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民族研究

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## 西夏文献所见黄帝形象研究\*

彭向前

西夏文献中所载黄帝形象可以分为两种,一种是指以颜色特征命名的“五色帝”之一,另一种则是为人们所熟知的古代杰出人物的代表。西夏人为了避免混淆,把前者译作“黄色帝”,把后者译作“轩辕皇帝”。对黄帝形象的塑造不仅各民族广泛参与,即便在民族政权对峙时期也没有停止。辽宋西夏金时期,黄帝作为民族共祖形象继续得到弘扬,并与魏晋南北朝时期一脉相承。西夏王朝也曾经参与对黄帝形象的塑造,宣称党项拓跋出自鲜卑拓跋,进而认为黄帝是党项人的远祖,党项人是黄帝之孙昌意少子恂的后裔。西夏文献关于黄帝形象的记载,为论证西夏对中国的认同,为黄帝历史形象塑造研究提供了新的内容。

关键词:西夏 党项 拓跋 五色帝 黄帝

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黄帝作为中华民族人文始祖的形象,是经过不断凝练而升华成就的。学界一般认为,黄帝形象的形成,有一个从神观念的建立到人格化的转变过程。至于五色帝与黄帝之间的关系,或认为先有五色帝,后被赋予具体的神话古帝称谓;或认为黄帝传说出现在前,五色帝神话是五行学说流行之后的附会之物,迄无定论,此不赘述。被当作历史人物对待的黄帝,出于民族凝聚力的需要,其形象大致经历了从部落领袖到华夏汉族始祖,再到北方各族共祖,最终放大成为中华民族公认的人文始祖的漫长历程。《史记》的作者司马迁总结西汉孝武帝开疆拓域的成果,将黄帝从部落领袖弘扬成为华夏汉族始祖。《魏书》的作者魏收总结北魏孝文帝的汉化改制成果,将黄帝拓展成为北方各族共祖的形象。唐朝之后,弘扬黄帝的运动方兴未艾,为此而努力者层出不穷,遂使黄帝的影响从黄河流域推广到大江南北、长城内外,在广袤的中华大地上传播开来,普遍深入社会各个阶层。对黄帝形象的塑造不仅各民族广泛参与,即便在民族政权对峙时期也没有停止。辽宋西夏金时期,黄帝作为民族共祖形象继续得到弘扬,且与魏晋南北朝时期黄帝形象的塑造一脉相承。尤其值得注意的是,地处西北的西夏王朝也曾经参与对黄帝形象的塑造。西夏宣称党项拓跋出自鲜卑拓跋,党项人也是黄帝的后裔。挖掘相关史事,

\* 本文为国家社会科学基金冷门绝学团队项目《“夏译汉籍”汇纂通考及数据库建设》(20VJXT009)、国家民委民族研究基地项目《中华民族历史观研究报告》(2021-GMG-034)阶段性研究成果。承蒙史金波、聂鸿音、杜建录诸位先生和《民族研究》匿名审稿专家提出宝贵的修改意见,谨致谢忱!



词之后,构成复数形式,句中的“𪚗𪚗(季数)”指四季。每季各十八日属土,是五行分配四时的结果。在将五行时令纳入四时节令的过程中,木火金水四行与四时相协,土行则分寄于四时,这叫“播五行于四时”。具体的做法,如孔颖达疏解《月令》“中央土”曰:“四时系天,年有三百六十日,则春夏秋冬各分居九十日。五行分配四时,布于三百六十日间,以木配春,以火配夏,以金配秋,以水配冬,以土则每时辄寄王十八日也。”<sup>①</sup>

[4] 七十二候:旧译文作“七十二节”,不妥。西夏字“𪚗”有“节”义,这里指“物候”。

[5] 依卦显示:旧译文作“依卜显示”,不妥。关于四季、十二月、七十二候是如何依卦显示的,文献记载:“十二月有十二中气,则置十二辟卦以主之。辟卦平铺,四时对待,故二十四气、七十二候分列其中而不紊焉。盖地上之气起于二,二而六之为十二月,二而四之为二十四气,二而三之为七十二候。此十二辟中,所以藏了七十二候;四正卦中,所以藏了二十四气;六十卦中,所以藏了三百六十日。”<sup>②</sup>这里的“十二辟卦”,指“泰、大壮、夬、乾、姤、遁、否、观、剥、坤、复、临”十二卦。

