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The First True Men

最早的真正人类

The earliest signs and traces at present known to science, of a humanity which is indisputably kindred with ourselves, have been found in western Europe and particularly in France and Spain. Bones, weapons, scratchings upon bone and rock, carved fragments of bone, and paintings in caves and upon rock surfaces dating, it is supposed, from 30,000 years ago or more, have been discovered in both these countries. Spain is at present the richest country in the world in these first relics of our real human ancestors.

In Asia or Africa or submerged beneath the sea of today there may be richer and much earlier deposits of real human remains than anything that has yet come to light. I write in Asia or Africa, and I do not mention America because so far, except for one tooth, there have been no finds at all of any of the higher Primates, either of great apes, sub-men, Neander-thalers nor of early true men. This development of life seems to have been almost exclusively an Old World development, and it was only apparently at the end of the Old Stone Age that human beings first make their way across the land connection that is now cut by Behring Strait, into the American continent.

These first real human beings we know of in Europe appear already to have belonged to one or other of at least two very distinct races. One of these races was of a very high type indeed; it was tall and big-brained. One of the women's skulls found exceeds in capacity that of the average man of today. One of

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于和我们有着不容置疑的亲缘关系的人类，目前为科学所知最早迹象是在西欧发现的，尤其是法国和西班牙。武器、骨头、骨头和岩石上的刻划作品、骨雕碎片以及洞穴或岩石表面的绘画在这两个国家都有所发现。据估计这些东西可追溯到3万年前，甚至更早。就目前而言世界上拥有真正人类祖先最早遗迹最多的国家是西班牙。

在亚洲 或者非洲 或者浸没在今天的大海下面 也许沉积着真正人类的遗迹，比起现已发掘的任何东西 它们的内容更加丰富 历史更加悠久。我说的是在亚洲或非洲 并没有提到美洲 因为到目前为止 除了一颗牙齿，美洲丝毫没有发现任何高级灵长目动物的痕迹 既没有类人猿、亚人类、尼安德特人^① 也没有早期的真正人类。这个生命发展的过程好像几乎是欧洲大陆特有的 显然只是到了旧石器时代的末期 人类才首次跨越现在被白令海峡切断的陆地连接部分 进入美洲大陆。

我们所知道的欧洲最早的真实人类似乎已经属于至少两个截然不同的人种。其中一个人种实际上非常高级 他们身材高大 脑容量大。现已发现的女性颅骨中 其中有一个的脑容量超过了今天的

旧石器时代中期的古人，分布在欧洲、北非、西亚和中亚。他们的化石最初发现于德国杜塞尔多夫附近的尼安德特河流域的洞穴中，因此而得名。

the men's skeletons is over six feet in height. The physical type resembled that of the North American Indian. From the Cro-Magnon cave in which the first skeletons were found these people have been called Cro-Magnards. They were savages, but savages of a high order. The second race, the race of the Grimaldi cave remains, was distinctly negroid in its characters. Its nearest living affinities are the Bushmen and the Hottentots of South Africa. It is interesting to find at the very outset of the known human story, that mankind was already racially divided into at least two main varieties; and one is tempted to such unwarrantable guesses as that the former race was probably brownish rather than black and that it came from the East or North, and that the latter was blackish rather than brown and came from the equatorial south.

And these savages of perhaps 40, 000 years ago were so human that they pierced shells to make necklaces, painted themselves, carved images of bone and stone, scratched figures on rocks and bones, and painted rude but often very able sketches of beasts and the like upon the smooth walls of caves and upon inviting rock surfaces. They made a great variety of implements, much smaller in scale and finer than those of the Neanderthal men; we have now in our museums great quantities of their implements, their statuettes, their rock drawings and the like.

