bureaucratic org.; provincial. in China -1- chikkwa kosōl, ha,

**Provincial Officials (Wai-kuan)**

In the Shu-ch'ing, Wu-ch'eng chapter it says: There are five noble ranks and there are three (ranks) into which land is divided.

(note: Mr. Ts'ai(蔡氏) said: "The statement that "there are five ranks, earls, viscounts, and barons" refers to the kung, hou, pai, tzuk, and nan (dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons). The phrase, "there are three grades (of land) which were divisions of land" refers to the 100 li of the dukes and marquises, the 70 li for earls, and the 50 li for viscounts and barons.) (end note)

-- The Wang-shih (王制) (section of the Li-chi) says: "The land (tien 田) of the dukes and marquises was 100 li square; that of the earls was 70 li and that of the viscounts and barons was 50 li. (If there was an area of land?) where you couldn't make (was full?) 50 li (square), then it was not court combined (joined to) with the (territory of?) the Son of Heaven (pu ho yü 天子); it was attached to the feudal lords (chu-hou) and it was called fu-yung(附庸 ).

(note: Mr. Ch'ien (陳氏) here they use the term, "tien"(田) and they don't use the term, "ti"(地). This is because in ti(地) there are places that are not the same, such as mountains, forests, rivers, swamplands, high and low plains (原隰). If you set limits (boundaries) on land by measuring it in li (ti-li地里), and did not calculate in terms of tien-li(田里), then the land of the well-fields (ching-ti井地) would not be equal.

The phrase, "(he) was not combined with the Son of Heaven"(不附於天子) means that (a man who did not have a full 50 x 1 li square of land) did not participate in the meetings of the king's court.

If the common people earned merit (min kung 民功) it was called yung(庸). If their merit and work was attached to a large state (fu ta-kuo 附大國) and (news of it) was reported to the Son of Heaven, therefore it was called fu-yung(附庸) (end note)
(note cont. Ch'eng Hsüan (董玄) said; "This land is the system of three grades of noble rank (grants) of the Yin dynasty (封). The three grades of noble rank (ch'üeh san-tung 等之等) of the Yin dynasty were the duke, marquis, and earl (kung, hou, pai).

Wu-wang (武王) of the Chou dynasty when he first established the empire changed this and established five grades of noble rank, increasing them by the (titles of) viscount and baron (tzu, nan), yet he seems to have followed the land (distribution system) of the Yin. In the 8 regency of the Duke of Chou, he achieved Great Peace, greatly expanded the boundaries of the 9 chou (州), created the rites, and enfeoffed the kingdoms (feng-kuo 封國), all of which led to the expansion of land (普大其地) (end note)

The 9 chou (refers to the territory) within the four seas. A chou was 5 x 1,000 li square. (In the) Chou (they) established 30 states of 100 li (square territory), 60 of 70 li territory, and 120 of 10 li territory—a grand total of 210 states (kuo). Famous mountains and great marshlands were not used for fiefs (feng 封). All the rest was used for (as) wasteland the fu-yung (附庸 : states) and idle land (htien-tien 腹田).

In 8 of the chou, each chou has 210 states (kuo).

(note: Ch'eng Hsüan said: With regard to this, the large boundary was 3,000 li square. Since 3 x 3's (3 times 3?) is 9, there were 9 areas of 1,000 li square. One of them was the chi-nei (畿內 : capital area), and for the other 8, for each of them they established one chou. This was the Yin system. When the Duke of Chou established the rites (chih-li 禮), then the large boundary for the 9 chou was 7,000 li square, and on the basis of this he established the fa (system 法).

Chu Hsi said: "The system of grades seems to have been like this, but in fact in establishing states, they had to follow the topography of mountains and rivers. There was no way they could make exact squares." (end note)

