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北冰洋研究

第四辑



Journal of Arctic Studies

上海三联书店



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洞中意识：当考古学遇上萨满教*

[美] 安德烈·兹纳姆斯基 (Andrei A. Znamenski)

(徐 峰 郭 卉 译)

摘 要：本文考察了古代和现代岩画（岩刻画）的“萨满教重读”。通过分析有关非洲南部和美洲土著岩画艺术的著作，笔者展示了周围的思想潮流如何影响了古代和现代岩画的学术解释。最初，学者和作家们从唯物主义的视角将岩画艺术视为狩猎巫术的表现。然而，自 20 世纪八、九十年代以来，人们越来越多地从精神层面对岩画进行重新解读。笔者认为，这种视角的转变源于：人文社会科学实证主义的式微、后现代主义的兴起以及 20 世纪 70 至 90 年代新时代大型思想集体和平面媒体的出现。为了更好地在历史中寻根，这一后起的视角广泛地将考古学用于他们的精神实践（如吹口哨的瓶子、各种石器时代的雕像），将“古代智慧”融入一般文化而为大多数人所接受。许多考古学家开始将岩画“打造”成为萨满教实践和相关精神体验的表现。特别是，本文分析了那些率先将岩画精神化，提出所谓“内视”解释的学者们（戴维·刘易斯-威廉姆斯、让·克洛特和戴维·惠特利）的学术。最后，笔者展示了这种学术性重估是如何渗透到大众媒体和旅游景点解说中去的。

关键词：岩画 岩刻画 内视理论 萨满教 灵性信仰 新时代 科索山脉考古 玛雅 口哨瓶 戴维·刘易斯-威廉姆斯 让·克洛特 戴维·惠特利

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* 本文是基于未被收入拙著《原始之美》(*The Beauty of the Primitive*, 2007)中的一章写就的。本译文是国家社会科学基金重点项目“爱斯基摩史前史与考古学研究”(18AKCT001)的阶段成果。

Mind in the Cave: Archeology Meets Shamanism^{*}

Andrei A. Znamenski

Absrtract: The essay examines the “shamanic rereading” of ancient and modern rock art (petroglyphs). Analyzing writings that deal with rock art of Southern Africa and Native America, the author shows how surrounding intellectual fashions affected scholarly approaches to the interpretation of ancient and modern petroglyphs. Originally scholars and writers viewed rock art from a materialistic viewpoint as a manifestation of hunting magic. Yet, since the 1980s—1990s, the petroglyphs have been increasingly reinterpreted in spiritual terms. The author argues that such change of perspective was informed by the decline of positivism in humanities and social sciences, the ascent of post-modernism, and the emergence of the large New Age thought collective and print media in the 1970s—1990s. To better root themselves in history, the latter widely appropriated archeology for their spiritual practices (e.g. whistling bottles, various stone age figurines), mainstreaming the “ancient wisdom” into the general culture. Many archeologists began to cast rock art as a manifestation of shamanic practices and related spiritual experiences. Particularly, the essay analyzes the scholarship of the scholars who spearheaded so-called *entoptic* interpretation (David Lewis-Williams, Jean Clottes, and David Whitely) that spiritualized rock art. Lastly, the author shows how such scholarly reassessment trickled down into popular media and interpretive tourist sites.

Keywords: rock art, petroglyphs, *entoptic* theory, shamanism, spirituality, New Age, Coso Range archaeology, Maya, Whistling Bottles, David Lewis-Williams, Jean Clottes, David Whitely.

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^{*} This paper is based on the text of a chapter that was not included into my book *The Beauty of the Primitive* (2007).

阿尔塔米拉(Altamira)、拉斯科(Lascaux)、肖维(Chauvet)、巴里峡谷(Barrier Canyon)中有什么样的故事?我们不清楚。问题远比答案多。但是要我说,情况就应该是这个样子的。这些问题极富创造性,人们的想象力由此被激发。在这个神秘的领域里,让我们把握这些能够激发想象力的奇迹。不要固执于只会降低我们好奇心的答案,那样只会扼杀我们提问的本能。

N. 斯科特·莫马迪(N. Scott Momaday),摘自《神圣形象》一文(Momaday 1997: 131)

2004年,我作为一名国外访问学者在日本工作,我听说在离我居住的札幌市不远的小樽市里有一座手宫洞窟(Temiya cave),窟内有属于“续绳纹”(ぞくじょうもん)传统的岩石雕刻。该文化是大约1600年前的狩猎和采集文化。由于日本只有两处古代岩画遗址,政府不仅宣布手宫洞窟为国家文化地标,还在其地建设洞窟保存馆。在进入洞窟之前,柜台旁的导览人员微笑着递给你一张印有窟内图画简要介绍的宣传单。尽管当时我对“萨满学”(shamanology)的各个方面有所了解,但有关岩画研究中持续的争论,我还无从知晓。我也不知道手宫洞窟墙壁上画的是谁,有什么样的内容。

浏览柜台上取的宣传单可知,学者们对描绘的头上戴角的人像和动物的那些古代雕刻提出了各种解释。在所有的这些假设中,正如宣传单的制作者们所坚持的,“戴角的人”雕刻表现的是在东北亚地区广泛可见的萨满形象(被称为“萨满”的人跳起舞来非常激动,会狂热地祈祷,具有预言或占卜之术)是很有说服力的观点^①。这是我第一次接触有关岩画起源的流行精神理论。后来,当我开始阅读更多有关岩画的考古学研究时,我注意到,类似的“萨满教”(shamanic)解释被用于非洲、北美和全球其他地区包含岩画的遗址上。

本文旨在探讨,在20世纪七八十年代,萨满教这一流行的概念是怎样进入考古学领域的,以及作为一种令人印象深刻的解释工具它又如何被一些学者用来解释古代遗存。这种趋势在岩画研究和中美洲考古学中尤为明显。在这些“认知考古学家”的解释中,某些颇有说服力,而其他的则给人留下一个印象:他们仓促地要努力赶上这股迷人的萨满教解释风潮。在本文的第二部分,我考察了这一“认知考古学”与当前萨满教实践者之间的联系,后者利用这一学术解释来提升和宣传自己的精神技能。

① 见特米娅洞穴保护博物馆宣传页第2页(Temiya Cave Preservation Museum Flyer, Otaru, Hokkaido, p. 2)。

What are the stories of Altamira, of Lascaux, of Chauvet, of Barrier Canyon? We do not know. There are many more questions than there are answers. But let me suggest that this is as it should be. The questions are deeply creative, and they inspire the imagination. In this great field of mystery, let us hold on to the wonder that excites the imagination. Let us not insist upon answers that will diminish our curiosity, that will kill our instinct for questions.

N. Scott Momaday, from the essay "Sacred Images." (Momaday 1997: 131)

In 2004, when I worked in Japan as a foreign visiting professor, I heard that not far from Sapporo, the city where I lived, in a small town of Otaru there was the Temiya cave that contained rock engravings belonging to Zoku-Joumon tradition. The latter is a hunting and gathering culture that existed about 1600 years ago. Since there are only two sites with ancient rock art in Japan, government not only declared Temiya a national cultural landmark but also turned it into a small museum. Before entering the cave, one goes through a counter, where a smiling guide hands you a flyer with a brief description of the drawings. Although at that time I already was aware of various aspects of "shamanology," I was still quite ignorant about the ongoing debates in rock art studies. Neither did I know who and what was depicted on Temiya walls.

The flyer I picked up at the counter informed me that scholars offered various interpretations of the ancient engravings, which depicted human figures and animals with horns on their heads. However, among all these hypotheses, as the authors of the flyer insisted, "the theory that 'horned men' engravings represent the figure of shaman (the person who dances enthusiastically or prays fanatically, and divines or makes oracles of the yield) who was often seen in Northeast Asia, is very cogent." ^① This was my first introduction to the popular spiritual theory on the origin of ancient rock art. Afterwards, when I began reading more about archeology of rock art, I noted that the similar "shamanic" interpretation was offered for many sites containing rock art in Africa, North America and in other parts of the globe.

This essay brings to light how in the 1970s and the 1980s the popular shamanism concept entered archaeology and served some scholars as an impressionistic explanatory tool to interpret ancient remains. This trend became especially visible in rock arts studies and Mesoamerican archaeology. Some of the interpretations of these "cognitive archeologists" are convincing, whereas others produce an impression of hasty efforts to jump on a bandwagon of the attractive shamanism fad. In the second part of this essay, I examine links between this "cognitive archeology" and current shamanism practitioners, who use this academic interpretation to enhance and publicize their spiritual techniques.

① Temiya Cave Preservation Museum Flyer, Otaru, Hokkaido, p. 2.

我被绘以锯齿线：萨满教与岩画

人们可以在欧亚大陆、北美、非洲和澳大利亚全球各个角落的悬崖、岩石和洞穴中发现神秘的岩绘画和岩刻图像。这些图像的年代远至公元前30000年，近抵现代。例如，单是北美就有超过7500处岩石遗址。在非专业人士的眼中，这些图像不过是在做某件事的过程中捕捉的点、锯齿线、直线、动物和人的形状。它们反映的是古人的世俗或精神关怀吗？抑或兼而有之？为什么古代的画师把他们的艺术深藏在难以企及，甚至连爬行亦难入的狭窄洞穴中？

现今许多学者认为，岩画的作者是古代的萨满或萨满的学徒。不过，直到20世纪80年代，主流观点依旧认为，这些图像描绘的是世俗场景，有着实际的目标需求。由于大量的岩画场景中描绘了动物，其中一些被箭刺穿，一些考古学家认为这些图像表现的是所谓“狩猎巫术”（*hunting magic*）。学者们认为，如果古人在岩石上绘制或刻凿动物和人的图像，说明他们想对人和动物采取行动。例如，一头野牛或一群野牛被箭刺伤的图像可能意味着人们希望以一种仪式的手段来确保狩猎成功。在另一些情形中，倘若图像中描绘的是食肉动物，如狮子和熊，学者们则猜测这是要毁灭这些动物的巫术企图——黑巫术（*the destruction magic*）。20世纪初，现代人类学之父之一的詹姆斯·弗雷泽（James Frazer）爵士很好地阐述了这一观点。在反思欧洲旧石器时代洞穴岩画的意义时，他写道，这些图画代表了古代猎人为了让他们将要获得的猎物数量翻倍而做出的象征性努力（Dickson 1990: 127）。

在此前后的一段时间里，确实还有很多其他的解释。例如，在同一时期，美国人类学家弗朗西斯·登斯莫尔（Frances Densmore）将奥吉布瓦（Ojibwa）部落（阿尼什纳比人）的印第安人岩画分为两组。第一组图像是只有作者才能理解的深奥图像。她推测，这些图画可能是奥吉布瓦神圣萨满社会大药师（Midewiwin）的记录。第二组她认为是世俗的图像，包括了“图腾标记”、行旅者绘制的简单地图、时间记录、图画故事，最后是象形人名。同时，直到20世纪70年代，狩猎巫术理论仍然是对岩画艺术最流行的解释。

诸如此类的解释当然反映了当时考古学研究的主导姿态，考古学研究比任何其他人文科学都更倾向于实证主义和唯物主义。为了更好地了解唯物主

“With Zigzag Lines I’m Painted” : Shamanism and Rock Art

Enigmatic painted (petrograph) and carved (petroglyph) images on cliffs, rocks, and inside caves one can find in various corners of the globe in Eurasia, North America, Africa, and Australia. These pictures are dated from 30000 BC to modern times. For example, North America alone has more than 7500 rock sites. To the eye of the non-expert, these images are just dots, zigzags, lines, shapes of animals and people caught in the moment of doing something. Do they reflect mundane or spiritual concerns of the ancient one? Or may be both? Why did the ancient painters hide their art so deeply in narrow caves that are hard to penetrate or even crawl?

Now many scholars assume that the authors of drawings on rocks were ancient shamans or shamans’ apprentices. However, until the 1980s, the dominant view was that the pictures portrayed mundane scenes and served practical goals. Since many rock art scenes depict animals, some of whom being pierced with arrows, some archaeologist believed that these images represented so-called hunting magic. The scholars assumed that if ancient ones drew or pecked pictures of animals and people on rocks they wanted somehow to act upon these people and animals. For example, a picture of a bison or a group of bison pierced by an arrow could mean that people wanted to ensure in a ritual form a successful hunt. In other cases, if drawings portrayed such predators as lions and bears, scholars surmised that these were magical attempts to destroy these animals — the destruction magic. In the early twentieth century, Sir James Frazer, one of the fathers of modern anthropology, articulated well this view. Reflecting on the meaning of the rock art from European Paleolithic caves, he wrote that the drawings represented symbolic efforts of ancient hunters to multiply the number of game animals they were going to procure (Dickson 1990: 127).

There were certainly many other interpretations at that time and later. For example, during the same years, American anthropologist Frances Densmore, divided Ojibwa (Anishnabwe) Indian rock images into to two groups. Into the first group, she included esoteric images understandable only to their authors. She speculated that the drawings could also be records of Midewiwin, the Ojibwa sacred shamanic society. The second group included the images she considered secular: “totem marks,” elementary maps produced by passing travelers, records of time, pictures to illustrate a story, and finally pictographic names of individuals. At the same time, until the 1970s, the hunting magic theory remained the most popular interpretations of rock art.

This and similar interpretations certainly reflected the then dominant stance of archeology scholarship that at that time was saturated with positivism and materialism. To see better a materialist-archeologist’s interpretation of the rock art, let me show how the

义考古学家关于岩画的解释,让我来介绍下已故的俄罗斯杰出考古学家奥克拉德尼科夫(A. P. Okladnikov)于20世纪60至80年代期间是如何看待蒙古西部科布多(Hovd)省岑格里赫(Khoit-Tsenker)洞穴内旧石器时代岩画的。在共产主义时期,唯物主义的解释是必须的,俄罗斯的学术最能体现这种方法取向。考古工作者对科布多岩穴里的图像进行了采样,包括公羊和公牛的图像,以及会让人联想到蛇的线条。尽管奥克拉德尼科夫发现一些图画可能与北亚萨满教“线蛇”(lines-snakes)有关,但是他淡化了这种普遍性解释。相反,他得出的结论是,大多数描绘了动物的图画证明了洞穴是狩猎巫术的“神庙”。此外,他还强调狩猎巫术是“中亚旧石器时代艺术家世界观的基础”。与从事旧石器时代研究的西欧同行一样,这位学者坚持认为,蒙古的古代艺术家“绘出整个周围动物世界的唯一目标是——神奇地确保动物的丰饶,从而让生命充盈”(Okladnikov 1972: 46)。

无论我们多么努力,都无法精确地知道岩画究竟对古人意味着什么。它们的含义因地点、时间和具体的文化而异。在这种情况下,单一的解释注定是有缺陷的。鉴于此,考古学家该当如何?这是一个学术想象力和“考古超现实主义”可以介入并填补缺环的领域。长话短说,这个领域对于各式各样印象派的解释是广为开放的,自然也就映射出同时代的思想观点。

例如,在20世纪50年代,当精神分析仍然风行之时,一些考古学家用弗洛伊德式的眼光检视了勒迪克多杜贝尔特(Le Tuc-d'Audoubert)洞穴中发现的旧石器时代“遗存”。这个洞穴里有古代儿童的后跟印与黏土卷。当代的一种理论认为后跟印是成丁礼(initiation)仪式的证据。状似男性生殖器的黏土卷成为那些可能曾经进到洞穴中来接受仪式之人的阳具或阳具套。考古学家们反复使用了这一理论,直到有一位雕刻师向他们指出,这些“阳具”看起来更像是一位建模师为了检查材料的可塑性而在处理黏土之前制作的黏土样品。考虑到附近发现有泥塑的野牛,雕刻师的解释听起来颇为可信。

20世纪五六十年代,结构主义思潮盛行,法国著名考古学家雷诺埃·古尔汉(André Leroi-Gouran)加入了精神分析的解释,试着将岩画形象分成有序的配对。他认为欧洲洞穴绘画涉及性的象征,可以分为“雄性”和“雌性”形象,这两种形象既对立又互补。出于某种原因,雷诺埃·古尔汉还推测,对于远古的人而言,野牛是雌性的象征,而马则被视为阳性的。对他而言,很难归类的笔直的几何线象征着阳具,而卵形和长方形则代表了外阴(Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 63, 74—75)。

late A. P. Okladnikov, the leading Russian archeologist in the 1960s—1980s, assessed Paleolithic drawings at the Khoit-Tsenker (Hovd) cave in Western Mongolia. Russian scholarship, where materialist interpretations were obligatory during communism, is the best example of such approaches. The Hovd cave samples the images of animals such as rams and bulls, and lines that might remind of snakes. Although Okladnikov found that some drawings might be linked to northern Asian shamanism (“lines-snakes”), he downplayed this generalization. Instead, he concluded that the very fact that most drawings depicted animals was the proof that the cave was the “temple” of hunting magic. Moreover, he stressed that the hunting magic lay at the “foundation of the worldview of Central Asian Paleolithic artists.” As their counterparts in Paleolithic Western Europe, insisted the scholar, the ancient artists of Mongolia “drew the entire surrounding animal world with the sole goal — to magically secure the abundance of animals and therefore replete life.” (Okladnikov 1972: 46)

There is certainly no way to find out exactly what rock art meant to the ancient ones no matter how hard we try. It could mean many things depending on a place, time, and a specific culture. In this case, a single explanation will always be doomed to remain flawed. What should archaeologists do in this case? That is the realm where scholarly imagination and “archaeological surrealism” step in and fill missing links. To make a long story short, the field is wide open for various impressionistic interpretations, which certainly mirror contemporary intellectual sentiments.

For example, in the 1950s, when psychoanalysis was still in a great vogue, some archaeologists screened the Paleolithic “relics” found in Le Tuc-d’Audoubert cave through Freudian eyes. This cave samples heel prints of the ancient youngsters and rolls of clay. One of contemporary theories read the heel prints as the evidence of an initiation ceremony. The rolls of clay, which in their shape resemble phalluses, became penises or penis-covers for those who might have come to the cave to be initiated. Archeologists recycled this theory until at some point a sculptor pointed to them that the “penises” looked more like clay samples a modeler usually made before working the clay to check the plasticity of the material. The sculptor explanation sounded more credible considering clay statues of bison that were found nearby.

In the 1950s and 1960s, when structuralism was coming into fashion, the famous French archeologist André Leroi-Gouran added to the psychoanalytic interpretation trying to sort rock art imagery into orderly pairs. He concluded that the European cave drawings, which as he assumed involved sexual symbolism, could be grouped in “male” and “female” images, which simultaneously opposed and complemented each other. For some reason, Leroi-Gouran also surmised that to the ancient ones the bison was the feminine symbol, while the horse was considered masculine. The straight geometric lines that were hard to pigeonhole became for him penises, while ovals and rectangles stood for vulvas (Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 63, 74—75).

20 世纪 70 年代，基于对人文社会科学的一种女权主义研究，加州大学洛杉矶分校已故考古学家马丽加·金芭塔丝（Marija Gimbutas）因在人文和形而上学界率先提出“母神”（the Mother Goddess）概念而知名。她将石器时代的一些抽象图形（如螺旋和圆点）评断为女性生殖器官：子宫、输卵管和羊水的隐喻（Allen 2001: 22）。此外，作为一名铁杆怀疑论者，人类学家爱丽丝·凯霍（Alice Kehoe）坚决要与那些想在岩画中看到萨满教证据的人掰犊。令人啼笑皆非的是，爱丽丝认为，其中一些图像可能只是“原始的”（primal）孩子们玩耍时的涂鸦，比方说，当时他们的母亲正在忙于收集浆果。最早的一批岩画探索者实际上也提出过类似的解释，他们认为“原始的”人们是出于愉悦而创作艺术。

关于岩画和萨满教之间可能存在联系的争论，实质上牵涉一个问题。学者们能否对“原始的”人们的宗教进行有根据地猜测，或者如戴维·惠特利（David Whitley）——那些在彩绘洞穴和岩绘中看到萨满教的人之一——所言，将考古工作约束在陶器残片、箭头和食物残渣这些“史前时代的垃圾”上一定就好吗（Harmon 1997: 02C）？确实，既然我们永远不会知道岩画的意义和目的，我们能玩猜谜游戏，并提出它的宗教起源吗？毕竟，现代的部落和犹太-基督教艺术深受宗教观念的影响。那么我们为什么就要否认石器时代和部落作品（tribal oeuvre）中存在类似的内容呢？

此外，岩画与神圣世界的关联似乎是那些见过岩画之人的一种自然的瞬间反应。最早的西伯利亚探索者面对这些凿刻或绘制在岩石上的古代图像就经常有这样的反应。18 世纪初，流放西伯利亚的瑞典战俘菲利普·约翰·冯·斯特拉伦伯格（Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg）在汤姆河（Tom River）地区邂逅了古西伯利亚人凿刻在石头上的麋鹿、马和人像。他称这些图像为“角色”，随即认为它们具有“奥秘”，可能曾在“魔法和其他迷信仪式”中被使用（Strahlenberg 1736: 346—347）。自 20 世纪 80 年代以来，许多考古学家认为，岩画起源于古代萨满受致幻剂、精神创伤、禁食或冥想诱发的意识状态改变期间所体验到的幻象。在将岩画与萨满教联系起来这一问题上，20 世纪 60 年代的德国学者安德烈斯·劳梅尔（Andreas Lommel）首发其端。随后在 80 年代，南非的戴维·刘易斯-威廉姆斯（David Lewis Williams）——一位富有人类学背景的考古学家——将其发展成为一套融贯的理论。两位学者都对早期深以经验主义和实证主义为基础的岩画观点提出了挑战。

受伊利亚德（Eliade）《古老的人迷术》一书的启发，劳梅尔发行了自己的书，是一本图录——《萨满教：艺术的开始》（Lommel 1967）。他在书中强调，史前和现代部落艺术脱胎于萨满教的实践。劳梅尔复制了伊利亚德研究

In the 1970s, reflecting a feminist revision of humanities and social sciences, the late UCLA archaeologist Marija Gimbutas, who is famous for spearheading the Mother Goddess concept in humanities and metaphysical circles, assessed some Stone Age abstractions such as spirals and dots as metaphors for female reproductive organs: wombs, Fallopian tubes, and amniotic fluid (Allen 2001: 22). Furthermore, the anthropologist Alice Kehoe, a die-hard skeptic who passionately takes on those who want to see an evidence of shamanism in rock art, ironically suggests that some of these images could be simply pictures created by “primal” children who scribbled them just for pure pleasure, when their mothers, let us say, were busy collecting berries. In fact, some of the first explorers of rock art came up with a similar explanation arguing that the “primal” people did their art for pleasure.

