

***Baobian* and *Jingshi*, on the role of Traditional Chinese Historian  
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In this essay, I try to present a picture of the role played by traditional Chinese historian and at the same time discuss the uses and abuses of the history in traditional China.

**1. *baobian*(praise and blame) and *jingshi*(statecraft) as two important functions of traditional Chinese historian**

It is well known that China has a long and continuous history. During this three and more thousand years of recorded history, it is interesting to know that China had developed her own historiography mainly on their own due to her rather geographical isolation. Despite the similarity of trying making sense and recording the past in both China and the West, there have been some remarkable differences in historiography between them. For one thing, in written history, traditional Chinese was regarded not as an independent individual, but as a member of his family, clan, official or subject of the empire. <sup>1</sup>His role was defined by his status in family, clan and state and his behavior blamed or praised accordingly. He was concerned about his fame after death.<sup>2</sup> In order to obtain fame, he could first of all, not to disgrace his family and ancestor. Furthermore, he could try to climb the ladder of success in the court and honor his ancestors. Using this anxiety about the posthumous fame, the historian in ancient China could resort to *baobian*(praise and blame) and promote the *jingshi*(statecraft) ideal<sup>3</sup> in the writing of history to deter the people from wrongdoing and encourage them to devote to the public services. Mencius(372-289 BC) once said: ' When Confucius finished the writing of the Spring and Autumn Annals(the first history of Lu State in about 5th Century BC), the rebellious ministers and undisciplined subjects were in a panic.' <sup>4</sup>They were scared because of their dis fame would be recorded in the history for later generations to see.

"Praise and Blame" ( *baobian*) and "practicing the statecraft ideals" (*jingshi*) functions emerged as soon as the historical conscious appeared. It is true that in a

broader sense, the *baobian* was also conducive to a good subject and hence beneficial to government. Thus the *jingshi* in a way was achieved by *baobian*. But *baobian* specifically referred to a person's behavior and the statecraft referred more or less to the policies and actions taken by those in power to run a government efficiently in a more direct way. There were many stories and examples of *baobian* and *jingshi* in the first private history The Zuo Commentary (ca. 300 BC) <sup>5</sup>that was supposed to help people to understand the aforementioned *the Spring and Autumn Annals* which has been considered as one of the Classics. Quite a few scholar has sought inspiration from and were attracted to the Zuo Commnetary throughout history.<sup>6</sup>

Historian's *baobian* usually was lodged in his description of behavior of the person under investigation. When we read the history text we have to be extremely careful to figure out the wording and selection of events by the historian. Sometimes, the *baobian* would also appear in the last paragraph of a piece of writing, separating from the formal narration, in the form of lun(comment) or zan(eulogy).

Just like the historians in ancient Greece, the early Chinese historians wrote mainly the political and military events of the time. The difference is on the focus. While Herodotus and Thucydides mainly discussed the people and states in the Wars,<sup>7</sup> Dong Hu of the Jin State historian and Tai Shi of the Qi State recorded the officials who were responsible for the murder of the Kings.<sup>8</sup> However, the personality of the history figure was seldom described or analyzed in the history books, only when a person's success or failure to fulfill the Confucian obligations was dutifully recorded. The writing of history in traditional China was definitely not for the entertainment, but for didactic purpose by guiding people how to behave as his role in the Confucian hierarchy expected.

## **2.the continuity and change of history writing after the First Century**

When the first publicly acclaimed "Standard History"---*Shi Ji (Record of the Grand Historian)* was finished around the First Century BC, other things such as economic and social events were more or less included. The topics were expanded and

documents added. However, politics related events and persons had occupied most of the spaces in the written histories since *Shi Ji*. The events and persons recorded in it were mainly for *baobian* and *jingshi*. The focuses of the writing were either on the rise and fall of a person or a state, or on the goodness or evilness of a person. These had been the motifs of the Twenty Five Standard Histories.