西夏文《圣立义海》中的这段文字,与《礼记·月令》中的记载多有重叠之处,兹将相关记载转录如下,以资比对。

中央土。其日戊、己。其帝黄帝,其神后土。其虫保。其音宫,律中黄钟之宫。其数五。其味甘,其臭香。其祀中霱,祭先心。<sup>③</sup>

需要指出的是,《圣立义海》中与时令有关的内容,并非抄袭自《礼记·月令》,二者之间存在着显著的差异。其一,祭品搭配不同。在四时的中间,《圣立义海》祭品“以脾为先”,《礼记·月令》则作“祭先心”。这是因为木、火、土、金、水有“位”与“气”之分。“以上、下、左、右、中之位言之,则脾春、肺夏、心中、肝秋、肾冬;以金、木、水、火、土之气言之,则肝木、心火、脾土、肺金、肾水”。<sup>④</sup>《圣立义海》以气言不以位言,《礼记·月令》则以位言不以气言,故在夏秋之间,前者祭品为动物脾脏,后者祭品为动物心脏。其二,尚未将作为五行之神的“五色帝”与神话古帝联系在一起。在《圣立义海》“十月之名义”条中出现“𪚗𪚗𪚗𪚗(北郊黑帝)”,<sup>⑤</sup>以此类推,“中央之名义”条中的“黄帝”只能是“黄色帝”。《礼记·月令》则记载:“孟冬之月,日在尾,昏危中,旦七星中。其日壬、癸。其帝颛顼,其神玄冥。”<sup>⑥</sup>这里的五色帝“黑帝”,则被赋予具体的神话古帝称谓“颛顼”。《圣立义海》中的五色帝与《礼记·月令》中的神话古帝对应关系如下(括注文字为笔者所补):

表1 五色帝与神话古帝对应关系表

出处	五色帝	神话古帝	出处
《圣立义海》	(青帝)	太皞	《礼记·月令》
	(赤帝)	炎帝	
	(白帝)	少皞	
	黑帝	颛顼	
	黄帝	黄帝	

① 《礼记正义》卷16《月令》,十三经注疏本,中华书局2009年版,第2970页。

② (明)王邦直撰、王守伦等校注:《律吕正声》卷15《律历同道上》,中华书局2012年版,第145页。

③ 《礼记正义》卷16《月令》,第2971页。

④ (清)焦循:《礼记补疏》卷1,凤凰出版社2015年版,第303页。

⑤ 旧译文作“北极黑帝”,“北极”不如“北郊”更符合原义。参见克恰诺夫、李范文、罗矛昆:《圣立义海》,第54页。

⑥ 《礼记正义》卷16《月令》,第2989页。



絳席隳鞏鞏鞏<sup>[3]</sup> 𡇗𡇗𡇗𡇗<sup>[4]</sup> 絳絳絳

对译:

△过祖轩辕于起备有言△何时终

故袭魏拓跋土无城筑教导圣

新译:

详载始于过去祖轩辕,我等言说何时终?

故袭位自北魏拓跋氏,无土筑城圣教导。

注释:

[1] 𡇗𡇗𡇗,过去祖,即远祖。

[2] 𡇗𡇗,“𡇗”是动词“𡇗(言)”的人称后缀,表示第一人称复数,与句中被省略的主语“我们”相呼应。

[3] 鞏鞏鞏,魏拓跋。“鞏(\* we)”,是对汉文“魏”的音译,指北魏。“鞏鞏(\* tha-pha)”,是对汉文“拓跋”的音译,这里指鲜卑拓跋。自元昊改姓嵬名后,汉文史籍中再不见有“拓跋”一姓,而西夏文姓氏中也不见“拓跋”二字。西夏文“鞏鞏(拓跋)”的写法,可能仅此一见。<sup>①</sup>

[4] 𡇗𡇗𡇗𡇗,无土筑城。本句又见甲种本诗集第13首《鞏鞏鞏鞏》(《新修太学歌》),“𡇗𡇗𡇗𡇗,𡇗𡇗𡇗𡇗,𡇗𡇗𡇗𡇗(土虽无城△筑土无城筑天久地久妙耀耀)”,意思是“无土却能筑城,无土筑城,天长地久光耀耀”。<sup>②</sup>