5 States (kuo) were regarded as "attached" (shu 屬), and a shu had a chief (ch'ang 長).
bureaucratic org., local govt in China - 3- chikkwan_kosō, ha
10 states were considered as a lien(連) and a lien had a shuai(帥).
30 states were regarded as a tsu(卒) and a tsu had a cheng(正).
The 210 states were regarded as a chou, and a chou had a pai(伯),
and the 8 chou had 8 pai(八伯). (note: The shu, lien, tsu, and chou
were like collectives (groups聚 ). The shuai, cheng, and pai were also
ch’ang(長: chiefs). All the ch’ang were appointed from among outstanding
feudal lords. The chou-ch’ang 卜長 of the Yin dynasty were called
pai-yü (伯虞), those of the Hsia and Chou were all called mu(牧).)(end note)
--- In the Chou-li, when they established states (chien pang-kung
建邦國),
y they delineated the land by means of earthen tallies (i t’u-k’uei t’u chi ti
土地丈地 ) and established the territories. With regard
to the land of the chu-kung (dukes), they piled up earth for boundaries
(feng-ch’iang 封疆) (around a territory) that was 500 li square, and
land produce? they consumed half (of the crop) in taxes (chi shih-che p’an
食者半 ).
As for the land of the marquises (chu-hou), they piled up earth to make
boundaries around a territory 400 li square, and they consumed one-third
(of the crop, produce of the land)(in taxes) As for the land of the earls,
they set up earthen boundaries around a territory 300 li square, and
they consumed 1/3(in taxes). As for the land of the viscounts, they
set up earthen boundaries around a territory 200 li square and consumed 1/4
(of the crop in taxes). As for the land of the barons, they set up earthen
boundaries around a territory 100 li square and consumed 1/4 (in taxes).

(Ch’eng (Hsüan) said: The t’u-k’uei(土圭 ) was what was used to
make shadows of the sun and moon for the four seasons. The phrase, "t’u chi
ti"(土基地 ) is like saying that "they measured the land" (to chi ti
度地)."

Ch’eng Ssu-neng(程阿néng ) said: The phrase, "they ate half"
(chi shih che p’an食者半 ) meant that what the dukes consumed as
taxes (tsu-shui 稅稅 ) was half, and that was all. This half (tax)
was all pertaining to fu-yung small states (附庸小國 ). Those
(lands?) that were attached to the Son of Heaven (shu T’ien-tzu
天子 ) which
(ware taxed at the rate of) 1/3, were also in this way. But Ch’eng Hsüan said
bureaucratic organization, local govt in China -4- chikkwan kosō, ha

that the statements about consuming half, 1/3 or 1/4 were the king's way of equalizing things (wang chün 王均). He equalized the light and heavy grades of land tribute of the countries and states (pang-kuo ti-kung ch'ung-chung chih ting 郡國地貢輕重等), and in establishing regulations, he had to provide enough for the expenses for the states rites, us customs, funerals, and sacrificial rites, and the rest was presented as tribute, just as at the present time when they manage expenses by calculating disbursements (to-chih ch'ing-yung 度支經用) (when they use tax revenues first to meet the regular expenses of the ministry of taxation) and use the rest as grain of the ssu-neng (司農). He set the tribute for large states at a heavy rate in order to make it correct, and he set the tribute (land tax) for small states at a light rate in order to care for their needs (tsu-chih 獨之). (He) also said that when Wu-wang first established the empire, he changed the ranking system to 5 levels (ranks), but seems to have followed the Yin dynasty's three grade land (system). When the Duke of Chou was the regent and established a reign of great peace, he delineated the boundaries of the large 9 chou (units), and after establishing rites and enfeoffing the wang (王) the descendants (children, grandchildren) of the wang, then those people who were dukes or had merit, or were great feudal lords (got) territory of 500 li square. The next in grade, the marquises, got land 400 li square. The next in grade, the earls, got land 300 li square. The next in grade, the viscounts got 200 li square; and the next in grade, the barons, got 100 li square. (The above is according to the Ta-ssu-tu 大司徒: section of the Chou-li?) (end note)