The debates about possible links between the rock art and shamanism essentially lead to one question. Can scholars make educated guesses about the religion of “primal” people, or will it be better to restrict archaeological efforts to uncovering pot shards, arrowheads and food remains, “the trash of the prehistoric past,” as David Whitley, one of those who sees shamanism in painted caves and on painted rocks, put it (Harmon 1997: 02C). Indeed, since we will never find out about the meaning and purpose of rock art anyway, can we play a guessing game and suggest its religious origin? After all, much of modern tribal and Judeo-Christian art was and still is heavily informed by religious ideas. Why should we deny a similar content for the stone age and tribal *oeuvre*?

Besides, the association of rock art with the sacred world seems to be a natural instant reaction of people who experience it. Thus, first explorers of Siberia frequently reacted in this manner to ancient images pecked or drawn on rocks. In the early eighteenth century, Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg, a Swedish prisoner of war relegated to Siberia, ran across figures of the elk, horses and people ancient Siberian carved on stones in the Tom River area. Calling these images “characters,” he immediately assumed that they have had “secret signification” and might have been used in “magick and other superstitious ceremonies.” (Strahlenberg 1736: 346—347) Since the 1980s onward, many archaeologists began to argue that rock art had originated from visions ancient shamans experienced during altered states of consciousness triggered by hallucinogens, trauma, fasting or meditation. The “shamanic” revision of rock art was sparked by German writer, Andreas Lommel in the 1960s, and then, in the 1980s, was shaped into a consistent theory by David Lewis-Williams, a South African anthropologist-turned archeologist. Both authors challenged earlier views of rock art, which were deeply grounded in empiricism and positivism.

Inspired by the Eliadean book about the “archaic techniques of ecstasy,” Lommel (1967) released his own book, an illustrated album, *Shamanism: The Beginning of Art*, in which he stressed that prehistoric and modern tribal art grew out of shamanic practices.

萨满教的方法,确认古代和现代部落人群艺术中普遍存在的萨满教特点。尤其是,他拣选出四个主题:人与动物的形象、杂交生物、人或兽搏斗的形象,以及所谓“X射线”风格绘画。从而,劳梅尔指出,在他们的降神仪式中,西伯利亚萨满经常将自己变成动物,他认为,在欧洲旧石器时代的绘画中,伪装成动物的人是萨满。劳梅尔用来自法国的“三兄弟洞窟”(Cave of Les Trois Freres)中著名的人—兽混合形象“巫师”(the Sorcerer)来说明。

20世纪70年代,除了劳梅尔之外,韦斯顿·拉巴尔(Weston La Barre)、托马斯·布莱克本(Thomas Blackburn)和K·赫吉斯(K. Hedges)等学者也认为萨满可能是美国印第安岩画艺术的创造者。伊利亚德的书再一次为他们提供了一个方法论蓝图。在加利福尼亚岩画中发现有萨满教证据的考古学家K·赫吉斯强调说:“米尔恰·伊利亚德的经典研究为任何有关萨满教的调查提供了基础。”不过,这位学者在下结论时还是很谨慎,并没有坚持认为这种现象可以解释所有的岩石艺术。即使在那些我们可能只是略微察觉到萨满教因素存在的例子中,也肯定可以因此得出一个完整的解释,他补充道(Bahn 2001: 68)。

考古学对科学和量化方法的执着一直持续到20世纪70年代末,这可能与考古学的学科性质有关,考古学是一门根据古代人类遗留下来的稀少的物质遗存以研究古代历史的学科。在这种情况下,没有太多的空间可供我们泛论人类的宗教或精神状态。总的来说,与人类学相比,考古学在“打破”实证主义和唯物主义方面是滞后的。例如,虽然人类学家在20世纪六七十年代对伊利亚德的学术就很有兴趣,但在考古学方面,它的影响仍是微不足道。

那些年里,许多考古学家依附“文化生态学”派,这一派对过去的全球性社会变化进行推测,并将它与人们对环境的技术适应联系起来。戴维·惠特利(David Whitely)——那些将想象力灌输到考古学研究中的学者之一——解释道:“从根本上说,考古学是一门具体的科学。大多数考古学家对于能够从概念的层面获知史前史相当陌生。确实,他们被教导那是不可能的。然而那是错的。就我个人而言,我认为了解史前文化的信仰比了解他们吃什么重要得多。食乃大事,人每天都要吃饭。但当你知道他们吃什么之后,又怎么样呢?”^①

① “‘Prehistoric Graffiti’: Scientist Searches Meaning Behind Pecos Rock Painting,” *Avalanche Journal* (Lubbock, TX), December 27 (1997), <http://www.lubbockonline.com/stories/122797/LD0651.shtml>.

Replicating Eliade's approach to shamanism, Lommel identified universal shamanic traits in the art of ancient and modern tribal people. Particularly, the writer singled out four motifs: man-animal images, hybrid creatures, images portraying people or animals fighting animals, and drawings made in so-called X-ray style. Thus, pointing that during their séances Siberian shamans routinely transformed themselves into animals, Lommel argued that people depicted on European Paleolithic drawings in animal disguise were shamans. As an illustration, Lommel uses "the Sorcerer," the famous image of the man-animal from the Les Trois Frères cave in France.

In addition to Lommel, in the 1970s, such scholars as Weston La Barre, Thomas Blackburn and K. Hedges suggested that shamans might have been the people who produced American Indian rock art. Again, the Eliade book provided them a methodological blueprint. Archeologist K. Hedges, who found evidence of shamanism in California rock art, stressed, "Mircea Eliade's classic study provides the basis for any examination of shamanism." Still, the scholar was cautious in his conclusions and did not insist that this phenomenon could explain all rock art. Even in those cases, where we might sense that shamanism is involved, he added, one can be certain to arrive to a complete interpretation (Bahn 2001: 68).

The persistence of scientific and quantification methodologies in archaeology until the very end of the 1970s might have something to do with the nature of archaeology as a discipline, which deals with scarce material remains of the human past. Under these circumstances, there is not much room for generalizations about such things as religion or mental states of people. Overall, in contrast to anthropology, archaeology lagged anthropology in "busting" positivism and materialism in its ranks. For example, while anthropologists became very interested in the Eliade scholarship in the 1960s and the 1970s, in archaeology it still had only a marginal influence.

During those years, many archeologists clung to the school of "cultural ecology" that speculated about global social changes in the past and linked them to people's technological adaptation to environment. David Whitely, one of those who instilled imagination into archaeological research, explains, "Fundamentally, archaeology is a science of the concrete. The idea that we can get at the conceptual side of prehistory is something quite foreign to most archaeologists. Literally, they are taught it's an impossibility. But that's wrong. Personally, I think it's a heck of a lot more important to understand prehistoric cultural beliefs than what they ate. Eating was important. They did it every day. But after you know what they ate, so what?" ^①

① "'Prehistoric Graffiti': Scientist Searches Meaning Behind Pecos Rock Painting," *Avalanche Journal* (Lubbock, TX), December 27 (1997), <http://www.lubbockonline.com/stories/122797/LD0651.html>.

最终,人文社会科学中大体偏离实证和行为主义方法论的这一趋势有了呼应,许多考古学家跟随了他们人类学同僚的脚步。在20世纪70年代,尤其是80年代,他们开始较少关注经济、技术和人类对环境的适应,而把精力转移到个体、象征和宗教的作用上来,格外像旧时代的浪漫主义作家,他们想“复活”逝者,用精神灌输过去。理解古人精神状态的渴望是这种思考的自然结果。这些被称为认知考古学家的学者坚持认为,研究者不应束缚在对陶器和石器的挖掘与分类上,而应更为积极地信赖自己的想象力。他们认为,如果得到民族志类比的支持,这种方法将更加有助于我们理解我们的祖先是如何行动的。

20世纪六七十年代以来,西方知识文化圈热衷于探索幻觉、毒品、迷幻药、恍惚体验和想象。自然而然,学者们开始重新审视作为萨满幻觉经验产物的岩画,同时淡化甚至拒斥唯物主义的世俗解释。加利福尼亚考古学家克莱门特·梅根(Clement Meighan)在谈到岩画研究中的这种转向时写道:“近年来,将岩画与各种药物诱发的幻觉联系起来的出版物数量陡增,实非偶然(Bahn 2001: 77)。换句话说,哪里有早期的探索者看到狩猎巫术,哪里就有新一代的研究人员发现处于转变状态中的萨满。美国林业局的考古学家詹姆斯·凯瑟(James D. Keyser)很好地总结了这种对于岩画的新学术态度:“这与饱腹无关,与让你的精神饱满有关”(Jones 2002: D1)。

将萨满教带入岩画解释的引领性人物是约翰内斯堡威特沃特斯兰(Witwatersrand)大学的南非认知考古学教授戴维·刘易斯-威廉姆斯(David Lewis-Williams),他的专长是非洲西南部桑人部落(the San tribes)的古代和现代岩石艺术(Lewis-Williams 2002)。桑人在早期殖民资料和人类学作品中被贬损性地称为“布须曼人”(Bushmen)。在刘易斯-威廉姆斯对桑人古代和当代岩画的解读中,他首先借用民族志类比,寻求现代桑人灵性信仰和岩画之间的共同文化基础。例如,这位学者看到了现代桑人集体性恍惚舞蹈和可能描述了同样现象的古老图像之间的关联。

举个例子,让我们看看他是如何解释有着世界上最美丽岩画的德拉肯斯堡山脉图像的。在一幅场景中,一群人从狮子身旁逃跑,另一群人则悬于奔跑者的上方。早期的学者将这些悬挂之人解释为奔跑者的灵魂,奔跑者即将死去:灵魂已经准备好接纳这些在劫难逃之人。在刘易斯-威廉姆斯的解释中,这一场景描绘了人们在恍惚中变成了非洲羚羊。狮子就是在场糟糕的萨满之旅中备受折磨的萨满。

Eventually, responding to the general drift away from the positive and behaviorist methodologies in humanities and social sciences, many archaeologists followed their anthropology colleagues. In the 1970s and more so in the 1980s, they began to pay less attention to economy, technology and human adaptation to environment and more to the role of the individual, symbolism, and religion and Very much like Romantic writers of old, they wanted to “resurrect” the dead and to instill the past with spirit. A desire to grasp mental states of the ancient ones was a natural outcome of this thinking. Such scholars, who became known as cognitive archaeologists, maintained that rather than limiting themselves to digging and sorting potsherds and stone tools researchers should more actively rely on their imagination. They assumed that, if backed up by ethnographic analogy, this approach would help us better understand how our ancestors acted.

In the wake of the 1960s and the 1970s, when Western intellectual culture was keener to explore hallucinations, drugs, ecstasy, trance experiences, and imagination, it was natural that scholars began to revisit rock art as the product of shamans’ visionary experiences simultaneously downplaying or rejecting materialistic mundane interpretations. Referring to this shift in rock arts studies, California archaeologist Clement Meighan wrote, “It is no accident that recent years have seen a vast increase in the amount of publication relating rock art to various kinds of drug-induced visions. It is our culture that has been intensely interested and preoccupied with the drug culture during the past 20 years, and it is out of our own minds that the thought comes about prehistoric man’s use of drugs and the possible relationship this may have had to rock art.” (Bahn 2001: 77) In other words, where earlier explorers saw hunting magic, the new generation of researchers found shamans in altered states. James D. Keyser, an archeologist with US Forest Service, summarized well this new scholarly attitude to rock art: “It has nothing to do with keeping your belly full. It’s keeping your spirit full.” (Jones 2002: D1)

The person who led the way in the shamanic revision of rock art was David Lewis-Williams, a South African professor of cognitive archaeology from the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. His specialty is ancient and modern rock art of the San tribes in southwestern Africa; ^① the San are the people whom earlier colonial sources and anthropological works derogatory call the Bushmen. In his interpretation of their ancient and modern rock drawing, Lewis-Williams first turned to an ethnographic analogy seeking for a common cultural foundation between modern San spirituality and the rock drawings. For example, the scholar saw a similarity between the modern San collective trance dance and old images that might have described the same phenomenon.

As an example, let us see how he interprets images from the Drakensberg Mountains, the area that contains samples of the most beautiful rock art in the world. One scene portrays a group of men running away from a lion with another group hanging

① The most expanded and detailed version of the “shamanic” interpretation of African and North American rock art and European Paleolithic cave drawings, one can find in (Lewis-Williams 2002).

使用民族志类比的方法，考古学家将这幅特殊的图画、周围的岩石图像与萨满教以及现代桑人部落的迷狂（trance）联系起来。像许多其他部落的人群一样，桑人相信在他们迷狂期间，萨满可以转变成动物。桑人部落中的萨满也会在一群男人围着火堆跳舞、女人拍掌吟唱的队伍中通宵表演他们的仪式。当这些萨满感受到内在“沸腾”的精神能量的压力时，他们就进入了神灵的世界，通常会痛苦地俯身，有时还会流鼻血。刘易斯-威廉姆斯将这一特殊现象与德拉肯斯堡的绘画联系起来，其中许多画中人的鼻子上都有线条。一些其他图像描绘了人和人靠在一起，这也提醒了学者们，桑人是如何在迷狂中相互扶持的（Lewis-Williams 2001: 118; Layton 2000: 171, 174）。基于这些发现，刘易斯-威廉姆斯总结说，制作这种岩画的人是萨满，他们是在体验到意识变型状态后，甚至就是在迷狂状态下绘制了这些画。这位学者想象道：通过画这些图像，他们想说，“这就是我在神灵世界中的模样。”（Lewis-Williams 2001）

除了民族志类比，刘易斯-威廉姆斯还借力人类神经学以支持他的结论。人类神经学最终占据了他对岩画萨满教解释的核心位置。这就解释了为什么有时刘易斯-威廉姆斯的论文也被称为“神经心理学假说”。基于人类的神经系统不受时间和地点影响这一事实，他将古代和现代的桑人岩画和普通人与萨满在进入意识变型状态后所体验到的图像进行了比较。他发现，在这两种情况下，幻视中的“几何图案”惊人的相似：各种各样的点、锯齿形线条、平行线和其他图形。人类学家解释说，比如，当你服用迷幻药或长时间坐在黑暗的偏僻之地冥思时，你可能首先看到上述几何图案。随着迷幻程度加深，线条和圆点会变成螺旋形，圆圈会朝不同方向移动、相互重叠或改变形状。有时，人们可以看到各种有意义的物体，如蛇形物（snake-like figures）。在最后第三个阶段，真正的幻觉出现了，人们看到了像怪物、人和动物的生命形象（Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 16—19）。

刘易斯-威廉姆斯之所以想到用神经学来解释岩画，缘于他阅读了哥伦比亚人类学家吉拉多·瑞歇尔-多尔马托夫（Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff）的著作。瑞歇尔-多尔马托夫曾于20世纪60年代在哥伦比亚的德萨纳（Desana）印第安人中工作，探索能令意识状态变型的草药和精神技巧。应瑞歇尔-多尔马托夫之请，一些德萨纳人画出了他们在意识变型状态下幻视之旅中所看到的東西。瑞歇尔-多尔马托夫发现这些图像中的许多部分复制了德萨纳住居墙壁上的图案。在这些几何图案中有椭圆、菱形、一排排的圆、一排排的小点、

above the running people. Earlier scholars interpreted these hanging men as the spirits of the running people, who are about to die; the spirits were ready to accommodate the doomed people. In Lewis-Williams' interpretation the scene portrays people in trance who are turning into eland, the African antelope. The lion is a shaman who suffers a bad shamanic trip.

Using the ethnographic analogy method, the archaeologist linked this specific drawing and surrounding rock images to shamanism and trances of modern San tribes. Like many other tribal people, the San believe that during their trances, shamans can transform into animals. San shamans also perform their all-night ceremonies in companies of men who dance around the fire and women who clap and sing. When these shamans feel the pressure of spiritual energy that "boils" inside them, they enter the world of spirits usually bending over in pain and sometimes bleeding from the nose. Lewis-Williams connected this phenomenon to the Drakensberg drawings, many of which show people with lines coming from their noses. Some other images portray people are by other people, which also reminded the scholars the way the San support each other during their trances (Lewis Williams 2001; Layton 2000: 171, 174). Based on his findings, Lewis-Williams concluded that people who produced this rock art were shamans, who painted those drawings after they experienced their altered states or even during the trances. The scholar imagined that by drawing these images they wanted to say, "This is what I looked like in the spirit world." (Lewis-Williams 2001)

In addition to the ethnographic analogy, Lewis-Williams heavily bolstered his conclusion by turning to human neurology, which eventually came to occupy the central place in his shamanic interpretation of rock art. This explains why sometimes Lewis-Williams' thesis is also called a neuropsychological hypothesis. Drawing on the fact that human neurological system is the same irrespective of time and place, he compared ancient and modern San rock drawings with the imagery ordinary people and shamans experienced when they entered altered states. He found out that in both cases the visionary "geometry" was strikingly similar: various dots, zigzags, parallel lines, and other figures. The anthropologist explained that when one, for example, took hallucinogens or sat in a dark isolated place with closed eyes for a long time, this person at first could see the abovementioned geometry. As the trance proceeded, lines and dots turned into spirals, and circles that moved in different directions, overlapped, or changed their shape. Sometimes one could see various meaningful objects such as snake-like figures. At the last third stage, true hallucinations came, and the person saw life-like images of monsters, people, and animals. (Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 16—19)

The idea to use neurology for the interpretation of rock art came to Lewis-Williams from reading the writings of the Colombian anthropologist Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, who in the 1960s worked among the Desana Indians in Colombia exploring their mind-altering herbs and spiritual techniques. When at his request some Desana drew what they saw in their visionary journeys when in altered states, Reichel- Dolmatoff found out that many of these images replicated designs on the walls of Desana dwellings. Among these geometrical patterns were ellipses, diamonds, rows of circles, vertical rows of small dots, parallel curves, and spirals. Most important, the Indians informed the

平行曲线和螺旋形。最重要的是，印第安人告诉人类学家，他们通常在幻觉的初始阶段就设想出所有这些几何图案，在后来的阶段，他们观察到不同的神话场景、动物和人。瑞歇尔-多尔马托夫认为，这些几何图案可能与印第安人用来触发幻觉改变大脑的草药的生化效应有关。此外，他还指出，这种几何图案与西方受试者想象的图像一致，这些受试者服用了迷幻药，在迷幻药（LSD）、麦斯卡林（mescaline）、培约特（peyote）（即仙人掌）或其他药物的影响下进入了恍惚状态（Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978: 289—304）。尽管研究人员过去也提到，德萨纳人和西方人在意识变型状态中所想象的幻视几何图案可能有一个普遍的起源：“可以说，我们正在处理这样的基本主题，它们可以在任何地方和任何时代独立发展，因为它们只是圆、菱形、圆点和螺旋形而已”（Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972: 111）。

同时，作为一名沉溺于精神分析的欧洲人，瑞歇尔-多尔马托夫并没有发展出这一论点，因此也没有充分认识到德萨纳岩画和意识变型状态的精神意义。相反，他更喜欢翻来覆去地使用弗洛伊德的习语。尤其是，这位学者将德萨纳的迷幻经历与性交的象征意义，以及将虚幻的几何图案与生殖器官的符号联系在一起。于是，平行的弧形变成了阴道，同心的长方形获得了子宫的特征，一排排的圆点和圆圈是精液滴，最后锯齿线指向了人类世代的延续（Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972: 108—109）。

将他的精神分析搁置一旁，刘易斯-威廉姆斯和他的学生托马斯·道森（Thomas Dowson）在瑞歇尔-多尔马托夫的作品中提取了他们认为的真理种子（the grains of truth），并发展了他们关于岩画萨满教起源的论文。刘易斯-威廉姆斯与道森在一篇开创性的论文《永恒的符号》中阐述了他们的重要假定，即在意识变型状态下，人们可能会体验到上述不以时间和地点而转移的几何图案。换句话说，不管是布须曼人、欧洲人、美洲土著人，或者生活在30000年前的石器时代的猎人，在他们迷狂状态的第一阶段，图像是一样的：网格、锯齿线、圆点、螺旋和平行弧（Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988）。《美国印第安岩画通报》的编辑史蒂夫·弗里斯（Steve Freers）曾就这一主题发表过很多演讲，他解释说：“众所周知，在意识变型状态下，世界各地的人们，无论种族或年龄，都有某些图像可以在没有任何视觉刺激的情况下闪现在他们的大脑中。其中一些图像在岩画中反复出现（Patterson 2001）。在他看来，岩画与萨满教的联系是非常明显的，因为进入意识变型状态是萨满职业的本质，重复的几何图案说明萨满正是制作岩画的人。

anthropologist that they usually envisioned all that geometry during an initial stage of a hallucination, and that at later stages they observed different mythic scenes, animals, and people. Reichel-Dolmatoff suggested that these geometrical patterns might have something to do with the biochemical effects of mind-altering herbs the Indians took to trigger their visions. Moreover, he also pointed out that this geometry coincided with the imagery envisioned by Western subjects who took hallucinogens and went into trances under the influence of LSD, mescaline, peyote or other drugs (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978: 289—304). Though in passing, the researcher also mentioned that the visionary geometry both the Desana and Westerners envisioned while in altered states might have had a universal origin: “It could be argued that we are dealing with such elementary motifs that they could have evolved independently in any place and any era, for they are simply circles, diamonds, dots, and spirals, and nothing more.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972: 111)

At the same time, being a European heavily steeped in psychoanalysis, Reichel-Dolmatoff did not develop this argument and therefore did not fully appreciate the spiritual significance of Desana rock art and altered states. Instead, he preferred to toss around Freudian idioms. Particularly, the scholar linked Desana’s trance experiences to the symbolism of the coitus and the visionary geometry to the symbols of reproductive organs. Thus, parallel arcs became vaginas, concentric rectangles acquired uterine features, rows of dots and circles were drops of semen, and finally zigzag lines pointed to the succession of human generations. (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972: 108—109)

Casting aside his psychoanalysis, Lewis-Williams and his student Thomas Dowson picked up what they considered the grains of truth in Reichel-Dolmatoff’s writings and developed their thesis about the shamanic origin of rock art. Their major premise, which Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1988) articulated in a seminal paper “The Signs of All Times”, is that in their altered states people might experience much of the abovementioned geometry irrespective of time and place. In other words, one can be a Bushman, European, Native American, or a Stone Age hunter living 30000 years ago, still during the first stage of their trances images would be the same: grids, zigzags, dots, spirals, and parallel arcs. Rendering Lewis-Williams’ thesis into a popular language, Steve Freers, the editor of the *American Indian Rock Art Bulletin*, who lectured much on the subject, explains, “It has been well established that in altered states of consciousness people around the world, regardless of ethnicity or age, have certain images that can pop up in their brain without any visual stimuli. Some of these images we see repeated in rock art.” (Patterson 2001) To stress the spiritual significance of the common patterns found on rock drawings or envisioned by people during the first stage of their altered state, Lewis-Williams named them *entoptics*. From his viewpoint, the linkage to shamanism in rock art is obvious: since entering altered states is the essence of the shamanic vocation, the repeated geometrical patterns suggest that shamans were the people who produced rock drawings.

