This grew largely from a collection of personal notes used in trying to achieve some degree of consistency in the translation of office titles in various other translation projects. Hundred Offices (百官) is a term for bureaucracy.

Though a thorough study of the government of the Han dynasty already exists in the form of *The bureaucracy of Han times* by Hans Bielenstein, the book is limited in scope to the early and middle Han dynasty. Bielenstein himself calculates the date of the Treatise on Bureaucracy of the *Hou Han shu* (HHS), a major source for his book, to between September 141 and September 142, meaning that it provides no information on the evolution of the bureaucracy through the collapse of Han or through the Three States period (220 – 280) to Jin.

This work is not meant to be a replacement for Bielenstein’s work, but a supplement. Therefore emphasis is placed on differences and changes from the Han bureaucracy, and some familiarity with Bielenstein’s work and the basic structure of the Han bureaucracy is assumed. As *San Guo zhi* (SGZ) itself does not contain Treatises or Tables, the main sources are the Treatises on Bureaucracy in the *Song shu* (SS) of Shen Yue and *Jin shu* (JS) of Fang Xuanling et al.

The translation of bureaucracy titles derives mainly from the continually evolving Dubs-Bielenstein-de Crespigny system, with some additional modifications. The main departure from the Dubs-Bielenstein-de Crespigny system is the effort to group together offices by level to aid the casual reader in guessing relative rank. For example, most of the offices in the Nine Ministers (九卿) level are translated with the word “Minister” despite the fact that none of the offices actually contain the character qing 卿. Some effort has also been made to use literal translations for certain component characters across multiple titles, in order to highlight relations between the titles represented in the shared characters.

This work necessarily focuses on the bureaucracy of Wei over those of Shu and Wu. This is not meant to support Wei’s claim to legitimacy over those of Shu and Wu, but simple recognition that information on the bureaucracy of Wei is better preserved and more available than those of its rivals.

**I. The Excellencies and Above**

Chancellor of State 相國 and Assisting Chancellor 丞相

The Assisting Chancellor (chengxiang) was a Qin office, and formally handled assisting Heaven’s Son in governing all things.¹ The etymology is explained as *cheng* means present, *xiang* means support.² In practice, this meant the Chancellor was often the highest ranking member of the Imperial bureaucracy.

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¹ This is given in the Table of Bureaucracy in *Han shu* (HS) 19: 掌丞天子助理萬機。
² This is given in the Treatise on Bureaucracy, upper part in SS 39: 丞，奉。相，助也。
Han initially appointed Xiao He as Assisting Chancellor, then in 196 BC the office was changed to Chancellor of State (xiangguo). After Xiao He died in 193 he was succeeded by Cao Can. After Cao Can died in 190 BC, the office was divided into a Left and Right Assisting Chancellor until 179 BC, where a single Assisting Chancellor was appointed. In 1 BC the Assisting Chancellor office was replaced by Chief Excellency over the Masses, and through most of Eastern Han the office of Chancellor was not used.

In 189, the Chancellor of State position was restored and occupied by Dong Zhuo, and the position was ended again after his execution in 192. In 208, the Assisting Chancellor position was restored and occupied by Cao Cao.

At the foundation of Wei in 220, the Chancellors were replaced by the position of Excellency over the Masses. Wei and then Jin did not regularly appoint Chancellors, and the exceptions were telling: Wei Chancellors of State included Sima Shi and Sima Zhao, Jin Chancellors of State included Sima Lun and Liu Yu, and Song Chancellors of State included Xiao Daocheng. As both the Treatises on Bureaucracy in Song shu and Jin shu note, from Wei and Jin onward the office of Chancellor was no longer the rank of the servant of another.

The Three Excellencies 三公

As explained in the Table of Bureaucracy in Han shu, bureaucracy offices were largely based on ancient ideals. Tradition held that the Three Excellencies were the highest level of the bureaucracy of Zhou, consisting of, in order of rank, the Grand Teacher 太師, Grand Tutor 太傅, and Grand Protector 太保. They were charged with educating and protecting the ruler.

Through Han and Wei, a different Three Excellencies system was used. Grand Tutor was instead used as an irregular appointment ranked above the Three Excellencies, charged with providing moral guidance to the ruler. In 264, Wei reintroduced the rank of Grand Protector.

In 191, the rank of Grand Teacher was restored and occupied by Dong Zhuo, then ended after his execution in 192. In 265, Jin sought to restore the ancient ideals of Zhou, but due to the naming taboo of Sima Shi, the office of Grand Teacher (taishi) was replaced by Grand Minister (taizai) 太宰.

The regular Three Excellencies of Han and then Wei were largely based on an alternative schema also attributed to Zhou: Excellency of War to manage Heaven, Excellency over the Masses to manage Man, etc.

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3 Xiao He has a Hereditary House in Shi ji [SJ] 53 and biography in HS 39.
4 Cao Can has a Hereditary House in SJ 54 and biography in HS 39.
5 Dong Zhuo has biographies in SGZ 6 and HHS 72.
6 Cao Cao, posthumously Wei Emperor Wu, has annals in SGZ 1.
7 Sima Shi and Sima Zhao, posthumously Jin Emperor Jing and Emperor Wen, respectively, have annals in JS 2.
8 Sima Lun, who briefly usurped the Imperial Throne, is included in the Biographies of Eight Kings in JS 59.
9 Liu Yu, posthumously Song Emperor Wu, has annals in SS 1.
10 Xiao Daocheng, posthumously Emperor Gao of Qi, has annals in Nan Qi shu (NQS) 1.
11 JS 24 states: 非復尋常人臣之職。 SS 39 states: 非復人臣之位矣。
12 The Table on Bureaucracy is in HS 19.
13 The Treatises on Bureaucracy in HHS run from 114 to 118.
14 Use of the personal name of an Emperor was forbidden out of respect for Imperial authority. The character of the name Sima Shi 司馬師 was the same as the character for teacher 師.
Excellency of Works to manage Earth. During Han, the Three Excellencies were ranked at the 10,000 dan salary level. This was probably extended through Wei.

