

# 君子恥之：清初遺民學人的道德思辨與文化重建 ——以顧炎武、李顥、張履祥為例

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本文以清初知識界對「恥」的論說作為課題，強調這一儒學概念不僅在個人德性與社會規範等多個方面形塑了士大夫的群體認同，更為國家重建、為學途轍以及士人治生的日常實踐，提供了重要的思想資源。本文承接先秦以降「論恥」之傳統，將「恥」從兩方面加以理解：一，在政治的層面，「恥」既是「政治共同體」（「天下」與「國家」）之不可或缺的要素（「群」的維度），又是對官員的基本要求（個體的維度）；二，在道德的層面，「恥」既是「士人」基本的德性（個體的維度），又是整個「倫理共同體」的重要奠基。「恥」既是道德與倫理的概念，也是政治的概念，在在契合儒家由修身自省到天下國家的推衍路徑。

在此理解的基礎上，本文聚焦於顧炎武、李顥、張履祥等三位學者，探討了他們在清初語境下對「恥」的新詮釋。顧炎武突出「恥」對士人之抉擇與行動的作用力並視「恥」為更新「風俗」之關鍵，藉此寄希望於拯救天下，李顥則將「恥」與「義命」相聯。三人都強調「學」以養「恥」，張履祥更添上「治生」的前提條件。通過論「恥」，顧炎武、李顥與張履祥得以重新思索何以為人、何以為士。他們對「恥」的再詮釋，不僅力圖為自己的時代提供藥方，更為先秦以降的「恥」之傳統添入新內容。

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# Ethical Reflections and Cultural Reconstruction by Early Qing Remnant Scholars: A Case Study of Gu Yanwu, Li Yong, and Zhang Lüxiang

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After the downfall of the Ming dynasty, “regret” emerged as a major theme in the writings of Han literati. Terms such as “shame,” “guilt,” and “regret” were used interchangeably in literary texts of this period. When scholars turned to the possibility of reviving the literati spirit and Han culture, they too needed to begin with reflections on shame and explored its different layers in their writings. In this paper, I will sift through their countless expressions of shame and guilt to call attention to the idea that shame was less a feeling than a moral/ethical and political concept. I will also show how scholars treated it historically in the early Qing.

The scholars’ common purpose in re-addressing the issue of shame in the early Qing was not only to recall the Han literati spirit but also to re-establish morality and ultimately to revive Han power and culture. As I explore relationships between shame and other concepts (i.e., loyalty and existence) and examine the political, moral, and ethical concerns behind the scholars’ treatment of shame. This paper focuses on three well-known writers and scholars: Gu Yanwu, Li Yong, and Zhang Lüxiang. These three scholars all developed individual approaches to the question of shame and regarded it as the core value of the gentry class. Their differences lie mostly in their emphases. Where Gu stressed the importance of shame for making decisions and taking actions, Li linked it with righteousness and the “Ordinance of Heaven.” Gu saw the re-establishment of a sense of shame as vital to the revival of customs, while Li argued that learning was the means to activate the literati’s sense of shame. Zhang offered another way to revive the sense of shame: his approach was primarily based on solving the problems of living. In their rethinking the issue of shame, Gu, Li, and Zhang had a chance to reformulate what constitutes a human being and a gentleman (*shi*). Their reinterpretations of shame enabled them not only to propose remedies for the problems of their times, but also to add new perspectives to the old issue of shame in Chinese thoughts.

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