随着时间的推移，这位学者指出，人们在当地文化特征中普遍存在的几何图案上涂色，并开始把这些特征培养成幻觉体验的必备条件。最后，在进入迷狂体验之前，萨满可能会期望看到这些文化环境下的图像。刘易斯-威廉姆斯补充道，这或许可以解释为什么特定的地点会采集到相同的图像，例如，桑人岩画中的非洲羚羊。刘易斯-威廉姆斯详细阐述了他的神经心理学假设，他解释说处于意识变型状态下的人和萨满的幻觉体验通常经历三个阶段。在第一阶段，人们只看到几何图案，这些图案代表了基础图像。在第二阶段，人类大脑试图根据个人和文化经验调整这种几何图案。然后，在最后一个阶段，人们看到了真实的图像。此外，这些图像可能与第一阶段的几何图案混合或重叠。

举例来说，作为一幅掺杂了少量文化特点的基本普遍图像，刘易斯-威廉姆斯引用了一幅由平行弧线和蜜蜂组成的桑人岩画。这位研究者提醒说，在野外自然环境中，蜂巢可能是嵌套的平行弧线的样式。这位学者认为，绘制这幅图像的萨满可能经历过蜂巢的景象。他还注意到，现代的桑人把蜜蜂视为巫师用于进入迷幻状态的神圣力量的象征，这是一个民族志的类比。同时，刘易斯-威廉姆斯指出，“蜜蜂”意象可能起源于人们在意识状态改变时有时会听到嗡嗡声的一种常见的神经反应（Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988: 210）。

最终，人类学家与其追随者们将他们的从桑人岩画中得出的结论推广至北美古代岩画和西欧洞穴艺术中。对这些学者来说，古代的图像不仅仅是萨满在另一个世界所看到的记录。刘易斯-威廉姆斯把它们看作是赋予精神力量的图画。因此，刘易斯-威廉姆斯和他的法国同事让·克洛特（Jean Clottes）——一位接受“内视”（*entoptic*）理论的法国学者——在撰写旧石器时代的欧洲洞穴艺术时，认为古代萨满在他们的仪式操作中以某种方式使用了这种岩画，比方说，为了重复进入隐藏在岩石墙后面的“另一种真实”（*separate reality*）。他们还推测了这可能是怎么发生的。在他们看来，石器时代的灵修者可以面对和触摸神圣的图画跳舞，并用精神力量来充实自己，帮助他们进入神灵的世界（Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 33）。

从灵性信仰的角度重新思考岩画，他们还建议不仅仅是图像，就是承载这些图像的岩石表面也可以被视为神圣的领域。刘易斯-威廉姆斯和克洛特指出，穴壁或岩石不一定是绘画的画布。它们可能是将物质世界和精神世界分隔开来的一层幔帐或薄膜。古老的萨满通过图像蔓布的岩石面板进行仪式操作，可以直接与其他世界的生灵互动。考古学家认为，在洞穴墙壁的裂缝中

In the course of time, notes the scholar, people colored the universal geometrical patterns in local cultural traits and began to cultivate these traits as mandatory for their hallucinogenic experiences. Eventually, before going in trance experiences, shamans might have expected to see these culturally conditioned images. This might explain, adds Lewis-Williams, why particular localities sample same images, as for example, the African antelope eland in the San rock art. Detailing his neuropsychological hypothesis Lewis-Williams explains that the visionary experiences of shamans and people in altered states in general usually go through three stages. At the first stage, people see only geometrical patterns, which represent the base imagery. During the second stage, the human brain tries to adjust this geometry to individual and cultural experiences. Then, at the last stage, people see actual images. Furthermore, these images might blend or overlap with the geometry of the first stage.

As an example of a base universal image with cultural drops, Lewis-Williams cites a San rock drawing showing parallel arcs with bees. In the wild, reminds the researcher, honeycombs might acquire the form of nested parallel arcs. The scholar suggests that a shaman who drew this image might have experienced the vision of a honeycomb. It is also notable to him that the modern San view bees as symbols of sacred power that shamans use to enter their trances — an ethnographic analogy. At the same time, Lewis-Williams notes that the “bee” imagery might have originated from a common neurological reaction of people who sometimes hear buzzing noises while entering altered states. (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988: 210)

Eventually, the anthropologist and his followers extended the conclusions they drew about the San rock art to North American ancient rock drawings and Western European cave art. To these scholars, the ancient images were not simply recordings of what shamans saw in the other world. Lewis-Williams came to consider them the pictures endowed with spiritual potency. Thus, writing about the Paleolithic European cave art, Lewis-Williams and his French colleague Jean Clottes, who embraced his *entoptic* theory, argue that ancient shamans somehow used this rock art in their ritual manipulations, let us say, for repeated access to the “separate reality” hidden behind rock walls. They also speculated how it might have happened. In their view, the stone age spiritual practitioners could dance facing and touching the sacred drawings, and charging themselves with spiritual power, which helped them to enter the world of spirits. (Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 33)

Rethinking rock art in terms of spirituality, they also suggest that not only the images but also the very surface they were depicted on could be the realm of the sacred. The cave wall or rock was not necessarily a canvas for drawing, points out Lewis-Williams and Clottes. This might have been a veil or a thin membrane that separated material and spirit worlds. Doing their ritual manipulations by rock panels filled with images, ancient shamans could directly interact with other worldly beings. The archaeologists think that animal teeth and bones frequently found in the cracks in cave

经常发现的兽齿和骨头以及这些墙壁上的手印表明，萨满不仅借助岩石表面的绘画，还试图直接与他们交谈。看来，神灵也不是一味被动，他们同样欲从墙的另一边“破壁”来会一会这些灵修者。至少，刘易斯-威廉姆斯和克洛特就是这么解释古代的画家何以将自然曲线融入他们的绘画。例如，在著名的阿尔塔米拉洞穴最深的部分之一，一位原始艺术家在墙上涂绘脸面时将这些自然曲线巧变为眼睛。考古学家推测，对于古代萨满而言，这可能是一个从墙后显现的神灵（Carey 2002; Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 84—86, 91）。

顺便提及，这两位学者都强调，一般很难抵达的旧石器时代洞穴和岩棚有着高度聚集的绘画，这是很好的辅助性证据可以支持神经心理学的解释与萨满教。事实上，洞穴应该是触发意识变型的理想地点。早在1965年，在法国，一位研究人员甚至为一篇医学论文辩护，他分析了穴居人在不同时期经历的各种声音和视觉幻觉。黑暗或半黑暗的环境、壁龛、狭窄的通道、钟乳石、寒冷和寂静是萨满诱导幻觉的完美的天然工具。实际上，一些岩石图像位于如此狭窄和逼仄之地，人们必须匍匐着过去才能看到它们。例如，在拉斯科洞穴中，一处汇集猫类动物、马、鹿和其他动物样本的点紧贴地面，人们必须躺下翻身才能看到这些图像（Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 108）。

克洛特试图说服那些拒绝接受“萨满假说”的人，他谈到一个人在没有手电筒的情况下冒险进入洞穴时通常会体验的情绪。为了理解这种经历对“原始”人意味着什么，克洛特和刘易斯-威廉姆斯只提了个灯油罐就进入了法国南部的肖维洞穴（Chauvet cave）。从一间穴室到另一间穴室，他们注意到岩石和墙壁在闪烁的灯火中摇曳。两人的情绪体验，如克洛特所言“是令人惊叹的，墙壁变得有生气起来。”没有理由怀疑洞穴画家可能也有着同样的感受，克洛特补充道。尽管这位考古学家承认我们永远无法明确地弄清洞穴画家的信仰和仪式，他依然热情地坚持说：“在那样的社会，特别是在洞穴深处，图像的力量是不可等闲视之的。”（O'Brien 1998）

随着萨满教解释在岩画研究中的流行，更多的学者加入“认知考古学家”的阵营。具有普遍意义的神经心理学模型加强了伊利亚德的萨满教幻像学说，并促使学者们在不同时代和文化背景中的岩画艺术中进行广泛的跨文化比较。因此，研究人员最终重访欧洲洞穴艺术、加利福尼亚美洲土著和澳大利亚土著岩石艺术，甚至英国铁器时代的货币。事实上，正如我前面提到的，刘易斯-威廉姆斯自己也邀请学者们在世界各地的岩画中直接进行跨文化的类比。例如，他与法国考古学家克洛特合著了《史前萨满教》，这是一本画册，用萨

walls as well as handprints on these walls show that the shamans tried to engage spirits not only by drawing on rock surface but also to speak with them in a direct way. It seems that the spirits did not remain passive either and similarly “tried” to reach out to the spiritual practitioners by “poking” walls from the other side. At least, that is how Lewis-Williams and Clottes interpret natural curves ancient painters integrated into their drawings. For example, in one of the deepest sections of the famous Altamira cave a primal artist turned such curves into eyes on painted faces. The archeologists surmise that for the ancient shaman this could be a spirit coming out from behind the wall. (Carey 2002; Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: 84—86, 91)

Incidentally, both scholars stress that the high concentration of drawings in Paleolithic caves and in rock shelters, which are usually hard to reach, stands as good additional evidence in favor of the neuropsychological interpretation and shamanism. Indeed, the cave should represent an ideal location to trigger altered state of consciousness. As early as the 1965, in France a researcher even defended a medical thesis, where he analyzed various sound and visual hallucinations, which cavers experienced at various times. Dark or half-dark environment, alcoves, narrow passages, stalactites, cold and silence are perfect natural tools shamans could use to induce hallucinations. In fact, some rock images are located in such narrow and cramped places that one literally must crawl to look at them. For example, in the Lascaux cave, one spot that samples cat-like creatures, horses, deer and other animals is so close to the ground that one has to lie down and turn over to see these images. (Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998: p.108)

Trying to convince those who refused to subscribe to the “shamanic hypothesis,” Clottes points to the emotions a person usually experiences when venturing into a cave without a flashlight. To comprehend what this experience might have meant for “primal” people, Clottes and Lewis-Williams entered the Chauvet cave in southern France with only grease pots for lamps. Moving chamber to chamber they noticed that the flickering lights made the rocks and walls glimmer with shapes and movement. Conveying the emotions they experienced, Clottes stresses, “The effect is spectacular, because the walls become alive.” There is no reason not to believe that cave painters might have felt the same way, adds Clottes. Although the archeologist does admit that we will never find out for sure about the creeds and the ceremonies of cave painters, he passionately insists, “The power of the images is not something casual in that society, especially deep in the caves.” (O’Brien 1998)

As the popularity of the shamanism interpretation in rock studies grew, more scholars joined the ranks of “cognitive archaeologists.” The neuropsychological model with universal implications bolstered the Eliadean vision of shamanism and prompted scholars to draw wide cross-cultural parallels among rock arts of various times and cultures. Thus, researchers eventually revisited the European cave art, Californian Native American and Australian aboriginal rock art, and even British Iron Age coinage. In fact, as I mentioned above, Lewis-Williams himself invited scholars to draw direct cross-cultural analogies among rock drawings from various parts of the globe. For example,

满教的视野重新审视法国和西班牙著名的旧石器时代洞穴，如拉斯科和阿尔塔米拉。

20 世纪 90 年代，刘易斯-威廉姆斯在北美的追随者以类似的方式重新观察美国本土岩画。美国的认知学者使用同样的工具：民族志类比和神经学。我在一本流行的学术杂志《考古学与公共教育》上的一篇文章中看到了这个地区岩画的萨满教解释的最佳隐喻。考古学家拉里·洛恩多夫（Larry Loendorf）支持将刘易斯-威廉姆斯的“萨满教几何图形”（shamanic geometry）应用于美洲原住民的岩画，他根据 1935 年皮马（Pima）印第安人的一首仪式歌曲直接进行民族志类比。这首歌是这样的：

吾偕日而出。

吾逐日而升。

锯齿线绘于吾身！

追随着太阳，

锯齿线绘于吾身！（Loendorf and Douglas 1997: 6）

从萨满教视野重访北美岩画最重要的推动力来自加州考古学家戴维·惠特利，他曾在南非与刘易斯-威廉姆斯密切合作。这位考古学家的职业生涯是在加州中东部的科索山脉（Coso Range）研究岩画。由所谓“努米克语族”（Numic）印第安人，也即今天的肖肖尼（Shoshone）印第安人的祖先在科索山脉雕刻的图像，既有大约一万年前的最早的图画，也有几百年前的凿刻。这些图画中的大部分，数量约在十万幅左右是在不到 1500 年前制作的。其中一半画的是正被杀或者已经被杀的山区大角羊。也有表现的是一些男性正搭箭射向羊群。岩石面板上还有其他的图画：动物、爬行动物、搏斗场景，还有一些难以解读的“线条艺术”。再有，刘易斯-威廉姆斯利用惠特利提供的科索山脉的材料发展了他最初的神经心理学理论，这是他继桑人岩画外，利用北美的材料作为第二个案例。惠特利复制了他同事的理论，认为科索山脉和其他大盆地地区的历史和史前岩画大多是萨满在向神灵祈求力量，处于恍惚状态中与神对话期间产生的。惠特利强调，古代的修行者需要在现场记录他们的梦幻意象。否则，他们就有丧失体验和失去药力的风险。

在惠特利提出他的重审意见之前，遵循当代标准解释的研究人员确信，例如，科索山脉中丰富的大角羊图像与狩猎巫术有关——被戮之羊的灵魂必

he paired with French archaeologist Clottes to produce *The Shamans of Prehistory*, an illustrated album that contains the “shamanic” revision of the drawings from famous French and Spanish Paleolithic caves such as Lascaux and Altamira.

In the 1990s, the followers of Lewis-Williams in North America revisited Native American rock art in a similar manner. American cognitive scholars used the same tools: the ethnographic analogy and neurology. The best metaphor for the shamanic revision of rock art in this part of the world I found in an article published in a popular scholastic magazine *Archaeology and Public Education*. Supporting the “shamanic geometry” of Lewis-Williams as applied to Native American rock drawings, archaeologist Larry Loendorf draws a direct ethnographic analogy from a 1935 Pima Indian ritual song that goes as follows:

The sunrise I'm going with.
The sunrise I'm following.
With zigzag lines I'm pained.
Following the sun,
With zigzag lines, I'm pained. (Loendorf and Douglas 1997)

The major driving force behind the “shamanic” revision of North American rock art is David Whitley, a California archeologist who closely worked with Lewis-Williams in South Africa. The archeologist built his career researching the petroglyphs in Coso Range, the area at east-central California. Engraved by so-called Numic people, the ancestors of present-day Shoshone Indians, the Coso Range images range from the earliest drawings made about 10000 years ago to modern ones pecked a few hundred years ago. Most of these drawings, which number about 100000, were produced less than 1500 years ago. A half of them are drawings that sample mountain horn sheep being killed or already killed. There are also male figures that are shown shooting at those sheep with arrows. The rock panels also have other drawings: animals, reptiles, fight scenes, and some “line art” that is hard to interpret. Incidentally, Lewis-Williams used the Coso Range materials provided by Whitley to develop his original neuropsychological theory using North America as a second case in addition to the San drawings. Replicating the theory of his colleague, Whitley argued that historic and prehistoric rock art in Coso Range and in other Great Basin areas was mostly produced by shamans during their vision quests in a state of trance when they were seeking spiritual powers. The ancient spiritual practitioners, stresses Whitley needed to record their visionary imagery on the spot. Otherwise, they ran a risk to forget their experiences and lose medicine power.

Before Whitley came up with his revision, researchers, who followed a standard contemporary explanation, were convinced, for example, that the big horn sheep images abundant in the Coso Range were related to hunting magic - the spirit of the killed sheep

须被描绘,以确保新的动物之躯也能被猎杀。例如,罗伯特·海泽(Robert Heizer)和马丁·鲍姆霍夫(Martin Baumhoff)在20世纪50年代撰写了大盆地地区考古学的文章,他们坚信,无论是谁制作了这些图像,猎人还是萨满,目标都是一样的:利用岩石图像来确保即将到来的狩猎的成功。然而,令他们困惑的是,有些绘画和图案,如蜥蜴、山羊、格栅、耙、连环,在广阔的地理区域均有分布,并不总是与特定的动物栖息地相关。尽管如此,考古学家还是倾向于坚持狩猎巫术理论,认为可能有一些通用的岩画制作符号与所有大盆地部落的狩猎仪式有关(Heizer and Baumhoff 1962: 281)。

惠特利踏进了这一领域并给出自己的解释。他特别指出,尽管有许多大角羊的图画,但在当地遗址中几乎没有发现任何羊的遗骸可以表明这种动物对努米克人的饮食至关重要。为了严格遵循狩猎巫术理论,惠特利强调,人们应该期待岩画中描绘兔子,因为兔子的骨骼遗存在努米克人遗址中倒是很丰富:“如果他们是根据吃什么来制作岩画,那么岩画中的兔子应该比比皆是。”(Roach 2003)故而,他得出结论说,科索山脉岩画无关食物供需,而是与精神生活有关。惠特利的建议是所谓的“雨师”(rain shaman)凿刻了这些岩画,在他们的梦幻体验中,他们借助了羊灵。

和刘易斯-威廉姆斯一样,为了捍卫自己的论点,惠特利广泛依赖民族学类比,并且责备反对这种方法的学术同行。这位考古学家坚持认为“萨满教的仪式数个世纪以来一直保持不变”(Roach 2003),并且也不因为将现代甚至当代印第安人关于岩画的思考投射到原始创造者的头脑中而感到不妥或不安。因此,惠特利指出,根据现有的民族志,生活在科索山脉地区的现代印第安人相信,当一只大角羊被杀死时,就会降雨。于是,他们的萨满会梦见一只大角羊被杀死,从而获得改变天气的能力。根据惠特利的说法,这就解释了为什么考古学家在印第安人没有猎杀这些动物的地区发现了如此多的羊图像。此外,除了“雨师”,在现代南加州还有“响尾蛇萨满”(rattlesnake shamans),通过在他们的幻觉中看到蛇来治愈蛇咬伤;“防箭萨满”(arrow proof shamans),通过梦到搏斗和战役来确保军事的成功。甚至还有“马疗萨满”(horse-cure shamans),他们在治疗行为中借用马灵。与刘易斯-威廉姆斯非常相似的是,惠特利指出,科索图像可能不仅仅只是萨满一次性体验的记录。古代的灵修者可以通过触摸这些图像进入一个与现实平行的世界(Pearson 2002: 91—92, 147)。

同时,与南非同事不同的是,惠特利还吸收了当前人文社会科学中的一

had to be portrayed in order to make sure that the body of a new animal would be available to be killed. For example, Robert Heizer and Martin Baumhoff, who in the 1950s wrote about the archaeology of the Great Basin area, firmly believed that no matter who produced these images, hunters or shamans, the goal was the same: to use the rock imagery to secure success in coming hunts. What puzzled them however was the fact that some drawings and designs such as lizards, mountain sheep, grid, rake, connected circles occurred over a vast geographical area and did not always correlate with the specific animal habitats. Still, the archeologist preferred to cling to the hunting-magic thesis suggesting that there might have been some generic petroglyph-making symbolism involved associated with hunting rituals of all Great Basin tribes. (Heizer and Baumhoff 1962: 281)

Whitley stepped into this niche and offered his own explanation. Particularly, he pointed that, despite the numerous big horn sheep drawings, there were hardly any sheep remains found in local sites to show that this animal was crucial for the Numic people's diet. To follow strictly to the hunting magic theory, stressed Whitley, one should expect rock drawings to portray rabbits, whose bone are plentiful at Numic sites: "If they were going to make rock art out of what they were eating, there'd be bunnies all over the rock." (Roach 2003) Hence, he concluded that Coso Range drawings were not about a food supply but about the spiritual life. Whitley's suggestion is that so-called rain shamans, who engaged the sheep spirit during their visionary experiences, engraved the rock art in this area.

Like Lewis-Williams, to support his thesis Whitley widely relies on the ethnographic analogy and chastises those of his colleagues who speak against this method. The archeologist insists that "shamanic rituals have persisted unchanged for centuries" (Roach 2003) and does not feel uncomfortable projecting what modern and even contemporary Indians think about rock art to the minds of its original makers. Thus, Whitley notes that, according to existing ethnographies, in modern times the Indians living in the Coso Range area believed that when a mountain sheep was killed rain would fall. Hence, their shamans would dream about a mountain sheep being killed and thereby acquired the power to change the weather. According to Whitley, this explains why archeologists found so many sheep images in the area where the Indians did not hunt these animals. Incidentally, in addition to the "rain shamans," in modern times in southern California there were also "rattlesnake shamans" who cured snakebites by seeing snake in their visions, "arrow proof shamans," who dreamed of fights and battles to secure success of military parties. There were even "horse-cure shamans," who engaged the horse spirit in their curing practices. Very much like Lewis-Williams, Whitley notes that Coso drawing might not simply be records of shamans' one-time experience. The ancient spiritual practitioners could enter a parallel reality by touching these images (Pearson 2002: 91—92, 147).

At the same time, unlike his South African colleague, Whitley also draws on a gender interpretation of past events, a trend popular in current humanities and social sciences.