Excellency Commandant (taiwei 太尉) was formally in charge of military affairs. During Western Han, the position was used until 139, then replaced by Chief Excellency of War 大司馬. During Eastern Han, the Chief Excellency of War was replaced by Excellency Commandant in 51. In 189, Liu Yu was appointed Chief Excellency of War (or Marshal-in-Chief) as a separate office, with the position of Excellency Commandant continuing as before. Through Wei they continued to be separate offices.

Excellency over the Masses (situ 司徒) was formally in charge of civil affairs. In 1 BC the position of Assisting Chancellor was replaced by Chief Excellency over the Masses 大司徒. In 51 the prefix “Chief” was removed. In 208 the position was replaced by Assisting Chancellor. In 220, the position was restored by Wei.

Excellency of Works (sikong 司空) was formally in charge of river and soil affairs. In 1 BC the position of Censorate Grandee (yushi daifu 御史大夫) was replaced by Chief Excellency of Works 大司空. In 51 the prefix “Chief” was removed. In 208 the position was replaced by Censorate Grandee. In 220, the position was restored by Wei.

Marshal-in-Chief (da sima 大司馬) was formally in charge of military affairs. The etymology is explained as si means manage, ma (horse) means warfare. During Wei, the Marshal-in-Chief was a military rank separate from Excellency Commandant. In 222, Cao Ren was first appointed Marshal-in-Chief.

General-in-Chief (da jiangjun 大將軍) was the highest ranking General. In the ideals of Zhou, Heaven’s Son maintained Six Armies, large states Three, the next Two, and small states One; the commander (jiang) of an army (jun) was a General (jiangjun), hence the name. During Eastern Han, the General-in-Chief came to be ranked above the Three Excellencies. During Wei, Sima Yi was promoted from General-in-Chief to Excellency Commandant in 235, indicating rank order had reversed. Later the rank order reversed again. When Sima Shi was General-in-Chief and his uncle Sima Fu was Excellency Commandant, he memorialized to reverse the rank order so as to not outrank his uncle; later the rank order reversed again.

Office Staff

These highest ranks maintained offices of support staff. Though staff make-up is given in Hou Han shu, these were not necessarily maintained after 142. The Treatises in Song shu also note that the exact

15 HS 19 states: 司馬主天，司徒主人，司空主土。
16 HS 19.
17 HHS 114.
18 Liu Yu, not to be confused with the founder of Song, is attached to the biography of Gongsun Zan in SGZ 8 and has a biography in HS 73.
19 HHS 114.
20 Ibid.
21 SS 39 states: 司，主也。馬，武也。
22 Cao Ren has a biography in SGZ 9.
23 Zhou Li
24 The Treatises on Bureaucracy in SS run 39 to 40.
composition of office staff during Wei was generally not recorded, with the primary exception being the staff of Sima Shi as General-in-Chief. For this reason, the following section concerning office staff provides only a rough guideline.

Typically staffs were headed by a Chief Clerk (zhangshi 長史), who managed the staff officials. For Generals or officials with command of armies, there was also a Major (sima 司馬), to manage the troops. These were both ranked at the 1000 dan salary level.

Staff were primarily composed of Officials (yuan 劉) and Associates (shu 屬), assigned to various Departments (cao 曹). Officials were ranked at 300 dan, except for the West and East Departments, were officials were ranked at 400 dan. Associates were ranked at 200 dan.

Examples of recorded Departments with duties included:

- West Department 西曹: managing officials and employment affairs
- East Department 東曹: managing promotions and dismissals and military officials
- Households Department 戶曹: managing the people, sacrifices, farming and silk affairs
- Metal Department 金曹: managing money and salt affairs
- Bandit Department 賊曹: managing banditry affairs
- Soldier Department 兵曹: managing soldier affairs
- Armor Department 鎧曹: managing armor and weapons
- Law Department 法曹: managing communication and litigation affairs
- Memorials Department 奏曹: managing memorials and commentary affairs
- Granary Department 倉曹: managing granary and grain affairs

Other Departments are recorded in name in various sources, often without explanation of duties.

Registrars (zhubi 主簿) were generally in charge of managing record-keeping. Merit Department Scribes (gongcaoshi 功曹史) managed the recognition and investigation of achievements. Residents (sheren 舍人) managed internal affairs. Director Scribes 令史 managed various Department affairs.

II. Above the Ministers

Specially Advanced (tejin 特進) was an additional office used to honor officials as just below the Excellencies. During Jin it was formally placed above the General of Elite Cavalry.
General of Elite Cavalry (piaoji jiangjun) 騃騎將軍 was created in 122 BC for Huo Qubing; afterward the rank name was no longer literal. During Western Han, General-in-Chief and General of Elite Cavalry were ranked after the Assisting Chancellor.

General of Chariots and Cavalry (cheji jiangjun) 車騎將軍. According to Yu Huan, if the General of Chariots and Cavalry were a Regional Commander, he ranked the same with the Four Campaign Generals (see below); if not, even if Wielding Staff to command the Four Campaign Generals, he was ranked with the Front, Rear, Left, Right and Miscellaneous Generals. During Jin and afterward the General of Chariots and Cavalry and the General of the Guard were no longer commanders of the Four Campaign Generals.

General of the Guard (wei jiangjun) 衛將軍. The Three Generals, Elite Cavalry, Chariots of Cavalry, and Guard, were ranked after the Three Excellencies.

Wielding Staff (chijie) Regional Commanders (dudu) 持節都督

During Western Han, envoys were sent Wielding Staff as representatives of Imperial authority. During Eastern Han, the Staff came to be used to command armies. In 216, Xiahou Dun was Commander over twenty-six armies, as an example of this. Beginning from 221, Wei began install Regional Commanders to command various provincial armies and provincial Inspectors. In 222, Upper Army General-in-Chief Cao Zhen was made Regional Commander over Internal and External Military Affairs with Acting Yellow Axe. In 230, Sima Yi was given additional title as Chief Regional Commander. In 255, Sima Zhao was made Chief Regional Commander over Internal and External Military Affairs.

