1
THE SOURCES

The *Han shu* (Former Han History; henceforth abbreviated *HS*) is disappointingly brief on the bureaucracy of Former Han times. It offers a valuable, though overly concise, description in chapter 19A, which serves as an introduction to the chronological table of high officials in 19B. The account is little more than an enumeration of official titles, gives few dates, and says next to nothing about duties or status in the bureaucratic hierarchy. The *Hou Han shu* (Later Han History; henceforth abbreviated *HSS*) possesses a far superior source in its Treatise on Bureaucracy (chih 34–8) which is mainly concerned with Later Han conditions, but sometimes has useful entries also for the Former Han. Even this splendid text is incomplete, and particularly weak on lesser officials. Some additional information is found in the *HS Commentary* by Yen Shih-ku (581–645), in the *Commentary* to the *HHS* imperial annals and biographies written under the patronage of the imperial Heir-apparent Li Hsien (651–84) and presented to the throne on 11 January A.D. 677, and in the *Commentary* to the *HHS* treatises by Liu Chao (*fl.* 502–19). More recent text-critical scholarship has been collected by Wang Hsien-ch'ien (1842–1917) in his two monumental editions of *HS* and *HHS* entitled *Ch'ien Han shu pu-chu* and *Hou Han shu chi-chieh*.[1]

There is no doubt about the authorship of *HS* 19A. The text was compiled by the historians of the Pan family in the first century A.D.[2] But the *HHS* treatise poses a textual problem. When Fan Yeh (398–446) compiled the *HHS*, archival materials were no longer available. He had to make use of earlier histories, among which the *Tung-kuan Han chi* (Han Record of the Eastern Lodge; henceforth abbreviated *TKC*) was the most important.[3] Fan Yeh was still at work when he was executed in A.D. 446, and this is the reason why *HHS* at first consisted only of imperial annals and biographies. Since tradition demanded that a standard dynastic history comprise treatises as well, the imperial government ordered an expansion of the *HHS* in A.D. 1022 by adding the treatises of Ssu-ma Piao (240–306). It has been generally assumed thereafter that all *HHS* treatises were compiled by that author.

A close reading of the Treatise on Bureaucracy reveals the fact that it

could not possibly have been written by Ssu-ma Piao. This treatise has a uniform organization throughout. It first records the name of the office, and, usually, the status in *shih*, or bushels. It then appends a *Basic Note* (Pen-chu) which gives information on the function of the office, and which sometimes also dates the creation or abolition of the office by year or imperial reign. The interesting point emerges that Emperors Kuang-wu (r. 25–57), Ming (r. 58–75), Chang (r. 76–88), Ho (r. 89–106), An (r. 107–25), and Shun (r. 126–44) are all mentioned in the Basic Notes,[4] but that there is no single reference to any of Shun's successors. Furthermore, offices created in A.D. 142 or later are not mentioned in the treatise, only in the relevant imperial annals. It follows that the Treatise on Bureaucracy must have been written during the reign of Emperor Shun, and that Ssu-ma Piao cannot be the author. He merely copied an earlier text.[5]

The date of compilation can be narrowed down further. The treatise states that the father and brother of Emperor Shun's consort followed each other as regents (*HHS* chih 24:7a). The father was Liang Shang who died on 22 September, A.D. 141. The brother was Liang Chi who became regent on 28 September of the same year (see p. 152). The first establishment of a new office beyond A.D. 141, not mentioned by the treatise, occurred in the seventh month (August/September) of A.D. 142 (*TKC* 3:4b; *HHS* 7:9b).[6] The treatise was therefore completed after 28 September, A.D. 141, and before August/September, A.D. 142.

Who wrote the treatise? It cannot have been the authors of the *TKC*. The Table on Bureaucracy of that text was only commissioned in A.D. 151–2,[7] which is one decade too late. Besides, preserved fragments of the table differ from the treatise under discussion. The editors of the 1777 edition of *TKC* note without elaboration or discussion that 'Ssu-ma Piao's treatise originally was recorded by Hu Kuang' (*TKC* 4:2b). But that is improbable. Hu Kuang (91–172) was a distinguished scholar and statesman who wrote three works on Han bureaucracy. His *Po-kuan chen* (Admonitions to the Bureaucracy) is lost, and in any event belonged to a different genre. Extant fragments of his *Han-kuan chieh-ku* (Explanation of the Han Official System) and *Han chih-tu* (Regulations of the Han)[8] are in no way identical with the treatise. There is no reason to assume, therefore, that Hu Kuang was the author. Whoever the compiler may have been, he lived in the second century A.D., and described a system which he had seen in operation. The Treatise on Bureaucracy is a contemporary Later Han document and consequently of the greatest historical value.[9]

