

A 'NA-'KHI-ENGLISH ENCYCLOPEDIAIC DICTIONARY

PART I

Dzi 'na 'is'o.

BY

J.F. ROCK

纳西语英语汉语语汇

第一卷

J.F.洛克 编著

和匠宇 译

郭大烈 和力民 校



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出版说明

对纳西族文化的研究，从20世纪20年代开始至今已经80多年，国外学者已发表了大量的文章和著作，国内学者也发表或出版了不少研究东巴文化的论文、书籍，但从研究的历史条件、背景、深度、广度、学术性和产生的影响来看，J.F.洛克所作的研究和其贡献似乎更为出色。事实上，早在20世纪60年代国际学术界就已公认J.F.洛克是纳西学研究之父。德国东方学家克劳斯·牙纳特评价说：“没有他在这个领域研究的著作，决不会有今天的纳西学的存在。”

纳西族的象形文字是国际上几种存留下来的图画文字之一。洛克博士耗费了毕生精力致力于研究中国西南纳西族的文化、历史和语言；意大利罗马东方艺术研究所所长、著名藏学专家图齐教授在20世纪50~60年代鼎力支持洛克所作的学术研究，并将其代表作《纳西语—英语百科语汇》(A¹Na¹khi—English Encyclopedic Dictionary)作为罗马东方系列丛书之一出版。第一卷于1963年出版，第二卷则在1972年才付梓，在排版、编纂方面花费了巨大的人力物力，以当时的技术条件，堪称一部出版印刷史上的巨著。由于当时的发行量非常小，只有极少数人有机会拜读。这次由云南教育出版社推出的中英文对照本，为众多研究纳西文化的研究人员，无疑提供了一个浩瀚的资源库。

这里还需要作几点特别说明：

1. 原著分两卷，此卷为第一卷，共包括3414个东巴字符。为方便读者查阅原文，译者在保留纳西语和英语原文的基础上加上汉语译文，以《纳西语英语汉语语汇》书名出版。

2. 原著除纳西语、英语外，还含有洛克音标、拉丁文、一部分藏语和少数不规范的汉语，因考虑到排版的难度，故整部原著内容均作扫描处理。若译著中偶有不清字符或排版欠规范，请读者见谅。

3. 为保留原著历史韵味，原文中出现的对中国一些少数民族不太规范的称谓，译文中未作大的处理。这些称谓有纳西、日喜、民家、侏子、纳西人、果洛人、阮可人等。

4. 内文多为意译，地名、人名多为音译并附原文。因年代关系，有些地名无法考证，故译名难免不详或不实。

5. 由于原著者所处历史背景不同，个人的意识形态、学术观点、研究方法等亦有别，虽然语汇中所载内容无疑具有重大学术参考价值，但仍不免会有个人偏见，甚至与历史事实不符。请专家、学者甄别。

译者因长期从事纳西文化研究，一直和意大利罗马东方艺术研究所保持着联系。现任所长辽里先生、考古专家查拉博士一直希望该书能在它的故乡中国出版。但苦于出版所需的巨额资金，一些出版社都纷纷望难止步。1997年，云南教育出版社何学惠社长得知这一情况后，和译者一起飞赴西安，与辽里所长进行了版权的商谈，顺利得到了在中国的出版授权。在本书出版之际，感谢云南大学西南边疆少数民族研究中心在我翻译此书时给予的资助，还要特别感谢本书的责任编辑刀祝威、甘宏耀的倾力付出。

译者

2004年3月于昆明

FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to present this masterly work by the late Dr. Joseph F. Rock which may be considered the culmination of his long years of exhaustive and painstaking research on the ¹Na-²khi tribe whose culture has almost entirely vanished from the rapidly evolving scene of present-day Asia.

This is all the more to be regretted as the ¹Na-²khi culture presents many interesting aspects especially from a religious and ethnographic standpoint.

Dr. Rock's works in this field of study are too well-known to specialists in Asian culture and Orientalists in general to need introduction. Our Institute takes pride in the privilege of having already published in its *Serie Orientale Roma* two of these outstanding works: *The ¹Na-²khi Naga Cult and related Ceremonies*, and *The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions*.

The two-volume work herewith presented constitutes a comprehensive survey of all that is thus far known of the ¹Na-²khi and their literature, and represents the epitome of Dr. Rock's unique knowledge acquired during the many years he resided in Yünnan.