It was during the first several chaotic centuries which was called "the Wei-Jin-Southern and Northern Dynasties", history writing had become a sometimes dangerous but definitely influential endeavor. Since being a historian meant the authority to make judgement, many of them including powerful individuals, local magnates, and of course, the rulers, wanted to manipulate the writing of history to his own benefit. It is thus not surprised to find that as a traditional Chinese historian, he was treading in a dangerous and treacherous water. Many suffered suppression of all kinds from the above, some even got killed.<sup>9</sup> From the beginning of the First Millennium, Chinese Emperor had tried one way or the other to control and monopolize the writing of history. Major historical works were written under the sponsorship or assistance from the Court. "Using history to check or even control the Emperor"(yi-shi-zhi-jun) was the catch phrase of the time.<sup>10</sup> The history books left by this period provided us many examples that once monopolizing the right of history writing, the historians (sometimes the emperor himself) would take advantage of this opportunity to disgrace their enemies to the utmost. It was during this period that history acquired its formal status as one of the four academic categories. History ranked second, following the Classics and leading the other two: the Philosophy and the *belles lettres*. Also in the Southern Dynasties, the Emperor for the first time, participated in history writing in person.<sup>11</sup> Prominent historians, such as Cui Hao was put to death in 450 AD because his writing antagonized the emperor,<sup>12</sup> and others such as Wei Shou were subjected to harsh criticism.<sup>13</sup> Probably due to the side effects of the arbitrary personal *baobian*, with the unification of China during the Sui dynasty, the Emperor Wendi issued a ban on the writing of national history and praising and blaming history figures in 593 AD on a private bases<sup>14</sup>

During this period, two practices emerged which later developed into a tradition.

From the completion of *the History of the Han*(*Han Shu*) by Ban Gu in the Third Century, employing a dynasty as a subject of historical study became a convenient endeavor. There was a clear-cut time range and thus easier to handle than an universal history. We saw the publication of *the Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms* (*San Guo Zhi*) and many other histories of the Later Han dynasty which had disappeared since then. Another practice was to legitimize the dynasty through history writing. Every new ruler of a dynasty wanted its legitimacy endorsed by historians and this is one way of acquiring the Mandate of Heaven. It was especially the case when there were several regimes rising at the same time to vie for the legitimacy. For example, during the Three Kingdoms period, the Shu State in Sichuan and the Wei State in the north competed for the legitimacy had been a major issue in Chinese historiography.

The unification of the Tang Dynasty in the Seventh Century marked some changes in historiography. The Tang Emperor Taizong officially established the Office of National History. The formation of a great tradition started to take place: the new dynasty was to write an official history for the defunct previous dynasty; and also to document many kind of activities and officials' lives for the use of later historians.<sup>15</sup> Some of these practices lasted until today. The changes entailed were mixed legacies. From now on China could be ensured the uninterrupted continuation of official histories and historical information was secured and available for the future generation. Since the writing of history would be a collective work, personal and explicit *baobian* was strongly discouraged and even prohibited. We saw a reduced room for an official historian to maneuver. However, the moralistic, didactic and practical function in the history writing were still very much visible, only more in a collected or hidden way to praise and blame. The *Jingshi* (statecraft) aspect was also emphasized all the way down to the modern times.

The establishment of National History Office was also detrimental to its scholarship. First, it has been difficult to resist the intervention from the emperor when he found the record was not desirable. Secondly, the historians as the employee of the Court,

were often compromised when comes to the recording of sensitive part.<sup>16</sup> As a consequence, the creativity of official historian was suffocated.

In addition to the manufacturing the Standard Histories, there appeared a variety of different form of history since the Tang Dynasty. For one thing, the first book length work on historiography--- *the Generalities on History (Shi Tong)* was published by Liu Zhiji in 710. It reflected on the previous history books and discussed the pros and cons of National History Office. It also talked about the necessary attributes of being a good historian.<sup>17</sup> For another, during this period we also saw the compilation of government statutes and administrative regulations, again reinforcing the *jingshi* aspect of history. This could be possible only at a later time when government accumulated adequate experiences. In 801 AD a systematic and organized Compendium ---Du Yu's *Comprehensive Statues (Tong Dian)* was published. The sequence to it was published undisrupted until this Century.<sup>18</sup>