Outside the *HS* table and *HHS* treatise, the two dynastic histories provide in their imperial annals and biographies a fair, though unsystematic, amount of information on the official system. In addition, important fragments have

been preserved of once comprehensive works on Han bureaucracy.[10] Wei Hung (*fl.* A.D. 25–57) wrote a *Han chiu-yi* (Old Observances of the Han) which is mainly concerned with the institutions of Former Han, but also has asides on Wang Mang and a few entries concerning Later Han.[11] The author of the *Han-kuan* (Han Official System), also called the *Han-kuan mu-lu* (Essentials of the Han Official System), is no longer known. The little which is left of this important text, which must have been compiled in Later Han times, is especially useful for the titles and numbers of lesser officials.[12] It is devoted to Later Han exclusively. Hu Kuang's (91–172) *Han-kuan chieh-ku*, which has been mentioned already, is concerned with Former and Later Han.[13] The *Han-kuan tien-chih yi-shih hsüan-yung* (Administrative Observances of the Han Official System Selected for Use) by Ts'ai Chih (*fl.* A.D. 175) addresses itself likewise to Former and Later Han conditions. Ying Shao's (*c.* 140–*c.* 206) *Han-kuan yi* (Observances of the Han Official System) is a broad account of Former and Later Han bureaucracy. Ting Fu (*fl.* A.D. 251), finally, wrote a *Han yi* (Observances of the Han) on the two dynasties.[14]

Relatively little has been done in recent times towards a comprehensive study of Han officialdom. The *Li-tai chih-kuan piao* (Historical Tables of Officials), which was ordered by the Ch'ien-lung Emperor in 1780 and compiled by Chi Yün (1724–1805) and others, is by no means a definitive work. It is somewhat artificial in its arrangement, since it seeks antecedents to Ch'ing offices, it altogether ignores certain offices including those of the eunuchs, and it is indiscriminate in its use of sources. The scholar may cautiously check his findings by this compilation, but he must base his research on the original sources. Ch'ien Mu's attempt at a synthesis in his *Chung-kuo li-tai cheng-chih te-shih* (Success and Failure of Government in Chinese History; Taipei, 1955) is unsatisfactory for the Han dynasty. Yen Keng-wang's *Chung-kuo ti-fang hsing-cheng chih-tu shih* (History of the Institutions of Local Government in China; Taipei, 1961) contains an excellent section on the Han. Kamada Shigeo's *Shin-Kan seiji seido no kenkyū* (A Study of Ch'in and Han Governmental Institutions; Tokyo, 1962), which appeared almost simultaneously with Yen Keng-wang's great work, is less comprehensive. It is a collection of essays, rather than an integrated survey.

Amazingly little has been written on Han bureaucracy in Western languages. Wang Yü-ch'üan's article 'An Outline of the Central Government of the Former Han Dynasty' (1949) remains a classic, although much of it is out of date. H.H. Dubs makes occasional observations in the introductory chapters to his translation of the *HS* annals (1938, 1944, 1955). There are a few articles of uneven quality. Nothing more ambitious has been attempted.

2
THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

All Han officials, whether belonging to the central or local administrations, were ranked on an arbitrary scale. Each man's place on it depended solely on his current office, not on his bureaucratic seniority. The scale must originally have expressed the salary in kind which was due to the officeholder. It ceased to do so and became simply a tool for the ranking of office and their incumbents, and for the determination of privileges and protocol. Salaries were fixed in relation to the scale, in the sense that these increased (although not proportionately) with each higher step.[1] *HS* 19A: sporadically, and the *HHS* treatise, more fully, record the ranks of offices, providing an overview not only of the vertical chains of authority but also of the horizontal levels of status. Sixteen of the ranks are identified by the ancient measure of *shih*, which here stands for capacity and therefore should be translated as 'bushel'.[2] Below the sixteen ranks, there existed two further ranks which were not expressed in *shih*:

10,000 *shih*
Fully 2000 *shih*
2000 *shih*[3]
Equivalent to 2000 *shih*
1000 *shih*
Equivalent to 1000 *shih*
600 *shih*
Equivalent to 600 *shih*
400 *shih*
Equivalent to 400 *shih*
300 *shih*
Equivalent to 300 *shih*
200 *shih*
Equivalent to 200 *shih*
100 *shih*
Equivalent to 100 *shih*
Officials Whose Salaries Are in Terms of *Tou*[4]
Accessory Clerks