No scholar of our time is entitled to deal with this subject as competently as Dr. Rock, the indisputable authority on the ¹Na-²khi tribe, whose knowledge about the philological and literary aspects of ¹Na-²khi culture was unrivalled. We are truly indebted to him for gathering further and more precise documentation of the wealth of history, legend and religion of this people living on the periphery of civilization.

In this connection, I feel it my duty to add that our gratitude is not restricted to Dr. Rock's scientific contribution to the Series of our publications, our thanks are also due him for his financial contribution toward the publication of these volumes—a fact which so strongly bears witness to his earnestness as a scientist. His generous support is likewise a shining testimony to his sincere attachment to our Institute to

which he has more than once granted his collaboration. He has thus set an example, only too rare nowadays, of the unselfishness and bounty that mark the true scholar and scientist.

It should be added that the sad news of Dr. Rock's death has unexpectedly reached us while this work was still in the press. His loss will be deeply felt by Orientalist scholars and students, and among his numerous friends all over the world.

Dr. Rock had spared no effort in the meticulous revision of the text, a task which he carried to completion with extreme care and patience; this last work of his will therefore stand as a lasting tribute to his memory.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

前 言

我是怀着极大的荣幸来为J.F.洛克博士所完成的这一巨著撰写前言的。这一巨著是洛克博士多年研究纳西民族文化的珍贵成果，其中饱含着他所经历的千辛万苦。巨著的完成，对保护和继承在今天亚洲剧烈变化中消失殆尽的纳西独特传统文化有无法估量的作用。

古老的纳西文化中含有丰富的内涵，尤其在宗教学和人类学方面有许多有趣的内容。它的消失将会是人类文明中难以弥补的损失。

洛克博士在这一领域的研究在亚洲文化研究的专家和东方学者中早有很高的声誉。我们东方研究所为能在“罗马东方丛书”中优先出版其《纳西族的纳加崇拜及其有关仪式》和《阿尼玛卿山脉及其邻近地区》两本著作而感到无比荣幸。

现在出版的这一著作中包含许多过去鲜为人知的有关纳西民族及其文化的内容，它是洛克博士长年生活于云南所获得的特殊财富，是对前面两本著作的重要补充。这一著作使我们对洛克博士的纳西文化研究有了更全面的了解。

洛克博士在这一研究领域所获得的成功是我们同时代的其他人所无法比拟的。他在纳西文化研究中具有毋庸置疑的权威，在纳西语言和文字方面的知识也无人能比。我们衷心地感激他在生活于人类文明边缘的纳西族中为研究纳西族及其文化所搜集到的珍贵资料。这对研究纳西族的历史、神话和宗教有着重要的价值。

关于这一点，我觉得我有义务强调的是，我们对洛克博士的感激并不仅限于其在我们这一套丛书出版中所作的科学贡献，因为他在丛书的出版中还从经济上也给了我们极大的支持——这使我们更强烈地感受到了他作为一个科学家的真诚。另外，他还曾不止一次地向我们研究所赠送过他自己的私人收藏品，这是他对研究所的慷慨支持，也是其至诚之心的又一体现。在今天物欲横流的社会中，他为我们树立了一个真正的科学学者的典范。

让我们感到悲伤的是，当我们正在付印洛克博士这本巨著的时候，我们得知了他不幸去世的噩耗。他的去世使广大的东方学者和学生们及他在全世界各个角落的朋友们感到万分的痛惜。

洛克博士在这本巨著繁重和复杂的校对、修订过程中体现出了极端的认真和耐心。这一本他最后完成的巨著将成为我们对他的永远怀念。

卢瑟佩·图齐

P R E F A C E

In these volumes, I present the first pictographic and syllabic ¹Na-²khi-English Dictionary. It is actually an encyclopedia of ¹Na-²khi culture as expressed in their literature. It was begun on June thirty, 1932 in the town of Li-chiang, Yün-nan, China. The path to its completion has been beset with many difficulties. There was no peace anywhere. One forced evacuation followed another. I shall not enumerate all the trials and tribulations. What with banditry, the communist treks, war, bombings, inflation, cholera and the sinking of my translation of ¹Na-²khi manuscripts, work became next to impossible.