种流行趋势，即对过去事件的性别解释。他猜想科索山脉努米克人的社群陷入一场发生在男女性别之间的密集的权力斗争。通过分析骨骼和种子遗存，考古学家认为，约 800 年前，当地居民处于从流动狩猎采集社会向流动较少的采集经济转变的过程中。他推测这可能意味着妇女经济地位的改变，妇女对社群生活的贡献已经有大幅度增加。这些进步可能引起了努米克男性的不安。考古学家认为，这一变化可能导致了操控天气（weather controlled）萨满教的骤然兴起，同时也导致了岩画的大规模生产（数量众多的大角羊画）。他假设，用被杀戮的羊的图像填充岩石表面，萨满们可能意在向女性表示，他们仍然是强大的仪式修行者，能够控制对女性采集活动至关重要的天气。同时，惠特利继续说道，萨满巫师可能只是想证明，尽管狩猎活动减少，他们男性的地位仍然不可轻视。从本质上讲，惠特利认为这种天气萨满教是一个重要的社会和政治控制工具，可以保证男性在努米克人社会中的主导地位（Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988: 238; Devereux 1997: 170, 175; Pearson 2002: 93—94, 134）。

在古物中追寻萨满教的迷狂体验产生了一个以三位关键学术人物为中心的小型学术流派：刘易斯-威廉姆斯、克洛特与惠特利。在很多方面，这种情况让人想起了沃森（Wasson）的“蘑菇”（mushroom）理论，它创造了一个类似的知识爱好者圈。顺便说一下，《苏摩》（Soma）的作者也赞成神经心理学理论。沃森分析了 2000 年前霍普韦尔（Hopewell）文化中的“萨满”文物，他解释了用云母切割出来的万字符（这种图案是为悬挂仪式服装而设计的）源于人们在致幻剂诱导的恍惚状态中体验的几何内视图像（Devereux 1997: 117）。

许多考古学家参与了对古代岩画的研究，他们成为了寻求萨满教图像学的认知学者。萨满教图像学正朝着神经心理学决定论的方向快速前进，并且认为古代的图画是受视觉经验影响的。有学者将刘易斯-威廉姆斯的研究方法扩展到那些显然没有迷幻主题的岩石遗址。不少学者对神经心理学理论抱以热情，一位叫坎贝尔（C. Campbell）的学者将刘易斯-威廉姆斯的假说投射到描述 19 世纪晚期非洲部落和殖民者之间冲突的岩画上。对这位学者来说，武装的骑兵殖民者向桑人射击这样一幅历史内容很清晰的岩石画面表现的是在一个处于恍惚状态的土著萨满的头脑中事件的重演。带着兴奋之情，一位新加入“迷狂考古学”（archeology of trance）的爱好者写道，他终于找到了一个有用的方法论工具，可以很容易地用来解释他一直在努力琢磨的材料：新南威尔士西部（澳大利亚）一处大型遗址的岩画。一如平常，媒体在这场

Thus, he imagines that the Coso Range Numic society was engaged in an intensive struggle for power between males and females. Exploring bone and seed remains, the archeologist suggests that about eight hundred years ago their inhabitants were in the process of changing from mobile hunting-gathering societies to less-mobile gathering economies. He surmises that this could mean a change in the economic status of women, whose contribution to life of communities might have drastically increased. These developments could make Numic males feel insecure, generalizes Whitely. The archaeologist suggested that this change might have led to a dramatic rise of weather-controlled shamanism and simultaneously to the mass production of rock art (numerous drawings of big horns). He hypothesizes that, filling rock surfaces with the images of killed sheep, shamans might have wanted to show to females that they were still powerful as ritual practitioners who could control weather that was crucial for women's gathering. At the same time, continued Whitely, the shamans might have simply wanted to demonstrate that they remained important as males despite the decline of hunting. Essentially, Whitely asserts that this weather shamanism was an important tool of social and political control that could guarantee the male domination in Numic society. (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988: 238; Devereux 1997: 170, 175; Pearson 2002: 93—94, 134)

The search for shamanic trance experiences in antiquity created a small scholarship of centered around the three key scholarly figures: Lewis-Williams, Clottes and Whitely. In many respects, the situation reminds the story about the Wasson's "mushroom" theory, which created a similar circle of intellectual devotees. Incidentally, the author of *Soma* added his voice to the neuropsychological theory. Analyzing "shamanic" artifacts of the Hopewell culture dated by two thousand years ago, Wasson interpreted swastika designs cut out of mica, designed for hanging ceremonial costumes, as originating from geometric entropic images people experience in trances states induced by hallucinogens (Devereux 1997: 117).

Many archaeologists, who were involved into the study of the ancient rock art, became cognitive scholars on a quest for shamanic iconography moving fast forward in the direction of neuropsychological determinism and arguing that drawings of the ancient ones were informed by visionary experiences. There are scholars who extend the Lewis-Williams approach to the rock sites that are clearly devoid of trance themes. Thus, in his enthusiasm for the neuropsychological theory, certain C. Campbell projects the Lewis-Williams hypothesis to the rock images that depicted late nineteenth-century conflicts between African tribes and colonizers. To this scholar, a panel with a clear historical content that shows armed mounted colonists shooting at the San people represents rerun of the event in a mind of an indigenous shaman who was in a trance state. With an excitement, a devotee newly inducted into the "archeology of trance" wrote that he finally found a useful methodological tool he could easily use to interpret materials he struggled with: petroglyphs at a large site in western New South Wales (Australia). As usual, media brings an element of sensationalism into this debate. For example, a popular geography magazine compares Lewis-Williams insights into the spiritual geometry of the

辩论中加入了哗众取宠的成分。例如,一本流行的地理杂志将刘易斯-威廉姆斯对岩石的精神几何图形的洞察与弗洛伊德对梦的语言的解读进行了比较 (Solomon 2001: 169; Mowszowski 2002: 18)。

既有拥趸,谤亦随之。后者试图抑制有关萨满教重审岩画的乐观情绪,告诫他们的同事,他们掉进了制造另一个包罗万象理论的风险中。这些学术评论家讽刺地称刘易斯-威廉姆斯的信徒和追随者为“萨满狂”(shamaniacs)。公平地说,不管他们的批评是什么,用萨满教来解读岩画的支持者,但是确实意识到了它的局限。刘易斯-威廉姆斯自己也承认,一个人当然不能用他的内视理论来解释所有的岩画。

再看惠特利,他曾经坚持科索山脉图像的萨满教起源,现在他正在写一篇论文,他想把狩猎理论的解释带回美国西部高原盆地,解释一处他认为不符合萨满教模式的特殊岩画。怀疑论者罗伯特·莱顿(Robert Layton)指出,澳大利亚土著艺术中确实充斥着几何形式,但没有古老或现代的民族志证据证明这些图像来自当地萨满的恍惚幻觉。安妮·所罗门(Anne Solomon)写道,在许多情况下,通过熟悉的神话隐喻来解读桑人的岩画,听起来比刘易斯-威廉姆斯的“萨满教方法”更为可信。例如,一些桑人岩画图像强烈地指向女性成丁礼舞蹈。在开普西南的一处遗址,人们可以看到只描绘了女性的图画,她们被以具有性暗示的姿势描绘,双手捂着腹股沟。所罗门将这些图像与当地女性的成丁礼联系起来。她的结论很简单,由于没有办法找出这些绘画的意义,学者们应该对可能导致艺术产生的各种语境持开放态度。在这种情况下,我们不应把桑人艺术中的萨满教看作一种解释,而仅仅是现有的理解之一 (Solomon 2001: 165—166)。

不仅是学术界,一些现代西方萨满教实践者也对刘易斯-威廉姆斯的理论表示怀疑,特别是关于内视理论那一部分。《萨满之鼓》的编辑蒂莫西·怀特(Timothy White)强调了这些推测的危险,认为这些没有事实支持的推测属于自取灭亡。我想说,这是所有流行理论的自然命运。怀特对致幻萨满教并不陌生,他也向我们指出,人们不能把处于意识变型状态下的人们的幻觉体验简化为刘易斯-威廉姆斯的三阶段几何图形。例如,根据使用的迷幻药类型,这种图像有很大的不同。培约特(peyote)、死藤水(ayahuasca)或曼陀罗(Datura)——所有这些都可能导致具有完全不同几何结构的视觉 (White 1988: 25, 27)。

另一个有趣的观念浮现在许多坚持萨满教解释的学者的著作中。他们默

rock with Freud's deciphering of the language of dreams.^①

As it happens in such cases, there are skeptics and critics. They try to tame the optimism about the "shamanic" revision of rock art cautioning their colleagues that they run a risk of producing another all-embracing theory. Such academic critics ironically call Lewis-Williams' devotees and followers "shamaniacs."^② [In all fairness, no matter what their critics they, the proponents of shamanic view of rock art, do realize its limitations. Lewis-Williams himself points out that one certainly cannot explain all rock art through the eyes of his *entoptic* theory. In his turn, Whitely, who insists that the Coso Range imagery is shamanic in its origin, now works on a paper in which he wants to bring back the hunting theory interpretation to explain a particular rock art in the American West plateau basin, which he thinks does not fit the shamanic pattern.] Robert Layton, one these skeptics, points that in Australia aboriginal art is indeed infested with geometrical forms, but there is no old or modern ethnographic evidence to prove that this imagery comes from the trance visions of local shamans. Anne Solomon writes that in many cases the interpretation of the San rock art through the familiar metaphors of their mythology sounds more plausible than the "shamanic approach" of Lewis-Williams. For example, some San rock images strongly point to female initiation dances. In a southwest Cape site, one can see drawings that depict only females, who are depicted in sexually suggestive poses holding hands over their groins. Solomon links these images to local female initiations. Her general conclusion is very simple. Since there is no way to find out the meanings of these drawings, the scholars should be open to various contexts that might be responsible for the production of the art. In this case, one should see shamanism in the San art not as an explanation but only as one of existing interpretations (Solomon 2001 : 165—166).

Not only academics but also some modern Western practitioners of shamanism have voiced their doubts about the Lewis-Williams theory, especially regarding its *entoptic* part. Timothy White, the editor of *Shaman's Drum*, stresses that the danger of such speculations, which are not always supported by fact, is that they take the life of their own. That is exactly what happened before with the rock art as hunting magic, as he plausibly points out. Which is a natural fate of all popular theories, I would have added. White, who is not a stranger to hallucinogen shamanism, also points to us that one cannot reduce visionary experiences of people in altered states to the three-stage geometry of Lewis-Williams. This imagery widely varies depending, for example, on the types of hallucinogens used. Peyote, *ayahuasca*, or *datura* — all might induce visions with completely different geometry (White 1988: 25—27).

Another interesting notion surfaces in the writings of many scholars who cling to

① See "Commentaries" to Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1988: 217, 219); (Solomon 2001: 169; Mowszowski 2002: 18).

② This goes to an endnote: In all fairness, no matter what their critics they, the proponents of shamanic view of rock art, do realize its limitations. Lewis-Williams himself points out that one certainly cannot explain all rock art through the eyes of his *entoptic* theory. In his turn, Whitely, who insists that the Coso Range imagery is shamanic in its origin, now works on a paper in which he wants to bring back the hunting theory interpretation to explain a particular rock art in the American West plateau basin, which he thinks does not fit the shamanic pattern.

默地认为，古代的灵修者是怀着崇高的目的在岩石上描绘图像的，不包括可能有害和破坏性的企图。可是，我们为什么要把所谓的黑巫术排除在外，并以为古老的萨满总是画这些图像是为了治愈人们或以某种方式造福社区呢？人类学家很清楚，在部落社会中，萨满巫师不仅可以治愈疾病，也会带来伤害和杀戮。可能就有一些制作岩画的萨满（如果他们真的这样做了）在他们的头脑中有一些恶毒的想法，并想要，例如，去“迷惑”他们社区的一些成员。

其他评论家则“追求”桑人的绘画作品而去，这是刘易斯-威廉姆斯建立其有关岩画艺术萨满教起源理论的主要资源。有几个 19 世纪的桑人土著，他们的故事被民族志学家记录下来，这些土著直接称岩石面板上半人半兽的神秘图像为死者的灵魂或他们民间神话中的第一人。对刘易斯-威廉姆斯和他的追随者来说，这些图像是处于精神转变状态中的萨满。基于这些信息，所罗门建议这些特定的图画不是指萨满，而是指桑人的神灵祖先，他们认为在人与动物世界分离之前，这些人看起来是半人半兽（Solomon 2001: 163）。

安格斯·昆兰（Angus Quinlan）仔细审查了从萨满教视野对美国西部大盆地岩画的研究，他指出，现代民族志并不完全支持这种解释。与平原上的印第安人不同，在这一地区，美洲原住民很少去偏远地区寻求与神灵对话。他们更经常通过自发的梦获得精神力量。那些像东部和北部的肖肖尼人一样的土著群体，确实寻求和神灵对话，他们是从 19 世纪的平原印第安人中采纳了这种做法。因此，很难认为大盆地萨满教是建立在刻意寻找医药力量的基础上的，也很难谈论古代“大角萨满”，据说他们为了寻求与神灵交流的经验而寻找偏远和孤零零的岩石（Quinlan 2001: 195）。

另一些人指出，在作为萨满教“母地”的西伯利亚岩画中，也没有证据支持刘易斯-威廉姆斯的神经心理学理论。尽管这一地区以其岩画和改变状态下萨满人的民族志记录而闻名，但两者之间并没有明显的联系。西伯利亚南部的 18 世纪和 19 世纪萨满喜欢画他们的鼓，但这些与刘易斯-威廉姆斯的内视几何图案无关。相反，这些画描绘了精神实践、萨满宇宙、神灵帮手。此外，还有一些绘画，通常是青铜时代的，描绘的是穿着宗教长袍的萨满手里拿着鼓和鼓槌（Devlet 2001: 43—55；Okladnikova 1984: 131—135；Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaia 1972: 97）。尽管如此，没有民族学记录表明西伯利亚的修行者以某种方式将这些图像用于仪式操作。

顺便提一句，一些评论家质疑认知考古学家在他们的作品中广泛使用

the shamanic interpretation. They silently assume that the ancient spiritual practitioners who drew rock images did this with noble goals, which excludes possible harmful and destructive goals. Why should we exclude so-called black magic and assume that the shamans of old always painted those images in order to heal people or somehow benefit their communities? Anthropologists know well that in tribal societies shamans cannot only heal but also harm and kill. May be some of the shamans who produced rock art, if they did, had malign ideas in their mind and wanted, for example, to “bewitch” some members of their communities.

Other critics “go after” the San drawings, the major resource that served Lewis-Williams for building his theory about the shamanic origin of rock art. Several nineteenth-century San natives, whose stories were recorded by ethnographers, directly referred to half-human and half-animal enigmatic images on rock panels as spirits of the dead or the first people from their folk mythology. To Lewis-Williams and his followers, these images were shamans caught in the state of spiritual transformation. Based on that information, Solomon suggests that these specific drawings referred not to shamans but to the spiritual ancestors of the San people, who believed that these beings looked half human and half animals before the human and animal worlds became separated (Solomon 2001 : 163).

Scrutinizing the shamanic revision of the rock art in the American West’s Great Basin, Angus Quinlan points that modern ethnography do not exactly supports this interpretation. He notes that, unlike the Plains’ Indians, in this area Native Americans rarely went to remote locations in search for vision questing. They more frequently acquired spiritual powers through spontaneous dreams. Those native groups, who like Eastern and Northern Shoshoni, who did go vision questing adopted this practice from the Plains’ Indians in the nineteenth century. Thus, it would be hard to argue that Great Basin shamanism was based on the deliberate search for medicine power and to talk about ancient “big horn shamans” who allegedly sought remote and isolated rock formations for their visionary experiences (Quinlan 2001 : 195).

Others note that the rock art of Siberia, the “motherland” of shamanism, does not contain either an evidence to support neuropsychological theory of Lewis-Williams. Although this area is famous for its rock art and for ethnographic records of shamans in altered states, there is no visible connection between the two. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century shamans in southern Siberia liked to paint their drums, but these have nothing to do with the *entoptic* geometry of Lewis-Williams. Instead, these drawings depict spiritual practices, shamanic universes, spirit helpers. Furthermore, there are also drawings, which are usually dated by the bronze age, that do depict shamans in their ritual robes holding drums and drumsticks (Devlet 2001 ; Okladnikova, 1984 ; Okladnikov and Zaporozhskaia 1972 : 97). Still, no ethnographic record says that Siberian spiritual practitioners somehow used these images for ritual manipulations.

Incidentally, some critics question the very method of the ethnographic analogy cognitive archeologists widely use in their works to interpret rock art. The major issue

的用以解释岩画的民族志类比方法。这里的主要问题是在多大程度上可以将现代土著人对岩画的想法或看法投射到原始岩画制作者的头脑中。加州考古学家克莱门特·梅根（Clement Meighan）[他是无意中激发卡斯塔尼达（Castaneda）文学生涯的人]^①警告说，不要这样肤浅地试图将现代土著人的观点带到考古解释中。他写道：“在许多地区，幸存下来的印第安人是当代文化的一部分，与原住民生活方式相去甚远，无法成为可靠的岩画诠释者。至少有一些自称能够阅读和解释岩画的土著后裔和一般的旅游观察家一样，对这门学科一无所知，所以人们不能不加批判地相信印第安人所说的一切，就像我们不能不加批判地接受学者和研究者所说的一样。”另一位怀疑论者说，他花了很多时间来批评“萨满教”，讲述了一个关于一个美国印第安人的故事，他一开始以严肃的姿态向考古学家解释岩石绘板的意义，但后来笑着补充说，“一个白人告诉我的！”（Bahn 2001：71）

我想补充一点，我们不应该排除这样一个事实，即同一块岩画面板在不同时期可能有不同的意味。例如，对于最早的创造者而言，它可能是一幅宇宙画，然后它可能成为当地居民最喜欢的与神灵对话之所。最后，对于现代土著人和西方精神探索者来说，岩画可能会作为萨满的幻象或精神存在的作品出现。事实上，后一种方法现在不仅在考古学家中，而且在美国印第安文化工作者和来自美国玄学界的人中，都是对美洲土著岩画最流行的评价之一。就像已故的太阳熊，一位美洲土著血统的“万能萨满”，他们中的许多人将这种艺术解读为“非常强大的医学符号”（Bear et al. 1988：60）。

有时，就像内兹帕斯（Nez Perce）的一个案例，美洲土著语言学家菲利普·卡什（Phillip Cash），兼具学者和修行萨满的身份。卡什是一名训练有素的萨满，他对岩画做过一些研究，并参加了在法国举行的“性别与岩画”考古会议。与会者前往参观著名的石器时代洞穴“三兄弟洞窟”，洞窟里面有包括著名的“巫师”形象在内的许多绘画。卡什在古代“大萨满”的图像面前停下来并祈祷。告诉我这个故事的考古学家惠特利记得，“菲利普唱歌，吹笛子，吟诵，祈祷了大约15分钟。简直难以置信。”

谈到“迷狂考古学家”迎合了时下流行的渴望神秘和灵性的情绪，在现代部落人群和欧美公众的头脑中植入关于过去的新神话，一些评论家直叹气。

① 译者案，卡洛斯·卡斯塔尼达（Carlos Castaneda）出生于南美洲，年幼时随父母移居美国，大学时就读于加州大学洛杉矶分校（UCLA）人类学系。秘鲁裔美国作家和人类学家。

here is to what extent one can project what modern indigenous people thought or think about rock art to the minds of the original rock art makers. California archeologist Clement Meighan (incidentally, the one who unintentionally triggered Castaneda's literary career) cautioned against such superficial attempts to bring views of modern natives to archaeological interpretation. He wrote, "In many areas the surviving Indians are part of contemporary culture and are too far removed from their native way of life to be reliable interpreters of rock art. At least some of the native descendants who claim to be able to read and interpret rock art are as ignorant of the subject as the average tourist observer, so one cannot believe uncritically everything that is said by Indians any more than we can accept uncritically what the scholars and researchers have to say." Another skeptic, who invested much time in criticizing "shamaniacs," relates a story about an American Indian, who at first in a serious mood started to explain to an archeologist the meaning of a rock art panel, but then laughed and added, "A white man told me that !" (Bahn 2001 : 71)

I would like to add that we should not exclude the fact that the same rock art panel might mean many things at different periods. It could be, for example, a picture of universe for its original makers, then it might turn for local residents into a favorite vision-questing location. Finally, for modern indigenous people and Western spiritual seekers rock art might appear as a record of shamans' visions or the work of spiritual beings. In fact, the latter approach is now one the most popular assessments of Native American rock art not only among archeologists but also among American Indian cultural workers and people from American metaphysical community. Like the late Sun Bear, a "universal shaman" of a Native American ancestry, many of them decipher this art as "very powerful medicine symbols." (Bear et al 1988 : 60)

Sometimes, like in a case of Nez Perce Native American linguist, Phillip Cash-Cash, an academic scholar and a practicing shaman can merge. Cash-Cash, who is trained shaman, did some of his graduate research on rock art and took part in an archeological conference in France "Gender and Rock Art." When conference participants went to visit celebrated Stone Age cave Les Trois Freres that samples, among other drawings, the famous "Sorcerer" image, Cash-Cash stopped and prayed in front of the panel with that image of the ancient "big shaman." Archeologist Whitely, who told me this story, remembers, "Philip sang, played the flute, chanted, prayed for about fifteen minutes. It was unbelievable."

