

SOCIALS AND CULTURAL CHANGES
IN HEHUANG, QINGHAI, MODERN TIMES

近代青海河湟地区 社会文化变迁

赵小花 著

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摘 要

青海河湟地区位于青海日月山以东，祁连山以南，包括西宁四区三县、海东地区以及青海海南、黄南等地。自古以来，这一地区就是少数民族聚居之地。先秦至民国时期，青海河湟地区经历了从华夏边缘到民族边疆的社会文化变迁过程，在这一过程中，内地化是变迁的主流，也是促进这一地区社会文化各项事业进步的主要动力。

先秦至清代前中期，青海河湟地区经历了一个从生态的、文化的独立地区到华夏边缘的漫长发展过程，在这一历史过程中，华夏边缘的社会文化属性赋予了这一地区特殊的政治、经济及文化面貌。自两汉以来，这一地区进入内地化的历史发展阶段，中原地区的政治制度、经济生活及文化因素对青海河湟地区持续产生影响，而在内生的地方秩序长期影响下，地方性文化因素也影响着这一地区的社会文化发展进程。此后，历代中央王朝对青海河湟地区社会文化进程的影响逐步深化，而中央王朝在青海河湟地区行政力量的扩张与收缩过程即是王朝国家与地方秩序的角力过程。在这一过程中，中原华夏与民族边缘地区之间的社会文化也经历着冲突与融合，而

持续进行的内地化过程，使当地社会文化诸方面受到中原社会文化诸因素的影响。作为内生地方秩序的承载体，历史上，羌族、鲜卑、吐谷浑、吐蕃（藏族）、蒙古、回族、土族等民族皆对青海河湟地区的历史演进产生重要影响。

在上述因素的共同作用下，青海河湟地区形成具有华夏边缘的社会文化属性，其社会文化内在结构及其外在形式上具有多元性的文化特质，且在政治、经济及文化上具有鲜明的边缘性特征。华夏边缘的社会文化属性既为这一地区的内地化提供了一定的空间，同时又以地方性的社会文化因素制约着内地化的进一步深化与拓展，从而使内地化进程成为一个可逆的、不确定的社会发展方向。

近代以来，青海河湟地区的内地化进程加速，其社会文化诸项事业的进步突出表现在内地化与近代化的“双重变奏”，西方化的因素也伴随着近代化进程影响着青海河湟社会文化的近代建构；同时，一些地方性社会文化因素仍然存续，在这些因素的共同作用下，青海河湟地区形成了民族边疆的社会文化属性。

从民族边疆社会文化因素的形成动因看，晚清以来，随着中央政权对青海河湟统治的深化，这一地区作为民族边疆的社会文化属性得以确立，特别是青海建省及国民政府时期的县制改革，既促进了这一地区在政治上与内地的均质化，同时也进一步突显了这一地区民族边疆的特殊性；在近代民族主义思潮的影响下，特别是抗战以来民族国家理念的传播，加速了青海河湟地区意识形态的均质化进程，同时一些地方性文化观念在民族主义思潮形成的社会大背景下更加凸显出来；特别是近代以来，人口迁徙和商贸活动进一步促进了青海河湟地区与内地的联系，共同成为民族

边疆社会文化属性得以确立的重要动因，而原有的人口结构与独具特色的商贸活动，也使这一地区民族边疆的社会文化属性得以深化。民族边疆社会文化属性的确立还体现在近代国民的塑造、近代教育的兴起及社会生活的近代化等方面，这些因素既是形成新的社会文化属性的动因，也是这一社会文化属性导致的结果。在上述诸因素的共同作用下，近代以来，青海河湟地区的内地化已是一个不可逆转的历史过程，也是这一地区社会文化发展与进步的主要动力源泉。

当然，也应当看到，青海河湟地区的近代化在促进边疆地区发展、进步的同时，也受到诸如保甲制度复兴等逆近代化因素的影响，加之一些与近代化过程背道而驰的内生地方秩序的干扰和影响，河湟地区的近代化发展步伐显得艰难、迟缓。此外，我国的近代化过程在很大程度上受到西方社会的影响，因此近代化过程伴随着西方化的历程，这一点也在青海河湟社会文化近代化过程中有所体现。

从近代以来青海河湟地区政治结构、商贸经济、医疗卫生、教育、文娱、体育、饮食等内地化和近代化的进程看，这一时期社会文化也可用“变”与“不变”的二元对立关系加以总结。其中，“变”特指由内地化引发的该地区社会文化的发展与进步；而“不变”则既指受地方秩序影响或某些利益团体的阻碍使地方社会文化处于滞后的状态，也包括客观存在的一些地方性文化因素。“变”代表了事物发展的一般性规律，而“不变”则指事物的特殊性。在民族边疆社会文化发展过程中，“不变”的因素还突出地代表了少数民族文化中的传统惯性因素。在青海河湟社会文化发展和变化的历史长河中，“变”代表了这一地区前进的动力与方向。总之，从青海河

湟地区社会文化的内在结构、发展趋势及未来走向看,内地化是青海河湟地区进步与发展的必由之路。

关键词: 青海河湟地区 内地化 近代化

Abstract

Hehuang area refers to the region to the east of Riyue Mountain and the south of Qilian Mountain in Qinghai province, which covers four districts and three counties in Xining, along with an extended area of Haidong, Hainan and Huang'nan prefecture. Since ancient times, Hehuang area has been mainly inhabited by minorities, and from Pre - Qin to Republican China, the social and cultural attributes of this area has experienced a transformation from Chinese peripheries to the border and minority areas, during which, the inland - changing has served as the mainstream of the transformation and also attributed to the its process and development in the aspect of social culture and other undertakings.