The Staff came in three levels:

- Envoy Wielding Staff 使持節: authority to execute 2000 dan ranked officials down.
- Wielding Staff 持節: authority to execute people with office and rank; if concerning military affairs then authority equaled Envoy Wielding Staff.
- Acting Staff 假節: authority to execute violators of military commands.

Generals 將軍

The General Campaigning East 征東將軍, South 南, West 西, and North 北 were the Four Campaign Generals. According to Yu Huan, these were ranked at 2000 dan salary level, during Huangchu (220 –

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31 Huo Qubing has a biography in SJ 111.
32 HS 19.
33 Yu Huan was the author of the Weilüe.
34 SS 39.
35 Ibid.
36 Xiahou Dun has a biography in SGZ 9.
37 Cao Zhen has a biography in SGZ 9.
38 SS 39.
were ranked after the Three Excellencies, and during Han were ranked among the Miscellaneous Generals.\footnote{Ibid.}

The Generals Defending East, South, West, and North were the Four Defense 鎮 Generals, comparable to the Four Campaign Generals.

The General of the Central Army 中軍將軍，General Defending the Army 鎮軍將軍，and General Supporting the Army 撫軍將軍 were comparable to the Four Defense Generals.\footnote{Ibid.} During Wei, Chen Qun\footnote{Chen Qun has a biography in SGZ 26.} was General Defending the Army, and Sima Yi was General Supporting the Army. These two evidently had comparable rank, as the Emperor Wen Cao Pi made special note of them in an Imperial Order, having Chen Qun accompany him on campaign while Sima Yi remained at the capital.\footnote{See SGZ 2, the annals of Cao Pi, posthumously Wei Emperor Wen.}

Wei also appointed the Four Securing 安 and Four Pacifying 平 Generals, also associated with the four cardinal directions.

The General of the Left 左將軍, Right 右, Front 前, and Rear 後 were originally Zhou positions, and continued through Qin, Han, and Wei.\footnote{SS 39.}

Miscellaneous Generals 雜號將軍

The Miscellaneous Generals were lower ranked and identified by a specific campaign or a stylistic motto. During Han and Wei, there were forty Miscellaneous titles, irregularly appointed,\footnote{Ibid.} and not listed here.

\section*{III. The Ministers}

Nine Ministers (jiuqing) 九卿.

In the ancient ideal, the Ministers were the level below the Excellencies. During Han, they were ranked at the True 2000 dan salary level.\footnote{HS 19.} This was probably extended through Wei.

Minister of Ceremonies (taichang) 太常 managed ritual and sacrifices. During Qin and at various times during Han and Wei the position was also called Minister of Presentations (fengchang) 奉常.\footnote{HS 19, HHS 115, SS 39, JS 23.} Subordinates included:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Academic Scholars 博士 managed understanding and teaching the classics.
  \item Grand Temple Director 太廟令 and Assistant 丞 managed the Imperial Temples.
  \item Grand Sacrifice Director 太祝令 and Assistant managed sacrifices.
\end{itemize}
• Grand Scribe Director (太史令) and Assistant managed astrology, astronomy, and the calendar
• Grand Music Director (太樂令) and Assistant managed music for rituals
• Tomb Director (陵令) managed Imperial tombs, one per tomb
• Carriage Yellow Director (乘黃令) managed carriages and carriage horses; installed during Wei.

Minister of Merits (guangluxun) 光祿勳 and one Assistant managed the three bureaus of cadets in the service of the Palace. The etymology is guang means enlighten, lu means rank, xun means achievement. During Qin and some parts of Han the position was called Cadets Internal Director (langzhongling) 郎中令. The three bureaus of cadets were the Left, Right, and Five Offices 五官, each managed by an Internal Cadet General. Prefectures 郡 nominated candidates as Filial and Incorrupt 孝廉 to join the three bureaus of cadets; those above fifty were in the Five Offices, the rest divided into the Left and Right. Cadets consisted of Internal Cadets (zhonglang) 中郎, Consultant Cadets (yilang)議郎, Attendant Cadets (shilang) 侍郎, and Cadet Internals (langzhong) 郎中. During Han, the Minister of Merits occupied the Restricted Center 禁中, the Emperor’s personal palace residence, but during Wei the Minister of Merits lost access to the Restricted Center and abolished the three bureaus.

• Merit Grandee (guanglu daifu) 光祿大夫 handled discussion of state affairs.
• Internal Grandee (zhong daifu) 中大夫
• Internal Scatter Grandee (zhongsan daifu) 中散大夫 handled discussions and commentary.

Minister of the Guard (weiwei) 衛尉 and two Assistants managed the troops garrisoned at the Palace Gates. During Han it was sometimes called Internal Grandee Director (zhong daifu ling) 中大夫令.

Minister of Justice(tingwei) 廷 尉 and one Assistant managed punishments. During Han it was sometimes called Chief Judge (dali) 大理.

• Ministry of Justice Rectifier 廷尉正
• Ministry of Justice Supervisor 廷尉監
• Ministry of Justice Commentator 廷尉評
• Ministry of Justice Law Academic Scholar 廷尉律博士 was created by Cao Cao for Wei state.

Minister of Agriculture (da sinong) 大 司 農 and one Assistant formally managed supply and consumption of grain and livestock, though according to Hou Han shu the office managed money, revenue, and expenditure. During Qin it was called Grain Inner Scribe (su neishi) 粟內史.

• Grand Granary Director (太倉令) and one Assistant

47 SS 39.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
• Selection Office Director 導官令 and one Assistant managed the grinding and transport of grain.

• Register Field Director 籍田令 and one Assistant managed the plowing of the fields of the Ancestral Temple and State Altars. The office was used during Western Han, but not Eastern Han or Wei, before being restored by Jin.\(^{52}\)

Minister Treasurer (shaofu 少府 and one Assistant managed the palace treasury and supplies.

