

On *Shiji* 22, Table Ten: A Year-by-Year Table of Generals, Chancellors, and Prominent Officials since the Founding of the Han Dynasty*

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Among the ten tables in the *Shiji* 史記¹ Table Ten (“Han xing yilai jiang xiang mingchen nianbiao” 漢興以來將相名臣年表) is most complex to interpret. Scholars from the Han times throughout the imperial period either expressed doubts about its authenticity and authorship because of its unconventional presentation or simply avoided mentioning it. Their negative judgements and confusion over Table Ten may have stemmed from a two-fold challenge: the ambiguities of the Table itself, given that entries in the Table extend well beyond the lifetime of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–c. 99 B.C.) himself; and the suspicions and criticisms, justified or not, raised by detractors of the *Shiji*. Modern Chinese scholars have contributed analyses and discussions of Table Ten from various perspectives, but so far none of them have connected its physical layout and authorial purpose to its Han administrative background. In Western scholarship to the present there has been little discussion and no translation of the Table itself. It is therefore important for us to investigate Table Ten from the perspectives of authorship, physicality, and the Han bureaucratic system in order to bridge the two-thousand-year chasm between its authors and readers.

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¹ Sima Qian, *Shiji* (Hereafter SJ) (1959; reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010). I also take note of the Bona 百衲 edition (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1930–37; Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1968). The Zhonghua edition is based upon the Jinling shuju 金陵書局 edition of 1870. The Bona reprint is based upon the Southern Song edition (published by Huang Shanfu 黃善夫 in the era of Qingyuan 慶元, 1195–1200).

When we examine the arrangement of the five sections in the *Shiji*, we discover that the ten tables in general and Table Ten in particular are situated exactly where they should be and that none of them can be constructed independently. The tables section offers information about the nobles who served and received power and wealth from the rulers recorded in the *benji* 本紀 (basic annals), and it in turn is followed by the *shu* 書 (treatises), which record various systems created to maintain the power structure of the state under a single ruler. The fourth section pertains to the *shijia* 世家 (hereditary houses) and narrates the family histories of kings and nobles whose founding fathers are listed in the tables. These kings and nobles exercised power over the individuals described in the *liezhuan* 列傳 (biographies). Accordingly, from its emphasis on the administrative function, especially the three top governmental positions during the Han dynasty, I further argue that Table Ten has the characteristics of a treatise conveying political history related closely to state affairs, similar to the contents of the eight chapters written in the following section of treatises, but in tabular form.

Table Ten is the last of the six tables in the *Shiji* that record bestowals of *jue* 爵 (orders of aristocratic rank) during the first half of the Western Han dynasty.² According to Sima Qian's perception of merit, individuals received marquises based upon five categories, which in hierarchical order were extraordinary contributions to the state (*xun* 勳), governance or scholarship (*lao* 勞), military achievement (*gong* 功), administrative service (*fa* 閥), and seniority (*yue* 閱).³ Tables Five through Nine register Han traditional aristocrats who were ennobled due to their royal births or the outstanding military contributions by their ancestors during the time of the Han's state foundation and consolidation. These five chapters describe two high aristocratic ranks of the twentieth and nineteenth orders, marquis (*lie hou* 列侯) and marquis of the Interior (*guannei hou* 關內侯), as well as aristocratic groups whose ranks are above them, such as kings (*zhuhou wang* 諸侯王), imperial descendants (*wangzi hou* 王子侯), and imperial clan members (*enze hou* 恩澤侯).⁴ Table Ten extends the record of meritorious nobles with the ranks of *lie hou* and *guannei hou* to another group whose ennoblement is associated with appointments to the top three positions in government:

² For an explanation of the twenty ranking orders and privileges, see Michael Loewe, "The Orders of Aristocratic Rank of Han China," *T'oung Pao*, 2nd ser., 48, 1/3 (1960), pp. 97-174.

³ SJ 18/877.

⁴ Liu Min 劉敏, "Xi-Han jue zhi leibie" 西漢爵之類別, *Qin-Han shi luncong* 3 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1986), p. 255. Liu Bang began conferring two ranks on royal members: kings and marquises. See Zhu Shaohou 朱紹侯, "Jungong juezhi zai Xi-Han de bianhua" 軍功爵制在西漢的變化, *Henan daxue xuebao*, 1983, no. 1, p. 58.

史記漢興以來將相名臣年表之研究

(摘要)

吳淑惠

本文參考新舊材料，綜合比較中西學者的觀點，嘗試從古今中外有關〈漢興以來將相名臣年表〉作者的討論、表的形式和內容(尤其是倒書與提欄)、漢代的官僚爵制度與權力的遞嬗等方面做一深入探析。本文也利用近年來出土的漢簡，給表十的外形、格式與保存方式提供新的詮釋。〈漢興以來將相名臣年表〉是《史記》十表中六個記錄封爵表的最後一個，記錄了漢代政府行政機關中最高的三個職位——將軍，宰相和御史大夫，逐一分析表格內表現漢興以來一百八十六年的上層中央政府機關人事制度的興廢迭代。

關鍵詞：《史記》〈漢興以來將相名臣年表〉 倒文與提欄 漢代官僚爵制度與權力的替嬗

Keywords: *Shiji* “Year-by-Year Table of Generals, Chancellors, and Prominent Officials since the Founding of the Han Dynasty” inverted texts and “raised-out-of-row” device power plays in the Han bureaucracy