

引言

很多历史学家和研究者都确信，不同文化中艺术的相似性是来自于它们相互的接触。美国生物化学家艾伦·威尔森 (Allan Wilson, 1985) 认为：现在生活在地球上的所有人都出自于一个女人——黑夏娃。她生活在 20 万年前的非洲。威尔森的理论是基于对遗传物质线粒体 DNA (mt-DNA) 的研究。它只通过母亲遗传。这意味着基因组中它的差异都是由突变引起的，一次突变就是线粒体 DNA 序列组的一次随机变化。而 DNA 的差异则大多来自于父母混合基因的再组。由于突变不经常发生，遗传学家可以通过追踪线粒体 DNA 来重建遗传世系，这一世系可追溯到非洲。(M' charek, 2005)

再早些时候，也就是 1968 年，哈罗

德·贝利 (Harold Bailey) 认为欧洲和南美洲的联系建立在它们的初始语言的基础上。据贡布里希 (1979) 所说，艺术家都是从他们前辈和老师的作品中获取，以他们的设计为灵感。他用三个原则来解释这一现象：“习惯的力量”、“对连续性的寻求”以及“变化的阻力”。基于这种观点，也就很容易解释为什么新材料、新技术刚开始总是用于仿制人们熟悉的旧产品上。最早的汽车就像是辆没有马拉的四轮马车。第一批数字手表有一个圆形的外壳，里面设置一个矩形的窗口来显示时间 (图 1、2)，据说希腊神庙就是前人木屋的石头仿制品。三槽板再现了木梁的末端，而珠状饰是对木构的仿造 (图 3)。

奥地利艺术史家阿洛伊斯·里格尔 (Alois Riegl, 1977) 梳理了一部装饰的演

进史。他在找寻装饰艺术本质的过程中，推演出阿拉伯式花饰 (经常在埃及伊斯兰艺术中出现) 是在希腊棕叶饰的影响下产生的。而美国艺术史学者威廉·亨利·古德伊尔 (William Henry Goodyear, 1891) 又试图证明，同一时期的棕叶饰是传播到希腊的埃及莲花叶纹饰的变形，这意味着棕叶饰和阿拉伯式花饰都出自公元前 4 世纪的埃及。

索尔·海尔达尔

所有研究者都相信“文化接触”，索尔·海尔达尔 (Thor Heyerdahl, 1949) 却是其中倾注最大心力来证明这个理论的。为了说明东波利尼西亚的最早居民来自南美，他在 1947 年坐着木筏从秘鲁航行到那里。波利尼西亚的居民信奉太阳神

论中国饕餮纹与阿兹特克、玛雅和海达文化中艺术的相似性

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Introduction

Many historians and researchers are convinced that similarities between the arts of different cultures originate from contact between these cultures. According to the American biochemist Allan Wilson (1985), all people that live on Earth at this moment originate from one woman: Black Eve. This woman lived in Africa 200,000 years ago. Wilson based his theory on the results from research on heritable material, the so-called mitochondrial DNA (mt-DNA). This DNA is passed on only via the mother. This means that differences that are found in a genome can only be the result of mutations. A mutation is a random change in the mt-DNA sequence. Most differences in DNA material come from recombination due to the 'mixing' of genes from both parents. Because mutations do not occur too often, this mt-DNA makes it possible for geneticists to trace the origin of the genetic material and to reconstruct the history of the genetic

lineage. A lineage that pointed to Africa (M' charek, 2005).

Earlier - in 1968 - Harold Bailey suggested contact between cultures in Europe and South America based on their original languages. According to Gombrich (1979), artists get their inspiration from the works of their predecessors and teachers and continue based on their designs. He explains this phenomenon by using the following three principles: 'the force of habit', 'the search for continuity' and 'the resistance to change'. From these points of view, it is easy to explain why new materials and new techniques are often used in the beginning to create copies of old, well-known products that people are familiar with. The first cars looked like horse drawn coaches without a horse. The first digital watches had circular casings with a rectangular window to present the time (Figure 1 and 2) and it is said that the Greek temples were stone copies of

their wooden predecessors. According to these historians, the triglyphs represent the tips of the wooden beams and the guttae were imitations of the wooden pegs (Figure 3).

The Austrian art historian Alois Riegl (1977) suggested a gradual development of ornaments and decorations. In his search for the basics of decorative art, he showed that the arabesque (which can often be found in the Islamic art of Egypt) was inspired on the Greek palmette. In the same period of time, the American art historian William Henry Goodyear (1891) tried to prove that the palmette is a transformation of the Egyptian lotus motive that had reached Greece. This would mean that both the palmette and the arabesque originate from Egypt in the fourth century B.C.

