

# 中国西南濒危

## 文字图录

——清华百年西南濒危文字展选

Catalog of the Endangered Scripts  
in Southwest China

赵丽明 宋兆麟 编

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# 前言

赵丽明

中国西南地区，包括川滇黔桂等地区。这里有著名的三江并流、茶马古道、藏彝走廊、南北丝绸之路，是各种文化交汇、传承多元文明的沃土。这里蕴藏了汉藏语乃至南亚语的宝贵资源，更是各种原始象形文字的富矿。

除东巴文外，这里曾活跃着汝卡、摩梭、普米、纳木依、耳苏、木雅、他留，以及坡芽歌书、水书、女书等诸多不同形态的文字。但随着岁月的流失、社会的发展，这些曾与当地人民群众生产生活息息相关的古老文字，目前仅依附在少数传承人身上，大多已处于濒危状态，且能全部识读、解读的人已寥寥无几。尽管如此，在西南的大山和老林里，这些文字还在顽强生存着。

中国有悠久的历史和文化，其中汉字从哪里来，是大家关心的问题之一。西南民族地区保留有各种活态的原始文字的命题，前人做了大量的工作，在此基础上，我们又多次赴川滇地区，侧重考察中国文字的起源。结果发现，当地还有不少的祭司还在使用图画和象形文字书写的经书，有的也普及到一般民众。这些图画和象形文字，是在原始的刻划和绘画基础上衍生、发展的。因此，这些文献及其文字为我们展示了文字是如何从图画到文字的发生学过程。

如同西亚的两河流域、北非的尼罗河流域、中国的黄河流域和长江流域乃至淮河流域，也是古文明的发祥地。自甲骨文发现以来，各地陆续出土数十种史前文字符号。它们和汉字有什么关系？能否为汉字的起源提供可靠、有序的发生学链条？即汉字是怎样产生的？如何起源的？这些问题，是人们，特别是学术界所关心的难题。

也许，本书中所汇集资料，会给我们一个启示，一条探索的途径，一个较为清晰的答案。

本书中所归集的濒危文字的共同点是：他们都是土生土长的、都是为了记录使用者的认知、行为、情感而产生的。其特点主要有：

- 1、多为原始阶段的图符文字、象形文字，不能完整记录语言。
- 2、多与图画、图符混合使用，字与画的界限尚处模糊、过渡阶段。
- 3、传承处于断裂状态，大多仅存极少数人（多为祭司）能识读、释读，有的几乎无人能全面解读。
- 4、大多仍被祭司在当地群众的日常生活中使用，与生产生活密切相关，坚强地残存于民间。
- 5、表现形态多元化：史前文字符号、文字画；原始图画文字、图符文字、象形文字，语段文字、音节文字、音素文字；自源的、借源的。

这些文字，它们尽管濒危，但还活着；这些传承人，他们贫困着，但守望着、执着着、热衷着、传承着；他们在那绵延不断的青藏高原、云贵高原交界处的横断山脉，在那湍急澎湃、奔腾不息的金沙江、澜沧江、怒江、雅砻江、大渡河的峡谷，在那悠然的白云、高高的蓝天、远远的雪山下，伴随着茶马古道的轻扬铃声，在汉文化、藏文化、氐羌文化、越文化的古今交汇带上，固守那份虔诚、那份纯净、那份安宁。这里保护了华夏生命之水，也保存了文明之源、人类的孩提时代。

庆幸的是，我们找到了一个宝库，她是人类文明母体活样板，是目前全人类独有的文字产生的活态博物馆。在现代文明的冲击下，她很弱势，需要我们关心她、呵护她；她也要生存、也要发展。如何挖掘、整理、抢救、解读、保护、传承、开发，这对非物质文化遗产保护提出了最迫切的课题。

清华大学有着辉煌的人文传统。不但传承文献、开创考古，而且走进田野。王国维、梁启超、赵元任、李方桂、李济、陈寅恪、朱自清、闻一多、刘盼遂、刘文典、吕叔湘、唐兰、王力、杨树达、高亨、季羨林、姜亮夫、徐中舒、许国璋、朱德熙、董同龢、张琨、朱芳圃、刘节、王还、戴家祥、张清常、马衡、王静如、马肇椿、陈乃雄、李学勤、黄昌宁、谢国桢、李赋宁等。这长长的名单，是清华百年人文脚印。