Fortunately, when I was in Washington in 1934, my good friend, the late Walter Swingle of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and father of the Division of Orientalia of the Library of Congress, had insisted that the three, up to then, completed portions of the Dictionary be photostated—which photostats had been left in Washington for safekeeping. When I returned to Li-chiang in 1946 to resume work under the auspices of Harvard-Yenching, this was all that remained of twelve years of labor. In 1949 I had to say a final farewell to China when the Communists moved in. The remainder of the work has been done in Seattle and in Honolulu. This in a nutshell, tells the adventure of the Dictionary now before the public.

The entire work, based on pictographic texts translated during my many years of residence in Yün-nan, is much more than a dictionary. It contains, in addition to a vocabulary, the names of all of the Great gods (222), Gods (89), Goddesses (91), Demigods (295), Dto-mbas (232), Nāga kings (123), Nāgarājas (185), Nāgas (183), Nāgī (22), ²Yu-¹ma (66), ²Dtēr-¹gko (50), Mountain gods (150), Demons (522), Geographical names (343) with their ¹Na-²khi symbols and Chinese equivalents as far as were ascertainable. It also lists all of the ceremonies, which are more or less briefly described, and the titles of all of the manuscripts chanted during their performance with short synopses of the most important—nearly a thousand of the latter.

Most of the names of gods, great gods, and demi-gods, also local deities such as Mountain gods, occur in manuscripts of the ²Szi-³chung ¹bpö ceremony (*q.v.*), as well as in special *mss.*, as ²Mb'a-²mi ³dshi (when the lamps are lighted) or ³Ch'ung-¹bpa ³ngyi (when juniper and pine boughs are burned), or in ³Gko ³ō (when grain is thrown into the air every time a god, ²Dto-¹mba or spirit is mentioned by name)—also in ¹Ndshër ³tsa when the gods, etc. are beseeched to invest the officiating priest with power. Most of the Nāga or serpent spirits are mentioned in *mss.* belonging to the Nāga cult, and demons are to be found in *mss.* pertaining to ceremonies during which they are evicted.

Wherever possible, references to proper names (especially those of the retinue of gods, etc.) are given with the location of the manuscripts, title and number, page and rubric, and data on previous publications with appropriate references.

The words occurring in the Dictionary are of the old literary language, which contains many archaic words. However their colloquial equivalents are often also given. The names of ancestors and persons in general are found in the Dictionary proper.

The actual Dictionary contained in the first Volume has 3414 entries. Each symbol serves for as many as ten or more meanings when used phonetically, in addition to having ideographic or pictographic meanings. No references as to where proper words may be found in *mss.* have been made as they would have encumbered the Dictionary unnecessarily. So also have many words been omitted for which no pictographs exist. Thus, the number of sound complexes found in the Dictionary are not those of the colloquial of which more exist, but of those of the written language.

My thanks, many thanks in fact, are due to those ¹Na-²khi priests who, slow to break with the old tradition of concealment, have forebearingly and patiently initiated me for nearly two decades into their sacred ceremonies thereby disclosing the wealth of religious lore stored in the manuscripts. In this literature the intimate life of the ¹Na-²khi is pictured: The forces of nature which stirred their emotions, the theme of life and death, their romantic love and their attitude towards nature, the dread forces of natural phenomena which they associated with innumerable evil beings—Nāgas, demons, spirits, ghosts and even great and minor gods. They were attuned to the voices of nature which spoke to them and aroused their imagination.

In some ceremonies as in the ³Ch'ou ¹na ¹gv, performed for the purification of a person or a place, the intimate life of the ancestors

of the ¹Na-³khi is revealed. The manuscripts are full of moral and immoral confidences, revelations, confessions of sins, etc., so that in translating all of this into modern speech one feels almost guilty of prying into their most intimate behavior.

Whatever I have been able to glean about the religious life of the people, their culture, language, etc., is published in a concise form in this encyclopedic dictionary.

In conclusion, I would like to thank Professor Giuseppe Tucci for his great interest in the work and also the Far Eastern Institute of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, for clerical help and for appropriating one thousand dollars toward the publication cost to which the author himself contributed an equal amount. In addition the author has presented to Professor Tucci his collection of original ¹Na-³khi manuscripts to be sold, the proceeds to be used to still further assist in defraying the great expense involved in bringing out this work.

The photographs here reproduced were all taken by myself for the National Geographic Society of Washington, D.C. For the use of these photos I render herewith my sincere thanks.