Some critics lament that "archeologists of trance" play to current popular sentiments that crave for the mysterious and the spiritual and plant in the minds of modern tribal people and Euro American public the new myths about the past. One of the most vocal critics exclaims, "We need truth rather than speculation." Moreover, he even warns scholars that producing the "inaccurate" interpretation of rock art might distort the "new traditional script," which indigenous cultural workers write for their groups trying to stimulate their ethnic survival and revival (Bahn 2001 : 71). As noble as this wish may

其中一位最直言不讳的批评家惊呼,“我们需要的是真相,而不是猜测”。此外,他甚至警告学者,对岩画做出“不准确”的解释可能会扭曲“新的传统剧本”(new traditional script)——土著文化工作者为他们的群体写作,试图刺激他们的民族生存和复兴(Bahn 2001: 71)。尽管这个愿望可能很高尚,但却很难实现。首先,设计策划土著民族“传统剧本”应该朝哪个方向发展是一项值得怀疑的工作。事实上,在我看来,对岩画的精神诠释,比起狩猎巫术或道路标记等世俗的诠释,更能达到本土民族复兴的目的。第二,这一愿望显然与西方知识文化中目前占主导地位的反实证主义观念背道而驰,后者往往赋予遥远的过去精神和神秘的属性。加州大学伯克利分校的考古学家玛格丽特·康基(Margaret Conkey)在反思这些观点时说:“我们以今天可以理解的方式和过去建立联系”(O'Brien 1998)。

本质上,“萨满解释”的支持者和反对者之间的争论超出了岩画本身。正如认知考古学家自己所指出的,这也是我们过去的两种看法。其中一组考古学家沉浸在启蒙科学传统中,更喜欢停留在物质遗存的局限性上,而另一组考古学家则认识到符号的意义,依靠想象,给考古学带来现代非西方的声音(Pearson 2002: 90—91, 162, 167)。

尽管有批评,但“随着萨满教的风潮在世界各地和整个史前时期卷土重来”(Mithen 2003: 25),刘易斯-威廉姆斯的理论还是找到了更多的支持者。在10年内,自从1980年代他提出了三阶段内视几何学,认知考古学家从这个新角度重新审视了许多岩画。值得注意的是,一些新发现的考古学遗存,包括岩画和其他相关物品,现在经常被“迷狂考古学”理论所遮蔽。这无疑反映了人们对过去的看法正在发生变化,今天我们倾向于用精神术语而不是唯物主义的角度来解释。1995年,业余考古学家汤米·哈德森(Tommy Hudson)发现了一个隐匿于佐治亚州西北部一座陡峭的山中,绰号为“女巫巢穴”的小洞穴,采集了1000处距今上千年的抽象几何图形(锯齿线、新月和卷曲形)、人形、猪形动物和一株小植物,他立即宣布,“它被某种神灵的东西锁住了。”

有趣的是,哈德森严格按照刘易斯-威廉姆斯的理论来对待他的发现:洞穴是一个与神对话的地点,是萨满体验迷狂状态时通往“灵性世界”的门户。这无疑表明,在他于女巫巢穴遭遇“萨满教图像”之前,这位考古学家就已经深深地沉浸在“内视”文献中。哈德森还自豪地宣布,现在美国南部终于获得了自己的拥有最高比例的“原始内视”的“类型遗址”。“在澳大利亚、

be, it is hardly realistic. First, engineering in which direction “traditional script” of indigenous nationalities should develop is a dubious exercise. In fact, it appears to me that the spiritual interpretation of rock art serves better for the purposes of indigenous ethnic revival than such mundane explanations as hunting magic or road signs. Second, that wish definitely goes against the currently dominant anti-positivist notions in Western intellectual culture, which often endows the distant past with spiritual and mystical attributes. Reflecting on these sentiments, archaeologist Margaret Conkey of the University of California at Berkeley, remarks, “We make connections with the past that make sense in the present.” (O’Brien 1998)

Essentially, the debate between the proponents and opponents of the “shamanic interpretation” goes beyond the rock art proper. As cognitive archeologists note themselves, it is also about two ways of looking at our past. While one group of archeologists, who are steeped in Enlightenment scientific tradition, prefer to stay with the limits of material remains, the second recognizes the significance of symbols, relies on imagination, and brings to archaeology modern non-Western voices (Pearson 2002: 90—91, 162, 167). To those critics who did not learn how to use their imagination and who ask to produce a solid proof for the elements of shamanism in rock art, “cognitive anthropologists” point that archaeology is not mathematics to provide such proof. Indeed, it might be inappropriate to pose such a question for archeologists, much of whose job is frequently a literal guessing game that usually carries the burden of contemporary intellectual sentiments.

Despite criticism, “as a shamanistic bandwagon rolled around the world and through prehistory,” (Mithen 2003: 25) the Lewis-Williams theory found more supporters. Within a decade, since in the 1980s he came up with his three-stage *entoptic* geometry, cognitive archeologists revisited much of rock art from the new angle. It is notable that some newly discovered archeological remains, both rock drawings and other items for that matter, are now often screened through the eyes of the “archeology of ecstasy” theory. This certainly reflects the shifting perceptions of our past, which today we tend to interpret in spiritual terms rather than from the angle of materialism. When in 1995, hobbyist archaeologist Tommy Hudson discovered a small cave nicknamed the Witch’s Nest, which is hidden in a steep northwestern mountain in the state of Georgia and which samples 1000 thousand-year abstract geometric shapes (zigzag lines, crescents and curls), a human figure, a pig-like animal and a small plant, he immediately announced, “It’s locked up with something spiritual.”

Interestingly, Hudson set his findings strictly within the Lewis-Williams’ theory: the cave was a vision-quest site, a portal to the “spirit world” for shamans experiencing a trance. This certainly shows that the archeologist was already well steeped in the “entopic” literature before he ran across the “shamanic iconography” at the Witch’s Nest. Hudson also proudly announced that now the American South finally acquired its own “type site” with the highest percentage of “primary entoptics.” “Not in Australia, the western United

美国西部、欧洲壮丽的洞穴或世界上其他 100 个遗址中,没有一个这样的遗址,”哈德森说道 (Harmon 1997; Hudson 2000: 5)。

我看到这种基于流行理论张口即来的解释在世界其他地区时不时地重现。例如,学者们对尼日尔东北部新发现的刻有长颈鹿图案的遗址(考古学家将其年代定为 7000 年至 9000 年前)进行了类似的“内视”解释。那些试图将撒哈拉岩画与萨满教联系起来的学者们的结论仅仅是基于这样一个事实:长颈鹿的鼻子和一个小男人的形象之间有长长的线条。继刘易斯-威廉姆斯之后,他们暗示长颈鹿是改变形态的萨满巫师,他们在迷狂状态中会流鼻血,正试图带来雨水。尽管提出这一建议的考古学家老实地承认,他们根本不知道这些图画的意思,但他们仍然认为萨满教在某种程度上与之有关。学者们没有提到的是,在撒哈拉沙漠的其他地区,人们也可以看到类似长颈鹿的图像,线条连接着长颈鹿的鼻子和人。那些不同意萨满教释读的人提出了一个听起来很合理不过且有趣的解释:这些图画只是描绘了被人类捕获和拴住的动物。事实上在今天,当地人仍然用这种方式拴绑长颈鹿 (Le Quellec 2001: 145)。

2003 年,在德国南部的霍勒费尔斯 (Hohle Fels) 洞穴,考古学家发现了一组 30000 年前的象牙雕塑:马头、水鸟和半人半狮的雕塑。探索这些雕塑的考古学家尼古拉斯·康纳德 (Nicholas Conard) 的第一猜测是,它们是早期萨满教的证据。尽管其他考古学家认为这些雕塑可能只是孩童玩具,但科纳德认为,半人半狮的雕塑代表了萨满处在向动物转变的过渡状态。这位学者补充说,鸟类,尤其是水鸟,是受萨满教青睐的象征。康拉德强调,他的发现会让萨满教假说的倡导者非常高兴,因为小雕像对于那些支持刘易斯-威廉姆斯理论的人而言可谓“锦上添花” (Highfield 2003: 13)。

我发现在一个小的省级报纸《波特兰先驱报》上有一个最奇怪的评论,反映了当前流行的从萨满教角度解读岩画是一个“弗洛伊德口误”。考古学家最近在缅因州的大湖溪 (Grand Lake Stream) 发现了一块岩石,上面刻有一只角鹿,还有其他一些图片。对此,报社记者直截了当地说:“这里石刻中的图像是印第安人萨满教(基于对自然界中存在的善恶灵魂的信仰的宗教)中的图像。” (Turkel 1997) 考古学家莱顿在评论刘易斯-威廉姆斯理论框架内这种解释的流行时,做了一个比喻:“萨满假说是一只贪婪的野兽,它轻易地吞噬世界上狩猎采集者的岩石艺术。” (Layton 2000: 184) “情况确实令人不安”,他的同事罗伯特·沃利斯 (Robert Wallis) 承认,他同样认为“内视决定论”失控了。这位学者警告说,认知考古学家过于专注于在每个洞穴中寻找

States, the magnificent caves of Europe, or any of a hundred other sites around the world is there a site like this one,” exclaimed Hudson (Harmon 1997; Hutson 2000: 5).

I see such sudden interpretations based on the popular theory reappear from time to time in other parts of the world. For example, a similar “entoptic” interpretation was made about newly discovered site with engraved giraffes in northeastern Niger which archaeologists dated by seven to nine thousand years ago. Those scholars who attempted to connect this Sahara rock art with shamanism based their conclusion on the sole fact that long lines spread from the noses of the giraffes to the image of a small man. Following Lewis-Williams, they implied that the giraffes were transformed shamans who went in trance bleeding from their noses and trying to bring a rain. Although the archeologists who made this suggestion honestly admitted that they simply did not know what those drawings meant, they nevertheless suggested that shamanism was somehow involved here. What the scholars did not mention is that one can see similar images of giraffes, with lines stretching from their noses to human images, in other areas of the Sahara desert. Those who disagreed with the shamanic rereading of these images came up with a plausible and less colorful interpretation: the drawings simply depicted the animals captured and tethered by people. In fact, local people still roped the giraffes in this manner in modern time (Le Quellec 2001: 145).

In 2003, in a Hohle Fels cave in southern Germany, archeologists found ivory figurines: a horse head, a water bird and a sculpture of a creature than is a half-man and a half-lion. All objects are dated by about 30000 years ago. The first guess of archaeologist Nicholas Conard who explored the figurines was that they were the evidence of early shamanism. Although other archeologist suggested that the sculptures could be simply toys for children, Conard argued that the half man and the half-lion sculpture represented the shaman caught in the moment of transformation into an animal. Birds, especially water birds, were favorite shamanistic symbols, added the scholar. Conrad stressed that his findings would make the advocates of the shamanistic hypothesis very happy because the figurines were “the icing on the cake” for those who support Lewis-Williams’ theory (Highfield 2003: 13).

The most curious comment that mirrors the currently popular view of rock art as shamanism is a “Freudian slip” I found in a small provincial newspaper *Portland Herald*. Reflecting on a rock panel that archeologists recently discovered at Grand Lake Stream, Maine, and that shows an antlered deer among others images the newspaper reporter outright made a following remark, “The imagery found in the rock carvings here is that of Indian shamanism, a religion based on the belief in good and evil spirits found in nature.” (Turkel 1997) Commenting on the popularity of such interpretations framed within Lewis-Williams’ theory, archaeologist Layton metaphorically exclaims, “The shamanic hypothesis is a voracious beast which can all too easily devour the world’s hunter-gatherer rock art.” (Layton 2000: 184) “The situation is certainly troubling,” admits his colleague, Robert Wallis, who similarly thinks that the “entoptic determinism” gets out

内视,这使得他们很容易成为“仇恨萨满教的人(shamanophobes)”的猎物。

事实上,沃利斯认为,只要不把神经心理学方法变成一个无所不包的跨文化解释工具,就无可厚非。例如,在他自己对美拉尼西亚马拉库拉岛上的巫师,即所谓的“飞行魔术师”(flying tricksters)的分析中,这位考古学家故意避开世界各地的无端对比。相反,他认为,至少在这个特殊的案例中,来自同一地区和同一时期的民族志和岩画提供了足够的证据,可以说明岩画描绘的不是萨满就是他们的幻视(Wallis 2002)。准确地说,在他们对岩画的特殊解释中,并非所有认知考古学家都遵循刘易斯-威廉姆斯的“内视正统”(entoptic orthodoxy)。他们发现刘易斯-威廉姆斯思考的大致方向倒是更吸引人——古代萨满或其他一些精神体验是产生岩画的原因。

例如,另一位认知考古学家卡罗琳·博伊德(Carolyn Boyd)成功地“拯救”了萨满,同时也完全远离了有争议的“内视联系”(entoptic connection)。她依赖于民族志类比,而不是刘易斯-威廉姆斯的神经视觉模式。她认为萨满教可能激发了得克萨斯州佩科斯河下游的一些艺术,因此,她思考了佩科斯石板,包括上面的“皇冠之珠”——“白色萨满”,参照三位研究惠乔尔(Huichol)印第安人灵性信仰的重要学者卡尔·卢姆霍尔茨(Carl Lumholtz)、芭芭拉·迈尔霍夫(Barbara Myerhoff)和彼得·弗斯特(Peter Furst)著作中关于培约特仪式的描述。结果,博伊德得出结论,这些画是由当地美洲土著的培约特仪式所诱发的图像。例如,佩科斯岩石面板显示,鹿身上布满圆点,并被猎人的飞镖刺穿。在“白色萨满”面板上,还有一个人像手持武器,戴着有黑点的鹿角。

考古学家指出,在民族志的类比中,现代惠乔尔人的萨满每年带领他们的人民北上佩科斯朝圣,寻找培约特。在找到了培约特之后,他们按照仪式用箭头包围培约特并射击它的冠部。之后,他们跪下向鹿大哥请求。惠乔尔萨满也把培约特附在他们携带的鹿角上。最后一个仪式提到了培约特神话中的一个插曲:鹿神从天而降,把系在鹿角上的培约特带给人们。博伊德还强调,在现代惠乔尔人的世界观中,鹿和培约特代表着不可分割的神圣象征。顺便说一句,一个能够监督这样一个一年一度的培约特朝圣的灵修者被称为“神圣的鹿人”。破译“白色萨满”岩石面板,博伊德看到了培约特冠部像斑点一样覆盖在鹿和萨满的鹿角上。这个携带武器并带领其他人的人像在培约特朝圣仪式中变成了萨满。“萨满”的形象从一个蛇形拱门——博伊德将其解释为地表——中升起,其他考古学家在附近洞穴中发现的培约特的遗存似乎

control. This scholar warns that cognitive archaeologists are too preoccupied searching for *entopics* in each cave, which makes them an easy prey for “shamanophobes.”

In fact, Wallis believes that there is nothing wrong with the neuropsychological approach as long as one does not turn it into a grand cross-cultural explanatory tool. For example, in his own analysis of so-called flying tricksters, shamans from the Malakula island in Melanesia, this archeologist purposely stays away from unwarranted worldwide parallels. Instead, he argues that at least in this particular case ethnography and rock art from the same locality and the same time period provide enough evidence to say that the rock drawings depicts either shamans or their visions (Wallis 2002). To be exact, in their particular interpretations of rock art not all cognitive archaeologists follow the “entopic orthodoxy” of Lewis-Williams. It appears that they find more appealing the general direction of his thinking — ancient shamans or some other spiritual experiences were responsible for production of rock art.

For example, another cognitive archaeologist Carolyn Boyd manages to “save” shamans and at the same time to stay away from the controversial “*entoptic* connection” altogether. Arguing that shamanism might have inspired some Lower Pecos River art in Texas, she relies on ethnographic analogies rather than on the neurological visionary patterns of Lewis-Williams. Thus, she cast the Pecos rock panels, including its crown jewel, “White Shaman,” against the descriptions of peyote rituals she found in the writings of Carl Lumholtz, Barbara Myerhoff and Peter Furst, the major experts on the spirituality of the Huichol Indians. As a result, Boyd concludes that those drawings are the images induced by local Native American peyote rituals. For example, the Pecos rock panels show the deer covered with dots and pierced with hunters’ darts. On the “White Shaman” panel, there is also a human figure holding a weapon and wearing antlers with black dots on its head.

Pointing to ethnographic analogies, the archeologist notes that modern Huichol shamans lead annual pilgrimages of their people northward to Pecos in search for peyote buttons. After finding peyote, they ritually shoot it by surrounding a peyote button with arrows. After this, they kneel down and appeal to the Elder Brother Deer. Huichol shamans also attached the peyote to the antlers they carry. The last ritual refers to an episode from Huichol mythology: the deer god descended from the heaven and brought peyote to people on his antlers. Boyd also stresses that in modern Huichol’s worldview the deer and the peyote represent the inseparable sacred symbol. Incidentally, a spiritual practitioner who oversees such annual peyote pilgrimages is called “Sacred Deer Person.” Deciphering the “White Shaman” rock panel, Boyd sees representations of peyote buttons in the dots covering the deer and the shaman’s antlers. The human figure that appears to carry a weapon and lead other figures becomes a shaman on a peyote pilgrimage. The figure of the “shaman” is shown rising through a serpentine arch, which Boyd interprets as the surface of the earth. The remains of the peyote discovered by other archeologists in nearby caves seem to confirm her assertions that about four thousand

证实了她的说法,即大约 4000 年前,佩科斯河下游的萨满人曾举行培约特仪式。(Boyd and Dering 1996: 271—273; Anderson 1997: L1)

美国林业局已经注意到,饱含神秘和萨满格调的岩画激起了大众的兴趣,它可能成为一个潜在的旅游场所,以帮助林业局不断缩减的预算。1993 年,在俄勒冈州,这项服务开始运行一个试点项目“北乌姆普夸(North Umpqua)的古代画家”,这是一个为期一周的生态旅游,让人们可以探索大约 150 年前制作的美洲原住民岩画。另一个目标是帮助游客了解当地的风景,并能参加有关萨满教的研讨会。那些对这个项目感兴趣的人不仅愿意每人掏 1400 美元而有权利成为生态旅游的一部分,而且还自愿帮助各种项目,包括从编写岩画指南到从事考古挖掘和修复被破坏的历史遗址。

考古学家惠特利加入了这个项目,积极在公众中推广考古学知识,发起研讨会和观摩岩画现场。他还写了一本旅游导览,为游客去加利福尼亚州和内华达州 38 处岩画景点提供清晰的指南。我认为,优秀的认知考古学家走近公众以回应他们对于灵性信仰和古代神秘的社会渴望,是萨满解释变得如此吸引人的另一个原因。在这种情况下,公众和学术界似乎是相互促进的。还有一点,刘易斯-威廉姆斯、克洛特和惠特利都是优秀的公共演说家和受欢迎的作家。2002 年,美国林务局的考古学家詹姆斯·凯瑟组织了一场“史前萨满”研讨会,他称赞这三个人的演说水平:“你目瞪口呆地坐着就行了。”

对岩画灵性的审视也吸引了那些参与塑造他们当前宗教和种族身份的美洲原住民。怀着一种满足感,惠特利强调说,“我的美洲原住民朋友很高兴看到岩画终于被当作一种宗教现象来对待。”事实上,后一句话反映了认知考古学的一个目标,它不仅与学术实证主义的过度进行斗争,而且在考古学研究中带来了当前本土的观点。不幸的是,那些不同意这种方法论的考古学家因为压制了美洲原住民的声音而有可能被贴上种族主义者的标签(Jones 2002)。

艺术的公开展示通常提供了一个很好的线索,说明在特定时期是什么在知识和情感上激起了公众的情绪。就岩画艺术而言,我觉得这样的线索就是纪念碑和雕塑中体现岩画风格的图像。有一次,圣达菲考古爱好者和酿酒厂老板杰弗里·布朗夫曼(Jeffery Bronfman)有个想法要竖立一座雕塑,既希望纪念得克萨斯州佩科斯河下游的一处岩画遗址,又希望纪念他父亲。这位富有的赞助人委托艺术家和岩画爱好者比尔·沃雷尔(Bill Worrell)创作了以佩科斯岩画为主题的作品。为了满足布朗夫曼的愿望,沃雷尔铸造了一个 17 英尺高的青铜萨满像,复制了当地的岩画主题。现在雕像矗立在塞米诺尔

years ago the shamans in the Lower Pecos River practiced peyote rituals (Boyd and Dering 1996: 271—273; Anderson 1997: L1).

Rock art cast in mystic and shamanic tones stirs popular interest and, as the US Forest Service discovered, might serve as a potential tourist venue to help the service's dwindling budget. In 1993, in Oregon the service began to run a pilot project "Ancient Painters of the North Umpqua," which represents a weeklong eco-tour that allows people to explore Native American rock drawings produced about 150 years ago. Another goal is to educate tourists about the local landscapes and to engage the visitors in seminars about shamanism. Those who people who became interested in the project not only paid \$1400 each for the right to be part of the eco-tour but also volunteered to help with various projects, from writing a rock art brochure to doing archaeological digs and restoration of historic sites that have been vandalized.

Archaeologist Whitely, who actively promotes archeological knowledge among public, joined the project to lead seminars and excursions to rock art panels. He also wrote a guidebook that gives tourists clear directions to thirty-eight rock art sites in California and Nevada. I think that the desire of leading cognitive archaeologist to go public in response to societal longing for the spirituality and ancient mysteries is another reason why shamanic interpretation became so appealing. It appears that in this case public and academics cross-fertilize each other. Incidentally, Both Lewis-Williams, Clottes and Whitely are excellent public speakers and popular writers. James D. Keyser, an archeologist for U.S. Forest Service, who organized a symposium "Shamans of Prehistory" in 2002, commends the speaking skills of these three as follows: "You just sit with your mouth agape." (Jones 2002)

The spiritual revision of the rock art also appeals to those Native Americans, who participate in shaping their current religious and ethnic identity. With a sense of satisfaction, Whitley stresses, "My Native American friends are glad to see that rock art is finally being treated as a religious phenomenon. They are glad to see its sacredness foregrounded." In fact, this latter utterance reflects one of the goals of cognitive archaeology, which not only battles the excesses of scholarly positivism but also brings current indigenous perspectives in archaeological research. Unfortunately, those archeologists who disagree with such methodology run a risk to be labeled as racists who suppress the voice of Native Americans (Robertson 1997: B6; Gonzales 1997; Bahn, 2001: 78)

Public display of art usually provides a good clue to what intellectually and emotionally stirs public sentiments at a given period. In the case of rock art, for me such clue is the stylizing of rock images in monuments and sculptures. Once Jeffrey Bronfman, a Santa Fe archaeology buff and distillery owner, came up with an idea to erect a sculpture to commemorate both a rock art site at Lower Pecos River in Texas and the memory of his father. The rich benefactor commissioned Bill Worrell, an artist and an enthusiast of rock art, to create something that is based on the Pecos petroglyphs

峡谷州立历史公园的入口，守护着里面的岩画。有趣的是，沃雷尔的艺术生涯在接触佩科斯岩画之后发生了巨大的变化。这位艺术家的作品目前以萨满教为主题，以复制和销售风格化岩画图像为生（Szilagyi 1994）。

不过，萨满教在佩科斯岩画中的故事并没有就此结束。为了向那些致力于保护岩画的工作者致敬，雕塑家迪安·米切尔（Dean Mitchell）在公园不远处竖立了另一座雕塑。他的作品名为《持久的精神》，以 14 英尺高的白色石灰岩雕刻而成，非常具有戏剧性。他采用了佩科斯岩画中最著名的“白色萨满”这一图像的风格，而考古学家博伊德（Boyd）认为“白色萨满”是古代培约特朝圣的记录。这座雕塑矗立在塞米诺尔公园附近的一个高丘上，正对着绘有古老岩画的岩石。米切尔利用天文上的原理选择了雕塑的位置，这样 6 月 21 日夏至这一天，升起的太阳能够完全照亮雕刻的印痕，勾勒出了白色萨满的形态。

考古学家保罗·巴恩（Paul Bahn）是一位学术怀疑论者，他花了大量时间和精力在一场注定失败的学术战斗中试图批驳对于岩画进行萨满教的解释。他抱怨电视和平面媒体把像刘易斯-威廉姆斯、克洛特和惠特利这样的人放在聚光灯下，而不在乎像他一样的考古学家对岩画的世俗或者偏唯物的解释。这位学者似乎非常在意学术上的游戏，他沮丧地写道：“每一种教条自有其得意之时”（Bahn 2001: 52, 72）。

从学术到精神实践：变形者、萨满王、哨子瓶和身体姿势

类似的挫折亦困扰着人类学家埃丝特·帕斯托里（Esther Pasztory），她对于从萨满理论出发来阐释中美洲的考古发现感到不安。尤其让她哭笑不得的是，她所写的一篇文章批驳了那些认为玛雅陵墓和宫殿是为萨满所建的学者，但事实上正是这篇文章造成“萨满”一词在她的研究领域进一步扩展。像巴恩一样，帕斯托里也放弃了，承认不能违背时代精神（zeitgeist）：“大多数学者认为中美洲在 1950 年以前有‘祭师’，之后有‘萨满’。中美洲并没有改变，我们改变了。”（Pasztory 2001）。塞西莉亚·克莱恩（Cecelia Klein）和她的考古学团队在中美洲考古学中对“萨满教”进行了一场讨伐，试图揭示在他们的特定研究领域中萨满论述让学者着迷的学术根源。同样地，他们指出“时代精神”这个词语的诱惑力在于一些同事对唯物主义的敌意（Klein et al. 2001: 227）。这必然让人想起岩画研究和更为宽泛的人类学学界的类似

motifs. In fulfillment of Bronfman's desire, Worrell cast in bronze a 17-foot figure of a shaman, which replicates the local rock art themes. Now the statue guards the entrance to the Seminole Canyon State Historical Park, which safeguards the rock panels. It is interesting that the very life of Worrell drastically changed after the exposure to the Pecos rock art. The artist, whose works are currently dominated by the shamanic motifs, runs a successful business replicating and selling stylized rock art images (Szilagyi 1994).