Thor Heyerdahl

From all researchers that believe in 'contact between cultures', Thor

提基 (Tiki), 并相信是提基把祖先带到了波利尼西亚群岛上。海尔达尔发现法图瓦伊岛 (Fatuiva Island) 以及复活节岛 (Easter Island) 上的提基石像与南美失落的文明中的塑像很相像 (图 4)。多年来, 有很多种关于波利尼西亚祖先来源的说法, 认为波利尼西亚祖先可能来自印度尼西亚、中国、日本、阿拉伯、埃及、高加索, 甚至是德国以及挪威 (维京人), 也可能在波利尼西亚和南美之间原本有大陆连接, 之后沉入了太平洋, 没有一种说法受到长时间的认可。海尔达尔则相信第一批居民是靠船或木筏远渡重洋到达的, 为此他作了很多论证。波利尼西亚居民有一种名为“谈话结 (talking knot)”的计数方式, 由绳结作符码的彩色细线组成。在秘鲁的印加人有一个叫做“奎布 (quipu)”的类似系统。

(奎布在南美的土语盖丘亚语中就是结绳的意思, 图 5、6) 他们还生活在石器时代, 还无法制造金属物件。波利尼西亚最初的这次移民是在公元 500 年左右, 这时只有南美洲还不了解铁器, 亚洲的诸文明早就熟悉了金属物件。

秘鲁有一个古老的传说, 提到了一种突然消失的文化, 现在还有金字塔形的建筑以及大量的石像留存下来, 这些石像让人联想到皮特凯恩群岛 (Pitcairn Islands)、马克萨斯群岛 (Marquesas Islands) 以及复活节岛上的雕像。印加人告诉西班牙统治者, 这些石像都是早先居住在此的白人诸神建造的, 他们是白人, 高高的, 有长长的胡须, 并不像其他的南美土著居民。

而欧洲旅行者们最先抵达波利尼西亚群岛时也感到惊异, 因为住在那里的部分居民肤色偏白, 而且也蓄须。根据流传的故事, 他们的祖先众神 (提基是其中之一) 都来自于遥远的东方, 一个多山的国度。

更早些时候, 印加人的太阳王维拉科察 (Viracocha) 也被称为孔 - 提基 (Kon-Tiki, 太阳神) 或者伊拉 - 提基 (Illa-Tike,



1. 布里顿数字手表: 圆形外框加矩形窗口

2. 卡西欧数字手表

Heyerdahl (1949) put in the most effort to prove this theory. To demonstrate that the first people who lived in East-Polynesia originated from South America, he sailed on a wooden raft from Peru to Polynesia in 1947. The people in Polynesia believed in a god named Tiki, 'the sun god,' who had brought their ancestors to the Polynesian Islands.

According to Heyerdahl, the stone statues of the god Tiki on the island Fatuhiva and the statues of Easter Island (Figure 4) looked a lot like the statues of lost cultures of South America. Over the years, a number of theories about the origin of the people of Polynesia were suggested, and - later on - rejected. There were theories that stated that the people of Polynesia originally came from Indonesia, China, Japan, Arabia, Egypt, Caucasus, and even Germany or Norway (Vikings). Supposedly, there would have been land between the Polynesian Islands and South

America. Land that had disappeared into the ocean (Atlantis). According to Heyerdahl, none of these theories could ever persist. He believed that the people from Polynesia had come by sea, either by boat or by wooden raft. He collected many arguments to support his theory. The people from Polynesia used a system of accounting that relied on 'talking knots' that consisted of coloured strings encoded by knots. A similar system called 'quipu' was in use by the Incas in Peru. (Quipu means 'knot' in Quechua, one of the native languages of South America, see also Figure 5 and 6.) They still lived in the 'stone age', meaning they were not able to produce metal objects. At the time of the first immigration of Polynesia (in 500 A.D.) the use of iron was unknown only in North and South America. The civilizations of Asia (China, Japan, Indonesia) were already familiar with metal objects.

An old myth in Peru tells about a culture

that suddenly disappeared. These people left behind pyramid-like buildings and enormous stone statues that reminded of the statues in Pitcairn, the Marquesas Islands and Easter Island. The Incas told the Spanish rulers that these statues were constructed by a race of white gods that lived in the area before the Incas took over power. They did not look like other South American people because they were white, taller and wore long beards. The first Europeans that had travelled to the Polynesian Islands had been surprised by part of the people that lived there, because they had a nearly white skin and wore beards.

According to the stories that were told, their ancestors were gods - one of them named Tiki - and they came from a mountainous country far away in the east. In earlier times, Viracocha, the king of the sun of the Incas, had also been known as Kon-Tiki (god of the sun) or Illa-Tiki

火神)。孔-提基是“高高的白人”的高级祭司和太阳神。传说中，在的喀喀湖心的一座岛上发生过一次战争，孔-提基遭到了来自科金博峡谷 (Coquimbo valley) 的酋长的突袭，几乎所有的高白人都阵亡了。只有孔-提基及其少数亲信成功地逃到海边，并消失在大海中。

海尔达尔理论的另一个有力证明是在波利尼西亚也有南美洲的红薯，两地都称它为“库马拉 (kumara)”。但海尔达尔的科学家同行们并不信服，他们觉得那个时候的木筏不可能跨过 8000 公里的大海。为消除这一疑虑，海尔达尔重建了一个木筏，取名为孔-提基号，成功完成了跨洋冒险 (图 7)。

