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## 清代儒者的全神堂—— 《國史儒林傳》與道光年間顧祠祭的成立\*

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清代道光年間（鴉片戰爭之後），北京大批京官發起顧祠祭，這個祭祠活動持續了七、八十年。本文是以顧炎武祠的建立為引子，藉《國史儒林傳》成書過程，重新檢討嘉、道年間思想文化歷史中，顧炎武為清朝第一儒者的論斷是如何形成的；同時也討論了在形成顧炎武崇拜的過程中，士大夫圈編織了一個似有若無的「全神堂」，而官方功令、政治忌諱又如何影響清代儒者全神堂的安排。全文呈現出從嘉慶到道光，政治忌諱之逐步鬆弛與士人世界相應的變化，以及官方意識形態、學術、思想、社會幾種力量互相交織、轉變的情形。

**關鍵詞：**顧炎武祠 國史儒林傳

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The Pantheon of Qing Dynasty Confucians: *Guoshi rulin zhuan*  
and the Ceremonial Worship of Gu Yanwu's Temple  
during the Daoguang Era

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During the Daoguang era of the Qing dynasty (after the Opium War), a large group of officials in the capital Beijing began to hold ceremonial worship in Gu Yanwu's temple. This type of ceremonial worship lasted for seventy to eighty years. This article takes the establishment of a temple for Gu Yanwu and the writing of the *Guoshi rulin zhuan* as a point of departure for re-examining the way in which the view praising Gu Yanwu as the most important Confucian of the Qing dynasty came into being.

The article also examines how this phenomenon related to the cultural and intellectual changes during the Jiaqing and Daoguang eras. During the course of the establishment of the worship of Gu Yanwu, traditional literati circles began to form a quasi spiritual pantheon (*quanshen tang*, 全神堂) delineating the relative position of each Confucian throughout the Qing dynasty. The sequential arrangement of Confucians in order of importance was at times subtle and intangible but nevertheless present. Through the compilation of collections of Confucian biographies, various groups of literati created their versions of the spiritual pantheon which presented Confucians in order of the importance assigned to them by the compiler. The *Guoshi rulin zhuan* was one of these biographies and it presented Gu Yanwu as the most significant Confucian of the Qing dynasty. Official statutes and political taboos also influenced the establishment and arrangement of this kind of quasi spiritual pantheon by Qing dynasty Confucians. The article demonstrates the complex interaction between official ideology, scholarship, thought, and social forces during this period and the transformations resulting from these interactions.

**Keywords:** *Guoshi rulin zhuan*, Gu Yanwu Temple