Generally speaking, in countries of a thousand li (square)(pang-kuo ch'ien-li square 郡國千里), if they enfeoffed dukes with 500 squmuli, then there were 4 dukes; if they enfeoffed (marquises) with 400 li square, then there were 6 marquises. (If they enfeoffed earls) with 300 li square, then there were 7 earls (note: 7 is a mistake. It should be 11) (end note). (If they enfeoffed
bureaucratic organization, local govt in China -5- chikkan kos81, ha
viscounts) with 200 li square, then there were 25 viscounts. (If they
enfoeffed barons) with 100 li square, then there were 100 barons,
and by this means they knew (what was going on) all around the empire
(chou-chih t'ien-hsia 周知天下). (Note: By this *mean* rate, they
were able to know how large or small were the states in the 9 chou within the
four seas. In the Chou dynasty, the boundaries of the 9 chou were 7,000 li
on each side. 7 times 7 makes 49, so there were 49 parcels of land
with 1,000 li on each side. One of them was the capital area (chi-nei 畿内 )
and the remaining 48 were the 8 chou. 6 (of them) each had 1,000 li
on each side. The Duke of Chou changed the system of the Yin dynasty,
and even in the case of a small state, all of them had land that was (at
least?) 100 li on each side. With regard to this, in every matter to
speak of a rule was to establish a method. (每事論則皆設法 )
Within one chou, if they enfoeffed a duke with this 1,000 li, then you could
have 4 of them. Also, if you enfoeffed marquises with this 1,000 li, you
could have 6 of them. If you enfoeffed earls in this 1,000 (square) li,
you could have 11 of them. Also if you enfoeffed viscounts in this 1,000
li, you could have 25 of them. Also if you enfoeffed barons in this
1,000 square li, you could have 100 of them. The dukes, marquises, earls,
viscounts, and barons could not exceed (these numbers), so that if in one
chou with 210 kuo (states) you filled up the numbers with barons, then
what was left over was used for fu-yung (附庸 ).)(end note)
---. The states whether small or large supported one another (hsiang-wai 相維)
(note: The large state aided (pi 比 ) the small states, and the small
states served (shih 事 ) the large states; each of them had those
subordinated to them, and each were bound to one another in mutual support.)(end
note) The king established the mu (牧 ) (note: He selected outstanding
members of the feudal lords and made them mu and put the mu in charge of them.
See also Mr. Chih-fang 職方 ) for the above.) (end note)
I note that in ancient times, according to the system of enfeoffment (feng-chien chih chih 封建之制), within the 1000 li (of territory) that constituted the Son of Heaven's country (land) (t'ien-tzu pang-chi ch'ien-li chih nei 天子邦畿千里之内), there were 6 hsiang(郕) and 6 sui(廩). For each of the hsiang and sui they established a ta-fu(大夫). And for the territory outside the king's territory (chi-wai 靡外), they enfeoffed states (feng-kuo 封國). Dukes and Marquises had 100 土土土土 li square of land (tien 田). Earls had 70 li, and viscounts and barons had 50 li. As for the so-called noble ranks (lieh-chih列爵), there were 5 of them, and the degrees of land division were 3. (Note: The explanation of the Chou-li is different from this. I will (explain) this more in detail later.)

The ta-fu of the hsiang and sui and the dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons were (equivalent to) the posts (responsibilities) assumed by the shou-ling(守令) of the ch'ou and hsien of later ages. (note: In the land within the king's territory (chi-nei chih t'ien 閩內之邦), they also had kung, ching, ta-fu, and shih (公卿大夫士). But they only allowed them to consume the income (from this land), and that was all. (PREPENDS!!!) The ta-fu of all the hsiang and sui were in charge of administration (chu chi cheng-ling 主其政令). As for the territory outside the king's realm (chi-wai), the states of the marquises also had hsiang and sui. Large states had 3 of them; those next in size had 2, and small states had 1. But each of them had their officials govern them, but the chu-hou (feudal lords) were in charge of administration (government—守-).)(end note)

The Ch'in dynasty abolished the states (ch'u-hou) and made their territory into commanderies (chün). They abolished the hou (lords) and established magistrates (shou 縣).

The Han dynasty followed the system of the Ch'in and delineated chün (commanderies) and established shou (守: magistrates).
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(Note: Later on they changed (the name) to t'ai-shou 太守, he was in charge of governing the chin, and his rank was (ch'īn) was erh-ch'ien-shih (二千石) and he had a ch'ēng (丞) (as a subordinate official). In border commanderies they also had ch'ang-shih (長史) who was in charge of troops and horses (ping-ma- military affairs), and the rank of all of them was 600 shih.) (end note)

(And the Han established) weī (尉) 末 (note: Later they changed this to tu-weī 都尉). He was in charge of assisting the shōu, taking charge of military responsibilities and armored troops. His rank was comparable to erh-ch'ien-shih (2,000 shih), and he had a ch'ēng (subordinate) with a rank of 600 shih.) (end note)

If the capital was located at the place (x ching-shih suō ts'ai 宸兆所在 then (the magistrate?) was called a nei-shīh (內史) (note: Later on this was changed to ching-chāo-yīn (京兆尹). He was in charge of the government of the capital city. His rank was 2,000 shih, and he had 2 ch'ēng both of (as subordinates) whose rank was bānshì (ban-shi) 600 shih.