Still, the story of shamanism in Pecos rock art does not end here. To honor the work of enthusiasts who worked to save the ancient drawings, sculptor Dean Mitchell erected another sculpture not far from the park. His dramatic 14-feet tall white limestone carving named "Enduring Spirit" replicates the form of the most celebrated Pecos image, "White Shaman," the one that archeologist Boyd assessed as the record of the ancient peyote pilgrimage. The sculpture stands on a high knoll near the Seminole Park facing rock formations with art panels of the ancient ones. Mitchell astronomically aligned "Enduring Spirit" so that on June 21, during the summer solstice, the rising sun completely lights the carved opening outlining the shape of the White Shaman.

Archaeologist Paul Bahn, an academic skeptic, who spent much time and energy fighting a losing battle trying to debunk the interpretations of rock art as shamanism, laments that television and print media put such people like Lewis-Williams, Clottes and Whitely in the spotlight and do not care about archeologists who like himself look for mundane or materialistic interpretation of the rock art. The scholar, who seems to have taken intellectual games close to his heart, writes in frustration, "Every dogma has its day." (Bahn 2001: 52, 77)

From Scholarship to Spiritual Practice: Shapeshifters, Shaman-Kings, Whistling Bottles and Body Postures

The similar frustrations plague anthropologist Esther Pasztory, who is disturbed with the shamanic revision of the Mesoamerican archeology. Particularly, she became amazed how an article she wrote that debunks scholars who "populated" Mayan tombs and palaces with shamans in fact contributed to the further expansion of the term "shaman" in her field. Like Bahn, Pasztory gave up, admitting that one could not go against the spirit of the time (*zeitgeist*): "For most scholars Mesoamerica had 'priests' before 1950 and 'shamans' after. Mesoamerica hadn't changed — we did." (Pasztory 2001) Cecelia Klein and a group of her archaeology colleagues, who went on a crusade against the "shamaniacs" in Mesoamerican archaeology, try to uncover the intellectual roots of the fascination with the shamanism idiom in their particular field. Similarly pointing to the "spirit of times," they note the lure of the idiom was a hostile reaction of some of their colleagues to materialism (Klein et al. 2001: 227). This certainly brings to mind the similar intellectual trends in the rock art studies and anthropology scholarship in general.

学术趋势。

最早将萨满教比喻引入美国考古学的是弗斯特。如上所述，此位人类学家也是研究现代惠乔尔印第安人（Huichol Indians）的主要专家之一。弗斯特在1965年为加拿大《人类学》期刊撰写的文章中反对当时的主流观点，即墨西哥的陶瓷反映了普通人日常和世俗的情感。例如，早期的学者把这个地区的陶瓷随葬品（公元前1000年）视为表现战士的形象。在弗斯特看来，这些头戴角状装饰的人物描绘的是担任坟墓守护者的萨满。这位学者的结论基于这样一个事实：奇怪的角状头饰让人想起了西伯利亚和北美洲的现代萨满的着装，其中一些人将鹿角装饰在自己的头部。同时，弗斯特认为这篇文章及其随后的考古学著作对研究方法有一定的贡献。因此，他强调那些从世俗的观点来判断中美洲艺术的人是“科学世界观”的囚徒，他们无法进入过去的形而上学和神秘领域。弗斯特认为，学者们应该更积极地依靠民族志类比并运用自己的想象力。总的来说，他将自己的考古学分析视为对既定实证主义的一种解药，因为他认为实证主义禁锢住了考古学家的学术想象（Klein et al. 2001: 385—386; Furst 1968: 170）。

在另一篇论文中，弗斯特转向了公元前一世纪晚期结合了猫科动物和男性的美洲豹雕像。弗斯特讨论了两个主要雕像，其中一个单膝跪坐的“蹲着的美洲豹人”，另一个是站着的美洲豹人（were-jaguar）。这两个雕像凶猛的脸看起来半人半兽。弗斯特的前辈们推测美洲豹人可能是一位雨神，他们将这雕塑与奥尔梅克降雨和繁殖仪式联系起来。弗斯特重新审视了这一观点，并得出结论，这些雕塑展示了古代印第安人萨满在转变为美洲豹时的场景。其指出，这些雕像与其他类似雕像上都有一条清晰的分界线，将看起来像人的头后部和像美洲豹一样的脸前部分开。弗斯特推测，古老的雕塑是想展示人类的皮肤是如何逐渐剥落以露出其下的美洲豹。此外，在他看来，这些雕像抽搐而凶猛的面容，似乎反映了古代的灵修者从日常走向非日常的世界所感受到的难以承受的情感压力。这些雕像所体现的美洲豹特征“成为一种官方的标志，让祭师或萨满身上继承的美洲豹神性得以显现，并表明与美洲豹精神上的联系和认同”（Furst 1968: 170）。

与他在岩画研究中的同事一样，对于奥尔梅克雕塑的解读，弗斯特广泛地依赖于民族志的类比。事实上，早在许多其他考古学家转向民族学之前，弗斯特就已经使用这种方法来解释岩画或中美洲文化。根据现代拉丁美洲民族志，弗斯特可以相对容易地批驳他的前辈关于奥尔梅克雕塑是神的形象这

One of the first to introduce the shamanism metaphor into America's archaeology was Furst. As I mentioned above, this anthropologist is also one of the major experts on modern Huichol Indians. In his 1965 article for a Canadian journal *Anthropologica*, Furst went against the dominant opinion that West Mexican ceramics mirrored mundane and secular sentiments. For example, earlier scholars approached shaft tomb ceramics from this area, which are dated by the first millennium B. C., as images of warriors. In Furst's view, these figures shown with horned headdresses depicted shamans who serve as tomb guardians. The scholar based his conclusion on the fact that the curious horned headdress reminded the attire of classical modern shamans from Siberia and North America, some of whom decorated their heads with antlers. At the same time, Furst considered this and his other subsequent archeological writings as a contribution to methodology. Thus, he stressed that those who assessed Mesoamerican art from a secular viewpoint were prisoners of the "scientific world view," who were incapable to penetrate metaphysical and esoteric realms of the past. According to Furst, scholars should more actively rely on the ethnographic analogy and use their imagination. Overall, he viewed his archeological analysis as an antidote to the established positivism, which as he thought held archaeologists in an intellectual bondage (Klein et al. 2001: 385—386; Furst 1968: 170).

In another paper, Furst turned to feline Olmec male figurines depicting jaguars and dated by the late first millennium B. C. Of two major figurines discussed by Furst, (the reader can see their photographs in this book), one, "Crouching Figure of a Man-Jaguar," depicts a man who sits on one knee. Another represents a standing were-jaguar. The ferocious faces of both figurines look half-animal and half human. Furst's predecessors, who speculated that the jaguar might have been a rain deity, connected the sculptures to Olmec rain and fertility rituals. Furst revisited this view and concluded that the sculptures showed ancient Indian shamans caught during their transformation into jaguar familiars. The scholar noted that these and other similar-looking figures had a clearly defined dividing line that separated the backs of their heads, which looked human, and the front parts of their faces, which were jaguar-like. Furst speculated that an ancient sculpture wanted to show how the human skin gradually peeled away to reveal the jaguar beneath. Moreover, the convulsed and ferocious face of the figurines appeared to Furst as a reflection of an unbearable emotional stress the ancient spiritual practitioners felt moving from ordinary to non-ordinary reality. Thus, the feline features one can see in these figures became a "badge of office, the manifestation of the supernatural jaguar qualities inherent in priest or shaman, his spiritual bond and identity with the jaguar." (Furst 1968: 170)

Like his colleagues from rock studies, for the interpretation of the Olmec sculptures Furst widely relied an ethnographic analogy. In fact, he used this method far before many other archeologists turned to is to explain rock art or Mesoamerican cultures. Drawing on modern Latin American ethnographies, Furst relatively easily debunked his predecessors who viewed Olmec feline sculptures as images of gods. The scholar correctly stressed

一观点。这位学者正确地指出,在格兰德河以南的许多印第安族群中,美洲豹可以是带来雨水的人、行星的吞噬者、养父母、圣地和神灵的守护者,但它们很少被推崇为神灵。最重要的是,土著人几乎普遍认为这些动物是活着的和已故的萨满的精神替身(化身)。这位人类学家提醒说,在南美洲,萨满和美洲豹之间的联系如此密切,以至于人们可以用萨满-美洲豹复合体来形容。事实上,许多印第安人不仅认为这两者是相同的,而且是同一存在的两个部分,就像是印第安版的双重人格(Jekyll-and-Hyde)。事实上,在亚马逊盆地西北部,哥伦比亚东部和东南部以及巴西西北部,不少土著部落用同一个单词来表示萨满和美洲豹!(Furst 1968: 156)

基于这些现代土著人的观点,弗斯特可以合理地认为这些雕像描绘的是萨满。此外,弗斯特从地方拓展至全球,强调萨满向动物的仪式性转化只是一种全球性普遍实践的具体表现。他指出,转变是世界各地起源神话的共同主题。参考伊利亚德的研究,弗斯特写道,在古代神话中,人和生物是同一种存在。当它们之间的联系被打破,人和动物就呈现出它们特有的形状。唯一能够保持其他人类已经失去的“原始”品质的人是萨满。他们保留了动物-人的天性,并继续在两个世界之间穿梭,不时重建人类和动物的神秘团结(Furst 1968: 168)。在弗斯特之后,许多学者开始想当然地认为,奥尔梅克雕像和雕刻中反复出现的美洲豹人的形象是处于转变阶段的萨满。此外,学者和流行作家自动地重新解释了许多奥尔梅克雕像,把描绘各种杂技式姿态的人物雕像视为摆出美洲豹敏捷动作姿态的萨满。

后来,对于弗斯特将奥尔梅克雕像解释成变形的萨满,又有新的说法添加进来,即这些雕像是萨满王的象征。考古学家肯特·赖利(F. Kent Reilly)对奥尔梅克美洲豹雕像的解释不仅是萨满,而且是统治者。他所讨论的那个特定雕像的头上长有一只蟾蜍。赖利总结为这个形象代表了一个萨满在蟾蜍分泌的迷幻药的作用下变成了美洲豹。此外,它不仅仅是一个萨满,更是一位萨满国王。特别吸引这位学者得出后一个结论的是一块闪亮的石头(黄铁矿或磁铁矿)位于雕像镶嵌的眼中。对赖利来说,这种特异之处可能显示了超凡的灵性和崇高的地位。

这位考古学家并未就此停下脚步,而是转向跨文化的类比,将奥尔梅克的“萨满王”与中国古代的商王进行比较。据称商王既是他们国家的统治者,也是首席萨满。赖利断言,萨满教可能在奥尔梅克政治体系中扮演着类似的角色,考古学家称为“国家萨满教”。一些评论家强调,如果认真地进行此种

that among many Indian groups south of Rio Grande jaguars could be bringers of rain, devourers of the planets, foster parents, guardians of sacred places and of gods, but they were rarely propelled to the status of deities. Most important, the indigenous people almost universally considered these animals as spiritual doubles (avatars) of living and deceased shamans. The anthropologist reminded that in South America the link between the shaman and the jaguar was so intimate that one could talk about the shaman-jaguar complex. Indeed, many Indians not only considered both as the equivalents of each other but as two parts of the same being, a kind of an Indian version of Jekyll-and-Hyde. In fact, in the northwest Amazon basin, eastern and southeastern Colombia and northwest Brazil, several indigenous groups labeled both shamans and jaguars by the same word ! (Furst 1968: 156)

Based on these modern indigenous perceptions, the anthropologist plausibly suggested that the figurines portrayed shamans. Furthermore, Furst moved from the local to global stressing that the ritual transformation of shamans into animals was only a specific manifestation of a universal practice. He noted that the motif of the transformation was a common theme in origin myths all over the world. Referring to the Eliadean scholarship, Furst wrote that in ancient myths humans and beings acted as the same beings. When the connection between them became broken, people and animals assumed their characteristic shapes. The only people who were able to maintain the “primal” quality lost by the rest of humanity were shamans. They retained the animal-human nature and continued to journey between the two worlds reestablishing from time to time the mystical solidarity of humans and animals (Furst 1968: 168). After Furst, many scholars began to take it for granted that recurring images of were-jaguars on Olmec statuettes and carvings were shamans caught in the stage of transformation. Moreover, by default, academics and popular writers recast many Olmec figures that depict people in various acrobatic poses as shamans who took poses reflecting the agility of jaguars.

Later, to the Furst interpretation of the Olmec figurines as transformed shamans, a new element was added. — the figurines became to symbolize shaman-kings. Archeologist F. Kent Reilly interpreted on the Olmec jaguar figurines not only as a shaman but also as a ruler. The specific figurine he discussed had a toad planted in its head. Reilly concluded that the image represented a shaman transforming into a jaguar under the effect of the hallucinogen secreted from the toad. Moreover, it was not simply a shaman but also a shaman-king. What drew particularly drew the scholar to the latter conclusion was pieces of a shiny stone (either pyrite or magnetite) planted in the eye inlays of the figurine. To Reilly, this peculiarity might be a reference to charismatic spirituality and a high status.

The archeologist did not stop at that point and turned to cross-cultural analogies comparing the Olmec “shaman-king” with ancient Chinese emperors of the Shang dynasty, who reportedly were both rulers and head shamans of their state. Reilly asserted that shamanism might have played the similar role in Olmec political system, which the archeologist called “state shamanism.” Some critics stress that if one seriously pursues

类比,那么也应该包括中世纪的欧洲基督教皇室成员,他们施按手礼同样扮演着“国王-信仰疗法术士”的角色。据称,法国第一位基督教国王克洛维斯用这种“御触(royal touch)”治愈了人们的疾病。英格兰国王查理二世据称以此使9万多人康复,而著名的路易十四也同样曾经在一天之内治愈了1600名臣民(Klein et al. 2002: 241)。

弗斯特用民族志类比的方法来解释奥尔梅克人像,吸引了该领域的许多学者,尤其是那些研究中美洲艺术的学者。与弗斯特一样,他们深信在传统社会中,神话和信仰在几个世纪中以非凡的程度存在,这在某种程度上允许在谈论神圣和神话时超越时间和历史。这种方法让人想起伊利亚德的宗教观。这位学者反对将宗教研究放在历史背景中,反而可以自由比较,例如古代的部族和现代的人们。弗斯特指出有两种看待没有书面记录的过去的方法:试图通过民族志类来掌握“古代”的认知系统,或者从我们自己的现代观点来解释文物。鉴于考古学概括的不精确特点,弗斯特或许是对的。同时,他也意识到了这种方法的主要缺陷,并承认:“我不知道我们能把这个方法发展到什么程度;我们在把1900年或1950年的民族学数据应用到公元前1000年的时候,非常容易犯错误”(Furst 1968: 177)。

萨满教范式也进入了玛雅考古学中。就像岩画和奥尔梅克艺术一样,新的认知视角被用来突破行为主义和实证主义的过度使用。在他们的《玛雅宇宙:三千年的萨满之路》(1993年)这本书中,戴维·弗雷德尔(David Freidel)、琳达·舍尔(Linda Schele)和乔伊·帕克(Joy Parker)重新审视了古代玛雅政治制度的观点。他们的主要论点是,玛雅国王权力的来源与其说是对经济资源的控制——他们以物质主义为导向的同僚们的主张,不如说是对超自然力量的占有:“玛雅王和古老的领主都是萨满。”(Freidel et al. 1993: 37)虽然这种说法遭到了他们大多数同僚的反对,但思想、身体和精神方面的印刷媒体频频提到这项浸润着灵性的研究。

同样,对此书作者所用方法论影响最大的是伊利亚德。事实上,这本书作者之一的弗雷德尔指出,从20世纪70年代初的学生时代起,他就对伊利亚德的萨满教著作着迷。他还补充说,他后来也将这种兴趣传递给了书的合作者。他们从伊利亚德的学术研究中得到的不仅是一种信念,即萨满教是一种古老的、广泛传播的思维方式,而且可以将萨满教的世界观简化为“一套相当简单的象征和假设”(Freidel et al. 1993: 12)。因此,在学者们看来,古典玛雅对山和树的崇敬是著名的“世界之轴”(axis mundi)的表现。世界之

this analogy, it should also include European Christian royalty in Middle Ages, who similarly acted as “king-healers” by laying hands. It was reported that the first Christian king of France, Clovis, healed people by such “royal touch.” So did Charles II, the king of England, who allegedly cured more than 90000 people and famous Louis XIV, who once healed about 1600 of his subjects during a single day (Klein et al. 2001 : 241).

The method of the ethnographic analogy used by Furst for the interpretation of the Olmec figures became appealing to many scholars in the field, especially those who studied Mesoamerican art. Like Furst, they were convinced that in traditional societies mythology and beliefs survived throughout centuries to an extraordinary extent, which allows to some extent to bypass time and history when talking about the sacred and the mythological. Such approach reminded the Eliadean vision of religion. As we remember, this scholar was against setting the study of religion in a historical context and freely compared, for example, tribal people of antiquity and of modern times. Given the impressionistic nature of archeological generalizations, Furst might be right when he points that there are two ways of viewing the past for which we do not have written records: to try to grasp the cognitive systems of the “ancient ones” through the use of the ethnographic analogy or to interpret artifacts from our own modern viewpoint. At the same time, he did sense the major flaw of this method and admitted, “I don’t know how far we could carry this; we are on very slippery ground in applying 1900 or 1950 ethnographic data back to 1000 B.C.” (Furst 1968 : 177)

The shamanism idiom also entered Mayan archeology. Like in the case of rock art and Olmec art, the new cognitive perspectives were used here to bust excesses of behaviorism and positivism. In their *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman’s Path* (1993), David Freidel, Linda Schele and Joy Parker revisited the view of ancient Mayan political system. Their main argument is that the source of Mayan kings’ power was not so much the control over economic resources — the assertion of their materialistically-oriented colleagues — but the possession of supernatural powers: “Maya kinds and lords of old were shamans.” (Freidel et al. 1993 : 37) While such statement received a hostile reception from the majority of their colleagues, mind, body and spirit print media frequently refers to this study steeped in spirituality.

Again, the major methodological influence on the authors of this book is Eliade. In fact, Freidel, one of the authors of the book, notes that from his student days in the early 1970s he was fascinated with Eliade’s shamanism book. He also adds that he later conveyed this interest to his co-authors. They drew from the Eliadean scholarship not only a conviction that shamanism was old and broadly diffused mindset, but also that one can reduce shamanic worldview to “a rather simple set of symbols and assumptions.” (Freidel et al. 1993 : 12) Thus, the classic Maya’s veneration of mountains and trees appear to the scholars as the manifestations of famous *axis mundi*, the world center, the sacred portal to access the otherworld. In fact, the World Tree idiom is the central to their book. The archeologists uncover the symbolism of trees in various pieces of Mayan artifacts and

轴也即世界中心，是通往另一个世界的神圣门户。事实上，世界树这一习语是他们书的核心。他们发现了各种玛雅文物和建筑中树木的象征意义。此外，对他们来说，萨满王的形象也是世界树的化身。因此，学者们将玛雅萨满国王想象成站在金字塔山顶，体验着狂喜的幻觉。

克莱恩（Klein）和其他几位学者研究萨满教概念在中美洲考古学这一特定领域流行的根源。他们认为许多玛雅学者接受萨满教的表达，因为他们无意中想要避免使用“priest”一词来指代前西班牙时期异教徒的本土精神修行人（Klein et al. 2001: 220）。似乎那些改用新词的学者希望把“萨满国王”从任何与犹太教-基督教传统代表的罗马天主教神职人员相关的联想中解脱出来，以便将玛雅文明作为一个更加平等与和谐的社会呈现出来。虽然从道德和意识形态的角度可以理解，但是这种试图将玛雅精神修行者与天主教神父分开的尝试，似乎反映了我们以当下现有的观点看待过去。在这一视野中，“非西方”的中美洲“萨满国王”似乎更唯心和平等，而不像他们的“西方”对应者那样唯物和理性。

出于某种原因，弗雷德尔、舍尔和帕克不能接受这样一种观点，即在古代玛雅社会，统治者（“萨满国王”）和平民之间可能存在精神鸿沟。他们坚持认为，如果存在精神鸿沟，那么玛雅古代公共建筑项目就是在精英阶层监督之下，是“少数精英持续压迫大多数人的苦果”，这使得玛雅“萨满国王”及其庙宇并不比拉美牧师和他们的天主教建筑更好（Freidel et al. 1993: 48）。与弗雷德尔、舍尔和帕克所说的统一玛雅宇宙形成鲜明对比的是，早期的考古学家如埃里克·汤普森（J. Eric Thompson）认为，玛雅贵族的宗教宇宙可能与普通百姓的灵性信仰并不完全一致。

与弗斯特一样，弗雷德尔、舍尔和帕克都非常依赖民族学类比法。事实上，参与现代玛雅仪式并将其投射到古代玛雅传统中，他们试图证明“玛雅仪式和宇宙观至少持续了2000年”，并且“玛雅的现实从古代到现在”有着紧密的连续性（Freidel et al. 1993: 48, 11）。当然值得赞扬的是这三位作者并不坚持他们对玛雅历史的精神解读是对玛雅文化最好的诠释。他们的主要目标是描绘人类的能动性 and 灵性——早期考古学家所忽略的方面。弗雷德尔、舍尔和帕克并不隐瞒，在他们试图将生命注入玛雅考古学的过程中，他们广泛运用他们的想象力，使之符合当前的精神渴望：“因为我们现代朝圣者不知道原始建筑者的意图，我们在玛雅纪念碑上留下了我们自己的理解和审美价值，就像当我们端详来自其他文化和其他时代的艺术杰作时，我们总是这样

buildings. Moreover, to them, the figure of the shaman-king is also the embodiment of the World Tree. Thus, the scholars visualize Maya shaman-kings who were standing at the tops of their pyramid-mountains and experiencing ecstatic visions.