• Left and Right Craft Directors 尚方令 and Assistants managed the construction of weapons.

• Manager of Residence 御府 managed the maidservants making, repairing, and washing clothes.

• East and South Casting Directors 冶令 and Assistants managed the smelting and casting of metals. This was actually attached to the Minister of the Guard until Eastern Jin, were it was moved to the Minister Treasurer.

• Standards Director 平准令 and Assistants managed standardization. During Han it was attached to the Minister of Agriculture, but at some point moved to the Minister Treasurer.

• General Architect (jiangzuo dajiang) 將作大匠 managed conscripted labor of earth and wood.\(^{53}\)

Minister Herald (da honglu 大鴻臚 managed the reception of foreign guests and vassals. During Qin and early Han it was called Manager of Guests (dianke 典客), then changed to Minister of Great Travels (da xingling) 大行令.\(^{54}\)

Minister Charioteer (taipu 太僕 managed carriages and horses. During Eastern Jin the position was abolished.\(^{55}\)

Minister of the Imperial Clan (zongzheng 宗正 managed the Imperial clan. During Eastern Jin the position was abolished.\(^{56}\)

The Dowager Empress had Three Ministers: a Minister of the Guard, Minister Treasurer, and Minister Charioteer. During Han they were ranked above their corresponding regular Ministers. During Wei they were ranked below. During Jin they were ranked above.\(^{57}\)

Chief Ever Autumn (da zhangqiu) was the Empress’s Minister. According to Wei Zhao,\(^{58}\) the office name comes from the metaphysical association of autumn with female.\(^{59}\)

The staff of Ministers included Assistants (cheng 丞 ranked at 1000 dan, Merit Officers (gongcao 功曹, Registrars 主簿, and Five Officers 五官.\(^{60}\)

\(^{52}\) Ibid.
\(^{53}\) Ibid.
\(^{54}\) HS 19, HHS 115, SS 39.
\(^{55}\) SS 39.
\(^{56}\) JS 24.
\(^{57}\) SS 39.
\(^{58}\) Wei Zhao has a biography in SGZ 65. His name is often written as Wei Yao to avoid the naming taboo of Sima Zhao.
\(^{59}\) SS 39.
\(^{60}\) Ibid.
IV. The Secretariat

The Secretariat (shangshu) managed the writing and sending of documents. During Qin there was a Secretariat Director (shangshu ling), Secretariat Deputy-Director (shangshu pushe), and Secretariat Assistant (shangshu cheng). During Han these were all attached to the Minister Treasurer, Secretariat Director ranked at 1000 dan, Secretariat Deputy-Director at 600 dan, Secretariat Assistant and Secretariat Cadets (shangshu lang) at 400 dan. The etymology of Deputy-Director (pushe), or more literally Servant Shooter, is explained in Song shu: the ancients esteemed military offices, so those good at shooting managed affairs, and the pushe was the Servant (pu) to the Shooter’s (she) affairs.

Since control of the writing and sending of official documents was critical to holding power, during Eastern Han control of the Secretariat was held by Grand Tutors for young Emperors, and during Wei and Jin by powerful Excellencies and Ministers.

The Secretariat was divided into Departments, which seemed to have varied over time.

War Storage Director (武庫令) managed military weapons. During Han, Wei, and Jin the position was attached to the Metal Mace Bearer. By Song the position was moved to a Secretariat division.

Chariot Office Director (車府令) and one Assistant were attached to the Minister Charioteer during Han, Wei, and Jin. When Jin abolished the Minister Charioteer, the office was moved to a Secretariat division.

Upper Forest Director (上林令) and one Assistant were attached to the Minister Treasurer during Eastern Han and abolished during Eastern Jin; during Song it was attached to the Secretariat.

Lumber Office General (材官將軍) and one Major managed construction with soil and wood. During Han there was a Left and Right Colonel Director, and during Wei there was a Right Colonel and Lumber Office Colonel, in charge of lumber and wood affairs. During Eastern Jin it was renamed General.

V. Palace Staff

Internal Attendants (shizhong) managed matters of memorials to the Emperor, and so were installed about the Emperor. During Wei and Jin, four men were appointed Internal Attendants, ranked at Equivalent 2000 dan.

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61 HHS 116 and SS 39.
62 JS 24.
63 The descriptions in HS 19, HHS 116, SS 39, and JS 24 vary.
64 SS 39.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
Giving Affairs Yellow Gate Attendant Cadet 給事黃門侍郎 were four men who with the Internal Attendants together handled matters below the gates. During Qin and early Han the position was Giving Affairs Yellow Gate, handling attendants about the Emperor. According to Dong Ba, the Forbidden Gates were colored Yellow, hence the name. During Wei and Jin they numbered four, ranked at 600 dan.

Public Carriage Director 公車令 handled the reception of memorials to the Emperor. During Qin and early Han there was a Public Carriage Major Director, attached to the Minister of the Guard, who handled the Palace’s South Gate, and consequently the reception of memorials sent up by people and officials, as well as tribute. By Song it was attached to the Internal Attendants.

Grand Physician Director 太醫令 and one Assistant, handled medical affairs and during Han were attached to the Minister Treasurer. By Song they were attached to the Internal Attendants.

Grand Office Director 太官令 and one Assistant, handled food and drink affairs and during Han were attached to the Minister Treasurer. By Song they were attached to the Internal Attendants.

Horse Stable Assistant 驊驊廄丞. During Wei it was called Horse Director. By Song it was attached to the Internal Attendants.

Cavalier Regular Attendants 散騎常侍 were four men who managed the attendants about the Emperor. Qin had Cavaliers and Internal Regular Attendant Cavaliers who rode behind the Emperor’s carriage. Internal Regular Attendants were able to enter the Forbidden Center. These were not regular posts, but additional offices. During Eastern Han, the Cavaliers were abolished, and Internal Regular Attendants were made up of eunuchs. At the beginning of Wei, Emperor Wen Cao Pi installed Cavalier Regular Attendants.