J. F. ROCK

Honolulu, April, 1961

序

这是第一本包含象形文字和表音文字的纳西语—英语语汇，实际上也是一部通过纳西文字表述纳西文化的百科全书。这本书的编撰是在中国云南省的丽江城进行的，始于1932年6月30日。从开始到最后完成这本书，我曾经遭遇了许多常人难以想像的困难。那时候到处都无和平可言，土匪的骚扰、战争、轰炸、通货膨胀、霍乱以及手稿的遗失等等，几乎使进一步完成这部著作变得不可能。幸运的是，1934年在华盛顿时，我的好友美国国会图书馆东方部的创始人，后来任职于美国农业部的沃尔特·斯温格尔（Walter Swingle）先生坚持把我已完成的部分语汇进行了复制，并留在华盛顿安全保管。当我于1946年在哈佛大学燕京研究所的资助下重返丽江开始我的工作，这些材料已在图书馆保存了12年之久。1949年中华人民共和国成立后，我又离开了中国。余下的工作是在西雅图和檀香山完成的。以上这些情况好像一直包在一个坚果中不为人知，但在出版之前我认为还是应当让大家对此有所了解。

这部书是基于我多年居住在云南所翻译的象形文本资料所编撰的，但它决不仅仅只是一本语汇。除了大量纳西词汇之外，其中还包括了许多大神（222个）、神（89个）、女神（91个）、半人半神（295个）、东巴（232个）、纳加王（123个）、纳加（Nāgarājas 185个）、纳加（Nāgas 183个）、纳吉（22个）、优麻（66个）、德古（50个）、山神（150个）、魔鬼（522个）及地理名称（343个），同时列出了它们的纳西文符号及相对应的汉语。书中还列出了各种仪式，并简要地描述了这些仪式及在仪式施行期间所要吟唱的经典和这些经典的简短摘要——这类经典将近有1000种。

例如，出现在求寿（²Szi-³chung ¹bpö）仪式经书和一些特殊的经书，如²Mb'a-²mi ³dshi（当酥油灯被点燃，即燃灯经）、³Ch'ung-¹bp ³ngyiö（当烧起柏枝和松枝，即烧天香）、³Gko ³ö（当每次提到一个神、东巴或精灵的名字时抛撒谷物）及¹Ndshër ³tso（祈求诸神赐予祭司神力）等经书中，就有许多神、大神、半人半神和山神的名称。另外，还有在经书中属于纳加崇拜的各种纳加、魔鬼和驱鬼仪式中所提到的魔鬼。

在可能的情况下，书中还给出了部分名称（尤其是那些神的随从名称等）的出处，如其在经书中的位置、标题、页码、画幅以及可参考的文献。

出现在书中的词属于一种古老的语言，它包含有许多古语。然而，与其含义相同的口语也常常出现。许多祖先和人的名字通常也能在书中找到。

语汇的第一卷中实际上包含了3414个条目。其中的每个符号除了具有表意符或象形符的含

义外，当用于标音时还有不止10种的含义。当然，语汇中是没有必要把它们各自的出处一一给出的。也有许多词由于没有象形字的存在而被省略了。所以，书中出现的书面语复合音的数目要比口语中的少得多。

我真正要感激的是那些纳西祭司，正是他们慢慢地打破了其古老传统并开始耐心教授我。在长达20年的时间里，他们让我进入了他们神圣的祭祀仪式中，进而揭开了藏匿于其宗教经书中的宝贵财富的神秘面纱。用这种经书，纳西人勾画出了他们自己的生活：激发他们情感的自然力，生与死的永恒主题，浪漫的爱情故事，他们对大自然的态度以及被他们奉为魔鬼、纳加、鬼怪甚至是神的自然灾害。他们认真倾听能激发他们想像力的大自然的声，并与大自然和谐发展。

在某些仪式中，如除秽（³Ch'ou ¹na ¹gv）仪式，所施行的对一个人或地方的净化披露了纳西祖先们的基本生活。纳西经书中还充满了有关伦理道德的秘密、启示及灵魂的忏悔等等，因此在把所有的这一切翻译为现代语言的过程中，使一个人几乎产生了一种窥探他们最隐秘行为的犯罪感。

不管怎样，在瞥见了纳西的宗教生活、文化、语言等等之后，我还是要要把这一切以一种简明扼要的形式在这本语汇中奉献给大家。

最后，我要感谢卢瑟佩·图齐教授对这本书所表现出的极大兴趣，还要感谢西雅图华盛顿大学远东研究所提供办公方面的帮助及拨款1000美元专用于出版。当然，作者也捐献了同等金额的出版费用。此外，作者已将以前提供给图齐教授收藏的纳西经书原件售出，以帮助支付此书出版所需的巨额费用。