In the hsien there was a lǐng-ch'ēng (令長) (note: he was in charge of the government of the hsien. If there were 10,000 households or more, he was a lǐng, with a rank of 1,000 shih down to 600 shih. If less than 10,000 households, he was a ch'āng, with a rank of 500 shih down to 300 shih. All zhī had ch'ēng-weī (丞尉) subordinates with a rank of 400-200 shih.) (end note)

-A chūn (commandery) in general commanded about a dozen hsien, sometimes more, sometimes less. In Ch'in dynasty times there were 40 chūn. (note: At the beginning they combined (unified) the 6 kuo into 36 chūn. In the South they then pacified the 100 xīn Yi, and also established 4 chūn there.) (end note). In the beginning of the Han dynasty they divided up (the territory) into 66 chūn-kuo (chūn and kuo?). Wù-ti expanded the territory and divided it up and set boundaries until by the time of P'ing-ti (1-6 AD) the chūn (and) kuo together totalled 103. (note: Compare the difference between the chu-kuo wáng-kuo (諸侯王國; kingdoms of the feudal lords) and the chūn (commanderies) in the Han dynasty, if they established a wáng-kuo(王國)
they established a hsien (相) who was comparable to a ch'ın-shou (郡守: magistrate) and a ch'ing-wei (中尉) who was comparable to a ch'ın-wei (郡尉). (end note). In general the territory of a hsien was 100 li square. If the population was dense (ch'ou 都), then (the area of the hsien) was reduced. If the population was sparse, then the area was expanded. In the time of P'ing-ti (1-6 AD), there were 1,314 hsien (縣: hsien: towns). (note: At the time the dimensions of the land (territory) were 9,300 li east and west, and 13,300 li north and south.) (end note)

In the Ch'in dynasty, for the ch'ın they established t'ai-shou (太守) (Note: they also had (the following officials): 主簿,功曹,諸曹掾). In the ch'ın where the capital was located they called (the chief magistrate) a yin (尹). In the kingdoms (wang-kuo 王國) they used a Nei-shih (內史) to take charge of the T'ai-shou's (太守) responsibilities. (note: In the beginning of the Han dynasty, in the states of the feudal lords and kingdoms (chu-hou 王国) they also established Nei-shih to govern the people of the state and (chief magistrate) to supervise the hundred officials as at the Han court. Later when the chu-hou (feudal lords) were lost (eliminated), among the officials they eliminated the Nei-shih, and they had the hsien (相) take charge of governing the people like the ch'ın-shou (regular magistrates). The Chin later abolished the hsien and established the Nei-shih (again). (end note)

All hsien had ling (令) (magistrates). (note: These hsien in the Han dynasty that had more than 10,000 households had ling (officials). If less than 10,000 households, then the mag. was a ch'ang. In the Wei dynasty all the hsien had ling, and the Chin dynasty followed this. (For subordinate officials), they had the (主簿,功曹,諸曹掾), and in general they were hsien assistants (hsien-tso 相佐). From the Han dynasty on they had the ch'eng-wei (丞尉) the various ts'ao (諸曹) who were generally ch'ın officials (相簿). (end note)
In the Chin dynasty altogether there were 173 ch'un-kuo (ch'ün & kuo?).

(note: After Wu-ti pacified the state of Wu (呉) ))(end note)

In the Northern Ch'i dynasty, the various ch'un were greatly different from one another in their size and so they divided them into upper, middle, and lower (large, medium, and small), and for each of these ranks they also had a further subdivision into upper, middle, and lower, make a total of 9 grades. The system for the hsien was also like this. (Note: At this time the state of Liang also divided the chou (prefectures) into 5 pl'in (分).)

From the end of the Chin dynasty the empire was divided and split, and (people) repeatedly took away territory from one another and competed to found (their own) ch'un and hsien (commanderies and districts).

There indeed was much confusion. Also with regard to garrison in the border areas (frontiers), even though the number of people governed (controlled) was not large, because they wanted to make the post of general (chiang-shuai) important, they all established ch'un (on the frontier), so the number of ch'un increased more and more while the population decreased by the day.)(end n.)