Communications Cavalier Regular Attendant 通直散騎常侍, four men, were established by Jin Emperor Wu Sima Yan to communicate with the Cavalier Regular Attendants. By Eastern Jin there were five.

Outer Personnel Cavalier Regular Attendant 員外散騎常侍 were installed at the end of Wei.

Cavalier Attendant Cadet 散騎侍郎, four men, were installed at the beginning of Wei alongside Cavalier Regular Attendants.

During Wei and Jin, the Cavalier Regular Attendants, Attendant Cadets, together with the Internal Attendants and Yellow Gate Attendant Cadets together managed Secretariat memorial affairs. In Eastern Jin this ended.

69 Dong Ba was a Wei official and scholar.
70 SS 40.
71 Ibid.
72 SS 40 and JS 24.
73 Sima Yan, posthumously Jin Emperor Wu, has annals in JS 3.
74 SS 40 and JS 24.
Communications Cavalier Attendant Cadets 通直散騎侍郎 were installed during Jin to communicate with the Cavalier Attendant Cadets. By Eastern Jin there were four.

Outer Personnel Cavalier Attendant Cadets 員外散騎常侍 were installed by Jin Emperor Wu Sima Yan.

Giving Affairs Center 給事中 was installed during Western Han to handle advising and answers, ranked after Internal Regular Attendants. Eastern Han abolished it, and Wei restored it.

Court Attenders 奉朝請 was an additional honor given former Excellencies, relatives by marriage, Imperial clansmen, and vassals often in Court attendance.\textsuperscript{75}

Internal Document Director 中書, Internal Document Supervisor 中書監, four Internal Document Attendant Cadets 中書侍郎, and four Internal Document Communications Residents 中書通事舍人. When Wei Emperor Wu Cao Cao was King, he installed a Confidential Document Supervisor Director to manage Secretariat memorial affairs. At the beginning of Wei, this was changed to Internal Document Director, together with a Supervisor, and Communications Cadets and Yellow Gate Cadets. Exact titles and office names then changed through Jin.

Confidential Document Supervisor 祕書監, Confidential Document Assistant 祕書丞, and four Confidential Document Cadets 祕書郎. A supervisor was installed near the end of Han, then abolished.

Wei Emperor Wu Cao Cao as King of Wei a Confidential Document Director and Confidential Document Assistant; Emperor Wen Cao Pi installed an Internal Document Director and changed Confidential Document Director to Supervisor. Jin Emperor Wu Sima Yan combined the Confidential Documents with the Internal Documents.\textsuperscript{76}

VI. Central Military

General Managing the Army 領軍將軍 handled the inner army. During Han there was a Southern and Northern Army guarding the capital. Emperor Wu Liu Che\textsuperscript{77} installed a Central Rampart Colonel to handle the North Army Camps. Emperor Guang-Wu Liu Xiu\textsuperscript{78} abolished that position and installed a North Army Central Captain to supervise the Five Colonel Regiment. Wei Emperor Wu Cao Cao as Chancellor of Han installed a Manager of the Army as part of the Chancellor’s staff. At Wei’s beginning, the Manager of the Army was installed to oversee the Five Colonel, Central Rampart, and Martial Guard, three regiments. During Jin, the title was occasionally changed to Central Manager of the Army and North Army Central Captain.

General Protecting the Army 護軍將軍 handled the outer army. Wei Emperor Wu Cao Cao appointed Han Hao as Protector of the Army and Shi Huan as Manager of the Army as part of the Chancellor’s staff.\textsuperscript{79} In 207 they were changed to Central Protector of the Army and Central Manager of the Army.

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{76} SS 40 and JS 24.
\textsuperscript{77} Liu Che, posthumously Han Emperor Wu, has annals in SJ 12 and HS 6.
\textsuperscript{78} Liu Xiu, posthumously Han Emperor Guang-Wu, has annals in HHS 1.
\textsuperscript{79} Han Hao and Shi Huan are attached to the biography of Xiahou Dun in SGZ 9.
with a Chief Clerk and Major. At the beginning of Wei, the Protector of the Army oversaw selection for military office, and was attached to the Manager of the Army. During Wei and Western Jin the Manager and Protector each commanded regiments of troops; by Eastern Jin the Manager of the Army did not have a separate regiment but oversaw the two Guard, Brave Cavalry, and Lumber Office regiments, while the Protector of the Army had a separate regiment. When supplies were great there was a Manager of the Army and Protector of the Army, and when light there was a Central Manager of the Army and Central Protector of the Army. Staff consisted of a Chief Clerk, Major, Merit Officer, Registrar, Five Offices, and when sent on campaign an Adviser to the Army 參軍.

Left Guard General 左衛將軍 and Right Guard General 右衛將軍; the two Guard Generals handled the Night Guard Regiment troops. These were not used during Han and Wei. Jin Emperor Wen Sima Zhao as Chancellor of State installed a Central Guard General as part of his staff. Jin Emperor Wu Sima Yan divided the Central Guard into a Left and Right Guard. During Western Jin they had a Chief Clerk, Major, Merit Officer, and Registrar; by Eastern Jin they did not have a Chief Clerk.

Brave Cavalry General 驍騎將軍, during Han was a Miscellaneous General. Wei installed an Inner Army with regiment troops, with one with high achievement to manage it. At first it had a Major, Merit Officer, and Registrar, then later abolished.

Moving Strike General 游擊將軍, during Han was a Miscellaneous General.

By Jin, the Manager, Protector, Left and Right Guard, Brave Cavalry, and Moving Strike armies were the Six Armies.

Left Army 左軍, Right Army 右軍, Front Army 前軍, and Rear Army Generals 後軍將軍. Wei Emperor Ming Cao Rui安装 a Left Army General. Jin Emperor Wu Sima Yan installed a Front Army, Right Army, and Rear Army. These were the Four Armies.