The rank of 10,000 *shih* was not created until 8 B.C. (see p. 11). Four additional ranks had existed until 23 B.C.,[5] those of 800 *shih*, Equivalent to 800 *shih*, 500 *shih*, and Equivalent to 500 *shih*, but they were abolished during that year (*HS* 10:7a; 19A:31a).[6] Omitted from this traditional scale is the office of the Grand Tutor, presumably because it was not regularly filled. Since it outranked the 10,000 *shih*, it would have been at the top of the list.

The Grand Tutor

The *Grand Tutor* (t'ai-fu) was the senior official in the empire,[7] ranking above the Three Excellencies, but he was not regularly appointed (*HS* 19A:6a; *HHS* chih 24:1b). The office was only filled four times from the beginning of Former Han to Emperor P'ing's death early in A.D. 6. The Empress Dowager née Lü made Wang Ling the first Grand Tutor of the dynasty in 187 B.C. (*HS* 19A:6a; 19B:5a). He resigned at an unknown date and died in retirement in 181 B.C. (*SC* 56:8b; *HS* 40:18a–18b). After the death of the empress dowager on 18 August, 180 B.C., Shen Yi-chi became Grand Tutor (*SC* 9:9a; *HS* 19B:5b)[8] but was removed from office before Emperor Wen ascended the throne on 14 November, 180 B.C. (*SC* 9:12b; *HS* 19B:5b). Thereafter the post stayed vacant until K'ung Kuang was selected for it on 17 October, 1 B.C., the very day of Emperor P'ing's enthronement (*HS* 19A:6a; 19B:51a). On 10 April, A.D. 1, he was promoted to Grand Master (see p. 159 note 7) and replaced by Wang Mang, who simultaneously retained his office of Commander-in-chief, or regent (*HS* 19B:51b). Nothing is known about subordinates of the Grand Tutor during Former Han.

Although, according to the *HHS* treatise (chih 24:2a), the Grand Tutor was responsible for moral guidance to the emperor, none of the Former Han appointments was even remotely concerned with that purpose. The selection of Grand Tutors was part of the power struggle at the court. Wang Ling, as a devoted partisan of the Han dynasty, was opposed to the Empress née Lü. She promoted him to Grand Tutor in order to dislodge him from the influential position of Chancellor of the Right. He responded by resigning. Shen Yi-chi adhered to the Lü faction, held office during the hectic days after the death of the empress dowager when her family sought to survive, and was removed after the annihilation of the Lü house. K'ung Kuang was friendly to Wang Mang's faction, and his appointment was intended to increase its influence on the young Emperor P'ing. Wang Mang soon thought it wise to assume the role of Grand Tutor himself, and relinquished it only after the death of the emperor.

The Later Han dynasty departed from previous practice, inspired perhaps by the reign of Wang Mang during which the office of Grand Tutor had never been unfilled. Emperor Kuang-wu appointed a Grand Tutor soon after he had ascended the throne, and his successors followed the precedent.

Table 1: *The Grand Tutors of Later Han*

Emperor		Grand Tutor		
Name	Enthrone-ment	Name	Appoint-ment	Fate
Kuang-wu	5 Aug. 25	Cho Mao	29 Oct. 25	Died in office Nov./Dec. 28
Ming	29 Mar. 57	Teng Yü	15 June 57	Died in office June/July 58
Chang	5 Sept. 75	Chao Hsi	30 Oct. 75	Died in office 26 June 80
Ho	9 Apr. 88	Teng Piao	27 Apr. 88	Died in office 5 Apr. 93
Shang	23 Feb. 106	Chang Yü	5 Mar. 106	
An	23 Sept. 106			Grand Commandant 25 Oct. 107
Shao	18 May 125	Feng Shih	30 May 125	
Shun	26 Dec. 125			Dismissed 10 Mar. 126
		Huan Yen	15 Mar. 126	Dismissed 11 Jan. 129
Ch'ung	20 Sept. 144	Chao Hsün	27 Sept. 144	
Chih	6 Mar. 145			Died in office 25 Oct. 145
Huan	1 Aug. 146	–	–	–
Ling	17 Feb. 168	Ch'en Fan	17 Feb. 168	Killed 25 Oct. 168
		Hu Kuang	25 Oct. 168	Died in office 18 Apr. 172
Shao	15 May, 189	Yüan Wei	15 May 189	
Hsien	28 Sept. 189			Killed 10 May 190
		Ma Mi-ti	9 Aug. 192	Died in office 194

Sources: *HHS* 1A:15b, 17a, 24b; 2:1b, 2b, 4a; 3:1a, 1b, 7b; 4:1a, 1b–2a, 6b, 16a, 16b; 5:2a, 4a, 19b; 6:1b, 3a, 4b, 14a, 15a, 16b; 7:1a; 8:1b, 2a, 4b, 15b; 9:1a, 2a, 3b, 5b.