清华百年，人文日新。求实、求是、创新的人文传统，将王国维先生提出的传世文献、地下考古的“二重证据法”，加上地上民间考古，发展为“三重证据”。面对这个文字产生的活态博物馆，我们要抢在这些人类文明成果消失之前，走进去、挖出来，静下心，用科学方法记录、解读它。于是有了国家重大社科基础研究项目“中国西南地区濒危文字抢救、解读、整理与研究”。作为项目承担者的清华学子走进西南，关注、抢救、挖掘、收集濒危文字文献，并用所学知识，进行这些文字的整理、翻译、解读、数字化工作，如彝文、水书、女书等。

近些年我们发现了更多的仍生存于川滇藏偏僻山区的藏族、彝族、蒙古族、纳西族、普米族、傈僳族以及各民族支系摩梭、汝卡、尔苏、木雅、纳木依、他留等族群使用的民间文献，并走访了其传承人，有了初步研究成果，其中多项目多次获国家部委奖项（彝族古文献、女书等）、清华大学科研挑战杯特等奖（水书、版纳文身项目等）。

恰逢清华百年校庆，我们举办了“清华百年西南濒危文字展”，我们特选择中国西南各民族或民族支系部分代表性的文献材料编成此图录，力求勾勒出这些濒危文字的分布和基本概况，让社会各界来关注这些濒危的中华文化遗产。这也是清华学子辛苦汗水的结晶，是我们迈出的第一步。任重道远，我们会更加努力！

2011年3月22日晨于清华园蓝旗营

# Preface

Zhao Liming

China has a long-standing history with rich cultures. One of the most engaging topics is the origin of the Chinese characters. Southwest China roughly consists of Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou Provinces and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. Intertwined with the Three Parallel Rivers, the Ancient Tea Route, Tibetan-Yi Corridor, southern and northern Silk Road, the region embodies the hubs of multiform cultures and diverse civilizations that have been inherited and passed on from generation to generation. It also serves as a bonanza of Sino-Tibetan and South Asian language families, including proto-pictographs.

Besides Dongba scripts, there are many more types of scripts in this region, including the scripts of the ethnic minority groups and their branches such as Ruka, Mosuo, Pumi, Namuzi, Ersu, Muya, Taliu, and Poya Geshe (Poya Folk script), Shuishu (script of Shui people), Nüshu (script of Jiangyong women), and so on. However, as time went by and the society kept on developing, these ancient scripts, once closely related to the native people, become scarcely used by the following generations. Most of the scripts are on the verge of extinction, and only few people can read, explain and interpret them. Fortunately, things are not necessarily hopeless. These scripts continue to exist in the high mountains and old forests of Southwest China. For us, it is an urgent task to explore, collate, salvage, interpret, protect, pass on and develop these intangible cultural heritages, namely these endangered writing systems.

Tsinghua University has a magnificent academic tradition of the humanities, in which the scholars have gathered and preserved valuable manuscripts and archives, established the discipline of Chinese archeology, did important field work and are currently leading information processing in the modern era: Wang Guowei, Liang Qichao, Chao Yuen Ren, Li Fang-Kuei, Li Ji, Chen Yinke, Zhu Ziqing, Wen Yiduo,

Liu Pansui, Liu Wendian, Lu Shuxiang, Tang Lan, Wang Li, Yang Shuda, Gao Heng, Ji Xianlin, Jiang Liangfu, Xu Zhongshu, Xu Guozhang, Zhu Dexi, Dong Tonghe, Zhang Kun, Zhu Fangpu, Liu Jie, Wang Huan, Dai Jiaxiang, Zhang Qingchang, Ma Heng, Wang Jingru, Ma Zhaochun, Chen Naixiong, Li Xueqin, Huang Changning, Xie Guozhen, Li Funing. This long list functions as an impressive footprint of Tsinghua's achievements of the humanities in the past hundred years.

The past century has witnessed daily renewal of success in Tsinghua University, In the process of seeking reality, truth and creation in the humanities. The Double Evidence Approach put forward by Mr. Wang Guowei has been advanced to the Triple Evidence Approach to the combination of the classical documents and the archaeological studies with folk discovery. Inspired by the ecological musiemns where the pictographic writings were produced, the students from Tsinghua University visited the southwest part of China. Hence the significant project of national social sciences is listed under the title of *the Endangered Scripts in Southwest China: Saving, Interpreting, Collating and Researching*.