Klein and several other scholars, who looked into the sources of the popularity of the shamanism concept in this particular field of Mesoamerican archeology say that many Mayan scholars embraced the shamanism expression because unconsciously they wanted to avoid using the word “priest” in a reference to pre-Hispanic pagan indigenous spiritual practitioners (Klein et. al. 2001: 220). It appears that those scholars who switched to the new usage wish to disentangle “shaman-kings” from any linguistic associations with Roman Catholic meaning clergy, representatives of Judeo-Christian tradition, in order to present Mayan ancient civilization as a more egalitarian and harmonious society. Although understandable from a moral and ideological viewpoint, this attempt to separate Mayan spiritual practitioners from Catholic priests, seems to reflect our present vision of the past. In this vision, “non-Western” Mesoamerican “shaman-kings” appear to be more spiritual and egalitarian, less materialistic and rational than their “Western” counterparts.

For some reason, Freidel, Schele and Parker cannot accept the very idea that in the ancient Mayan society there could have been a spiritual gap between the rulers (“shaman-kings”) and commoners. To think otherwise, insist the scholars, would be to consider ancient public construction projects this elite supervised “the bitter fruit of the sustained oppression of the majority by the elite minority,” which makes the Mayan “shaman kings” and their temples no better and no worse than Hispanic priests and their Catholic architecture (Freidel et al. 1993: 48). In contrast what Freidel, Schele and Parker say about the unified Maya cosmos, such earlier archeologists as, for example, J. Eric Thompson argued that the religious universe of Mayan aristocrats might not have exactly matched the spirituality of commoners.

Like Furst, Freidel, Schele and Parker heavily rely on the ethnographic analogy method. In fact, participating in modern Mayan rituals and projecting them onto ancient Mayan tradition, they seek to prove that “Maya ritual and cosmology has endured for at least two millennia,” and that there is an intimate continuity of “Maya reality from the ancient past into the present.” (Freidel et al. 1993: 48, 11) To their credit, these three writers do not insist that their spiritual rereading of the Mayan past is the best-fit interpretation of that culture. Their major goal is to the picture human agency and spirituality — the aspects neglected by earlier archeologists. Freidel, Schele and Parker do not hide that in their attempt to breathe life into Mayan archeology they extensively use their imagination tuning it up to current spiritual longings: “Because we modern pilgrims are ignorant of the intentions of the original builders, we impress our own meanings and aesthetic values on the Maya monuments, just as we always do when we contemplate masterworks of art from other cultures and other times. And our ignorance is convenient, for it allows free reign to the modern imagination. We see in these ruins what we want to see, be it affirmation of the romantic mysticism of springtime pilgrims, or the

做。我们的无知是很方便的，因为它允许现代想象力自由地发挥。我们在这些废墟中看到了我们想要看到的东西，无论是对春季朝圣者浪漫神秘主义的肯定，还是许多终生致力于研究玛雅的现代学者的实践唯物主义。我们不得不承认，我们对过去的看法永远是现在的囚徒。我们对玛雅人心中的山脉的重建，就像一位细心的考古学家修复的金字塔山一样，只是一种诠释，而不是真正的原貌。”（Freidel et al. 1993: 36）

一些学者对考古学知识从精神的视角进行重访，激发了不少精神追求者，他们将此视为可以操作的文化蓝图。所谓“哨子瓶”的故事，说明了在当前的知识环境中，这件考古文物如何被设定为神圣而神秘的，从而推动出现一个虽小却充满活力的精神团体。“哨子瓶”是由居住在秘鲁北部和中部沿海地区的前哥伦布时期的土著制造的一种双腔容器；有些容器最多有6个腔室。考古学家将这些物品的年代确定为公元前500年至西班牙征服时期，通常在古代秘鲁人的墓穴中被发现作为陪葬品的一部分。最初，研究人员认为“古代人”使用这些容器来饮用或储存水，这在20世纪60年代以前的学术实证主义时代是一种自然的思维方式，顺便说一句，这正是“瓶子”这一绰号的由来。

容器的某一个腔室通常有一个管状的孔。如果有人朝这个孔里吹气，这个“瓶子”就会发出高音调的哨子声。由于早期的学者认为“瓶子”纯粹是出于功能目的，所以他们认为，如果古代印第安人偶尔会吹出哨声，这样做也只是为了娱乐。几乎没有任何学者猜测，人们可以在神圣的仪式中使用这些器皿将其吹响。然而在20世纪70年代，随着人们对迷幻剂的文化作用和状态改变的意识提高，人们开始重新审视瓶子的功能。人类学家玛琳·多布金·德·里约斯（Marlene Dobkin de Rios），一位著名的秘鲁致幻萨满教学生，记录了“死藤水”集会期间这些罐子的使用情况。她指出，秘鲁萨满经常在他们的“死藤水”治疗过程中，以特定的音调吹哨子，将哨音的时间控制在治疗的不同阶段。同时，德·里约斯和她参与这项研究的同事卡茨（Katz）认为，哨子只起到了辅助作用，有助于“死藤水”使用者的精神旅程。他们推测，吹哨子可以缓解精神旅行者遭遇“糟糕旅行”时的负面体验。

然而，在同一时期，当德·里约斯和卡茨提出他们的观点时，古董收藏家丹尼尔·斯塔特尼科夫（Daniel Statnekov）进一步指出，这些器皿可能代表了古代秘鲁人自己所使用的主要神圣工具。因此，它们可以作为心理声学的大门，以进入另一种现实，类似于鼓和摇铃。“我总觉得这些乐器是用来进

practical materialism of many modern scholars who devote lifetime to studying the Maya. We are forced to acknowledge that our perception of the past is always a prisoner of the present. Our reconstruction of the mountains inside the Maya mind is, like the pyramidal mountain restored by a careful archeologist, an interpretation and not the true original.” (Freidel et al. 1993: 36)

The spiritual revision of archeological knowledge by some academics stimulates spiritual seekers, who receive in their hands cultural blueprints to work with. The story of so-called whistling bottles shows how the archeological artifact set in the current intellectual environment tuned to the sacred and mysterious might spring up a small but vibrant spirituality group. Produced by pre-Columbian people who resided in coastal areas of northern and central Peru, “whistling bottles” represent dual-chambered vessels; some have up to six chambers. Archaeologists, who date these objects from 500 B.C. to the Spanish Conquest represent, usually find them in graves of ancient Peruvians as parts of burial goods. Originally, researchers assumed that the “ancient ones” used the vessels for drinking or storing water, which was a natural thinking in the age of scholarly positivism, prior to the 1960s. Incidentally, that is how they received a nickname “bottles.”

One of the chambers of a vessel usually has a tube-like hole. If one blows air through this hole, the “bottle” produces a high-pitch whistling. Since earlier scholars thought that the “bottles” had purely functional purpose, they assumed that if ancient Indians occasionally whistled through them, they did it just for amusement. Hardly any scholar surmised that people could use these vessels for sacred ceremonies by blowing them as whistles. Yet in the 1970s, with the rising awareness of the cultural role of hallucinogens and altered states, the function of the bottles was revisited. Anthropologist Marlene Dobkin de Rios, a known student of the Peruvian hallucinogenic shamanism, documented the use of these jars during *ayahuasca* sessions. She noted that Peruvian shamans frequently accompanied their *ayahuasca* healing sessions by whistling at certain tones timing the tunes to different stages of the sessions. At the same time, de Rios and her colleague Katz, who was involved into this research, suggested that whistling played only a complementary role helping *ayahuasca* users during their spiritual journeys. They speculated that whistling could smooth negative experiences of spiritual travelers who encountered a “bad trip.”

However, during the same years when de Rios and Katz came up with their work, antique collector Daniel Statnekov went farther suggesting that those vessels might have represented for ancient Peruvians major sacred tools of their own. As such, they could serve as psycho-acoustic doorways to alternative reality akin to drums and rattles. “I always felt that these sound instruments were used to access another dimension,” wrote this spiritual seeker. The spiritual revision of the “vessel bottles” began on April 27, 1972, when Statnekov, a well to do east coast businessman and an antique collector,

入另一个维度的,”这位精神探索者写道。1972年4月27日,东海岸富裕的商人、古董收藏家斯塔特尼科夫经历了一件让他得到启示的事情,对“容器瓶”进行了精神方面的重新审视。在那天之前,他在一次拍卖会上买了这样一件容器,仅仅是因为它看起来很古老,很有吸引力。有一次他坐在书房里,把玩着他的新考古玩具,斯塔特尼科夫开始无缘无故地吹着这个容器。哨子瓶产生的效果引起了他的兴趣。这是一种高亢而诡异的声音,使这位古董收藏家感觉被发射到太空进行了一次想象之旅。尽管斯塔特尼科夫在吹瓶子之前从未体验过“死藤水”,但他在“瓶子下”体验到的飞行感觉让他很快想到他读过人们在“死藤水”作用下精神旅程中的感受。

据斯塔特尼科夫称,这件古秘鲁容器的精神力量深刻地改变了他的生活。他以前是个以物质为导向的人,把所有的精力都集中在了他的商业冒险上。他与能为他所用人培养起有益的联系。他和一位富有女士的婚姻就是这种关系网的一部分。正如他强调的那样,神圣的哨声帮助他从物质主义的束缚中解脱出来。他放弃了在“金笼子”里的世俗生活,与妻子离婚,和20世纪六七十年代他那一代人一样,搬到西部的加利福尼亚:“终于,在32岁的时候,我感到加州将是一个可以放下过去,开始新生活的地方。这也是一个可以充分探索我的新发现的地方。从我读到的报道来看,加州是美国新思想的试验场。秘鲁的哨声会在这里找到定位,我也会”(Statnekov 2003: 45)。

加州大学洛杉矶分校安第斯考古学专家克里斯托弗·唐南(Christopher Donnan)对斯塔特尼科夫(Statnekov)哨子改变思维的理论很感兴趣,并帮助这位精神寻求者成为加州大学洛杉矶分校文化历史博物馆(UCLA Museum of Cultural History)的特约研究员。在接触到丰富的中美洲陶瓷收藏品后,这位前古董收藏家潜心研究其他神圣哨声的样本。斯塔特尼科夫与来自同一所大学的物理声学家斯蒂芬·加勒特(Stephen L. Garret)合作,完成了一篇论文,指出是什么特别促使他们想到这些容器具有精神作用。他们认为,如果两三个吹哨的瓶子同时吹响,它们会发出奇特的声音:更高的音符层叠在一起发出较低的音调,人们可以听到,但不能用录音机录下来。最终,斯塔特尼科夫得出结论,这些“瓶子”不是用来喝酒的,而是在萨满教中有特定的用途,让人们在没有任何致幻剂的情况下进入恍惚状态:“这个想法是,这些低频声音在宗教仪式中对于改变意识状态很重要”(Broad 1988: C1)。

这位精神探索者还暗示,哨声可能是古代密教崇拜的一部分,此崇拜只限于秘鲁萨满和科学家的精英阶层。在根据他的经历改编而成的传记《生机地球》

experienced something that one can call a revelation. Prior to that day, he bought one of such vessels at an auction simply because it looked old and attractive. Once sitting in his study and tossing his new archeological toy, Statnekov began blowing through the vessel for no reason. The effect produced by the whistling bottle intrigued him. It was a high-pitched eerie sound, which catapulted the antique collector on a visionary trip through space. Although Statnekov never used *ayahuasca* before blowing the bottle, the flight he experienced when “under the ‘bottle’” strongly reminded him he read about people feeling during spiritual journeys “under *ayahuasca*.”

According to Statnekov, the spiritual energy of the ancient Peruvian vessel profoundly changed his life. Before, as he notes, he was materialistically oriented person with all his thoughts concentrated solely on his business ventures. He cultivated useful contacts with useful people. His marriage to a wealthy woman was part of this networking. As he stresses, the sacred whistles helped him release himself from this bondage of materialism. Abandoning his secure life in a “golden cage,” he divorced his wife and, as many people of his generation in the 1960s and the 1970s, departed to the West to California: “Now, at age of thirty-two, I sensed California would be a place where I could let go of my past and begin a new life. It was also a place where I could fully explore the ramifications of my discovery. From reports I’d read, California was the American proving ground for new ideas. The Peruvian whistles would find a niche here, and so would I.” (Statnekov 2003: 45)

Christopher Donnan, a UCLA expert in Andean archeology, became intrigued by Statnekov’s theory that the whistles were mind-altering tools and helped the spiritual seeker receive an affiliation with the UCLA Museum of Cultural History. With an access to the rich collection of Mesoamerican ceramics, the former antique collector immersed into a thorough research of other samples of sacred whistles. Pairing with Stephen L. Garret, an acoustic physicist from the same university, Statnekov produced a paper, which pointed what specifically prompted them to think that the vessels carried a spiritual role. They argued that if two or three whistling bottles are blown at the same time, they produce curious sounds: higher notes layer on each other and together make lower notes that one can hear but cannot tape on a tape recorder. Eventually, Statnekov concluded that the “bottles” were used not for drinking but for shamanic purposes to drive people in a trance state without any hallucinogens: “The idea is that these low-frequency sounds were important in religious rituals for changing states of consciousness.” (Broad 1988: C1)

The spiritual seeker also suggested that the whistles might have been a part of an ancient esoteric cult limited to an elite class of Peruvian shamans and scientists. In his experiential biography, *Animated Earth*, Statnekov claims that the magic whistling stimulated his spiritual growth. Reflecting sentiments popular in the body, mind, and spirit community, Statnekov writes that in fact it was not important to know how and in what contexts the ancient Peruvians used these bottles. What is more important to him is

(*Animated Earth*) 中, 斯塔特尼科夫声称神奇的哨子促成了他的精神成长。反映了思想、身体和精神方面人群中流行的情感, 斯塔特尼科夫写道, 事实上, 了解古代秘鲁人如何以及在什么环境下使用这些瓶子并不重要。对他来说更富意义的是, 人们现在可以利用这些容器的精神能量来增强他们的灵性: “我们的优势在于, 在这些工具最后被使用的几百年之后, 我们重新发现了它们, 就是说, 他们在几千年的使用中积淀下来的文化‘外衣’已经被搁置了。”^①

对他的发现感到兴奋, 一些狂热者称斯塔特尼科夫是被神选之人, 他把萨满哨子这一失传的秘密带回了人间。斯塔特尼科夫以古代秘鲁的文物为蓝本进行复制, 开始制作自己的“哨子瓶”。在超过 20 年的时间中, 他制作古董哨子的复制品并免费送给所有感兴趣的人。斯塔特尼科夫并没有回避他的发现给他带来的关注, 而是成为了一个“新时代”巡回演讲的积极参与者, 从另类的广播节目到位于伊莎兰 (Esalen) 的工作坊。斯塔特尼科夫认为古老的哨声可能有助于人们进入另一个世界, 在某种程度上, 他试图将他的发现与玛雅预言和历法, 这些在玄学圈子很流行的标志象征联系起来。

正如他进行自我批判时所强调的那样, 通过将这些推测相互叠加, 他甚至开始想象自己是一位解释古代印第安历史的著名反主流文化的人类学家。最终, 他意识到自己走得太远了, 他所建立的玛雅联系太肤浅了。因此, 他决定专注于宣扬他对哨子精神能量的发现。不幸的是, 斯塔特尼科夫在加州大学洛杉矶分校的研究被终止了。起因是《洛杉矶时报》的一名记者在采访了斯塔特尼科夫之后, 粗暴地拓展了斯塔特尼科夫的理论, 认为是一类古代秘鲁古老仪式的成员通过吹哨子来达到“高潮”。尽管加州大学洛杉矶分校的环境对各种各样的精神探索和改变的状态容忍度挺高, 但这越界太多了。由于担心负面的宣传, 唐南结束了斯塔特尼科夫与博物馆的关系。他说: “卡斯塔尼达逃脱了惩罚, 但是这并不意味着我们要把这所大学的名望借给每一个给我们呈现玄学幻觉的人” (Statnekov 2003: 98)。

这位坚持玄学研究的探索者在被终止了特约学术联系之后, 前往秘鲁, 来到了神奇容器诞生的地方。在那里, 在古老的废墟中, 他和几位精神寻求者一起试着吹哨子, 把容器的神圣能量“送回”它们的故土。1977 年, 斯塔特尼科夫前往新墨西哥州去寻找志同道合的群体, 在那里他参加了一个名为彩虹家族的年度聚会——“美国反主流文化先锋在原始的山地荒野中露营”

^① Daniel Statnekov, “Current Development in the Peruvian Whistling Vessels,” www.peruvianwhistles.com/current-dev.html.

that people can now use the spiritual energy of the vessels to enhance their spirituality: “Our advantage in re-discovering these instruments, so many hundreds of years after they were last employed, is that the cultural ‘garb’ that they must have accumulated over thousands of years of use has been set aside.” ^①

Excited about his discovery, some enthusiasts call Statnekov the chosen one who brought back the lost secret of shamanic whistling back to humankind. Statnekov began to produce his own “whistling bottles” replicating ancient Peruvian blueprints. More than twenty years, he manufactured and freely gave away to all interested individuals hundreds of his replicas of ancient whistles. Statnekov did not shy away from the publicity his discovery brought to him and became an active participant in a “New Age” lecture circuit, from alternative radio shows to workshops in Esalen. Arguing that the ancient whistles might help people to enter alternative reality, at some point, Statnekov tried to connect his discovery with Maya prophesies and calendars, metaphors popular in metaphysical circles.

As he self-critically stresses, by piling these speculations on top of each other, he even began to imagine himself a celebrity countercultural anthropologist interpreting ancient Indian history. Eventually, he realized that he went too far and that his Mayan links were too shallow. As a result, he decided to concentrate solely on propagating his discovery of the whistle spiritual energy. Unfortunately, Statnekov research pursuits at UCLA came to an end, when a *Los Angeles Times* reporter, who interviewed the man, crudely stretched out Statnekov theory by writing that members of an ancient Peruvian archaic ritual got themselves “high” by playing the whistles. Despite the general tolerance of the UCLA environment to all kinds of explorations of spirituality and altered states, this went too far. Fearing a bad publicity, Donnan terminated Statnekov’s affiliation with the museum with the words, “Just because Castaneda got away with it doesn’t mean we’re going to lend the respectability of this university to everyone who presents us with a metaphysical hallucination.” (Statnekov 2003: 98)

Stripped of his academic affiliation, the explorer who persisted in his metaphysical search departed for Peru, to the very location that gave birth to the magic vessels. There, amid ancient ruins, with several spiritual seekers he tried his whistles “returning” the sacred energy of the vessels to their homeland. Trying to situate himself in a community of like-minded people, in 1977, Statnekov journeyed to New Mexico where he joined an annual gathering of so-called Rainbow Family - “the vanguard of the American counterculture camped in a pristine mountainous wilderness.” (Statnekov 2003: 136) Here the former antique collector became involved into sweat lodging Plains Indian style, collective healing sessions, and received a chance to try his whistling energy on

^① Daniel Statnekov, “Current Development in the Peruvian Whistling Vessels,” www.peruvianwhistles.com/current-dev.html.

(Statnekov 2003: 136)。在这里, 这位前古董收藏家参与了平原印第安风格的劳作和住宿, 参加了集体治疗课程, 并获得了一次机会尝试将他的哨子能量传递给乐于接受的听众。看来他终于找到了一个新的家庭: “我有一种以前不知道的归属感。我从未有过属于任何群体的感觉, 无论是在青少年时期还是在大学里。但现在我是彩虹家族的一员”(Statnekov 2003: 151)。在描述自己的经历时, 斯塔特尼科夫反复指出, 他的追求不是研究哨子瓶的秘密, 而是他自己的精神转变。

1980 年的某日, 古董收藏家觉得自己的任务完成了, 于是放弃了“容器之路”, 把他的所有工具、模具和“充满灵性的黏土”都交给了心理学和神学专业的学生唐·赖特 (Don Wright), 唐作为学徒一直跟随斯塔特尼科夫学习。后者不仅成为一个“容器制造者”, 而且开始在新墨西哥州为那些有兴趣以这种非传统方式进入灵性世界的人举办“容器课程”。与需要改变身体生化状态的“致幻剂方式”不同, 赖特宣称这种新方法绝对安全, 是“美丽而极其深刻的体验类型”: “因为在哨声停止后, 体内没有残留的化学物质, 每个人都会回到体验之前的状态, 带着对刚才所发生的事情的记忆, 并从中获得美妙而丰富的感觉。”^① 确实, 这是一种无害的方式来体验改变的状态, 类似于迈克尔·哈纳 (Michael Harner) 所宣扬的鼓声和摇铃声。

赖特“吹哨子”课程的参与者通常在昏暗的灯光下围成一圈坐在地板上。有一次, 我和其他 5 个人参加, 蜡烛点着, 灯关了, 创造了一种期待神圣和神秘的气氛。在收到简短的指示后, 参与者们开始同时向自己的罐子中吹气。就这样, 我们持续吹一个小时, 中间仅有几次短暂的休息。在一些课程中, 人们连续几个小时不间断地这样做, 这是进入变化状态的必要条件。其中一位这种萨满式体验的狂热者满意地写道: “当一群人同时开始吹它们 (容器), 你几乎立刻就会进入一种积极的变化状态。然后, 声音可以作为一种载体来完成治疗、平衡保护、信息收集或其他任何需要。”^② 赖特强调参加他灵性课程的人对这次经历非常感激, 有些人则对课程的结束表示遗憾。

哨子在灵性追求者中越来越受欢迎, 这促使了容器能量的发现者斯塔特尼科夫重回此领域。最终, 1996 年, 移居新墨西哥州的斯塔特尼科夫重新开始制造乐器, 以满足人们的需求, 他们“真诚地渴望探索哨声能量能将他们

① Don Wright, “Peruvian Whistling Vessels,” <http://www.newfrontier.com/1/peru795.htm>.

② Joe Townend, “Peruvian Whistling Vessel Recording,” <http://www.new-universe.com/vessels/vessels.html>.

the receptive audience. It appears that finally he found a new family: "I felt a sense of belonging I hadn't known before. I'd never had a feeling of belonging to any group, neither as a teenager nor in college. But now I was a member of the Rainbow Family." (Statnekov 2003: 151) Describing his experiences, Statnekov repeatedly notes that his quest was not about learning the secrets of whistling bottles but about his own spiritual transformation.

