# 「滿洲」變身為「東北」:

## 满洲成為歷史借鏡的過程

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時至今日,金毓黼的《東北通史》被認為是一部民族主義者出於愛國熱忱的 著作。但此種觀點只反映他撰寫此書的一個動因,《東北通史》是社會各界和知 識份子在滿洲國時期(1932-1945)互動激盪下的產物。儘管金毓黼的著作受治 學嚴謹的日本學者如稻葉岩吉(君山)引用,也是激勵他們研究的推手,《東北 通史》的內容仍廣被中國、韓國的學者用以將金毓黼歸類為愛國者。然而,撤開 愛國主義不提,這些言論其實呈現金毓黼接受了當時的學界實情:日本在中國東 北的研究已在東北亞史學界執牛耳之地位。金毓黼並不認同稻葉岩吉、內藤湖南 等人的政治觀與結論,但終究受兩人的作品以及彼此之間的互動影響甚深。我參 考金毓黼的日記,來檢視他跟楊成能等學者翻譯稻葉的《滿洲發達史》的社會向 度。稻葉的作品在此發揮什麼影響?它激勵金毓黼對渤海的研究,以及催生日後 的《東北通史》。事實上,1920-30年間金毓黼曾把稻葉的這部著作連載於一部愛 國色彩濃厚的中文期刊《東北叢刊》裡,他是如何獲取、研讀、解讀、翻譯及引 用的呢。我將檢視構成《東北通史》系譜的幾部學術作品,包括曹廷杰關於西伯 利亞的著作以及稻葉岩吉的《滿洲發達史》。

## <u>Translating Manchuria into Dongbei: Manchuria in the Construction</u> <u>of Usable Pasts</u>

Jin Yufu's 金毓黼(1887-1962) Dongbei Tongshi (1941) is upheld today as a nationalist tract written out of love for the Chinese nation. But this view reflects merely one agency Jin deployed in writing this text. Jin's Dongbei Tongshi was a product of social and intellectual interaction with Japanese scholars during the Manchukuo period (1932-1945). Even while citing the meticulous work of Japanese scholars such as Inaba Iwakichi and the stimulus that their work was to Jin's own, Jin's patriotic statement made in the Dongbei Tongshi has been frequently cited by Chinese and Korean scholars simply as evidence of his love of country. Beyond being a patriotic statement, however, this statement also expresses Jin's acceptance of the status quo at the time: Japanese works on northeast China dominated the scholarly field of northeast Asian studies. Jin disagreed with the political views and conclusions of scholars such as Naito and Inaba, but he was nonetheless deeply influenced by their work and the personal interactions he had with both. I use Jin's personal diaries to examine the social dimensions of how Inaba's Manshu Hattatsushi was translated into Chinese through a collaboration by scholars such as Jin Yufu, Yang Chengneng, and Jin himself. What was the influence of Inaba's work such as Developmental History of Manchuria? It was a major inspiration for Jin's work on Bohai and his later Dongbei Tongshi. In fact, Jin led the serialized translation of Inaba's book in the patriotic Chinese-language journal, Dongbei Congkan in 1929-30. How was it obtained, read, perceived, translated, and cited? In this chapter I read through the geneaology of texts that led to Jin Yufu's Dongbei Tongshi. This begins with Cao Tingjie's book on Siberia and on to Inaba's Manshu Hattatsushi (both original and 1935 revised, Yang Chengneng's translation of that work, Bian Zongmeng's 1935 revised edition of that work, Jin's 1932 Bohai book, and finally Jin's 1941 Dongbei Tongshi.

### 主講人介紹:

陳永昕,美國籍,美國加州大學柏克萊分校歷史學系博士候選人。陳 永昕先生本次獲漢學研究中心獎助,來臺研究主題為「金玉黻與滿洲的國 族化:二十世紀東北亞的民族史書寫 (Jin Yufu and the Nationalizing of Manchuria: Writing minzu Histories in Tewntieth Century Northeast Asia)」。