Left Internal Cadet General 左中郎將, Right Internal Cadet General 右中郎將, Five Office Internal Cadet General 五官中郎將. Wei did not have the three bureaus of cadets but maintained the offices. Jin Emperor Wu Sima Yan abolished them.

Garrison Cavalry Colonel 屯騎校尉, Infantry Colonel 步兵校尉, Yue Cavalry Colonel 越騎校尉, Chang River Colonel 長水校尉, Shooting Sound Colonel 射聲校尉. The Five Colonels were installed by Han Emperor Wu Liu Che. The Garrison Cavalry and Infantry Colonels handled Shanglin Yuanmen’s garrisoned troops. The Yue Cavalry Colonel handled Yue peoples who came to surrender and were made cavalry. The Chang River Colonel (changshui xiaowei) handled the Hu cavalry; Song shu explains Changshui was the name of a Hu tribe, but notes that according to Wei Zhao, stables were near the Chang River, and so led to the name. The Shooting Sound Colonel handled the Shooting Sound troops,

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80 SS 40 and JS 24.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 Cao Rui, posthumously Wei Emperor Ming, has annals in SGZ 3.
84 SS 40.
who when hearing sound then shoot it. Eastern Han had the Five Colonels manage the Night Guard troops. The Five Regiment Colonels were ranked at 2000 dan.

Tiger Elite Internal Cadet General 虎賁中郎將. When Han Emperor Wu Liu Che first made tours, he selected exceptional soldiers as escort. During Western Han they were renamed Tiger Elite Cadets. The Internal Cadet General was ranked at equivalent 2000 dan.

Extra Follower Deputy-Director 冗從僕射. Eastern Han had a different office called Central Yellow Gate Extra Follower Deputy-Director, and Wei installed an Extra Follower Deputy-Director based on that name.

Feather Forest Supervisor 羽林監. Eastern Han had a Feather Forest Internal Cadet General and also installed a Left and Right Supervisor. Wei did not change this. Jin abolished the Internal Cadet General and one Supervisor, only keeping one. The Supervisor was ranked at 600 dan.

From the Tiger Elite to the Feather Forest were the Three Officers.  

Gathered Shooting General 積射將軍 and Strong Crossbow General 強弩將軍. During Eastern Han the Strong Crossbow was a Miscellaneous General. Western Han and Wei did not have a Gathered Shooting General. Jin established a Shooting Regiment and Crossbow Regiment and installed the Gathered Shooting and Strong Crossbow Generals to command them.

Palace Central General 殿中將軍 and Palace Central Major Commander 殿中司馬督. During Jin, the night guard inside the Palace Hall was called the Three Division Major, and installed these two offices, attached to the Left and Right Guard.

Martial Guard General 武衛將軍. Wei Emperor Wu Cao Cao as King first installed a Martial Guard Internal Cadet General, and Emperor Wen Cao Pi changed it to Guard General to manage the Forbidden Brigade. Jin did not regularly install one.

Martial Cavalry Regular Attendant 武騎常侍 was a Western Han office that accompanied the Imperial Chariot in hunting and shooting beasts. Eastern Han, Wei, and Jin did not use the office. It was restored during Song.  

Censorate Internal Assistant 御史中丞 handled memorials impeaching violators of law. During Qin the Censorate Grandee had two Assistants, the first called the Censorate Assistant and the second called Censorate Internal Assistant. During Han when the Censorate Grandee was replaced by Excellency of Works, the Internal Assistant office remained as before. The Internal Assistant was ranked at 1000 dan.

Managing Documents Attendant Censor 治書侍御史 handled impeachment of officials rank six and above. Wei and Jin divided the managed Attendant Censors into Departments.

85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
Attendant Censor 侍御史 handled investigation of violation of law, received the Excellencies and Ministers memorials of matters, and impeached those with faults. Wei installed eight Censors organized in departments. Jin had thirteen departments.

Visitor Deputy-Director 諦者僕射 handled reception of great salutes and the bureaucracy’s ordering, and managed ten Visitors 諦者 that handled reception of lesser salutes and reports. These were Qin offices. During Qin there were seventy Visitors. During Han they were attached to the Minister of Merits. Wei set their number of visitors at ten. Jin Emperor Wu Sima Yan abolished the Deputy-Director, which was restored during Eastern Jin. 87

Capital River Envoy 都水使者 handled boats and transportation. Qin and Han had a Capital River Chief and Deputy to manage reservoirs and irrigation, maintain rivers and canals, and was attached to the Minister of Ceremonies. Eastern Han abolished it and installed a River Dike Visitor 河隄謁者, and Wei followed this. Han used a River Measurement Commandant 水衡都尉 to manage Upper Forest park, and Wei installed one to manage the realm’s naval boats and weapons. Jin Emperor Wu Sima Yan abolished the River Weight and installed the Capital River Envoy, having the River Dike attached as subordinate office. 88

VII. Heir-Apparent

Grand Tutor to the Heir Apparent 太子太傅 with one Assistant, Junior Tutor to the Heir-Apparent 太子少傅 with one Assistant. Han did not appoint Assistants. Wei did not have an East Palace, so Jin installed Assistants. These were charged with the education of the Heir-Apparent, who bowed first to the Tutors with the Tutors replying afterward. The Two Tutors had support staff of a Merit Officer, Registrar, and Five Office. The Grand Tutor was ranked at True 2000 dan, the Junior Tutor 2000 dan. 89

Heir-Apparent Examiner 太子詹事 with one Assistant had responsibilities similar to the Terrace Secretariat Director, and General Managing the Army. During Western Han, the Gate Grandee, Companions, Heralds, and Residents were subordinate to the Two Tutors, the Exchange Director, Household Director, Charioteer, and Guard Leader were subordinate to the Examiner. Eastern Han abolished the Examiner and had the Heir-Apparent’s officials all subordinate to the Junior Tutor, with the Grand Tutor not managing officials. Jin at first had the Heir-Apparent’s officials subordinate to the Two Tutors, then later restored an Examiner, with the Two Tutors no longer managing officials. The Examiner was ranked at 2000 dan. 90