At some point, in 1980, the antique collector felt that his mission was complete and quit "the path of vessels" transferring all his tools, molds and "spiritually-charged clay" to psychology and theology student Don Wright who came to study under Statnekov as his apprentice. The latter not only became a "vessel maker" but also began to run "vessel sessions" in New Mexico for those people who were interested to enter the world of spirits by this unconventional way. In contrast to the "hallucinogen way" that required altering the body chemistry, Wright advertises this new method as absolutely safe, "beautiful and intensely profound type of experience": "Because there is no lingering substance in the body, shortly after the whistling session has stopped, everyone returns to their pre-experience state, beautifully enriched by the memory of what happened." ^① Indeed, it is a harmless way of experiencing altered states akin to drumming and rattling propagated by Michael Harner.

Participants in Wright "whistling" sessions usually sit down on the floor together in a close circle in a dim light. In a session, which involved me and five other persons, candles were lighted, and lights were shut off, which created the atmosphere of expectation of the sacred and the mysterious. After receiving brief instructions, the participants began to blow simultaneously into their pots. In this manner, we blew for an hour with short breaks. In some sessions, people keep doing this for hours without a break, a condition necessary for entering altered states. One of the enthusiasts of this type of shamanic journey wrote with satisfaction, "When a group of people starts blowing them [vessels] all at the same time you are almost immediately transported into a positive altered state. The sound can then be used as a carrier to accomplish healing, balancing protection, information gathering or whatever else is desired." ^② Wright stresses that the participants of his spiritual sessions feel deep gratitude for having this experience, and some reportedly express regret that a whistling session is over.

The growing popularity of the whistles among spirituality seekers prompted Statnekov, the discoverer of the vessel energy, to return to the field. Eventually, in 1996, Statnekov, who relocated to New Mexico, resumed making the instruments catering to serve the needs of people who had "a sincere desire to explore where the whistle energy would take them." It is interesting that the teacher and his former

^① Don Wright, "Peruvian Whistling Vessels," <http://www.newfrontier.com/1/peru795.htm>.

^② Joe Townend, "Peruvian Whistling Vessel Recording," <http://www.new-universe.com/vessels/vessels.html>.

带往何处”。有趣的是，这位老师和他的前学徒走上了各自独立的“容器之道”。斯塔特尼科夫却执意坚持使用在秘鲁古代墓葬中发现的古代蓝本的原始格式和曲调，然而赖特继续进行他的原创幻想，并根据观众的期望调整他的容器，使容器的声音更为高亢。古老的哨声通常音调很低。赖特强调，他不想简单地寻找和复制古代的哨声。他的目标是利用古老的曲调来产生新的灵性声音。顺便提一句，这些对秘鲁古代陶瓷的“严格”和“宽松”的理解使用方法只是西方玄学群体中有关土著灵性两种不同路径的一个小例子。其中，一些人寻求严格遵循特定的部落习俗，而另外一些人则根据个体或群体的需要自由地重塑这些实践。

现代玄学群体和自然宗教都十分关注他们的古代社会根基，广泛地运用考古学来构建自己的仪式。将吹哨的瓶子赋予精神力量只是一个例子，说明考古学是如何满足那些寻求“古代技术”进入变型状态的精神寻求者的。另一个例子是一群狂热者聚集在心理学家和语言学家费利西塔斯·古德曼（Felicita Godman）周围。他出生于匈牙利，目前退休了，住在俄亥俄州哥伦布市。当跟随斯塔特尼科夫的人们用秘鲁的哨子开始他们的精神之旅时，古德曼试图通过复制石器时代雕像上的身体姿势来引导人们进入另一种现实（Goodman 1990: 303—309）。通过观察古代狩猎采集社会中幸存下来的雕塑和雕像，她得出结论，萨满教的任何一种经历都有普遍的跨文化姿势：召唤神灵、治疗、转化为动物、占卜和精神旅行。自20世纪70年代初以来，古德曼和她的同事们发现了大约80种普遍的身体姿势。这位前人类学家和她的追随者们相信，我们的祖先利用所有这些姿势进入了变化的状态。此外，古德曼强调在历史的某个时刻，神灵“邀请”人类学习那些姿势，以保持与另一个独立世界的定期接触（Goodman 1995: xi）。

“在我正在进行的关于意识状态改变的研究中，我让研究对象采取一种非普通的姿势，然后加上一种节奏的刺激。令我惊讶的是，受试者报告了各种各样的梦幻经历。很明显，我无意中发现了一个非常古老的萨满系统，而这个系统至今还没有被人们所认识。”现在古德曼与她的同事贝琳达·戈尔（Belinda Gore）一起运营着库亚蒙格学院（Cuyamungue Institute），专门研究和保存这些姿势，“作为通往灵魂和非普通意识领域的一道门。”^①就像西方萨满教群体中的许多成员一样，她最初对部落灵性和变化状态的兴趣是由接触

^① The Cuyamungue Institute, <https://www.cuyamungueinstitute.com/>

apprentice went by their own separate “vessel paths.” While Statnekov purposely sticks to the original format and tune of the ancient blueprints as found in ancient Peruvian burials, Wright let his creative fantasy move on and adjusts his vessels to the expectations of his audience making vessels sound high in frequently. The ancient whistles are usually low in pitch. Wright stresses that he does not want to simply find and replicate sounds of the ancient ones. His goal is to manipulate the ancient tune to produce new spirituality sounds. Incidentally, these “strict” and “loose” approaches to the ancient Peruvian ceramics is a just a small example of two different approaches to indigenous spirituality in Western metaphysical community, in which some people seek to strictly follow particular tribal practices, while others freely reshape these practices tuning them to their individual or group needs.

Modern metaphysical community and nature religions, which are very concerned to ground themselves in antiquity, widely use archeology to construct their rituals. Instilling whistling bottles with spirit is only one example of how archeology can serve the needs of those spiritual seekers who seek for “archaic techniques” to enter altered states. Another example is a group of enthusiasts clustered around the retired Hungarian-born psychologist and linguist Felicitas Goodman who currently lives in Columbus, Ohio. While people who follow the Statnekov embark on their spiritual journeys by using Peruvian whistles, Goodman tries to induce the same paths to the alternative reality by replicating body postures found on Stone Age figurines (Goodman 1990: 303—309). Observing the sculptures and statuettes that survived from ancient hunting and gathering societies, she concluded that there were universal cross-cultural postures for any kind of shamanic experiences: calling spirits, healing, transformation into animals, divination and spirit journeys. Since the early 1970s, Goodman and her colleagues discovered about eighty universal body postures. The former anthropologist and her followers are convinced that our ancestors used all these postures to enter altered states. Moreover, Goodman stresses that, at certain point of history, spirits “invited” humans to learn those postures to maintain a regular contact with the separate realities (Goodman 1995: xi).

Like Statnekov, Goodman attributes her “discovery” to an accidental event: “In 1977, in connection with my ongoing research concerning altered states of consciousness, I had the research subjects assume one of these non-ordinary postures and then added a rhythmic stimulation. To my surprise, the subjects reported a variety of visionary experiences. Apparently, I had inadvertently stumbled onto a very ancient shamanic system that had hitherto gone unrecognized.” Along with her colleague Belinda Gore, Goodman now runs the Cuyamungue Institute that is specialized in exploring and preserving these postures “as a doorway to the realm of spirit and non-ordinary consciousness.”^① Like for many members of the Western shamanism community, her original interest in tribal spirituality and altered states was triggered by her exposure to

① The Cuyamungue Institute, <https://www.cuyamungueinstitute.com/>.

到美洲土著文化引起的。在她的例子中,普韦布洛(Pueblo)民族志和新墨西哥州北部古老的土著遗迹是她的兴趣触发点。顺便提一句,于1978年创立的库亚蒙格(Cuyamungue)总部位于新墨西哥州北部,那里是身体、思想和精神群体的据点之一。

古德曼和她的同事相信,如果伴随着诸如鼓声或摇铃声之类的声音刺激,那些保持十五分钟的身体姿势可以引起“狂喜的恍惚状态”,并最终产生梦幻体验。顺便提一句,库亚蒙格学院的成员试验了吹哨子的容器,并将它们与从这些容器装饰图案中得到的身体姿势结合在一起。古德曼认为,人们不应该将她发现的古代身体姿势与任何特定的文化或时期联系起来。她坚持认为,来自任何传统的人都可以利用它们进入另一种真实。因此,现代城市居民可以像新石器时代的医师一样有效地进入由身体姿态引起的恍惚状态。此外,为了促进她所创立的系统,古德曼围绕身体姿势创造了精心设计的神话和仪式,或者正如她的一个学生所说,一个“共同的信条”(shared dogma)有助于刺激恍惚状态。

同时,使用她的技巧也有一定的前提条件。古德曼解释说,来参加她的课程的人需要坚定地相信,一个身体姿势将带来一种灵性体验。像许多其他的萨满修行者一样,她要求潜在的参与者接受他们的身体姿势体验是真实的,并警告不要仔细检查和理性化他们的感觉,这会破坏神圣的力量。当然,这是一个神学上的要求,我想说,借助任何仪式工具、设备、姿势,或仪式,或观念模式都可能会产生一种预期上的灵性经验。

古德曼收集来自任何地方的具体身体姿势的蓝本:民族志、考古学书籍、博物馆展品、报纸文章。有一次,她从一张印有古代雕像的邮票上找到了一个姿势。另一次,从一本不知道刊名的旧杂志上撕下一页,这张纸上描绘的是一个来源不确定的古代雕像,看上去似乎是奥尔梅克。这促使古德曼小组的成员用新发现的姿势进行实验(Gore 1995: 111—112)。她还将萨满教对岩画的解释融入她的灵性实践中。例如,古德曼将拉斯科洞窟(Lascaux cave)的一幅绘画作品整合到她收集的姿势中,画中一个线条描绘而成的男性躺在一头巨大的野牛前面,阴茎勃起。此人带有一个鸟面具或鸟头,其附近还绘有另外一只鸟。在她看来,这个线描人物是一个萨满,他正变成有翅膀的生物,在他的精神守护者——鸟的帮助下进入了另一个世界。最重要的是,古德曼计算出“萨满”以37度斜角躺着,在她看来,这是一种诱发恍惚状态的方式。为了复制这种进入同一状态的姿势,来自库亚蒙格学院的教师将人们

Native American cultures. In her case it was Pueblo ethnography and the picturesque landscapes of northern New Mexico filled with ancient native ruins. Incidentally, the Cuyamungue, which was launched in 1978, is based in northern New Mexico, one of the strongholds of the body, mind, and spirit community.

Goodman and her associates believe that, if accompanied by sound stimulation such as drumming or rattling, those body postures maintained for fifteen minutes can induce “ecstatic trance” and eventually visionary experiences. Incidentally, the people from the Cuyamungue Institute experimented with the whistling vessels and integrated them into their practices along with body postures replicated from those vessels. Goodman argues that one should not tie the ancient body postures she discovered to any specific culture or period. She insists that a person from any tradition can use them to step into a separate reality. Therefore, modern city dwellers can enter the body posture trance as effectively as, let us say, Neolithic medicine people. Furthermore, to stimulate of her system, Goodman created around the body postures an elaborated mythology and rituals, or as one of her students put it, a “shared dogma” that helps to stimulate trance states.

At the same time, there is a certain prerequisite for using her technique. Goodman explains that who come to participate in her sessions this should be firmly convinced that a body posture shall lead to a spiritual experience. Like many other shamanic practitioners, she asks potential participants to accept their body posture experiences as real and warns against scrutinizing and rationalizing their sensations, which destroys the power of the sacred. Certainly, this is a theological requirement that, I would say, might generate an expected spiritual experience with any ritual tool, device, posture, or a ritual, or mindset.

Goodman collected blueprints for specific body postures literally everywhere: ethnographic and archaeology books, museum exhibits, newspaper articles. In one case, she picked up a pose from a postage stamp that sampled an ancient figurine. In another case, a page torn from an old unidentified magazine depicting an unidentified antiquity figurine that appeared to be Olmec prompted the members of the Goodman group to experiment with the newly found posture (Gore 1995: 111–112). She also integrated the shamanic interpretation of the rock art into her spiritual practices. For example, Goodman integrated into her collection of postures a Lascaux cave’s drawing that depicts a stick figure of man lying with an erected penis in front of a giant aurochs. The man also has a bird mask or a bird head and with another bird depicted nearby. The stick figure appeared to her as a shaman, who being transformed into the winged being, journeys to an alternative reality with a help of bird, his guarding spirit. Most important, Goodman calculated that the “shaman” is portrayed lying at the thirty-seven-degree level, which, in her view, was a way to induce a trance state. To replicate this posture for entering the same state, instructors from the Cuyamungue Institute place people on special platforms or, as they call them, “launching pads.” (Gore 1995: 111–174, 176)

安置在他们称之为“发射台”的特殊平台上 (Gore, 1995, pp.174, 176)。

古德曼最著名的一个“发现”发生在 1989 年。在奥地利讲学时,古德曼了解到一年前在多瑙河上一个叫高根伯格 (Galgenberg) 的遗址发掘出一位女性雕像。看到这尊雕像,她立即确定了一种特定的身体姿势,可能导致了一种变化状态。这座有 30000 年历史的雕塑用绿色蛇纹石雕刻而成,被称为高根伯格的维纳斯,它描绘了一个据称在跳舞的女人。她的一个乳房垂在左边,另一个朝向前方。雕像的左臂抬起,整个右手放在大腿上,摆出一种仪式或舞蹈的姿势。古德曼得出结论说,一位古代艺术家看到了这个处于恍惚状态的女人并描绘了出来。令这位前人类学家感兴趣的是,这位妇女抬起的手和她的头又形成了 37 度的角度,这与“拉斯科姿势”相吻合,并暗示了一种模式。古德曼写道,复制“维纳斯”的姿势对她的学生志愿者来说是一项艰巨的工作,承受着极度的高温、疼痛和汗水。尽管经历了所有这些磨难,据称参与者仍然进入了转化状态,并成功归来 (Goodman 1990: 305)。后来,古德曼宣布“维纳斯”姿态是所有姿态中最强大的。

罗伯特·沃利斯 (Robert Wallis),一位对萨满教进行学术研究并实践的人,参加了一个由古德曼同事举办的身体姿势课程,发现上述所有的操作都是人为的和无效的。沃利斯参加的课程的负责人玩了一个所有心理学家都很熟悉的小组活动游戏。他试图控制人们的行为,为观众筛选出“恰当”的答案,甚至试图让参与者自己说出证明古德曼精神技巧的话 (Wallis 2003: 52)。与此同时,另一位参与课程的英国人士则表示相反,谈到了这次经历的奇妙精神效果。这名参与者,采取了熊精灵的姿态,声称他感觉到一个巨大的阴影在他身后,并感到一股能量在他的身体里涌动。此外,为了检验古德曼的实践是否有效和合理,此人 (通过培训的心理师) 决定通过互联网论坛进行一次全部姿势训练,以避免课程实地环境中会因群体动态影响而破坏精神体验。据报道,这次网络课程的许多参与者都经历了奇妙的动物转化。“成为”美洲豹的人报告说,“我以美洲豹的姿态旅行,并且可以报告我在旅程结束之前无法‘离开’美洲豹的身体。在旅途中,我遇到了‘美洲豹妈妈’——不可思议。”^①

尽管它是独立产生的,古德曼的技术本质上是哈纳 (Harner) 开发的更

^① Ross Haven, “Ecstatic Trance Postures,” Shaman Portal, https://www.shamanportal.org/article_details.php?id=27#coments_section.

One of her most celebrated “discoveries” took place in 1989. While lecturing in Austria, Goodman learned about a female figurine archeologist excavated a year earlier at a site called Galgenberg on the Danube River. Looking at this figurine, the anthropologist immediately identified a specific body posture, which might have induced an altered state. This 30000-year-old sculpture carved from green serpentine, which received a nickname Venus of Galgenberg, depicts a woman allegedly in a dance. One of her breasts hangs to the left, the other one faces frontward. The left arm of the figurine is raised, while the right hand that rests on the thigh is posed as though in a ritual or a dance position. Goodman concluded that an ancient artist caught this woman in a trance state. What intrigued the former anthropologist was that the raised hand of the woman and her head were again at the angle of thirty-seven degree, which matched the “Lascaux posture” and suggested a pattern. Goodman writes that to replicate the “Venus” posture was a tough job for her student volunteer, who suffered extreme heat, pain, and perspiration. Still, despite all these tribulations, the participants reportedly entered altered states and then successfully came back (Goodman 1990: 305). Later, Goodman declared the “Venus” posture as of the most powerful among all others.

Robert Wallis, both an academic and shamanism practitioner, who visited one of the body posture sessions run by a Goodman associate found all manipulations described above artificial and ineffective. The leader of the workshop, which Wallis joined, played a group dynamic game well familiar to all psychologists. He tried to control people’s behavior, screened the audience for “appropriate” answers and even put words in the mouth of participants trying to justify Goodman’s spiritual techniques (Wallis 2003: 52). At the same time, another UK participant of a body session reports the opposite. He talks about wonderful spiritual effects of this experience. This participant, who took the Bear Spirit posture, claims that he felt a visible presence of a vast shape behind him and felt a surge of energy in his body. Furthermore, to test if the Goodman practice was valid and sound, this person (psychologist by training) decided to run a whole body posture session through an internet discussion forum in order to avoid the workshop environment that usually spoils a spiritual experience by its group dynamic affect. Reportedly, many participants of this internet session experienced marvelous animal transformations. The one who “became” a jaguar reported, “I journeyed in the posture of the jaguar and can report that I was unable until I left the journey to ‘get out’ of the jaguar body. During the journey I met the ‘Mother Jaguar’ — incredible.” ^①

Although it sprang up independently, the Goodman technique is essentially a marginal replica of the more popular “core shamanism” developed by Harner. While the former places emphasis on body postures, the latter stresses drumming. At the same time,

① Ross Haven, “Ecstatic Trance Postures,” Shaman Portal, https://www.shamanportal.org/article_details.php?id=27#coments_section.

流行的“核心萨满教”(core shamanism)的边缘复制品。前者强调身体姿势,后者强调击鼓声。同时,这两种技术背后的大多数理念看起来非常相似。而且,库亚蒙格学院的成员也指出,他们从“核心萨满教”中借鉴了精神旅行等技巧。总而言之,西方萨满教的各种“学派”和个体修行者之间有着许多相互交融的东西,他们只是简单地采用对自己有利的东西,并将其融入自己的实践中。有趣的是,无论哈纳和古德曼,还是斯塔特尼科夫这样不为人所熟知的“神圣的技术人员”在20世纪70年代后半期几乎同时提出了不含致幻剂的精神技术。这一时期,非主流文化群体正越来越多地从迷幻剂转向“安全”的诱导意识变型状态的技术。顺便提一句,和哈纳一样,古德曼和她的追随者们特别提及他们的技术是“不用药物”而安全的与圣者交流的方法(Gore 1995: 8, 10)。

20世纪70年代初,古德曼开始在她当时任教的丹尼逊大学(Denison University)进行身体姿势实验时,她在寻找如饥似渴的学习者方面没有任何问题。正如她的一位同事所说,在实验了迷幻剂、冥想以及基于东方宗教的其他一些精神实践之后,这些古德曼的学生对意识的另一种状态不再陌生(Gore 1995: 6)。很快,这位人类学家就有了一小群拥趸,他们后来将身体姿势实践从美国扩展到其他西方国家。尽管没有哈纳的“核心萨满教”那样有影响力,但基于“古代”身体姿势的实践成为西方萨满教群体不可或缺的一部分。古德曼对于自己的精神技巧评价很高。她甚至把自己的“发现”与哥伦布对新大陆的“发现”相比较。与现代西方的许多其他灵性修行者一样,她和她的同事们把他们的体系描绘成全人类问题的全球解决方案,“希望在为时太晚之前为我们的星球和我们自己找到治愈之道。”(Gore 1995: xv)

现代萨满教社群成员从考古学知识中得到灵感是很自然的。毕竟,伊利亚德教导我们,萨满教是“古老的入迷术”。现代西方萨满教实践的一个主要目标是找回“古老的自我”,而这种“自我”据称隐藏在犹太教-基督教传统腐朽的表层之下。在这样的情况下,仅仅因为它是古老的,任何古老的物品都有可能

在灵性追寻者的眼中获得一种精神意义,并变成通往另一种现实的大门。

much of the philosophy behind the both techniques look very similar. At the same time, the Cuyamungue Institute people do point out that such techniques as spirit journeys they appropriated from the “core shamanism.” Overall, there is much cross-fertilization among various “school” of Western shamanism and individual practitioners, who simply take whatever works better for them and integrate it into their practices. What is interesting here is that both Harner and Goodman, and such less familiar “technicians of the sacred” as Statnekov came up with their spiritual techniques devoid of hallucinogens approximately at the same time — in the second half of the 1970s. This was the time when the countercultural community was increasingly turning away from hallucinogens to “safe” techniques of inducing altered states. Incidentally, like Harner, Goodman and her followers make a special note that their techniques as “drugless” and safe method of communicating with the sacred (Gore 1995: 8, 10).

In the early 1970s, when Goodman began to experiment with the body postures at Denison University, where she taught at that time, she did not have any problems with finding eager learners. As one of her associates notes, having experimented with hallucinogenic drugs, meditation, and other spiritual practices based on Eastern religion, these Goodman’s students were no strangers to alternative states of consciousness (Gore 1995: 6). Soon the anthropologist had a small group of enthusiasts who later expanded the body postures practices beyond the United States to other Western countries. Although certainly not so influential as, for example, Harner’s “core shamanism,” practices based on “archaic” body postures became an integral part of the Western shamanism community. Goodman thinks highly about her spiritual techniques. She even goes as far as comparing her “discovery” with the Columbus “discovery” of the New World. Like many other spiritual practitioners in modern West, she and her colleagues portray their system as a global solution for global human problems “hoping to find healing for our planet and for ourselves before it is too late.” (Gore 1995: xv)

The inspiration that the members of the modern shamanism community receive from archeology knowledge is natural. After all, Eliade taught us that shamanism is “archaic technique of ecstasy.” One of the major goals of shamanic practices in modern West is a retrieval of “archaic self” that is allegedly hidden under the corruptive layers of Judeo-Christian tradition. Under these circumstances, simply because it is ancient, any ancient object can potentially acquire a spiritual meaning in the eyes of spiritual seekers and turn into a door to the alternative reality.

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