此书中的照片皆为我以前为华盛顿国家地理学会所摄制的，我在此向他们所给予的支持和帮助表示衷心的感谢。

J.F. 洛克

1961年4月于檀香山

INTRODUCTION

The discovery of the Rosetta Stone led to the deciphering of the Egyptian hieroglyphics which covered the walls of tombs, temples and obelisks. There was no one living, prior to that discovery, who could explain the mystery that they concealed. The sounds of the language remained mute. Quite different is or, perhaps better said, was the case of the mysterious pictographic symbols which covered the thick, coarse, oblong pages of the ¹Na-²khi manuscripts written by long-dead priests of a tribe restricted to a remote and circumscribed area in southwestern China.

Had the office of priest not been hereditary, we would not have been in a position to decipher these rebuses. There was no school where either the writing or the interpretation of these symbols was taught. Each ¹Na-²khi priest trained his first-born son from childhood to memorize the stories, ritual texts, etc. and to interpret the meaning of the symbols, which acted only as cornerstones to refresh the memory since they only partially depicted the story. Thus the ¹Na-²khi hieroglyphics do not denote an actual writing but disconnectedly perpetuate, with the aid of memory, the creations of their religious tenets.

They invented their script to preserve their legends and Bön shamanistic rituals which were quite extensive and have survived, thanks to their scripts, in toto. Although the writings are of a mnemonic character, the main facts having been written down, it needed not much imagination to supply the non-essentials, except when it came to allegoric phrases when pictographs or ideographs were used phonetically for abstract ideas for which no symbols existed. Thus, in the strict sense of the word, they did not evolve a literature.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ¹NA-²KHI SYMBOLS

Although the ¹Na-²khi lived on the periphery of civilization, they developed two types of writing, a pictographic as well as a syllabic, or phonetic script.

In the genealogical records of the ¹Na-²khi rulers it is stated that the pictographic script was invented by Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿琮 who lived at the end of the Southern Sung dynasty, probably between A.D. 1200 and 1253. That it is much older, there is no doubt. See Frontis-piece.

There exist two genealogical chronicles, both of which were written by the ¹Na-²khi ruling chief Mu Kung 木公 (A.D. 1494-1553). The first, a very detailed record written prior to A.D. 1516, was followed by an abbreviated, illustrated record in A.D. 1545 (vide *ANKSWC*, pp. 66-161).

In the first chronicle, it is stated that the first ancestor of the ¹Na-²khi rulers was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年, who is recorded as having lived during T'ang Wu Te 唐武德 (A.D. 618-626) as King of Yüeh-sui-chao 越嶲詔, a Kingdom established eleven generations previous to him during the Eastern Han.


The second chronicle establishes Yeh-yeh 爺爺 (*ANKSWC*, p. 91), a Mongol whose name does not appear in the first chronicle, as the ancestor who ruled during the reign of the Sung Emperor Hui Tsung 宋徽宗 (A.D. 1101-1125).

It is his son, Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿琮, who is therein credited with the invention of the pictographic writing of the ¹Na-²khi. His life span is unknown. However, he was no longer on the throne in A.D. 1253 for it was his son, A-liang 阿良, who received Kublai Khan's soldiers on their march south to subjugate the Nan Chao Kingdom 南詔國. I consider that to credit Mou-pao A-tsung with the invention of the pictographs is a legend designed to enhance the prestige of the Mu family. The invention undoubtedly dates much further back for it is impossible to believe that such ancient customs as the sacrifice to Heaven, as practiced by them and by the Ch'iang 羌, could possibly have been perpetuated orally over a period of more than twelve hundred years. There are also references in ancient manuscripts to their ancestors having lived in yurts. Symbols deal with the milking of mares which custom pertains only to the Mongols. A manuscript, ²Ndzër-¹ssu, ²t'u q.v. *The Origin of the Weapons*, shows that blade armor of rhinoceros hide was in common use by the ¹Na-²khi prior to A. D. 900. The only weapons shown are arrows, spears and a halberd-like instrument. The symbol ¹dzhu q.v., representing a stone-hurling catapult—a weapon never possessed by the ¹Na-²khi but which was employed by the Mongols when they besieged Ya-chih 押赤, capital of the Wu-man 烏蠻, near the present K'un-


ming 昆明, Yün-nan Province—is undoubtedly a later addition for its sound complex is also employed for a flintlock gun, indicating that they had little knowledge of either weapon. Gun powder has no single term in ¹Na-²khi but is called ²mi ²ch'ér-²ghügh (fire medicine). All these facts would vouch for the antiquity of the texts. It must also be assumed that A-tsung did not have a knowledge of Bön shamanism for that was the prerogative of the ¹Na-²khi priests who alone could chant the proper litanies to invite the gods, or pronounce certain curses for definite demons who were thereby suppressed and made harmless.