The Song Dynasty (960-1279) witnessed the most flourishing period of history writing. The annals and chronicles had been revived from time to time since the Spring and Autumn Annals. It was culminated in the compilation of *the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government( Zhizhi Tongjian)* by Sima Guang in 1084. It was a vividly written general annalist history of 1362 years since 403 BC, with 294 volumes. Just the title itself revealed the theme in the statecraft (*jingshi*) ideals. In this masterpiece, people were described and judged; stories were vividly narrated. It was intended for the use of people in power in general and emperor in particular.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to the historians employed by the Dynasties, there had been some literati who worked on historical subject in private despite there was a ban on the private history writing mentioned earlier. They had more liberty in doing history writing and consequently had achieved something, which would have been otherwise impossible. More varieties either in form or in content, they also kept *baobian* and *jingshi* tradition alive. Topics oriented historical works such as *Narratives from Beginning to End from the Comprehensive Mirror( Zhizhi Tongjian Jishi benmo)* appeared first also in Song

Dynasty. The textual criticism of history started to emerge around this time but reached its apogee in early Qing times in the Seventeenth Century.

One very interesting thing to know is that the book on historiography was few and far between. More than one thousand years after the *Generalities in History, the General Meaning of Historiography (Wenshi Tongyi)* by Zhang Xuecheng finally came out in 1832-3 posthumously.<sup>20</sup> Zhang's book, further discussed the criteria for the historian, the relationship between the Classics and the histories, and also the origins of historiography and its later development. However, these two historiographical books had never engaged in the analysis of the nature of historical knowledge, despite some development on textual criticism and skills on authentication.

### **3.the nature of China's traditional history writing and its contributing factors**

To simplify, we could say that there had been a long and continuous tradition of history writing in China with two dominant modes, one was chronicles and the other annals-biographies. Since the Eighth Century, the Tang Dynasty established a National History Office; the writing of history of the Empire and its interpretation was more or less monopolized by the Court. A huge amount of historical materials thus left to posterity. Compendia and Government Regulations had been meticulously kept. Private historians were discouraged but the ban on history writing was not efficiently enforced. Lots of otherwise neglected historical information was kept in the notebook(biji) form by private intellectuals. The skills of authentication of documents had been developed to a sophisticated level toward the end of Imperial period. Although the ideal of keeping truthful record and objective narration was voiced throughout the traditional period, the praise-and-blame (*baobian*) and statecraft had still been two most useful functions in the minds of traditional Chinese historians to give up.

From a more modern perspective, there were some characteristic features standing out of the traditional Chinese historiography. Despite the improvement of elaboration and sophistication, the official history writing had been monotonous. For example, there

were always four sections of emperor's chronicles, tables, monographs and biographies. The biographies had been uniformly short and succinct. Personal biography or autobiography of Western style was rarely seen, if any. The description of historical figures were very vivid and some could be ranked the best in Chinese literature history. But most of them were moralistic and normative in intent and content. Seldom we saw a more comprehensive synthesis of causes-and-effects of an important event such as the fall of the Ming Dynasty or the ascendancy of eunuch power during the Tang Dynasty. To be sure, individual cause had been mentioned or even analyses one way or the other in the individual biography or monographs. But instead of integrating into one holistic explanation, they were scattered and sporadic. The mono-cause explanation of events was easier subjected to abuse since it made the person under investigation have to assume more responsibility than he should. Last but not least, the literature aspect, the official function and the technical side of history writing has been discussed and even evaluated, but the epistemological problem seems to have never been brought to the mind of the traditional Chinese history. The Chinese were often inclined to regard facts presented by historians were objective truth, without asking how to make sure a fact was indeed an objective truth. This non-reflective tendency again helped people to take the history text at face value, and consequently rendered it vulnerable to more manipulation and abuse.

Several factors could be attributed to this development in addition to China geographical isolation. The long and unified imperial history with the dominant ideology was self-evident. The Golden Age in ancient times also created tension and anxiety for later generations since this Confucian ideal society was difficult to achieve. The ancestral worship and monistic mode of thinking were also conducive to the *baobian* and *jingshi*. Rather than the other-world religious thinking, the Chinese carried a very special kind of immortality(*buxiu*) idea. The best way to be immortal was to be recorded in the history book. There was no other way to honor one's ancestors than having his/her name kept in history books. To achieve this one had to do something worthy of historian's *baobian*. If one hold a high office, it would be much easier for him to practice his statecraft ideals and thus also left fame in history. The numerous biographies in Standard Histories embodied this idea of immortality.