诗歌中言西夏袭位自北魏拓跋氏,此说源于开国皇帝元昊。早期党项有八大部,各以族姓为别,“其种每姓别为部落,一姓之中复分为小部落,大者万余骑,小者数千骑,不相统一,有细封氏、费听氏、往利氏、颇超氏、野律氏、房当氏、米禽氏、拓拔氏,而拓拔最为强族”。<sup>③</sup>八大部中最强的部族是拓跋部,后来演变为西夏的皇族。党项族是西羌的一支,现在的语言学研究成果也表明西夏语是汉藏语系藏缅语族羌语支,此外如发式、服饰、婚姻、葬俗、信仰等等,都与羌系民族接近。党项羌元昊本姓拓跋,为证明自己做皇帝的合法性,不惜高攀冒认北魏鲜卑拓跋,声称“臣祖宗本出帝胄,当东晋之末运,创后魏之初基”。<sup>④</sup>元昊把先祖上溯到北魏,继任者更是有过之而无不及,在贯彻西夏开国皇帝元昊意图的基础上,把党项先祖上溯到华夏初祖黄帝。这是因为鲜卑拓跋曾经依托轩辕为先祖。魏道武帝在登基时就曾赞许朝廷群臣所谓“国家继黄帝之后”的奏言:

天兴元年,(道武帝)定都平城,即皇帝位,立坛北告祭天地……事毕,诏有司定行次,正服色。群臣奏以国家继黄帝之后,宜为土德,故神兽如牛,牛土畜,又黄星显曜,其符也。于是始从土德,数用五,服尚黄,牺牲用白,祀天之礼用周典。<sup>⑤</sup>

魏道武帝建国伊始,就力图将拓跋鲜卑列入华夏黄帝体系。魏收在撰写《魏书》时,在《序

① 彭向前:《元昊改姓考》,《青海民族大学学报》2013年第2期。

② 聂鸿音:《西夏文〈新修太学歌〉考释》,《宁夏社会科学》1990年第3期。案西夏诗歌中一再提及“无土筑城”,但学界一直不了解这个事典的来历和含义。《夏圣根赞歌》称“故袭位自北魏拓跋氏,无土筑城圣教导”,把“无土筑城”与北魏联系在一起。受此启发,我们认为此事或与司马楚之“伐柳为城”有关。据《魏书·司马楚之传》记载,司马楚之负责督运军需,突遭柔然军袭击,“即使军人伐柳为城,水灌之令冻,城立而贼至。冰峻城固,不可攻逼”(第856—857页),受到北魏太武帝拓跋焘的嘉许。冰城在日光下闪闪发亮,与诗句中的“光耀耀”亦颇相合。此表明西夏人出于特殊的政治目的而对北魏的历史是熟悉的。

③ (唐)杜佑:《通典》卷190《边防六》,中华书局1988年版,第5169页。

④ 《宋史》卷485《夏国传上》,中华书局1977年版,第13995页。

⑤ 《魏书》卷108《礼志一》,中华书局1974年版,第2734页。



## Contents, Abstracts and Keywords

### Promoting the Construction of Community for the Chinese Nation in the New

**Era** ..... **Wang Yanzhong** (1)

**Abstract:** The central conference on ethnic affairs of 2021 clearly stated that it is necessary to promote high-quality development of the Party's work on ethnic affairs centering on the fostering a strong sense of community for the Chinese nation. At this conference, General Secretary of CPC Xi Jinping raised the issue of "promoting the construction of the community for the Chinese nation" for the first time. This paper discusses five issues on how to foster a strong sense of community for the Chinese nation and promote the construction of the community for the Chinese nation; correctly understanding the scientific connotation of community for the Chinese nation; firmly establishing the concept of community for the Chinese nation; deeply grasping the main tasks of constructing community for the Chinese nation; solidly promoting the basic work of forging the community of the Chinese nation; and effectively improving the ability and level of building the community for the Chinese nation.

**Keywords:** nation; the Chinese nation; community for the Chinese nation; the central conference for ethnic affairs; fostering a strong sense of community for the Chinese nation.