It is evident from table 1 that all Later Han emperors except Huan paid lip service to the Confucian concept of moral guidance. They appointed Grand Tutors after their enthronements, but also neglected to fill the office again as soon as it had fallen vacant. Emperors An and Shun, the child Emperor Chih, and Emperor Hsien inherited Grand Tutors who had been installed under their predecessors. In only two cases were second Grand Tutors appointed in a particular reign, and both times it was done not by, but in the name of, an emperor. Ch'en Fan was killed by the eunuchs in A.D. 168 at the height of a crisis,[9] when it was imperative for the victors to consolidate their position by an immediate replacement. Yüan Wei was killed by Tung Cho in A.D. 190, and Ma Mi-ti was appointed during the confused days after Tung Cho himself had been murdered.

It is also clear that the Grand Tutors were chosen from among men of ripe age and at the end of their careers, venerable elder statesmen whose early demise may not have been unwelcome to the emperors. Seven of the twelve Later Han Grand Tutors died natural deaths within only a few years of their appointments. Among the rest, Chang Yü died in A.D. 113 (*HHS* 44,74:4a), soon after his transfer, and Ch'en Fan was close to eighty when he was killed.

This is not to say that the role of the Later Han Grand Tutors was restricted to Confucian persuasion alone. While the *HHS* treatise does not mention any subordinates of the Grand Tutor, it is known from another source that at some point he had 1 *Chief Clerk* (chang-shih) ranking 1000 *shih*, 24 *Division Heads* (yüan [-shih])[10] and *Associates* (shu), and a lesser staff of 22 *Foreman Clerks* (ling-shih) and *Attendants* (yü-shu) of unstated rank (*Han-kuan* 1a).[11] Such a sizeable ministry was not necessary for setting a moral example to the ruler, and indicates wider political responsibilities. There can be no doubt that the Grand Tutor did, in fact, gain political power. This development began in A.D. 75, and will be further discussed below (pp. 153–4).

The Three Excellencies before 8 B.C.

The first time that the term *Three Excellencies* (san-kung) is documented in the texts is for the period between 126 and 124 B.C. (*HS* 58:5b). During those years, the office of Grand Commandant was vacant. This makes it evident that the collective term, inaccurately, could be used for the Chancellor and Grandee Secretary alone, the two men who intermittently until 106 B.C. and thereafter exclusively until the end of Former Han made up the two-partite cabinet.[12]

The rank in *shih* of the Excellencies before 8 B.C. is unknown. Ju Shun (*fl.* 189–265) states that the Chancellor received a monthly salary of 60,000 cash (ch'ien), and that the corresponding income of the Grandee Secretary was 40,000 cash (*HS* 10:15b, *Commentary*; see further p. 125). The Grandee Secretary definitely ranked below the Chancellor, and this was undoubtedly true for the Grand Commandant also. The Chancellor was the recognized head of the career bureaucracy and spokesman for officialdom. Ju Shun's remark that the Commander-in-chief received 60,000 cash per month can only apply to the period from 87 B.C. onward, i.e. after the regency had been introduced and the Commander-in-chief was no longer a member of the cabinet.[13]

The Chancellor

The title of *Chancellor* (ch'eng-hsiang)[14] was in use from the very beginning of the Former Han dynasty. It was changed to *Chancellor of State* (hsiang-kuo) in 196 B.C. (*HS* 19A:4a; 39:4b).[15] In 189 B.C., the earlier title was restored, and from that year until 178 B.C.[16] two Chancellors were simultaneously in office: a *Chancellor of the Right* (yu-ch'eng-hsiang) and a *Chancellor of the Left* (tso-ch'eng-hsiang) (*HS* 19A:4a; 19B:4a–4b, 7a). The Chancellor of the Right was the senior of the two. From 178 B.C., a single *Chancellor* (ch'eng-hsiang) was again appointed, even though from 91–90 B.C. the incumbent was entitled Chancellor of the Left[17] (*HS* 19B:25b, 26a).