Household Director 家令 with one Assistant was installed during Jin. During Han the Heir-Apparent’s supply fief consisted of ten counties, managed by the Household Director. It also managed punishment

87 SS 40 and JS 24.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 SS 40.
and prisons, supplies, and food and drink, its responsibilities similar to the Minister of Justice, Minister of Agriculture, and Minister Treasurer.\textsuperscript{91}

Leading Watch Director 率更令 managed the Palace Gates and matters of reward and punishment, its responsibilities similar to the Minister of Merits and Minister of the Guard. During Eastern Han it managed to Companions and Residents, but during Jin it did not. From Han to Jin, the Household Director was ranked lower, and during Song it was ranked above.\textsuperscript{92}

Charioteer 僕 managed chariots and horses and family members, its responsibilities similar to the Minister Charioteer and Minister of the Imperial Clan.\textsuperscript{93}

The Household Director, Leading Watch Director, and Charioteer were the Heir-Apparent’s Three Ministers, ranked at 1000 dan.\textsuperscript{94}

Gate Grandees 門大夫 of two people were installed during Eastern Han, its responsibilities similar to the Internal Cadet Generals, and ranked at 600 dan.\textsuperscript{95}

Internal Companions 中庶子 of four men had responsibilities similar to the Internal Attendants. Han had five, and Jin reduced them to four. They were ranked at 600 dan.\textsuperscript{96}

Internal Residents 中舍人 of four men were first installed during Jin with responsibilities similar to the Yellow Gate Attendant Cadets.\textsuperscript{97}

Provisions Office Director 食官令 had responsibilities similar to the Grand Office Director.\textsuperscript{98}

Companions 庶子 of four men had responsibilities similar to the Cavalier Regular Attendants and Internal Documents Supervisor and Director, ranked at 400 dan.\textsuperscript{99}

Residents 舍人 of sixteen men had responsibilities similar to the Cavalier and Internal Documents Attendant Cadets.\textsuperscript{100}

Heralds 洗馬 of eight men had responsibilities similar to the Visitor and Internal Documents Cadets. When the Heir-Apparent went out, then they went in front of him as guide to show his majestic presence.\textsuperscript{101}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{91} SS 40 and JS 24.
\item \textsuperscript{92} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{94} SS 40.
\item \textsuperscript{95} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{96} SS 40 and JS 24.
\item \textsuperscript{97} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{99} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{100} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
The Heir-Apparent’s Left Guard Leader 太子左衛率 of seven men and the Heir-Apparent’s Right Guard Leader 太子右衛率 of two men managed the Gate Guard. During Jin at various times there was a Central Guard, and/or a Front and Rear Guard. These were ranked at 400 dan.\textsuperscript{102}

Heir-Apparent’s Left Gathered Crossbow General 太子左積弩將軍 of ten men and Heir-Apparent’s Gathered Crossbow General 太子右積弩將軍 of two men. During Eastern Han, Gathered Crossbow General was a miscellaneous General. From Wei to Eastern Jin, the Left and Right Gathered Crossbows were Terrace offices, commanding Regiment troops.\textsuperscript{103}

**VIII. Foreign Relations**

Pacifying the Yue Internal Cadet General 平越中郎將 was installed by Sima Yan, with headquarters in Guangzhou to manage and protect the Southern Yue.\textsuperscript{104}

Southern Man Colonel 南蠻校尉 was installed by Sima Yan, with headquarters in Xiangyang. Eastern Jin initially abolished it, then restored it with headquarters in Jiangling.

Western Rong Colonel 西戎校尉 was installed during Jin, with headquarters in Chang’an. During the reign of Jin Emperor An Sima Dezong the headquarters were moved to Hanzhong.

Caming the Man Colonel 亭蠻校尉 was installed by Sima Dezong, with headquarters in Xiangyan.

Southern Yi Colonel 南夷校尉 was installed by Sima Yan, with headquarters at Ningzhou. Eastern Jin changed it to Defending the Man Colonel.\textsuperscript{105}

**IX. Local Administration**

Inspector 刺史 was appointed one per province. During Western Han, Inspectors traveled about the prefectures and states in the province with no headquarters. During Eastern Han they had headquarters, only touring in the Eighth Moon, and no longer memorializing matters to the capital. In the reign of Han Emperor Ling Liu Hong,\textsuperscript{106} there was gradual chaos, with powerful figures occupying the provinces and prefectures; Liu Yan\textsuperscript{107} and Liu Yu were sent out as Governors 牧 of Yi province and You province, respectively, and from this the position gradually became more powerful. Under the Han system, Provincial staff included an Aide-de-Camp Attending Scribe 別駕從事史 who followed the Inspectors on tour, the Internal Manager Attending Scribe 治中從事史 who managed supplies and documents, a Soldier Department Attending Scribe 兵曹從事史 who managed soldier affairs, a Division Attending Scribe one for each prefecture to manage investigation of law violations, a Registrar to manage record keeping and documents, a Gate Precinct Chief 門亭長 to manage the province’s main

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{106} Liu Hong, posthumously Han Emperor Ling, has annals in HHS 8.
\textsuperscript{107} Liu Yan has a biography in SGZ 31.
gates, Merit Officer Document Aide who managed employment, Filial Classics Teacher 孝經師  who managed examination of the classics, Moon Director Teacher 月令師  who managed seasonal sacrifices, Law Director Teacher 律令師  to judge law, Register Department Assistant 簿曹書佐  to record documents 主簿書, and a Managing Prefecture Document Assistant 典郡書佐  of one per prefecture to manage the prefecture’s documents. By Song, staff make-up varied by province. Beginning from Han Emperor Wu Liu Che, provinces nominated candidates for office as Exceptional Talent (xiucai 秀才), but by Eastern Han due to the name taboo of Han Emperor Guang-Wu Liu Xiu, this was changed to Abundant Talent (maocai 茂才). Wei reverted back to Exceptional Talent. Number and frequency of nominations varied by province. Governors were ranked at 2000 dan, Inspectors at 600 dan.  