Aimed at the origin of the Chinese writing systems, our team has done extensive fieldwork research in the area of Sichuan, Yunnan and Tibet. In our research, we found that some endangered scripts are still alive within ethnic groups of the Tibetans, the Yis, the Mongolians, the Naxis, the Pumis, the Lisus and some of their branches including the Mosuo people, the Ruka people, the Ersu people, the Muya people, the Namuzi people and the Taliu people inhabited in the remote mountainous areas. Written with pictographs and hieroglyphs, scriptures were substantial among local priests, some of which were also in populace use. These symbolic writings and scripts were derived from Primitive carvings and paintings, thus offering us major examples of phylogeny and revealing how the written forms evolved from pictographs.

The native endangered scripts have been used to record people's thoughts, behavior and emotions. They have the following features:

1. Most of them are icons or hieroglyphs at the Primitive stage, that cannot be used to completely record the speeches it belongs to;
2. They are mostly mixed with pictures and icons. The boundaries between the script and picture are vague;
3. Their inheritance is broken up, only a small number of the natives can read or decipher the remaining scripts but the rest are unintelligible;
4. The scripts are mostly used by the priests for the local people and daily life, thus remaining useful in the local community;

5. Diversity: the scripts consisted of drawings, grapheme (glyphs referring to a paragraph of sentences), primitive pictographic writing, pictographic writing, hieroglyph, phrase writing, syllabic writing, phonemic language, self-derivation writing and loan writing.

In order to collect and save the endangered scripts, we visited the native users. Progress has been made in the their arrangement, translation, deciphering and digitalizing. Some sub-projects have more than once won awards from national ministries (Yi ancient literatures, Nüshu, etc.), or the Grand Prize in Challenge Cup of Tsinghua University (Shuishu, Traditional tattoos in Xishuangbanna Prefecture, etc.). The Catalog demonstrates the distribution and the current situation of the endangered scripts after years of hard work. It is merely our first step, and we still have a rather long way to go.

Lanqiying, Tsinghua University, Beijing

March 22, 2011, a.m.

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## 一、纳西族

纳西族东巴文知名度较高，但纳西族众多支系所衍生出的东巴文姊妹文种却鲜为人知。除云南丽江之外，纳西族还生活在三江并流的高山峡谷之中，跨滇川藏区。这一带在历史上是藏文化、原始文化、汉文化交汇之地，是茶马古驿道由滇进藏的咽喉，中国明代地理学家徐霞客游历的终点也是这里。或许正是由于徐霞客在此的戛然而止，冥冥之中才引来了洛克等外国人的目光。

纳西族各支系所处地理偏僻、交通不便，至今比较完好地保存了多姿多姿的原生态文化，其中就有由众多的东巴文姊妹文种形成的东巴文体系。

### I. The Naxis

The script of the Naxi Dongba is a famous one, but the numerous branches are barely known. Due to the isolation of the geographic environment and inconvenience of transportation, the Naxi's colorful original cultures are well preserved. This includes the script system which is comprised of many of the relevant scripts.

## 俄亚东巴文

俄亚，位于川西南尽头，今属四川省木里县，这里有著名的纳西“俄亚大村”。去俄亚，尚不能按常规进川走木里县城，而要从云南香格里拉进入，尽可能地驱车到海拔近 4000 米的大山脚下，然后还要在山路上艰难跋涉两天。

俄亚纳西族信仰原始宗教，每逢节日、婚丧嫁娶、求雨等重要活动，东巴都要进行诵经、占卜、跳神等宗教仪式。东巴使用一种象形文字记载经书事项，故称之为东巴文。在俄亚用东巴文写的东巴文献种类很多，主要有龙王经、祭风经、超度经、退口舌是非经、占卜经、除秽经、丧葬经等。

## The Eya Dongba scripts

Eya is situated in the remote corner of the southwest of Sichuan Province, which belongs to Muli Tibetan Autonomous County where the famous “Grand Village of Eya” of the Naxi is located. The villagers are believers of a primitive religion, the scriptures of which are written in the Dongba scripts by the priests so named. There are documents written in the Dongba script, such as the scriptures of Dragon King, Wind Sacrifice, Soul Releasing From the Suffering, Divination, Removing Dirty Sediments, and Funeral, etc.



### 俄亚东巴画

东巴在举行宗教活动时，经常使用一些小型彩绘绘画，主要内容有东巴神像、动物神和藏传佛教的神祇。一般保存不用，只在进行祭祀时取出来，事后再供奉。

### Paintings of the Eya Dongba

During the religious activities, small colorful paintings are demonstrated with local idols, sacred animals, and Tibetan Buddhist gods.