HS 19A says nothing about the duties of the Chancellor, except in the

most general terms. Wang Yü-ch'üan has therefore collected information from other sources. He concludes that the Chancellor was in charge of the state budget, for which purpose his ministry stored and evaluated the financial accounts, maps, and population and land registers of the local administration. These documents were annually presented in the capital on the first day of the New Year.[18] The Chancellor kept a roster of officials, graded their performance each year, and recommended candidates for vacancies. He also directed the Court Conference (p. 144) whenever the emperor requested advice and did not participate himself.[19]

Relatively little is known about the subordinates of the Chancellor. From 118 B.C., a *Director of Uprightness* (ssu-chih) was appointed who ranked Equivalent to 2000 *shih*.[20] He was in charge of reporting to his superior illegal acts committed by officials (*HS* 19A:4b). There also existed two *Chief Clerks* (chang-shih), ranking 1000 *shih* (*HS* 19A:4a), a *Master of Records* (chu-pu; *HS* 81:10b), a *Consultant* (cheng-shih) at Equivalent to 600 *shih* (*Han chiu-yi* A:10a; *HS* 7:7a), and a *Prefect of the Conscripts at the Gates* (men-tsu ling; *HS* 75:4b), who clearly protected the entrances to the ministry.

The office staff was organized into *Bureaus* (ts'ao) which were the backbone of Han bureaucracy. These are not systematically described in the sources, the only ones mentioned being the *Bureau of the East* (Tung ts'ao), the *Bureau of the West* (Hsi ts'ao), the *Bureau of Memorials* (Tsou ts'ao), the *Bureau of Gathering* (Chi ts'ao) in charge of accounts, and the *Bureau of Consultation* (Yi ts'ao) in charge of giving advice (*Han chiu-yi* A:9a; *HS* 74:9b, 10a; 81:10b). Each Bureau was under a *Division Head* (yüan-shih, e.g. *HS* 81:10b) who ranked 400 *shih*, and whose subordinates consisted of *Junior Division Heads* (shao-[yüan-]shih) at 300 *shih*, *Associates* (shu) at 200 *shih*,[21] and *Foreman Clerks* (ling-shih) at 100 *shih* (*Han chiu-yi* A:8a, 8b; *HHS* chih 24:4a).

It is clear that the ministry grew in size in the course of Former Han. During the early years, the Bureau of the East and the Bureau of the West had only nine and six officials respectively, all of whom then ranked 600 *shih*. By 117 B.C., the lesser staff of the whole ministry had increased to 382 (*Han chiu-yi* A:8b).[22]

The Grandee Secretary

The title of *Grandee Secretary* (yü-shih ta-fu) remained unchanged during the entire period. *HS* 19A is laconic to a fault about the duties of this man. It simply states that he was in charge of assisting the Chancellor (*HS* 19A:5a). Since the Grandee Secretary ranked below the Chancellor (*Han-kuan yi* A:6a), he may at first have been his chief assistant and under his ulti-

mate control. But even though a certain overlapping of duties continued to exist, there can be no question that the ministry of the Grandee Secretary gradually became independent. Wang Yü-ch'üan concludes from varied documentary evidence that the Grandee Secretary was responsible for the judiciary supervision of all officials, whatever their ranks, and whether belonging to the imperial palace, the central government, or the local administration. His main duty was to prevent abuse of authority.[23]

The Grandee Secretary had two *Assistants* (ch'eng), both ranking 1000 *shih*, and a *Master of Records* (chu-pu) of unknown rank (*HS* 19A:5a; 77:10a). One of the Assistants was called the *Palace Assistant Secretary* (yü-shih chung-ch'eng), or simply *Palace Assistant* (chung-ch'eng).[24] He had his office on the Orchid Terrace (Lan-t'ai) within the palace precincts, was in charge of charts, registers, and imperial books, passed on to the throne memorials from the Three Excellencies, the Nine Ministers, and the local administration, and transmitted imperial edicts addressed to the commanderies and kingdoms. He also inspected the behaviour of palace officials and reported breaches of discipline (*Han chiu-yi* A:14a; pu-yi A:1a; *HS* 19A:5a–5b; *HHS* chih 26:10b–11a).