The close relationship between the Classics and the histories was also to be considered. The Chinese Classics were regarded as constant like sun and moon in the sky. They consisted of the simple and never changed truth and principle of the ancient sages to rule the empire. Histories, filled with events and experiences, were supposed to illustrate and exemplify the truth and principle hidden in the Classics. Consequently, the histories had no other role to play but to confirm the value systems in the Confucian Classics. Just like in medieval Europe, history was to give examples to moral principles; history in China was a sort of footnotes to the Classics.

There is another factor has to be mentioned here. As it has often been said also in the other aspects of traditional China, the abstractive reduction and epistemological analyses seldom came to mind of Chinese thinkers due to its pragmatic and holistic thinking. History had been very useful in many ways for the ruler and the previous works had also been very much fitted to achieve this end. There was no need to and also could not afford to give it up or innovate. The historiographical problem and the nature of historical knowledge had been seriously considered and discussed only occasionally, if any, and it was not until Western historiographical ideas imported into China in late Nineteenth Century that these issues were dealt with systematically.

#### **4.the uses and abuses of history in pre-Song China**

Since *baobian* and *jingshi* were two major means to achieve fame and immortality of Chinese style in history, the history writing was subjected to abuse all the time. In 1902, the famous Chinese reformed minded thinker Liang Qichao(1873-1929) commented on the traditional Chinese histories: they were just the family genealogies of different Emperors; they were only records of killing each other. In the mind of traditional historians, according to Liang, there were only the dynasties, personal interests, past ruins and facts, what lacked were the nation, people, relevant issues and ideals. It needs innovation and original ideas. Not only the content, but also the format did not change much for the later period. <sup>21</sup>It is true that Liang was too much concerned

with the poverty and weakness of China as a nation and as a result he could not stand the focus and methods of traditional history writing. He wanted to save the country by revising the traditional history writing. But the statements he presented revealed more or less the merits and demerits of traditional Chinese history.

In ancient China, history was invoked during the interaction and communication among the states. Precedents in the past were useful in dealing with diplomatic and state affairs.<sup>22</sup> Historians were also responsible for many other things such as astrological interpretation. The nature of historian's work was still very vague but his significance was obvious since the shi(historian) was recorded in many entries in the Classics.<sup>23</sup>The completion of *the Record of the Grand Historian(Shi-ji)* not only established the status of a historian but also marked the beginning of "one historical school"(yi-jia-zhi-yan). The comments and explanation of the Historian Si-ma Qian was valued and taken very seriously. A tradition of history writing was in the making. Ban Gu, several generations later, finished the main part of *The History of the Han Dynasty(Han Shu)*, continued the style and format of *Shi-ji* but also started the practice of the dynastic history. Since Ban was writing under the sponsorship of the Later Han Dynasty, whose emperors were offspring of the Former Han Founder, unbashful praises were showered upon the behavior and activities of the emperors. The rulers of China also used the history writing to legitimize their regimes and inculcated Confucian hierarchical ideas into the mind of people.

From the Third Century AD to the Seventh, the use and also abuse of history was developed to its extremes during this divided and chaotic times. Not only emperors in the Chinese south and the non-Chinese north, but also some powerful clans and private historians, all vied for the domination or control of the right to history writing and interpretation. In so doing, they acquired the access to the legitimacy to the Mandate of Heaven (zheng-tong), the tools to produce law-abiding subjects, and, not the least, the status and position in history which amounted to immortality. There is a household idiom originated from this period coined by a great Jin general Huan Wen(312-373):"A real man should either leave a good name for the posterity, or leave a stink for ten thousand

years." <sup>24</sup> The purpose of history of the time was to "claim the true mandate of the regimes, and also the righteousness of its government."<sup>25</sup> History writing was not for the individual only, it was also vital to the government.