### Carrying on and Carrying forward the Patriotic Tradition of the Chinese Nation

**in the New Era** ..... **Wang Zhen and Xiang Jianhua** (14)

**Abstract:** The long tradition of patriotism of the Chinese nation which experienced ancient and modern stages have the characteristics like continuity, integration, cultural humanism, and cultural openness. The following factors all help the formation of the tradition and its characteristics; the natural and economic diversity and supplementation, the cultural tradition of stressing harmony and rational inclusiveness, the leading of relatively developed civilization and culture of Central Plains, the historical reality and the great advantage of a long-time unity, etc. As China has entered a new era, new objectives and tasks are set for carrying forward the patriotic tradition, that is, in the historical journey of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, keeping the patriotism as the fount and coherence for a higher sense of national identity.

**Keywords:** the Chinese nation; patriotic tradition; community for the Chinese Nation.

### The Theoretical Evolution of Modern Racism and Its Roots in Individualism

..... **Ma Depu and Long Tao** (32)

**Abstract:** Why does the racism persist in western societies where the freedom, democracy and human rights are advocated? This paper argues that one of the important causes is individualism in western civilization, especially in Anglo-American civilization. The evolution of modern racism has roughly experienced three historical stages, and individualism is inextricably linked with it. In the initial stage of racism, individualism pursuing the maximization of personal interests helped transform the institutional basis of black slavery from religious difference to racial difference, and contributed to the theoretical demonstration of religious theological discourse. In the enlightenment era, liberal thinkers' defense for racism actually transformed the social contract they preached into the "racial contract" under the illusion of freedom and equality. The political individualism contained in contract theory gave birth to civic nationalism and promoted the formation of nation-state. The competition and dominance of civic nationalism and the exclusivity of nation-states provided the impetus for racism, as well as built western liberal democracy on the peak of ethnic cleansing. After the abolition of slavery and the collapse of colonial rule, the contemporary neo-racism,

mainly in the form of cultural racism and colorblind racism, hides the racism that maintains white privilege in the discourse of cultural difference or individualism under the cover of anti-racism discourse. Therefore, individualism is an important ideological source of racism, which is of great significance for understanding the internal dilemma of Western civilization, eliminating the scourge of racism and building a real community with a shared future for mankind.

**Keywords:** racism; individualism; slavery; racial contract; neo-racism.

### **Research on Big Data Development and Government Public Health Governance in Ethnic Minority Areas**

..... **Zhao Yunhui, Xu Xiaomin, Li Yahui and Tao Ketao** (48)

**Abstract:** Most ethnic minority areas in China are located on the border and bear dual responsibilities of public health governance, that is, "defense against importation of foreign COVID-19 cases and defense against resurgence of domestic transmission", which poses a great challenge to the public health governance of local governments in ethnic minority areas. Based on the TOE (Technology-Organization-Environment) framework, this paper takes 47 prefecture-level local governments in ethnic minority areas in China as research cases, analyzes the linkage effects of antecedents such as big data technology, government attention distribution and institutional environment, and discusses the ways for governments in ethnic minority areas to improve public health governance performance. Using the methods of fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA) and Necessary Condition Analysis (NCA), this paper tentatively identifies three driving modes to promote the performance of government public health governance in ethnic minority areas, namely "Environment first + Technical assistance," "Organization + Environment" and "Organization and Environment first + Technical assistance." The results show that: (1) Big data technology and public opinion environment play a universal role in promoting the public health governance performance of high-level local governments. (2) The effective combination of technology, organization and environment can improve the performance of government public health governance in ethnic minority areas by "different paths lead to the same goal." It is suggested that local governments should choose appropriate paths and targeted measures according to their own characteristics and resource endowment to improve the performance of government public health governance.

**Keywords:** ethnic minority areas; public health governance; TOE framework; Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA); Necessary Condition Analysis (NCA).

### **The Benefit Linking of Inter-Embedded Development between Social Capital and Intangible Cultural Heritage Resources in Ethnic Minority Areas of China from the Perspective of Property Rights** .....