然而，根据 DNA、人种、语言以及文化相似性上研究，现在大多数科学家还是

相信波利尼西亚的原始居民是来自东南亚 (可能是越南和马来群岛)。但仍无法完全驳倒公元 500 年左右南美最先移民的论点。如果后者也属实的话，可能是在大约公元 1100 年的时候被第二批来自东南亚的移民潮给替代了。

其他的解释

很多艺术和装饰的类同都可以用文化接触解释，但也并不是全部。19 世纪北海的海达人、瓜基乌图人 (Kwakiutl) 和奇尔卡特人 (Chilkat) (图 8、9) 都不太可能了解公元前 2000 年中国商朝的饕餮纹 (图 10、11)。他们也不太可能 (并不能完全否定) 了解公元 750 年的玛雅艺术和公元 15 世纪的中美洲阿兹特克艺术 (图 12、13)。但这些人所做的装饰却有明显的相

似之处。英国的伊曼纽尔·洛伊 (Emanuel Loewy) 和法国的克洛德·列维-斯特劳斯 (Claude Lévy-Strauss) 等一些人类学家认为，很多装饰和其他的艺术作品源于创造它们的文化。祈雨舞是更有可能产生于一个长时间干旱的地区，而不是一个有多个雨季的区域。按照这种观点，“装饰艺术”的作用几乎都不是为了“装饰”，而常是有一个不同的目的。比如某种装饰就有保护的意图，在很多文化中，武器和盾牌上都有恐怖的怪兽和巨龙形象。这些例子，类同之处就不能归因于文化接触了 (尽管也有可能)，而是有一个相同的心理基础。在很多文化中，瓜子、犄角、阴茎的设计都是用作护身符的，他们的创造者不太可能相互参照。

任何时期都有盗墓，有些在多个世纪

3. 希腊神庙的多利克式

4. 复活节岛上的雕像

5. 印加人用奎布绳来记录历史事件。一个奎布指的是一条由不同颜色细绳系住的长绳。有时在细绳上再系绳。绳的位置、长短、颜色以及系的方式都是事件的编码。

6. 拿着奎布绳 (谈话结) 的帝国书记官

7. 索尔·海尔达尔的孔-提基号

(god of fire). Kon-Tiki was the high-priest and sun god of the 'tall white people'. The legend told that Kon-Tiki had been attacked by a chieftain from the Coquimbo valley, during a battle on an island in the Titicaca Lake. Nearly all the tall white people had been killed. Only Kon-Tiki and a few of his confidants could escape and succeeded in reaching the coast, from where they disappeared over the sea.

Another important argument to support the theory of Heyerdahl is the sweet South American potato that can also be found in Polynesia and that has the same name in both locations: 'kumara'. Fellow scientists of Heyerdahl did not believe him. They thought it was impossible to travel 8000 km over sea on the kind of rafts that were used in those days. To prove it was possible, Heyerdahl copied a raft, which he named Kon-Tiki, and risked the crossing, with success.

However, based on DNA-research, racial,

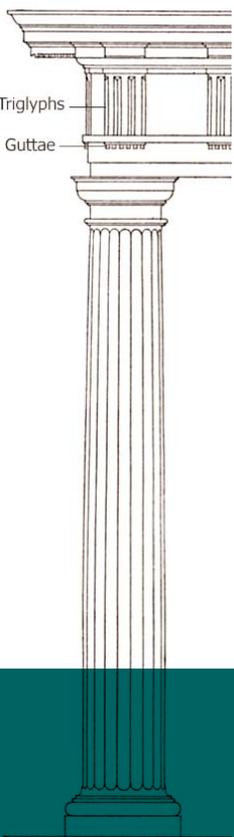
linguistic and cultural similarities, most scientists are now convinced that the present population of Polynesia originally comes from Southeast Asia (especially Vietnam and Malaysia). But still it cannot be completely rejected that the first immigrants in 500 A.D. came from South America.

However, if that was the case, they were replaced later – around 1100 – by a second wave of immigrants from Southeast Asia.

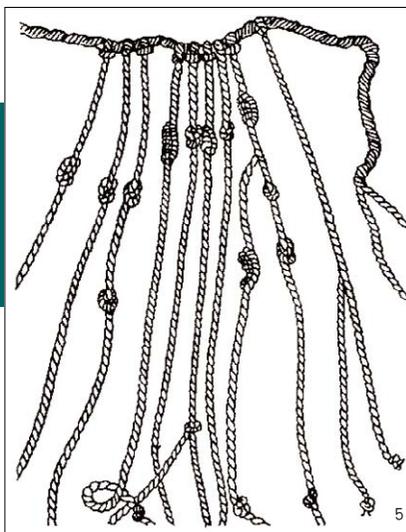
Other explanations

A lot of similarities between the arts and decorations can be explained as a result of contact between cultures, but not all of them. It is not very likely that the Haida, Kwakiutl and Chilkat people from North America in the 19th century (Figure 8 and 9) knew the taoties of the Shang dynasty in China from the second millennium B.C. (Figure 10 and 11). Not impossible, but then again also not very likely, is that they