Despite all the emergence of the governmental involvement in history business before the Seventh Century, the Tang Dynasty (618-907) really marked the turning point of history of Chinese historiography. The tradition of writing history by a group of official historian for the previous and now fallen dynasty was formed. Since it was dynastic history and written by a team of government employee, history tended to be written with several characteristic features. It was mostly about the rise and decline of a dynasty. The historical figure and events appearing in history book were more or less of political oriented. The publication of the Statutes and Compendiums reinforced this phenomenon. Personal praise and blame was not encouraged but evaluation of policies was to be seen from time to time. Private history writing was banned but the government sponsored history writing kept many historians busy. With the monopoly of dynastic history writing and interpretation, the Chinese government greatly impeded the development of individual originality. More than ever, history has become an useful instrument to legitimate the regime, cultivate law abiding subject, and have access to immortality. Furthermore, the right to write history was in the hands of government and thus subject to the manipulation of the ruler. But on the other hand, during this period we saw fewer cases where history was taken as revenge on a personal basis. The establishment of National History Office recruited talented historian but at the same time imposed limit on them.

## **5. the uses and abuses of history in late Imperial China**

As far as the varieties and quantities of history were concerned, the Song Dynasty(960-1279) reached its height. As mentioned earlier, the completion of *the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* aggravated the inclination toward politics. The publication of the Outline of the Comprehensive Mirror, emulating the style of *the Spring and Autumn Annals*, revived the tradition of baobian. The new style of the *Benmo*,

mainly recording entire political events, again reinforced the function of jinshi. Local Gazettee(fang-zhi), miscellaneous notes(bi-ji) and Genealogy(zu-pu) were now developed into a matured format, were important place for historians to find sources. Again, the content were political and Confucian moralistic, and very useful for the people in power.

It was also during this period, some new elements added which had bearings on historiography. One was the increasing threat from the non-Han people from the north and northwest. The Khitan, Mongolian and Jin people invaded China proper and thus gave hard time to the Chinese. Legitimacy and anti-foreign sentiment filled much space in the official histories. Their non-Chinese origin aroused and revived the persistent debate over the distinction between the barbarian and the Chinese.(yi-xia zhi-bian). At the beginning, the Chinese was reluctant and resistant to the alien rule, only succumbed to military suppression. But in history writing, especially when dealing with the rise of an alien state, concealment, appropriation, distortion and exaggeration were rampant. The new regime would do everything they could to show the right to receive the mandate of heaven. On the other hand, the ex-officials of the previous dynasty now recruited by the new regime to write the dynastic history of their own tried by all means to implicitly present the true story against a watchful and hostile circumstances. Tension was high and as a result, the quality of history suffered. Legitimacy had to be furnished by history books and crime, even massacre was ignored or even justified. This feature was much more visible later when China suffered from the total conquest by the Mongolian Yuan(1279-1368) and the Manchu Qing(1644-1911) Dynasties.

Together with this emphasis on legitimacy and anti-foreign sentiment, the Neo-Confucianism of Song and Ming (1368-1644) times had also influenced the history writing and thus had notorious and oppressive consequence. On the foreword of the “biographies of model women”(lie-nu zhuan) of the *New Tang History*, written in the Northern Song Dynasty, the Historian Song Qi commented: “When the Tang Dynasty rose, its cultural influence had prevailed for several hundred years, the lady daughters of famous families adhered to the principles of propriety when facing grave trouble,

desisting the threat of knives. These ladies were competing with wise men and martyrs for the fame of immortality.”<sup>26</sup> There had been recorded several tens of women met violent death by rejecting any compromise when attacked or coerced to have involuntary relationship. There had been even more cases recorded in the official Song History, only this time several female involved the non-Han ‘barbarians’ during the Song-Yuan or Song-Jin conflicts. Statements uttered by virtuous women such as "I lived as the wife of a Bao family member and will die as a ghost of the Bao family." And "how could (a woman) serve two husbands?" "Although being a despised prostitute, I could not serve the rebellious official (like you)!"<sup>27</sup> These historical examples undoubtedly enhanced the female morality prescribed by Neo- Confucianism. They also provided incentives for groups of different levels to compel women to conform. There was a very popular slogan of the time: "it was nothing to starve to death compared to a widow lost her chastity." This indicated the degree of social oppression, and also, more or less to some extent probable, the influence and misuse of history. Throughout the imperial history of China, the rulers and Confucian elite from time to time publicly encouraged this practice of chastity through various means including honoring them into history.<sup>28</sup>