The earliest of them were hunters. Their chief pursuit was the wild horse, the little bearded pony of

普通男子。有一具男性骨骼高达 6 英尺多 体形类似于北美的印第安人。因为最早的骨骼是在克罗马努山洞发现的 所以他们被称为克罗马努人^②。他们是野蛮人，不过属于高级的野蛮人。第二个人种——格里马迪山洞遗迹中的人种 从特征上看显然是尼格罗人^③。这一人种现存的最近亲缘是布须曼人^④和南非的霍屯督人。真有趣 我们在已知的人类故事的一开始就发现，人类从种族上已至少分成两大类，虽然我们的猜测无法辩解 但还是认为前面的人种很可能是带棕色的 而不是黑色的 而且他们来自东方或北方 而后面的人种则是带黑色的 而不是棕色的 他们来自赤道以南。

这些也许生活在 4 万年前的野蛮人和人类非常相似，他们在贝壳上打洞穿孔 制作成项链 把身体涂上颜色 用骨头或石头雕刻塑像 在岩石或骨头上刻划图形 在光滑的洞壁和诱人的岩石表面绘制野兽之类的简略图画，这些简图虽然粗糙 但不乏才华。他们制造了各种各样的器具 比起尼安德特人的器具 体积小得多 做工更加精细。现在我们的博物馆里存有大量他们的器具、小雕像、岩画以及诸如此类的东西。

他们当中最早的是一些狩猎者。他们追逐的主要对象是野马 当时一种有颌毛

② 1868 年在法国南部克罗马努山洞中被发现，是旧石器时代晚期新人的总称。

③ 1872 年，意大利利古里亚的格里马迪山洞中发现了一种旧石器时代晚期的人与克罗马努人相似，但略具尼格罗人种（即黑人）的特征。非洲纳米比亚和博茨瓦纳等地的居民。

that time. They followed it as it moved after pasture. And also they followed the bison. They knew the mammoth because they have left us strikingly effective pictures of that creature. To judge by one rather ambiguous drawing they trapped and killed it.

They hunted with spears and throwing stones. They do not seem to have had the bow, and it is doubtful if they had yet learned to tame any animals. They had no dogs. There is one carving of a horse's head and one or two drawings that suggest a bridled horse, with a twisted skin or tendon round it, but the little horses of that age and region could not have carried a man, and if the horse was domesticated it was used as a led horse. It is doubtful and improbable that they had yet learned the rather unnatural use of animal's milk as food.

They do not seem to have erected any buildings, though they may have had tents of skins, and though they made clay figures they never rose to the making of pottery. Since they had no cooking implements their cookery must have been rudimentary or non-existent. They knew nothing of cultivation and nothing of any sort of basketwork or woven cloth. Except for their robes of skin or fur they were naked painted savages.

These earliest known men hunted the open steppes of Europe for a hundred centuries perhaps, and then slowly drifted and changed before a change of climate. Europe, century by century, was growing milder and damper. Reindeer receded northward and

的小型矮种马。当马随着牧草迁徙时 他们紧跟其后。他们还追杀野牛。他们熟悉猛犸^⑤ 因为他们留下的那种动物的画像令我们印象深刻。从一幅模糊不清的画来判断 他们利用陷阱将其捕获 然后杀死。

他们利用矛和投石打猎 似乎还没有弓，是否已经学会驯化动物也令人怀疑。他们没有狗。有一件马头雕刻 还有一两幅图画使人想起套着笼头、周身毛皮或肌腱扭曲的马。但是那个时代 那个地区的小型马不可能运载人。假如这种马受过驯养的话 它也只能用作向导马。至于他们是否学会把动物的奶当作食物享用这一非同一般的做法 值得怀疑 甚至可以说不可能。

虽然可能有了兽皮帐篷 但他们似乎没有建造任何房屋 虽然他们用黏土制作雕像 但其技术从未发展到制作陶器。既然没有烹饪用具 那他们的烹饪水平肯定还处于初级阶段 或根本不会烹饪。他们对耕种一窍不通 也不知道如何编篮或织布。除了用来披盖在身上的兽皮或毛皮外 这些野蛮人赤身裸体 涂着颜色。