knew about the art of the Mayas (Figure 12) from 750 A.D. and Aztecs (Figure 13) from the 15th century in Mesoamerica. Yet the decorations of these people show striking similarities. According to some anthropologists, amongst them the Englishman Emanuel Loewy and the Frenchman Claude Lévy-Strauss, many decorations and other works of art originate from the culture of the people that created them. It is more likely for a rain dance to originate in an area with prolonged drought than in a territory with many periods of rain. In this view, the function of 'decorative art' is seldom to 'decorate'. Far more often, decorations serve a different purpose. For instance, a decoration can also have a protective function. In many cultures, weapons and shields have decorations of scary monsters or dragons. In these cases, the similarities do not originate from contact between cultures (although they may),



以前就惨遭盗掠。在坟墓周围大多放置着镇墓兽，尤其是在隐藏的入口处，同样，这不可能是艺术家的相互模仿，或是相互启发的灵感，而更可能是人类行为逻辑的结果。比如著名的镇墓兽瓦伊比利的斯芬克斯 (Sphinx of Wah-ib-re) (现藏于维也纳艺术史博物馆) 上有段这样的铭文：“哦，奥西里斯，世袭的贵族，统治者、先知和官员瓦伊比利，天生的女主人，特克霍瓦特，我保护你们的坟墓，将敌人阻拦在墓穴外，将擅闯者抹杀于石棺旁。我用力量消灭你们的敌人，猎杀于坟墓所有的不轨，在审判之处销毁你们的对手，将他们锁住，锁在他们的尸体里面，永远！” (Anon, 2009) 另一个例子就是秦始皇兵马俑 (秦朝，公元前 221- 前 207 年)，尽



but actually have the same psychological background. The use of designs such as claws, horns, or phalluses for amulets can be found in many cultures. It is not very likely that their creators copied them from one another.

The robbing of valuables from graves is from all times. Many centuries ago, tombs were already plundered. The fact that guards were positioned around those graves, especially near the entrance, and that the entrances were hidden, again is most likely not a consequence of artists copying one another – or being inspired by each others works – but more likely an outcome of insight in human behaviour. Examples of famous guards are the Sphinx of Wah-ib-re (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) that has the following inscription: ‘Oh Osiris, Hereditary Count, Ruler, Prophet and Officer Wah-ib-re, born of the mistress of the house, Tekhuwat, I protect your tomb, ward off the enemies from your



管现在都认为这是为他死后统治另一个帝国而准备的军队(图14)。

克洛德·列维-斯特劳斯

法国人类学家列维-斯特劳斯(1958)认为,中国饕餮纹与北美的海达、瓜基乌图、奇尔卡特以及中美洲阿兹特克和玛雅装饰的相似,都可归结到同一种文化来源。在他的著述中,就试图解释这些装饰艺术的相似性。首先他就宣称,这些相似不仅关乎外表特征,还与内在观念有关。大多数作品都是高度抽象的,身躯各部相互分离,绘制在不同区域,很难说解剖得准确,脸部特征和部分细节都有所强调,而且通常整个装饰是镜面对称的。脸和躯干都呈正面,但看起来是由两个对称的侧面像构成(形象剖分)。列维-斯特劳斯又进一

步认为这才是作品的创作原则,而非是依照自然。他相信作品是与它所处的社会结构紧密相关的。这些社会都有严密的权利结构,贵族有苛刻的戒律,行动自由有限,苦役和奴隶的人口都有严格限定。装饰艺术是对这些社会的解释和转译。形象的剖分与社会的分层有关。

弗朗茨·博厄斯(Franz Boas, 1927)就不像列维-斯特劳斯的那样推导得很远,他从技术的角度提出一种解释。他觉得对称的形象是来自于对瓶罐或其他容器等三维物体的装饰实践。这些装饰图案都分割在物体边缘,又在中央或边角处相遇。这种设计就能形成物体中央是正面,两边是侧面的形象。随后,同样的图像构成也出现在了平面上。然而,加拿大海达人创造的图像中却没有这一观念。2007年

8月,我们去海达传统中心(位于夏洛特皇后群岛的斯凯德盖特)和加拿大温哥华人类学博物馆进行了考察,看到了几个博厄斯设想的装饰盒。但上面所有设计都处在一个平面上,没有对称或是分到两个平面上的形象。传统中心的专家也承认没见过有此类图案的箱子或其他容器。(海达人没烧制过陶瓶,所以也不会有在瓶上出现此类装饰的情况。)

列维-斯特劳斯回应了博厄斯的理论,他觉得瓶子上的常用的图案系统没有理由一定会沿用到平面上。为什么艺术家会觉得单个侧面图案是不够的?为什么要画两个?况且,在瓶子上或其他容器上也可以绘制两个不构成正面形象的侧面像。在列维-斯特劳斯看来,这种剖分的形象可能与最早绘制它们的缘由相关:涂绘在人脸



8



9

8. 海达人的手镯图案, 19世纪加拿大

9. 奇尔卡特的毯子, 19世纪阿拉斯加和加拿大西北部

burial chamber, remove the intruders from your sarcophagus. I crush your enemies with power, chase all evil from your tomb, and destroy your adversary at the place of judgment. I close them in and they can never come out of their corpses, for ever!' (Anon, 2009). Another example may be the Terracotta Army (Figure 14) of the emperor Qin Shi Huang Di (Qin dynasty, 221-207BC), although it is now believed that it served to help him rule another empire in the afterlife.