After the imperial secretariat came into existence during the reign of Emperor Wu (140–87 B.C.), memorials to the throne were processed by the Masters of Writing. The texts do not explain the seeming duplication of their efforts by the Palace Assistant Secretary. The answer may be found in one entry (*HS* 19A:5b), according to which the Palace Assistant Secretary impeached improperly written memorials. It seems that regular memorials had to pass through two levels of processing. They were first scrutinized in the office of the Palace Assistant Secretary for possible infringements of the law, including improperly written characters (*HS* 30:25a), and then sent to the imperial secretariat for action or rejection by the throne.[25]

The staff of the Palace Assistant Secretary consisted of fifteen *Attending Secretaries* (shih-yü-shih), ranking 600 *shih*. Since there is mention of *Division Heads* (yüan [-shih]; cf. p. 183 note 23), the Attending Secretaries must have been organized into the usual *Bureaus* (ts'ao). These were staffed with *Junior Division Heads* (shao-[-yüan-] shih), *Associates* (shu), and *Foreman Clerks* (ling-shih) (*Han chiu-yi* A:3a; *HS* 8:20b; 19A:5b; 78:7b; 94A:30a). The latter, also known as *Foreman Clerks of Clerkly Writing* (shih-shu ling-shih), were required to pass a test on the knowledge of 9000 characters and all major styles of writing (*HS* 30:24b–25a). The examination was administered by the Prefect Grand Astrologer (p. 19). The Palace Assistant Secretary, being responsible for imperial books, presumably also controlled the various librarians. One such librarian appears in *HS* under the title of *Gentleman Collating Imperial Books* (chiao-pi-shu lang; *HS* 93:9b).

Attending Secretaries were at irregular intervals given the title of *Special*

Commissioners Clad in Embroidered Garments (hsiu-yi chih-chih) or *[Attending] Secretaries Clad in Embroidered Garments* (hsiu-yi [shih-]yü-shih) and sent out to discover wrong-doing (*HS* 19A:5b; 66:7b). Such a provincial inspection, leading to mass executions, is recorded for 99 B.C. On that occasion, the Special Commissioners Clad in Embroidered Garments were given authority to execute officials up to the rank of 2000 *shih* (*HS* 6:34a–34b; 66:7b; 99:12a–12b). In the course of time, the Palace Assistant Secretary came to be the chief inspector of all local administration. At the beginning of Former Han, *Clerks* (shih) of the Chancellor had occasionally been dispatched to inspect the various provinces. These Clerks may actually have been officials under the Grandee Secretary, but since he occupied a lesser position than the Chancellor, the latter was at least nominally in charge. It is probable that the Clerks were none other than the Attending Secretaries of the Palace Assistant Secretary.[26] In 106 B.C., the government for the first time appointed permanent *Inspectors* (tz'u-shih) at the rank of 600 *shih* (*HS* 6:30a; 19A:27a–28a; *HHS* chih 28:1b), and these were definitely subordinates of the Palace Assistant Secretary (*HS* 19A:5b). It follows that the Inspectors belonged to the central government rather than the local administration (see p. 90).

Nothing is said in *HS* 19A about the other *Assistant* (ch'eng) of the Grandee Secretary. Logically, his authority must have been restricted to the area not covered by his colleague, namely inspection of the central bureaucracy other than palace officials.[27] His staff consisted of thirty *[Attending] Secretaries* ([shih-]yü-shih) at 600 *shih*,[28] undoubtedly organized into *Bureaus* (ts'ao).

As did the ministry of the Chancellor, that of the Grandee Secretary gradually increased in size. By the time of Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 B.C.), the lesser officials numbered 341 (*Han chiu-yi* A:12b).

The Grand Commandant/Commander-in-chief

The *Grand Commandant* (t'ai-wei) was in charge of military affairs (*HS* 19A:4b). The office was not regularly filled, and Grand Commandants were appointed only from 205[29] to 202 B.C., from 196 to 195, from 189 to 177, from 154 to 150, and in 140 B.C. (*HS* 19B:1b–2a, 3a, 4a, 6b, 10b, 13b). In 119 B.C., the title was changed to *Commander-in-chief* (ta-ssu-ma) and the office divided between the distinguished generals Wei Ch'ing and Ho Ch'ü-ping. The former was given the title of Commander-in-chief and General-in-chief (ta-ssu-ma ta-chiang-chün) and stayed in office until his death in 106 B.C. The latter was made Commander-in-chief and General of Agile Cavalry (ta-ssu-ma p'iao-chi chiang-chün) and remained in office until he died in 117 B.C. (*HS* 19B:18b, 19a, 22a). These were the last military appointments of