这些已知的最早人类在开阔的欧洲大草原上或许狩猎了一百个世纪 然后在气候转变之前慢慢漂泊 逐渐改变。一个又一个世纪 欧洲渐渐变得更加温和、潮湿。驯鹿向北方和东方撤退 野牛和马也

即毛象，一种古哺乳动物，近似现代的象

eastward, and bison and horse followed. The steppes gave way to forests, and red deer took the place of horse and bison. There is a change in the character of the implements with this change in their application. River and lake fishing becomes of great importance to men, and fine implements of bone increased. "The bone needles of this age," says de Mortillet, "are much superior to those of later, even historical times, down to the Renaissance. The Romans, for example, never had needles comparable to those of this epoch."

Almost fifteen or twelve thousand years ago a fresh people drifted into the south of Spain, and left very remarkable drawings of themselves upon exposed rock faces there. These were the Azilians (named from the Mas d'Azil cave). They had the bow; they seem to have worn feather headdresses; they drew vividly; but also they had reduced their drawings to a sort of symbolism—a man, for instance, would be represented by a vertical dab with two or three horizontal dabs—that suggests the dawn of the writing idea. Against hunting sketches there are often marks like tallies. One drawing shows two men smoking out a bees' nest.

These are the latest of the men that we call Palaeolithic (Old Stone Age) because they had only chipped implements. By ten or twelve thousand years ago a new sort of life has dawned in Europe, men have learned not only to chip but to polish and grind stone implements, and they have begun cultivation. The Neolithic Age (New Stone Age) was beginning.

随之而去。大草原被森林取而代之，赤鹿替代了野马和野牛。随着用途的不同，器具的特征发生了变化。在河流和湖泊里捕鱼对于人们来说变得非常重要，因而骨制的精细器具不断增多。“这个时期的骨针，”德·莫蒂莱说，“比起后来，甚至文艺复兴这样的历史时代，都高级得多。譬如说，罗马人就从来没有骨针可与那个时代的东 西相媲美。”

差不多 1 万 5 千或 1 万 2 千年前，一个新的民族流入西班牙的南部。在那儿裸露的岩石表面留下了关于他们自己的非常杰出的图画。这些就是中石器时代的文化^⑥。他们有弓，似乎戴过羽毛头饰，他们的绘画生动鲜明，不过他们也把图画简化为一种象征——举例来说，用一条竖的比目鱼和两三条横的比目鱼代表男人——这说明书写这一概念已初露端倪。在关于狩猎内容的简略图画中，常常出现一些记号，好像符木^⑦上的刻痕。有一幅图画描绘了两个男人正在烟薰蜂巢的情景。

这些就是我们所谓的旧石器时代最晚的人类，因为他们只有凿制而成的器具。到了一万或一万两千年前，欧洲显露出一 种新生命的曙光，人类不仅学会了凿制石器，而且学会了把石器擦亮、磨光，他们还开始了耕种。新石器时代正在开始。

⑥ 该文化是在法国马达齐尔山洞发现的，因此马达齐尔文化代表中石器时代的文化

⑦ 古时候刻痕计数的木签

The Beginnings of Cultivation

We are still very ignorant about the beginnings of cultivation and settlement in the world, although a vast amount of research and speculation has been given to these matters in the last fifty years.

All that we can say with any confidence at present is that somewhen between about 15,000 and 12,000 BC, while the Azilian people were in the south of Spain and while the remnants of the earlier hunters were drifting northward and eastward, somewhere in North Africa or Western Asia or in that great Mediterranean valley that is now submerged under the waters of the Mediterranean sea, there were people who, age by age, were working out two vitally important things: they were beginning cultivation and they were domesticating animals. They were also beginning to make, in addition to the chipped implements of their hunter forbears, implements of polished stone. They had discovered the possibility of basketwork and roughly woven textiles of plant fibre, and they were beginning to make a rudely modelled pottery.