Claude Lévy-Strauss

According to the French anthropologist Lévy-Strauss (1958), the similarities that were mentioned between the Chinese taotie and the decorations from the Haida, Kwakiutl and Chilkat people of North America and the Aztecs and Mayas of Mesoamerica can be related to a cultural origin. In his publication, he tries to explain the similarities between their decorative

arts. In the first place, he claims that the similarities not only concern the external features, but also the basic concept.

Characteristic for most of these works of art is that they are highly abstract, that body parts are disconnected and pictured on other places than would be anatomically correct; characteristic features of faces and details are accentuated, and the total decoration is usually mirror symmetric. The faces and body parts are depicted 'enface' but seem to be composed from two mirrored profiles (the 'image dédoublée'). Lévy-Strauss further states that the works of art are created according to rules that were agreed upon, not to rules following nature. Lévy-Strauss believes that these works are closely related to the social structure of the society that created them. These societies are characterized by an extremely hierarchical power structure. There is nobility that has not

much behavioural freedom due to very strict rules, and there is a suppressed population of serfs and slaves. The decorative art is an interpretation and translation of the society. The split mirrored images are related to the split society.

Lévy-Strauss goes much further in his theory than for example Franz Boas (1927) who presented a more technical explanation. The dual image, according to him, comes from the practice of decorating three-dimensional objects, such as vases and containers. In this kind of decorations, the images are divided along the sides of the object and meet in the middle or in the corner of the container. By adapting the design, it is possible to create a front view in the middle and two profiles on both sides of the object. Later on, the pictures were reproduced on a plane, but the design was kept. However, this concept cannot be found in the images of the

上。人脸很有可能成为装饰的载体，这种装饰实际上就是面具。那样的话，三维的图像（比如面具或人脸）与二维的平面图形有一种功能上的关联。根据他的研究，在任何有此类图像的文化中，面具都扮演了重要角色。戴面具的人在那些社会里都是有地位的，当他们装扮上的时候就可能是首领或是巫医。如果列维－斯特劳斯的对的话，分裂的形象其实代表了一个有着严格等级组织的社会，有一个统治的贵族，也有苦役和奴隶。

相似之处

对于了解和应用这种分裂形象的文化来说，这种解释是否适用，问题还未解决。在列维－斯特劳斯提到的文化中，有些确实匹配，有些还不能确定，甚至

是可疑的。

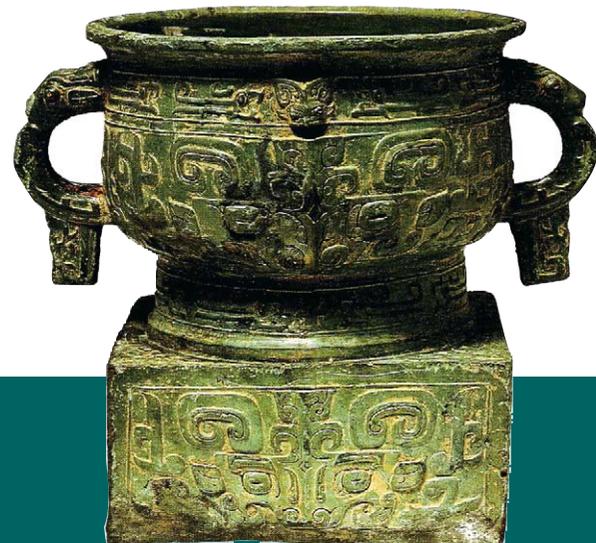
饕餮纹

根据李泽厚（1988）的说法，饕餮纹出现在中国战乱频繁的时期。“青铜器大多……作为祭祀的礼器，多半奉献给祖先或铭记自己武力征伐的胜利。与当时大批杀俘以行祭礼完全吻合，杀掉甚至吃掉非本氏族、部落的敌人……《吕氏春秋·先识览》说：周鼎著饕餮，有首无身，食人未咽，害及其身……吃人这一基本含义，是完全符合凶怪恐怖饕餮的形象的。”（李泽厚，1988，p.50-51）

阿兹特克

阿兹特克文化以尚武著称。他们用人来祭祀，多是战犯。社会结构中有一

个军事首领，一个世袭首领，还有精明的平民和奴隶。1790年，墨西哥出土了地母神科亚特利库埃的雕像，因实在吓人，又重新埋回去了几年。“头部分成两瓣，分别是一条蛇的形象，有图示的血迹留下。另有一条蛇从腹股沟处缠绕而



10. 饰有饕餮纹的青铜器，公元前12世纪或公元前11世纪

Haida people from Canada. During a visit to the Haida Heritage Centre (Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands) and the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver (Canada) in August 2007, several boxes with the images proposed by Boas were found. All designs are in one plane, no design was found on which the image was mirrored and divided over two planes. When asked, the experts of the Heritage Centre said they had no knowledge of any box or container that was decorated in the way Boas suggested. (The Haida people did not have ceramic vases, so decorations of this kind on a vase could not have existed either.)