For over two thousand years until late Nineteenth Century, the historiographical tradition continued, together with some new features added in with the passage of the time. This tradition of course somehow carried its weight and helped to shape what Chinese historical thinking was in many ways. For example, the section of the annals of the emperor (ben-ji) in the Official Histories, as a rule of thumb, recorded important and mainly political event throughout its reign. Another important section of group biographies (lie-zhuan) describe one or several historical figures in very limited space and often in fixed moralistic categories such as loyal and righteous, wick and evil officials, chaste and women of integrity. The statement was often short, straightforward and non- analytical. Probably in so doing, it could create a more convincing and immanent effect. But it did immense injustice to the historical figure or event under investigation. As mentioned earlier, it was rare for historians to combine all the causes and synthesize into one complete story. Writing in this way for such a long period of time jeopardized the real innovative spirit of Chinese historian. Since the writing and

interpretation of history were controlled in the hands of the government, *baobian* and *jingshi* were frequently used by the official historian as they saw fit. On the other hand, private history was more or less welcomed by the common people since it was the alternative to the government edition. However, official or private, the writing style and mode of making historical judgement were very similar, only the target object was in reverse.

## **7.concluding remarks**

To be sure, China for the last one hundred and fifty years has been through grand transformation in many ways including the concepts of history and historiography. However, the two most important uses of traditional historiography, i.e. *baobian* and *jingshi* were still deep rooted in the Chinese mind. The use of history is very obvious. It has greatly aided the governing the people throughout history. It also help encourage people to follow historical model and examples to be patriotic and loyal. But as we could imagine, these functions were double edged sword. What was used in positive ways could also turn out to be very negative. The abuse of history was also appalling. It was useful for personal revenge. It was also very handy for personal political and economical gains. History was invoked from time to time to discourage reform and modernize. But most of all, it was a very good excuse to misrule, causing a great many to suffer and even perish. Citing unfounded precedent in history, the crime committed under its name could be endless.

Old habit dies hard. It is very much tempting to *baobian* someone and to use history for practical *jingshi* purpose. The horrible abuse of history in power struggle during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960's-1970's was a case in point. "History" was used as a disguise to proceed the blatant power snatching. The "past" was revised or even invented at will to attacked each other. Millions suffered and the abuse of history had a part in it.<sup>29</sup> Only in the last twenty years when the zeal died down and policy changed, we saw scholars lamented the abuse of history before and called for the proper role of this discipline. Indeed, unless the belief in the ideal of establishing the objective truth is,

above all, the first principle for the historian is firmly planted, unless the critical approach toward the materials and historical works was seriously practiced, and unless freedom of speech and thought from the intervention of the government is guaranteed, there is still a long way to go for historical study to be a respected discipline of learning. The most recent challenges from Foucaultian ideas and literature criticism are very helpful in reflecting on the traditional Chinese historiography.

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<sup>1</sup> W. G. Beasley & E. G. Pulleyblank, eds., *Historians of China and Japan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Chinese idea of immortality, see Lee Chi-hsiang, "'Being' and 'Transience' in Time: History and Immortality), in *History Theory and Criticism*, 1:1(1999/09), Taipei, pp.1-40.

<sup>3</sup> The jingshi (statecraft) ideal was very much emphasized in the writings of Qu Lindong, one of prominent historian of Chinese historiography. See Qu Lindong, *Shixue yu Shixue Pinlun (Historiography and Historical Reviews)*, (Anhui, 1998), pp. 20-34.

<sup>4</sup> *Mengzi*, "Tengwengong" (Mencius: Duke Tengwen), II.

<sup>5</sup> For example, there were many entries commenting on the "breach of etiquette"(fei-li-ye); and also a famous case of Zhao Dun's responsibility for the death of his lords. See *Zuo Zhuan zhu-su ji bu-zheng (Commentaries and Supplements on the Zho Commentaries)*, (Taipei reprint, 1963), Duke of Zhuang, 24<sup>th</sup> year; Duke of Wen, 1<sup>st</sup> year; and Duke of Xuan, 2<sup>nd</sup> year.

<sup>6</sup> It was well known that the famous historians Liu Zhiji of the Tang Dynasty and Zhang Xuecheng of the Qing Dynasty were initiated into the study of history when they were young.