Prefecture Administrator 郡守 was a Qin office. Qin abolished feudal lords, dividing their lands into prefectures, installing an Administrator 守, Assistant 丞, and Commandant 尉, one of each. The Administrator governed the people and the Assistant supported him. The Commandant managed troops against bandits. During Han the titles of the Administrators and Commandants were changed from shou to taishou 太守 and wei to duwei 都尉. During Eastern Han the Commandants were divided into Eastern Part and Western Part Commandants, and if there were minority tribes, then there was a Dependent State Commandant. For the prefecture containing the capital, the Administrator was called an Intendant 尹. Prefecture staff was roughly modeled after the Offices of the Excellencies. Prefectures nominated candidates as Filial and Incorrupt 孝廉 for office in the Imperial bureaucracy, frequency and number depending on prefecture size and dynasty.  

County Magistrates 縣令 and Chiefs 長 were Qin offices. Large counties were headed by Magistrates, small counties by Chiefs. If the county was a fief then the office was called Chancellor 相. Five families were a Fiver 伍, managed by a Fiver Chief 伍長. Two Fivers were a Tenner 什, managed by a Tenner Chief 什長, ten Tenners were a League 里, managed by a League Chief 里魁. Ten Leagues were a Precinct 亭, managed by a Precinct Chief 亭長. Ten Precincts were a Village 鄉, each village with a Village Aide 鄉佐, a Three-Elder 三老, an Orderly 有秩, a Resolver 嚇夫, and a Patroler 游徼. The Village Aide and Orderly managed taxation, the Three-Elder managed education, the Resolver managed conflict and litigation, and the Patroler managed crime.  

Kings 王 under Han’s original system installed a Grand Tutor 太傅 for assistance and teaching, Inner Scribe 內史 to govern the people, Assisting Chancellor 丞相 to govern the officials, and Central Commandant 中尉 to handle military affairs, and government apparatus modeled after the Imperial government in the capital. After the Rebellion of Seven States, Kings lost governance of their states, and most of the King’s staff abolished or reduced. By Eastern Han, Kings had a Tutor 傅 for teaching, a Chancellor 相 to govern the people, Central Commandant 中尉 to handle banditry, Cadet Internal Director 郎中令 to manage cadets and guard, a Charioteer 僕 (presumably the same as other Charioteer offices), a Documents Manager 治書 (which presumably functioned like the Secretariat), Internal Grandee 中大夫 which handed envoys between the capital and the vassal state, and Visitor 訪者, Ritual

108 SS 40.  
109 Ibid.
and Music Chief 礼樂, Guardian Chief 衛士, Medical Labor Chief 醫工, Perpetual Lane Chief 永巷, and Sacrificial Rites Chief 祀禮長. During Jin, Kings installed a Teacher, Friend, and Literary Scholar, one of each; to observe the name taboo of Jin Emperor Jing Sima Shi, Teacher (shi) was changed to Tutor (fu); Song changed back to Teacher. The equivalent to a prefectural Administrator was the Inner Scribe, with the Chancellor and Charioteer positions abolished. Kings had the Cadet Internal Director, Central Commandant, and Chief Agriculturalist as Three Ministers. Large states maintained an Upper Army, Central Army, and Lower Army; the next states maintained an Upper Army and Lower Army; small states maintained an Upper Army.  

110 Ibid.
## APPENDIX
### Summary Table

The following is the rank level organization given at the end of the Treatise of Bureaucracy in SS 40:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Rank Rank</td>
<td>Second Rank 第二品</td>
<td>Specially Advanced 特進. Generals of Elite Cavalry 驃騎, Chariots and Cavalry 車騎, and Guard 衛將軍. The various Chief Generals 諸大將軍. The various Regional Commanders Wielding Staff 諸持節都督.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank Rank</td>
<td>Sixth Rank 第六品</td>
<td>Secretariat Assistants and Cadets 尚書丞, 郎. Managing Documents Attendant Censor and Attendant Censor 治書侍御史, 侍御史. The Three Commandants 三都尉. Academic Scholars 博士. Chief Clerks and Majors to the Supporting the Army and above Generals and Regional Commanders Wielding Staff and Managers and Protectors of the Army 撫軍以上及持節都督領護長史, 司馬. Offices of the Excellencies Accompanying Internal Cadet Generals 公府從事中郎將. Minister of Justice’s Rectifier, Supervisor, and Commentator 廷尉正, 監, 評. Confidential Documents Composition Assistant and Cadet 祕書著作丞, 郎. The Three Ministers, Teachers, Friends, and Literary Scholars of Kings and Dukes 王國公三卿, 師, 友, 文</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Chinese Title</td>
<td>English Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seventh Rank 第七品</td>
<td>Visitors 至者．Palace Central Supervisor 殿中監．The Assistants of Ministers and the Intendant 諸卿 尹 丞．Heir-Apparent’s Tutor’s and Examiner’s Assistant 太子傅詹事率丞．The various military Chief Clerks and Majors at 600 dan 諸軍長史、司馬六百石者．The various office staff Advisers to the Army 諸府參軍．Rong and Man office Chief Clerks and Majors 戎蠻府長史，司馬．The Office of the Excellencies Officials and Associates 公府掾，屬．Heir-Apparent Heralds, Residents, and Provisions Office Director 太子洗馬，舍人，食官令．The County Magistrates at 600 dan 諸縣令六百石者．</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth Rank 第八品</td>
<td>Inner Terrace Standard Director Scribe 內臺正令史．Prefecture Assistant 郡丞．The various County Chiefs 諸 縣 署 長．Miscellaneous Announcing Authority Generals on down 雜號宣威將軍以下．</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ninth Rank 第九品</td>
<td>Inner Terrace Document Director Scribe 內 坐 書 令 史．Outer Terrace Standard Director Scribe 外 坐 正 令 史．The various county Assistants and Commandants 諸縣署丞，尉．</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>