方式,但一些作家仍在传播这种谬论(Blundell 2004; Campbell 1986, 1987; Challis 2008; Dowson 1988, 1994, 1995, 2000)。很多原因触发了改变,包括经济、政治环境的变化,以及个人的宗教经历。但无论出于何种原因,这些变化都被接受(Biesele 1993: 67—9)。在南部的桑人绘画群体中,构成岩棚日常生活背景的图像可能倾向于稳定的宗教观念,同时作为可以构建图像意义发展的基线。变化可能是渐进的,而非彻底全面的。

这些变化以及不同世代桑族画家的构图方法依然是研究的焦点。揭示个

amalgam of material and spiritual entities.

MOVING FORWARD

In southern African rock art research, scholars are not studying framed ‘works of art’ that depict well known subjects, such as the Nativity. Nor was each rock art panel made by an individual artist. Rather, researchers are dealing with complex panoramas that, if seen in the light of Western principles of composition, appear to be confused muddles that accumulated over, possibly, centuries. Clearly, conventions with which we are unfamiliar were operating. Each San rock art site is, on one level, unique, and, at the same time, underpinned by the San belief system.

Why did they develop their panels of images? In doing so, individuals were probably simultaneously communicating, reifying and developing their religious concepts. Rock painting was in itself a complex ritual, not one to be lightly undertaken; the ritual of painting manipulated substances with supernatural potency (Lewis-Williams 1995c). Importantly, the panels themselves fed back into the pool of shared religious knowledge within the community. Sometimes the images stabilized San religious belief: people who enter altered states of consciousness tend to ‘see’ what they expect to see, and the paintings, clearly conveying information about religious concepts and experiences, probably created expectations. But altered states are also idiosyncratic: because of random firing of neurons, people inevitably experience novel hallucinations and, in the case of the San, potential models for new beliefs and kinds of rock paintings. The San also contemplate and discuss their experiences while in a normal state of consciousness and thus develop new insights and relationships (Biesele 1993: 76—7). If they painted these idiosyncratic visions and novel insights, the resultant images had the potential to influence others’ experiences and paintings.

The growth of San rock art panels over the centuries inevitably introduces the notion that the religious (or shamanistic) view of the art cannot deal with change. This canard has been propagated by a number of writers despite important publications that deal with the ways in which change can be detected in the accumulation of shamanistic images (Blundell 2004; Campbell 1986, 1987; Challis 2008; Dowson 1988, 1994, 1995, 2000). Changes were triggered by a variety of causes that included transforming economic and political milieux and also personal religious experiences that, for whatever reasons, were accepted by the community (Biesele 1993: 67—9). Among the southern San painting communities,

体细微图像的含义是研究人员必须首先克服的挑战,而这些问题无法仅凭纯粹的理论来解决。相反,研究者们只有亲自深入现场并恰当地记录这些面板,才有希望取得进展。

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the images that formed a backdrop to daily life in the shelters probably tended to stabilize religious concepts and, at the same time, to act as a base-line on which developments in the meanings of images could be constructed. Change was probably incremental rather than catastrophic and total.

Change and the ways in which generations of San painters constructed panels of images are topics for investigation that will take researchers beyond the necessary first step of elucidating the significances of individual, nuanced images. These issues cannot be addressed in purely theoretical terms. Rather, with access to the sites themselves and to appropriately recorded panels researchers can hope to make some progress.

NOTES

1 'Panel' refers to an area of painted rock face that may be densely covered with images or more lightly embellished with only a few depictions. Ideally, each panel is separated from other panels by unpainted rock face, but in practice paintings are often scattered throughout a rock shelter and are impossible to separate into panels. Panels do not constitute an emic category.

2 In 1945, the South African artist Walter Battiss removed a section of the RSA FET3 panel. In doing so, it seems that he destroyed a number of images in order to get the two that he wanted, a shaded polychrome eland and a white rhebuck looking back over its shoulder. The piece that he removed is now in the care of the Rock Art Research Institute, University of the Witwatersrand.

3 The RSA FET3 panel was photographed and traced in 1979 by Paul den Hoed, Bruce Fordyce, and other members of the Rock Art Research Institute. In 2009, the tracing of the section shown in Figure 2 was checked and amended by David Pearce. In the intervening 30 years parts of the panel has faded noticeably, and calcite has formed over numerous images.

4 These and other quantitative statements in this article derive from inventories compiled in the early 1970s and partly published in Lewis-Williams (1974).

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