..... **Liu Li** (67)

**Abstract:** The inter-embedded development between social capital and intangible cultural heritage resources in ethnic minority areas of China embodies the idea of integrated social structure and community environment for all ethnic groups in the cultural and economic fields, as well as a process of rational allocation of resources and realization of the socialization of property rights. The socialization of property rights leads to the decentralization of property rights, the diversification of stakeholders and the complication of benefit distribution. Centering on the main line of fostering a strong sense of community for the Chinese nation, based on theories of property rights and social capital, and taking production factors as a breakthrough, this paper sorts out the connotation and three patterns of inter-embedded development, main types and characteristics of property rights of intangible cultural heritage, defines relevant subjects of property rights, including the sole subject of state ownership, the subjects of socialized market property rights, and their core and general stakeholders, and analyzes the interactive relationship of responsibility, right and benefit among the subjects of property rights and stakeholders in order to explore their close benefit connection. Based on the cultural resources and space input of inheritors and their communities, this paper puts forward three principles, preferential access to market property rights, clear property rights and benefit protection which should be considered in the design of relevant policy systems for them, which can establish a closer benefit linking among inheritors in ethnic minority areas and holders of social capital.

**Keywords:** social capital; intangible cultural heritage in ethnic minority areas; inter-

embedded development; benefit linking; property rights.

**Southern Theory: Contributions to Anthropological Thought by the Others**

..... **Jing Jun (77)**

**Abstract:** This article evokes several last generation anthropologists in Africa so as to draw attention to the development of what has been lately described as "Southern Theory." The author first argues that learning about social theories from the Global South is necessary for Chinese social research to broaden its global vision and to create a greater degree of South-South cooperation in the production of social science knowledge. Another argument to be made is about the necessity for Chinese anthropologists to draw intellectual nourishment from the Global South in a much-needed effort to enrich and advance anthropologies of the world as a whole. And this is especially important for Chinese anthropology's overseas studies, particularly in developing countries.

**Keywords:** Southern Theory; African anthropology, Chinese anthropology.

**A Probe into the Perception of Merits and Virtues of Taimao People**

..... **He Shaoying and Wei Xi (93)**

**Abstract:** Using the conscious model and unconscious model theory of Claude Lévi-Strauss, the famous French exponent of structural anthropology, this paper makes a preliminary study on the construction of the perception of merits and virtues that is the core of the belief culture of of Taimao people, a group of the Dai. On the basis of relatively in-depth and meticulous fieldwork, through the 'ta<sup>22</sup>la<sup>53n</sup>' merit and virtue and zodiac system as well as naming scheme in the local culture, the author discovered the principal manifestations of the conscious model of Taimao people's perception of merits and virtues offering whatever within one's power as a tribute, active in "poi<sup>453n</sup>" rituals and taking pleasure from it, initiated into monkhood and obeying commandments strictly, eliminating distractions, kindheartedness and honesty and just letting nature take its course. The manifestations of the unconscious model of Taimao people's perception of merits and virtues are also a kind of eternal fullness in the form of head-tail cycle repeats, complementary principle of repelled congeniality and suited isomerism, compromise doctrine of the positive and the oblique or the auspicious and the ominous. On this cognitive basis, this paper puts forward three supplements to the study of the perception of merits and virtues in the Dai culture: the desire of eternal fullness has raised the time awareness of Taimao people to a new level; complementary and compromise thinking play a very important role in guiding the behavior of Taimao people; last but not least, merits and virtues sharing among people is also one of the effective ways to obtain merit.

**Keywords:** Taimao people; the perception of merits and virtues; probe.

**Concepts of Grand Unification of China and Collective Memory Created by**

**All Ethnic Groups In China** ..... **Wu Mu and Ran Shize (110)**

**Abstract:** It is obvious to all that Chinese ethnic minorities have played the role in the process of unification of China. However, the contribution of ethnic minorities to the thought of grand unification is rarely discussed in depth. In fact, ethnic minorities have made outstanding contributions in different stages of the development of the grand unification thought. From the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties to the Liao Dynasty, under the unified theoretical framework of "common ancestors and different ethnic group," ethnic minorities have established many multi-ethnic regimes with partial unity based on the consensus of the Yan and Huang 炎黄 bloodlines. In the Jin, Yuan, and Qing dynasties, ethnic minorities established unified (or partially unified) multi-ethnic states under the theoretical framework of "wo ben zhongguo 我本中国" (literally, should-be-central-country), taking identity for the country as the consensus. Among them, the northern minorities represented by the Northern Wei Dynasty creatively practiced the theory of "tuo yi tong hua 脱夷统华" (literally, becoming the no-Yi for ruling the Hua). In the Later Tang Dynasty, the Later Jin Dynasty and the Later Han Dynasty, the Shatuo people completed "tuo yi tong hua" by virtue of political orthodoxy. Khitan put forward the idea of "below the Arctic is Central Kingdom," and extended China's boundary to the north of the Great Wall.