That the pictographs were invented in the present home of the ¹Na-²khi is confirmed by the fact that nearly all of the plants, birds and mammals occurring in the manuscripts are indigenous to the region in which the ¹Na-²khi dwell today. There are a few exceptions, the animals in question occurring far to the north in the grasslands and high mountains facing Mongolia—i.e. the ³Khyu-¹gu-³gko-¹na, *q.v.*, (the great black vulture, *Aegypius monachus*), which occurs in the far northwest of China but not in the Li-chiang District; and the ³Gkyi-¹yu-²k'o-¹b'a, *q.v.*, which is none other than the Tibetan gNyan གཉམ་གཤམ་, (the *Ovis poli*), whose home is in northeastern Tibet on the alpine slopes of the Amnye Ma-chhen ཨམ་མེ་མཚོ་ and T'ien Shan 天山 (see NNCRC, p. 18). Although they have never seen a camel, a correct symbol for it occurs in their manuscripts. The symbol for elephant occurs both as a conventional one and as a more or less correct drawing of it. They encountered elephants while fighting in Kublai Khan's army in A.D. 1277 against the Burmese.

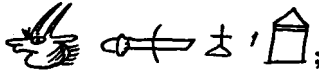
THE PICTOGRAPHIC SCRIPT OF THE ¹NA-²KHI

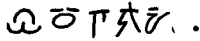
The ¹Na-²khi name for their pictographic script is ²ss ³dgyu, ²lv ³dgyu , or “wood record, stone record”. As was stated earlier, the ¹Na-²khi cannot be said to have developed to the stage of literature for their pictographic script is of a mnemonic nature.

Many of the individual symbols are compounded and are read as a phrase thus forming a rebus in which verbs and other parts of speech must be supplied from memory. For example: the compound symbol

²yi-¹ndaw ²ch'i-²ddü ¹gyi , is read “one family”; literally trans-

lated, reads “ landlord—this—one—house ”; written phonetically in

pictographs appears ; and in syllabic charac-

ters (²Ggö-¹baw) could be written .

It is easy to see why the phonetic values of a compound symbol must be memorized. A compound symbol, which has necessitated the memorizing of the meaning and sound complex of the compound symbol used, could not be analyzed grammatically as a written sentence unless additional symbols were introduced to supply those not written. However, this would destroy the edifice of the ¹Na-²khi written phrase or the picture such as phrase represents. There are endless combinations and no system or rule for forming such compounds. These intricate rebuses of compound symbols were evolved by the priests. Nearly every priest formed his own compositions using, instead of the original symbols and their ideographic meaning, others with different meanings but of identical sound complexes conveying phonetically the meaning intended. Such phonetically-employed symbols are interspersed at random among other symbols or combinations of symbols expressing one and the same idea, these phonetically-used ideographs losing their original pictographic meaning. Thus unless one is thoroughly conversant with the ¹Na-²khi language, it is impossible to read the ideographs.

While it is possible to read Chinese compositions without knowing the phonetic values of the characters—i.e. the language itself, one can readily see from the above that without the assistance of a well-versed ²Dto-¹mba, it is impossible to read ¹Na-²khi texts. Nor is a knowledge of the ¹Na-²khi spoken language of today sufficient, for the written language is read in their ancient phonetics and not in the present day colloquial.

As it is difficult or impossible to write abstract ideas with pictographs, the phonetic value of symbols representing concrete ideas must be employed to express those of the same sound complex and, if possible, tone value of abstract ideas. Just as unwritten symbols or words are read into a phrase, so written symbols appear which are not read but which, by their presence, elucidate the context. The omission of symbols which must be read from memory, and the interpolation of symbols which must remain unread, plus the fact that a symbol may be read twice or even three times although only written once, make the reading of a ¹Na-²khi manuscript well-nigh impossible unless