耕种的起源

对于耕种的起源以及人类是如何在这个世界上定居的 我们至今仍然一无所知，虽然在过去的50年里，人们对此进行了大量的研究和猜测。

目前我们有把握的只能说 在公元前15000年和12000年之间的某个时候 当时中石器时代文化的人们居住在西班牙的南部 而早期狩猎者的残余部分正在陆续向北和向东迁移。在北非或西亚 或者在现今已浸没在地中海水域下面的地中海大山谷的某地 存在着人类，一代又一代，他们渐渐发觉了两个至关重要的事情 他们开始耕种 并驯养动物。除了他们那些以狩猎为生的祖先所用过的凿制器具外，他们还慢慢开始制作光滑的石器。他们发现可以编制篮、筐之类的东西 并且用植物纤维纺织粗糙的织物 他们渐渐开始用粗劣的模型制作陶器。

They were entering upon a new phase in human culture, the Neolithic phase (New Stone Age) . Slowly these Neolithic people spread over the warmer parts of the world; and the arts they had mastered, the plants and animals they had learned to use, spread by imitation and acquisition even more widely than they did. By 10, 000 BC, most of mankind was at the Neolithic level.

Now the ploughing of land, the sowing of seed, the reaping of harvest, threshing and grinding, may seem the most obviously reasonable steps to a modern mind just as to a modern mind it is a commonplace that the world is round. But to the primitive man of 20, 000 years ago neither of the systems of action and reasoning that seem so sure and manifest to us today was at all obvious. He felt his way to effectual practice through a multitude of trials and misconceptions. Somewhere in the Mediterranean region, wheat grew wild; and man may have learned to pound and then grind up its seeds for food long before he learned to sow. He reaped before he sowed.

And it is a very remarkable thing that throughout the world wherever there is sowing and harvesting there is still traceable the vestiges of a strong primitive association of the idea of sowing with the idea of a blood sacrifice, and primarily of the sacrifice of a human being. The study of the original entanglement of these two things is a profoundly attractive one to the curious mind; the interested reader will find it very fully

他们正进入人类文化的一个新阶段，即新石器时代。渐渐地 这些新石器时代的人类遍布世界较暖和的地区 他们所掌握的各种技术和他们学会利用的植物与动物 也通过模仿和获取得以传播 而范围之广甚至超过了人类本身。到公元前10000年 大部分人类已经处于新石器时代的水平。

今天 对于一个现代人来讲 耕地、播种、收割、脱粒和碾磨似乎是天经地义的合理工序 正如在现代人看来世界是圆的 这一说法不足为奇一样。但对于 2 万年以前的原始人来说 今天在我们看来那么明白无误的一系列行动和分析方法 他们却一点也不清楚。经过多次尝试和误解 原始人在实践中摸索前进。在地中海地区的某个地方 小麦是野生的 在学会播种前，也许人类早就学会了敲打种子 然后碾碎当作食物。原始人先收获 后播种。

这是一个非常值得注意的现象 全世界只要有播种和收获的地方 就会依然有一些可辨认的痕迹 使人自然地把播种的概念和血祭的想法紧密联系在一起 而且主要是活人献祭。对于一个好奇的人来说 研究这两个东西如何一开始就纠缠在一起 确实很有诱惑力 感兴趣的读者会

developed in that monumental work, Sir J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. It was an entanglement, we must remember, in the childish, dreaming, myth-making primitive mind; no reasoned process will explain it. But in that world of 12,000 to 20,000 years ago, it would seem that whenever seed-time came round to the Neolithic peoples there was a human sacrifice. And it was not the sacrifice of any mean or outcast person; it was the sacrifice usually of a chosen youth or maiden, a youth more often who was treated with profound deference and even worship up to the moment of his immolation.

At first primitive men, with only a very rough idea of the seasons, must have found great difficulty in determining when was the proper moment for the seed-time sacrifice and the sowing. There is some reason for supposing that there was an early stage in human experience when men had no idea of a year. The first chronology was in lunar months; it is supposed that the years of the Biblical patriarchs are really moons, and the Babylonian calendar shows distinct traces of an attempt to reckon seed-time by taking thirteen lunar months to see it round. This lunar influence upon the calendar reaches down to our own days.