In reaction to the theory of Boas, Lévy-Strauss stated that there is no reason to apply a system that is normally used on vases, to a plane as well. Why should an artist not be satisfied with one profile? Why draw two? And: on a vase or container it is also possible to depict two profiles without

them forming a front view. According to Lévy-Strauss, the split representation of the images can be related to the reason why they were created in the first place: to be applied (painted) on a person's face. The human face is supposed to be the bearer of the decoration. In fact, the decoration is a mask. In that case, there is a functional relation between the three-dimensional image – such as a mask on a face – and the two-dimensional graphic figure. According to Lévy-Strauss, all cultures that use these kinds of images are cultures where masks play an important role. The wearer of the mask plays a role in his society, for instance, as a chief or a medicine man, when wearing the mask. If Lévy-Strauss is right, the split image stands for a society with a very strong hierarchical organization. There is a dominant nobility and there are serfs or slaves.

Similarities

The question remains if this description suits the cultures that knew and used the split representation. Some of the cultures that Lévy-Strauss mentions do, from others it is uncertain or even doubtful.

Taotie

According to Li Zehou (1988) the taotie dates from a period in China with a lot of violence and wars. 'Most of the bronze objects (...) were ritual vessels used in sacrificial ceremonies to make offerings to one's ancestors, or were inscribed with records of military exploits and victories. It was also the custom in those days to slaughter prisoners of war for sacrificial purposes, and to kill and even eat one's enemies. (...) According to 'Lu's Spring and Autumn Annals: Prophecy' the taotie on Zhou bronzes has a head but no body. When it eats people, it does not swallow them, but harms them (...) the indication that it eats

下,同时意味男性和女性的生殖器。她的手足都变成了爪子的形象,戴着一条项链,上面串着肢解的人手和挤压的人心。”(Miller, 1990, p.207)

奇尔卡特、海达和瓜基乌图

这些生活在加拿大西海岸的人对非常复杂的社会结构并不陌生,那里有强有力的统治阶层,相应地也有奴隶。社会权威和经济在其中扮演了重要角色。瓜基乌图和海达人都有所谓的“夸富宴”仪式,举办者将在仪式上散发自己的重要财产。组织“夸富宴”的契机一般是重要事件,例如生日、婚姻或是坐上了关键的职位。接受方往往也会对应地再举办一次这种仪式,如果实力允许,会力求超过前一次。

总之,懂得运用部分图像的文化通常都有一个有力的统治阶层,也往往(不是一定)比较暴力。然而,这样的推导不可能完全周密,也有些统治强硬和暴力的文化是没有部分图像的。尽管有证据表明这些图像的运用指向了一个强硬的统治阶层,但反过来并非是所有这样的社会都会出现这样的图像。

形态生成场

在1983年8月31日,英国ITV播出了一个“A+”的节目,节目中出示了一个“画谜”,是一张隐藏了真实形象的图片。“A+”在大约14:00时开始,在14:30结束,两个时间点都揭示了画谜的答案,将谜底的清晰形象重叠在谜面图像上。这期节目的目的是为了证明

鲁珀特·谢尔德雷克(Rupert Sheldrake, 1987)的形态生成场理论。在实验中用的两张图都是由摩根·森德尔(Morgan Sendall)设计的,很难辨认出真实形象,确保只有少数人可破解。它们被发送到了世界各地(欧洲、非洲、南北美洲)。参加实验的研究者在英国节目播出的几天前给一组人看过,节目播出几天后,再给一个同类组的人看。看的时候都限定一分钟,先图A,再图B,记录下成功辨认的人数(图15、16)。

通常情况下,受调查的人都是写下答案,也有一些是通过问询记录,只有那些百分百正确的答案才算数,比如“戴帽子的女士”或“大胡子的男士”。项目组的负责人也都不知道哪张图会出现在节目中,另一张作为对比。如果谢尔德



11



12



13



14

people accords fully with its cruel, fearful countenance.' (Li Zehou, 1988, p. 50-51)

Aztecs

The Aztecs are known to be martial. They killed people, for instance prisoners of war, for sacrificial purposes. Their society

had a nobility of war, a hereditary nobility, sagacious civilians and slaves. In 1790 in Mexico, an excavated sculpture of the goddess Coatlicue (figure 13) was considered to be so fearsome that it was reburied for some years. 'The head is

severed and replaced by two snakes, symbolic of flowing blood. Another snake descends from her groin, suggesting both menses and penis. Her hands and feet have been transformed into claws, and she wears a necklace of severed hands and extruded