From Pre - Qin to the early and middle of Qin dynasty, Hehuang area in Qinghai went through a long way of development beginning as an independent region ecologically and culturally and ending with the Chinese peripheries, through which the social and cultural property of Chinese peripheries endowed a distinctive features of politics, economy and culture to this area. Till the historical period of Hans, the Hehuang region started its

inland - changing resulted from the impact of Central China's political system, economic life and cultural factors on it, and its local cultural causes under the enduring influence of the endogenous regional conditions. Hereafter, the effect of the central dynasty had on the social and cultural processes in Hehuang region deepened gradually, while this effect involved the struggles between the central dynasty government and the local order, which is the process that the central dynasty extended or withdrew its administrative power in this region. In this process of struggling, the central Chinese and marginal minority region conflicted and converged with each other socially and culturally, while during this continuous inland - changing progress, the regional society and culture was both influenced by the counterparts of the central Chinese. As a carrier of endogenous regional order, the Hehuang region was affected by Western Qiang, and Xianbe, Tuyuhun, Tubo (Tibetan), Mongolian, Hui, Tu, they all played the significant roles in its local historical revolution.

Under the combinational influence of all mentioned factors, Hehuang region has formed its own social and cultural properties with the Chinese peripheries qualities, both social culture's internal structures and external forms, featuring in its cultural diversity and marginal characteristics related to politics, economy and culture. The social and cultural characteristics of the Chinese peripheries have not merely provided a certain space for the regional inland - changing, but restricted the further deepening and expanding through its local conditions, leading to a social developing directions for inland - changing process to be uncertain and reversible.

Since modern times, the inland - changing trend has accelerated its

path in Hehuang area, its social culture and other undertakings have been improved, most notably in the dual variations of inland – changing and modernization, and the factors of westernization that the modernization has brought in, spreading to the modern structure of this region's society and culture. In the meanwhile, certain social and cultural factors still remain, together, the Hehuang area in Qinghai shapes the national frontier's social and cultural attributes of its own.

In the aspect of social and cultural factors of nationality formation, since the late Qing Dynasty, as the central government deepened Hehuang rule, status of the region, social and cultural frontier has been established. Particularly, reform of establishment of Qinghai Province and system of county in period of National Government not only prompted political homogenization with mainland, but also further highlighted the special nature of this area, national frontiers. Under the influence of modern nationalism thought, especially spread of national concept, homogenization of process of ideology in Hehuang region was accelerated. At the same time, some local cultural concepts formed under nationalism trend were more prominent. In modern times, the impact of population movements and trade activities further promoted links between Hehuang region and the mainland and both became an important motivation for the establishment of national cultural property. The original structure of the population and unique business activities, deepened the region status as a social and cultural property. Establishment of social and cultural attributes of national frontier were also reflected in the shape of modern citizens, rise of the modernization of education and other social aspects of modern life, all of which were both fac-

tors of social and cultural attributes and results of it. Under the combined effect of the above – mentioned factors, in modern times, the transformation of Hehuang region into mainland has become an irreversible historical process and is the main source of power for social and cultural development.

Of course, it should be noted that modernization of Hehuang areas not only promoted development of border areas, but also pace of development of Hehuang areas seemed to be difficult and slow because of inverse modernization factors such as revival of Tithing Security System, coupled with some interference and influence of mainland order contrary to modernization. In addition, China's modernization process was heavily influenced by Western society, which was also reflected in socio – cultural modernization process of Hehuang area.

Since modern times, in the view of process of modernization of regional political structure, economic commerce, health, education, entertainment, sports in Hehuang area, the social – cultural attributes in this period can also be summarized as dualistic structure, “changes” and “constants”. Among them, the “change” refers to region's social and cultural development and progress caused by interior of the region and “constants” refers to the social and cultural obstruction caused by the local order or interest impediment of certain groups, including some local cultural objective factors.

“Change” represents a general law of things, and “constants” refers to the special nature of things. In the social and cultural development process of national frontier, factors of “constants” also outstandingly represents traditional inertia factor of minority cultures. “Change” embodies

driving force and direction of this region in history of social and cultural development and changes in Hehuang area. In short, in the aspect of the internal structure of social culture, trends and future direction in Qinghai Hehuang, interiority is the only way for Hehuang regional progress and development.

Key words: Hehuang area in Qinghai province; Interiority; Modernization

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| 绪 论 |

一 本论题的研究意义

《后汉书·西羌传》中有“乃度河、湟，筑令居塞”的记载，“河、湟”指今天甘肃、青海两省交界地带的黄河及其支流湟水。此后，“河、湟”逐渐演变成一个地域概念，地域范围大体包括青海境内的黄河两岸、湟水流域及大通河流域构成的“三河间”及周边地区，即今青海湟水流域及青海境内黄河南北两岸，以及甘肃河州地区、甘南草原北部和四川西北部阿坝草原一带。由此可见，河湟地区是中原地区与青藏少数民族聚居区的过渡地带，也是蒙古高原、黄土高原和青藏高原的交汇之地。

（一）河湟地区是人类文明的重要发祥地之一

考古工作者曾在青海贵南县黄河沿岸的托勒台采集到一批打制石器，研究者认定其为旧石器时代晚期的遗物。1980年7月，贵南县拉乙亥乡公社附近的黄河沿岸阶地上发现了中石器时代遗址，从石器制作技术来看，拉乙亥遗址是旧石器时代向新石器时代过渡阶