It may be doubted whether the first agriculturists made any observation of the stars. It is more likely that stars were first observed by migratory herdsmen, who found them a convenient mark of direction. But once

发现这一问题在 J·G·弗雷泽爵士^①的不朽著作《金枝》中得到非常详尽的阐述。我们必须记住 这是在幼稚的、梦幻般的、创造神话的原始思想中的纠缠 没什么充分的理由可以对此作出解释。但在 1.2 万年至 2 万年前的那个世界，每当播种期来临，新石器时代的人们总要进行活人献祭 不是献祭什么平庸的或者说被抛弃的人，通常是一位被选中的小伙子或少女，更多情况下是小伙子，直到献身的那一刻 他受到人们的无比尊敬 甚至崇拜。

一开始 原始人肯定很难判断什么时候是播种期献祭和播种的合适时间 因为他们对季节只有一个非常模糊的概念。我们有理由相信 人类经历中有一个早期阶段 那时候人们根本不知道什么叫年。第一张年表是按照太阴月进行排列的 据估计，《圣经》中人类祖先的年实际上是月，巴比伦历就表现出明显的迹象 他们试图用 13 个月作为一个轮回，以此来测算播种期。这种月对历法的影响一直延续到我们当今时代。

最早的农学家有没有研究过星球 这一点也许值得怀疑。也许有一种可能性更大一些 最早观察星球的是四处漂泊的牧人，他们发现星星是指引方向的方便标

① 1854~1942 年，英国人类学家、民俗学家和古典学者。

their use in determining seasons was realized, their importance to agriculture became very great. The seed-time sacrifice was linked up with the southing or northing of some prominent star. A myth and worship of that star was for primitive man an almost inevitable consequence.

It is easy to see how important the man of knowledge and experience, the man who knew about the blood sacrifice and the stars, became in this early Neolithic world. The fear of uncleanness and pollution, and the methods of cleansing that were advisable, constituted another source of power for the knowledgeable men and women. For there have always been witches as well as wizards, and priestesses as well as priests. The early priest was really not so much a religious man as a man of applied science. His science was generally empirical and often bad; he kept it secret from the generality of men very jealously; but that does not alter the fact that his primary function was knowledge and that his primary use was a practical use.

Twelve or fifteen thousand years ago, in all the warm and fairly well-watered parts of the Old World these Neolithic human communities, with their class and tradition of priests and priestesses and their cultivated fields and their development of villages and little walled cities, were spreading. Age by age a drift and exchange of ideas went on between these communi-

志。但一旦意识到了它们在判断季节中的用处，它们对农业的意义就变得至关重要。播种期献祭和某一颗显眼的星星在南方或北方出现联系在一起。对于原始人来说，那颗星星成为一个神话，对之产生崇拜，这几乎是必然的结果。

很容易理解，在这个早期新石器时代的世界里，一个富有知识和经验、熟悉血祭和星球的人变得多么举足轻重。对不洁和污染的恐惧，以及那些可取的净化灵魂的方式，构成了那些知识渊博的男男女女的另一种力量源泉。因为到现在为止一直存在男巫、女巫，不仅有男牧师，而且有女牧师。实际上，早期的牧师与其说是神职人员，还不如说是应用科学家。他的科学一般来自经验，而且往往是有缺陷的，他非常小心地守护着这些秘密，惟恐大多数人知道；但是这样做并没有改变事实，他的主要功能就是知识，主要用途则是实际应用。

1万2千年或1万5千年以前，在欧洲大陆的所有气候温暖、水源还算充足的地区，这些新石器时代的人类群落开始扩展，连同他们的牧师阶层和传统，他们的耕田与开发的村庄以及有围墙的小城。一代又一代，这些群落之间进行着思想的渐变和交流。伊略特·史密斯和勒弗兹用‘立