雷克的理论正确的话，在电视上出现过的这张图，后一组的辨认效果应该要比前一组好。最终，播放的是图 B，实验结果见表 1。

正如表中所示，在节目后，播出的那张图片的辨认成功率比节目前高了 76%，而对比图片 A 的辨认率则下降了 9%。尽管实验并不能完全证明谢尔德雷克的理论，也确实提供了一个方向。

蓝图

简而言之，谢尔德雷克的理论认为，以某种方式发生过的事，以同样方式再次发生的概率就会提高，因为事件的“蓝图”已经创造出来了。谢尔德雷克称它为“形态生成场”。事件发生得越频繁，场就越强，从而事件的发生便会更加显著。

11. 威廉·威利特所梳理的饕餮起源
12. 玛雅的器皿，公元750年的墨西哥
13. 科亚特利库埃雕像，15世纪阿兹特克地母神
14. 秦始皇兵马俑
15. 谢尔德雷克实验中的画谜，摩根·森德尔设计

结晶

“……合成过全新化合物的化学家，常在第一次让物质结晶时遇到麻烦。但是，随着时光流逝，这些物质的结晶过程会变得越来越容易。”这一规律在相关晶体教材的这段引文中也有体现，它论述了一种新晶体的形态是自然产生且不可预知的：“大约在 10 年前，一家企业开办了一个工厂，用于在水溶液中提取酒石酸氢化乙二胺的大结晶，这些结晶再运到数公里远的地方，切割打磨，

作为工业原料。开业一年后，提取箱中的晶体品质变差了，上面附着着其他的物质晶体，有时候，这些物质的生成速度甚至更快。这一苦恼迅速蔓延到其他工厂：切割和打磨也需得处理表面的杂质……有用的是酒石酸氢化乙二胺，没用的是它的一水化物，3 年的研发再加 1 年的生产，从未出现过这种一水化物。而在那之后，却漫天都是。”(A. Holden and P. Singer as cited by Sheldrake, 1987, p.108)



hearts'. (Miller, 1990, p. 207)

Chilkat, Haida and Kwakiutl

These people that live on the west coast of Canada knew a very complicated social structure. There was a strong hierarchy and there were slaves. Social prestige and economic standing played an important role. Both the Kwakiutl and the Haida people knew the so-called 'potlatch'. This was a ceremony where the host would give away an important part of his possessions. Reasons to organise a potlatch were important events, such as birth, marriage or the accession of an important posture. It was normal that the receiving party, usually another group or clan, would organize a potlatch as well, where the host – if possible – would have to surpass the preceding party.

It can be concluded that cultures that knew the split image, usually had a strong hierarchy and were often – but not always – very violent. Yet it is impossible

to prove a strong analogy between them. Strong hierarchy and violence did (and do) occur in cultures that do not use the split image. Although there is some evidence that the use of these images indicate a strong hierarchy, it is not the case that all these societies know and use the split image.

Morphogenetic fields

On the 31st of August 1983, ITV in England broadcasted the program 'A Plus', during which a 'puzzle picture' with a hidden illustration was shown. The picture was shown at the beginning of the program, around 14.00 o'clock, and again at the end of the program, around 14.30. Both times, the answer to the puzzle was revealed by slowly merging the real picture over the puzzle picture. The aim of this program was to help prove the theory of morphogenetic fields by Rupert Sheldrake (1987). In the experiment, two

images were used that were specially designed by Morgan Sendall. The hidden illustrations were difficult to recognise, to make sure that only few people would be able to do so. Sendall's designs were sent to different countries all over the world (Europe, Africa, North and South-America). The researchers that participated in this experiment, first showed the designs to a group of subjects a few days before the broadcasting in England. The same designs were shown again a few days after the broadcasting to a different but similar group of subjects. The pictures were shown during one minute, each time first picture A, then picture B (Figure 15 and 16). The number of people that recognised the hidden image was registered.

Most of the times, the subjects were asked to write down their answers. In a few cases, the subjects were individually interviewed. Only answers that were

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白鼠

1920年, 麦克杜格尔(W. McDougall)在哈佛大学进行了一个实验, 调查后天养成行为的遗传状况。他假设后天的行

为也是可以遗传的。在实验中, 白鼠需要从一个缓慢注水的箱子中逃生, 箱子有两个出口, 正确的是暗的, 错误的是明的, 白鼠走错出口会遭到一次电击,

实验中也会调整出口的位置。整个实验用了15年时间, 在32代白鼠身上做了测试。第一代白鼠在经历了200次考验后, 才可以径直找到出口。而实验中的最后一代只需要20次尝试。这看起来证明了后天行为可以遗传的假设。直到克鲁在1936年重新做了一次实验, 他用了两组白鼠, 一组传自麦克杜格尔实验鼠的血脉, 一组是他自己培育的。实验开始后, 麦克杜格尔的白鼠技巧的确就像上次实验中最后一代那样的纯熟, 但问题是克鲁的这一组也一样。这其实证明了谢尔德雷克的理论。谢尔德雷克与史蒂夫·罗斯(Steve Rose)合作又做了一次实验(1992), 他们训练的是一天大的小鸡, 结果却不是让人信服, 他们俩对此也不赞同。