<sup>7</sup> Mark T. Gilderhus, *History and Historians, A Historiographical Introduction*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1996, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), pp. 15-18.

<sup>8</sup> *Zuo Zhuan zhu-su ji bu-zheng*, Duke of Xuan, 2<sup>nd</sup> year and Duke of Xiang, 25<sup>th</sup> year.

<sup>9</sup> For the historiography of this period, please see Lei Jiaji, *Zhonggu shixue guannianshi(History of Chinese Medieval Historiography Ideas)*, Taipei, 1990.

<sup>10</sup> Lei Jiaji, op. cit., p. 377.

<sup>11</sup> Lei Jiaji, op. cit., p. 385.

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<sup>12</sup> See Li Zongtong, *Zhongguo shixueshi (A History of Chinese Historiography)*, (Taipei, 1953, pp.59-60.

<sup>13</sup> In 554 AD, Wei finished his writing of history of northern Wei Dynasty and was harshly criticized since he was very much biased against the Wei in favor of the Qi and also praise and blame arbitrarily. His history was thus dubbed the name of "Dirty History"(Hui-shi). See Li Zongtong, op. cit., pp. 59-61.

<sup>14</sup> *Sui Shu(The History of the Sui Dynasty)*, in *The Twenty Five Histories*, edition of Wu-ying-dian, Taipei reprint., 2:26a.

<sup>15</sup> Li Zongtong, op. cit., pp. 68-74; also Wu Huaiqi, *Zhongguo Shixue Shixiangshi (A History of Chinese Historical Thoughts)*, (Anhui, 1996), pp. 195-199.

<sup>16</sup> *Xin Tang Shu(The New Tang History)*, the biography of the historian Chu Suiliang, 105:1185-6; Liu Zhiji, *Shitong (Generalities on History)*, (Taipei reprint, 1973), esp. vol. 11. Also Cai Chongbang, *Songdai Xiushi Zhidu Yanjiu (A Study of Song History Writing Institutes)*, (Taipei, 1991), pp. 193-197.

<sup>17</sup> Liu Zhiji, op. cit.

<sup>18</sup> Up to this century, there has been ten similar compendium published and was call "*The Ten General Compendium*" (*Shi Tong*). The famous Commercial Press has published them twice.

<sup>19</sup> Li Zongtong, op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>20</sup> Ye Ying, *Commentaries on (Zhang Xuecheng's) Wenshi Tongyi*, (Taipei reprint, preface dated 1948), p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Liang Qichao, "The New Historiography", 1902, in *Yinbinshi Wenji(Collection of Essays of Yinbinshi)*, (Taipei reprint, 1960 ), vol. 2, pp. 1-7.

<sup>22</sup> Beaseley & Pulleyblank, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

<sup>23</sup> See the articles by famous scholars such as Hu Shi, Shen Gangbo, Dai Junren and Lao Gan on "shi"(historian and history), in Du Weiyun & Huang Jinxing eds., *Zhongguo Shixueshi Lunwen Xuanji (Selective Essays on the History of Chinese Historiography)*, (Tapei, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 1-57.

<sup>24</sup> *Jin Shu( The History of Jin Dynasty)*, 98:1064.

<sup>25</sup> Lei, op. cit., p. 384.

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<sup>26</sup> Xin Tang Shu(*The New Tang History*), "Biographies of model women", 205: 1923.-1929.

<sup>27</sup> *Song Shi*(*The Song History*), "Biographies of model women", 460: 4686; 460: 4690; 460: 4692.

<sup>28</sup> For example, even the Ming loyalist Gu Yanwu(1613-1682) was so much concerned about his mother's posthumous fame that he wrote a letter to historians who were recruited by the new Qing regime to write the official Ming history, asking them to write about Gu's mother's rarely combined virtues of loyalty, filial piety as well as chastity. See Gu Yanwu, *Collection of Gu Yanwu's Poems and Essays*, ( Taipei reprint, 1963), p. 57.

<sup>29</sup> Song Yanshen, *Zhongguo Shixueshi Gangyao (Outline of a History of Chinese Historiography)*, (Changcun, 1996), pp. 397-398.