After the establishment of the Jin Dynasty, a view of multi-ethnic China was created, and the idea of China's grand unification began to enter the theoretical process of "wo ben zhongguo," and all ethnic groups have the orthodox rights of grand unification. The Yuan and the Qing dynasties were successful practitioners of this theory. The effect of these thoughts eventually forged the consensus that all ethnic groups created China together.

**Keywords:** community for the Chinese nation; concepts of grand unification of China; ethnic minorities.

### **A Study on the Image of the Emperor Huang in Xixia Documents**

..... **Peng Xiangqian** (126)

**Abstract:** There are two kinds of images of the Emperor Huang 黄帝 in Xixia documents, one of the "Five Colored Emperors" named after the color features, or an outstanding figure in ancient times known to people. To avoid confusion, Xixia people translated the former as "Yellow Emperor" and the latter as "Xuanyuan Emperor 轩辕皇帝." The image construction of the Emperor Huang was not only widely participated by all ethnic groups, but also did not stop even in the period of confrontation of ethnic regimes. During the Liao, Song, Xixia and Jin dynasties, the Emperor Huang, in the same line with the Wei, the Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties, was promoted as the image of common ancestor. Xixia Dynasty also took part in the progress, and claimed that Dangxiang Tuoba 党项拓跋 was descended from Xianbei Tuoba 鲜卑拓跋, and further believed that the Emperor Huang was the distant ancestor of the Dangxiang 党项 people, who were the descendants of Kun 惲, the youngest son of Changyi 昌意, and the grandson of the Emperor Huang. The records about the image of the Emperor Huang in Xixia documents provide a new content for the study of the historical image of the Emperor Huang and Xixia's identification as a Chinese Dynasty.

**Keywords:** Xixia Dynasty; Dangxiang; Tuoba; Five Colored Emperors; the Emperor Huang.

### **The Discussion over One Hundred Years on the Compilation of Chinese National History: Starting from Luo Xianglin's 罗香林 Comments on Wang**

**Tongling's 王桐龄 *Zhongguo Minzu Shi* 中国民族史** ..... **Feng Jianyong** (133)

**Abstract:** The writings of the general historic book about the Chinese nation and nationalities which began in the later Qing Dynasty when the Chinese modern nation began to establish while the West and Chinese culture were confronted with each other, have had a history of over one hundred years. In these writings, *Zhongguo Minzu Shi* (on the cover of the book, its English name is *The History of the Races of China*) by Wang Tongling in 1928 was one of the early general history books. After the publish of the book, Luo Xianglin made an academic evaluation on it and proposed to promote the study of Chinese national history from the two aspects of "vertical narration" and "horizontal narration." Combing the academic history of the study of Chinese national history in the 1930s, we can find that Luo Xianglin's suggestion on the "compilation approach" of Chinese national history and some later scholars' cognition and writing of Chinese national history coincide to some extent. Taking the revised version of Wang's *Zhongguo Minzu Shi* (1934) as an example, the book tried to reconstruct the historical context of exchanges and communication among various nationalities within the research framework. It suggests that Wang Tongling had been exploring an appropriate "compilation approach" of Chinese national history, and the "horizontal narration" of Chinese national history had been strengthened. And Lü Simian 吕思勉, Song Wenbing 宋文炳, Lin Huixiang 林惠祥, etc. wrote *The History of Chinese Nationalities*, which "makes the history of each ethnic group a special chapter" and promoted the "vertical narration" of the history of each ethnic group. Up to now, in order to clarify "the history of the Chinese nation in which all ethnic groups communicated and blended in order to converge into a pluralistic integration in the historical period," Luo Xianglin's "two orientations and three problems," especially the suggestion on strengthening "horizontal narration," still have important enlightening significance for the research of Chinese national history in the new era.

**Keywords:** Chinese national history; compilation approach; "vertical narration;" "horizontal narration;" historical view.



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