人数	全世界		英国和爱尔兰除外	
	播出前	播出后	播出前	播出后
总数	1053	847	754	576
只辨认出图A	63	45	34	29
辨认出A、B	34	40	9	11
只辨认出图B	7	18	0	8
辨认出图A的总人数	97	85	43	40
辨认出图A的百分比	9.2%	10.0%	5.7%	6.9%
辨认出图B的总人数	41	58	9	19
辨认出图B的百分比	3.9%	6.8%	1.2%	3.3%

表1

表1 在图B播出前后, 辨认出图A和图B的人数统计。

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undoubtedly correct, such as 'woman with hat' or 'man with big moustache' were counted. The project leaders that took part in the experiment did not know which image was broadcasted. The design that was not shown served as a control measure. If Sheldrake's theory was correct, the design that was shown on TV should be better recognised after the broadcasting than before. Finally, design B was broadcasted. The results of the experiment are depicted in Figure 17.

As can be seen in this figure, the number of people that recognised the figure after it had been broadcasted was 76% higher than before. The number of people that recognised the control illustration A decreased with 9%. Although this experiment does not prove the theory of Sheldrake, it does form an indication.

Blue print

In short, the theory of Sheldrake states that, once an event has taken place in a certain way, the chance that it will happen in the same way the next time has grown. A kind of 'blue print' for this event has been created. Sheldrake calls this a 'morphogenetic field'. The more often an event has taken place, the stronger this field gets, which will make the happening of the event ever more apparent.

Crystals

'(...) chemists who have synthesized entirely new chemicals often have great difficulty in getting these substances to crystallize for the first time. But as time goes on, these substances tend to crystallize with greater and greater ease'. This principle is illustrated in the following account, taken from a textbook on crystals, about the spontaneous and unexpected appearance of a new type of crystal: 'About ten years

ago a company was operating a factory which grew large single crystals of ethylene diamine tartrate from solution in water. From this plant it shipped the crystals many miles to another which cut and polished them for industrial use. A year after the factory opened, the crystals in the growing tanks began to grow badly; crystals of something else adhered to them – something which grew even more rapidly. The affliction soon spread to the other factory: the cut and polished crystals acquired the malady on their surfaces (...) The wanted material was anhydrous ethylene diamine tartrate, and the unwanted material turned out to be monohydrate of that substance. During three years of research and development, and another year of manufacture, no seed of the monohydrate had formed. After that they seemed to be everywhere.' (A. Holden and P. Singer as cited by Sheldrake, 1987, p. 108)

上述的这些例子并没有给谢尔德雷克提供充分的证据，但它们确实指出了一种可能性，类似形态生成场的东西可能确实存在。问题总是悬而未决的。如果谢尔德雷克的理论是正确的话，这些在时间和空间上都遥不可及的文明，它们设计或装饰的相似，就可以从形态生成场中获取答案。在地球某处的艺术家面对着以前出现过的问题，没有实际了解前人的方式，却从形态生成场中的前人答案中获得灵感，或许也会用同样的方式解决。如果此说确实的话，列维-斯特劳斯和谢尔德雷克都没有错：同类的社会组织，面对同类的挑战，得出了同类的解决方式或设计。

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16. 画谜的谜底

Rats

In 1920 W. McDougall performed an experiment at Harvard University investigating the heredity of learned behaviour. His hypothesis was that learned behaviour is heritable. The experiment was performed by using white rats that had to learn to escape from a tank that was slowly filled with water. There were two exits. The one that the rats had to choose was dark, the wrong one was illuminated.

Rats that chose this one got an electric shock. The intention of the experiment was to learn the rats to choose the dark exit. The position of the exit was changed during the experiment. The experiment was carried out on 32 generations of rats and took 15 years. It took the first generation 200 trials before they would take the dark exit without hesitation. The last generation only needed 20 trials. With this experiment,

the heredity of learned behaviour seemed to be proven - until Crew repeated the experiment in 1936 with two groups of rats, one that descended from McDougall's rats and one from his own cultivation. The skills of the rats at the beginning of his experiment were equal to the final level of the last generation of McDougall's rats. But this was the case for Crew's rats as well. This supports the theory of Sheldrake. Later experiments carried out by Sheldrake in cooperation with Steve Rose (1992) with the training of day-old chicks were less convincing, although Rose and Sheldrake disagreed about the results. Although none of the aforementioned examples form enough evidence to prove Sheldrake right, they do give an indication of the possibility that something like a morphogenetic field does exist. One could say that it often seems that a solution for a problem is 'in the air'. If the theory of Sheldrake

is right, the explanation for similarities in designs and decorations in civilizations that are far away from each other, both in distance and in time, can be found in morphogenetic fields. Confronted with a problem or a question that has been there before - somewhere on Earth - an artist will, not knowingly, find inspiration in the morphogenetic field of earlier solutions, and might therefore come to the same solution. If this is true, both Lévy-Strauss and Sheldrake are right: comparable social organizations, confronted with comparable challenges, come to the same kind of solutions (or designs).

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