The Sui dynasty system was like that of the Northern Ch'í. They also changed the ch'un to the chou and the T'ai-shou (太守) to the Tz'u-shih (刺史)

(note: (for subordinate officials) they had the ch'ang-shih (長史), ssu-ma (司馬), and the lu-shih (錄事), ch'un-chih (參軍) and other officials.

In the time of Wen-ti, the Minister of War (Ping-pu shang-shu (兵部尚書), Yang Shang-hsi (楊尚希) said: At the present time we have some areas where there are not (even) 100 li, and yet several hsien are established there. Or we have areas where there are not a full 1,000 households, and yet there are 2 ch'un who divide up responsibilities for governing them. We have many officials with a lot of expenses while the tax (revenues) decrease by the year. We ought to preserve (those that are) essential (important), and do away with the idle and combine the small (districts) to make large ones. (If we do that), then the state will not be lacking grain and silk, and in
selecting men for office (hsuan-chi), it will be able to obtain worthy and good men." The emperor approved this and subsequently changed the chin to chou. (end note)

--- In the Sui dynasty there were 190 chou and 1,255 hsien. (note: this was after Wen-ti pacified the Ch'en(陈).) (end note)

--- The T'ang dynasty followed the Sui system and converted the chin to the chou and the t'ai-shou to the tz'u-shih(刺史). (Note: At the end of the Sui, Yang-ti 玉帝 abolished the chou and converted them to chin and converted the tz'u-shih to t'ai-shou. At the beginning of the T'ang they restored the older system of the Sui.)(end note)

Also the T'ang established Tu-tu-fu(都督府) in order to govern them (the chou). In the capitals and in the old capitals, they established near fu-yin(府尹). (note: They also had the chou in the capital region (chin-chi 至緒) made into the 4 fu(辅). The rest of them were (divided into) the 6 hsiung(雄), 10 wang(望), 10 chin(緊) and the upper, middle, and lower chou. Among the hsien, y they had the grades of ch'ih-hsien(赤縣), the chi-hsien(畿縣), the wang-hsien( 堡县 ) the chin-hsien( 城縣 ), the upper hsien, middle hsien, middle-lower hsien, and lower hsien.)(end note)

-the Ching-fu-yin(京府尹) (note: Rank 3B. (as subordinate officials) he had the hsiao-yin(小尹), ssu-lu(司錄), lu-shih(録事), The 2 ch' an-chin(參軍) and other officials. The Hsiao-yin were rank 4B and below.

In the 6 fu(府) of Ch'eng-tu(成都), Ho-chung(河中), Chiang-ling (江陵) etc., they only put a yin official. As for the three capitals of the East, West, and North, they added a mu(牧) of rank 2B who was placed above the yin. But in many cases the various kings (wang) assumed this responsibility (tien-shih) and did not personally attend to affairs.

Early in the dynasty when T'ai-tsung attacked the Koryo dynasty, he established a Ching-ch'eng liu-shou(京城留守). After that when the imperial carriage may for his own capital
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351, 18:4b) was not in the capital, then they established a liu-shou. The Yu-chin-wu ta-chiang-chin (右金吾大將軍) was made the assistant (fu-liu-shou 副留守). In the k'ai-yan period (Hsüan-tsung, 713-742), the T'ai-yan fu-yin (太原尹) was made concurrently the Pei-tu liu-shou (北都留守), and the Hsiao-yin (少尹) was made the fu-liu-shou (副留守). Therefore, the three capitals all had the titles of liu-shou (officials). (end note)

-the Chou tz'u-shih (州刺史). (note: The Tz'u-shih of upper chou (shang-chou) were rank 3B. (As subordinates) they had p'ao-chia 别館, ch'ang-shih (長史), ssu-ma, and lu-shih (錄事), ch'ang-chin (營軍) and other officials. The piyeh-chia was rank 4B and below. The ch'ang-shih was rank 5B and above. The ssu-ma was rank 5B and below. Thus

The tz'u-shih for middle chou and lower chou were all rank 4A and below. (these lower ranking?) The assistant officials of the chou and lower (officials) were dropped by one degree, and also their numbers were reduced.) (end note)

With regard to the establishment of the Tu-tu-fu (都督府), the tu-tu were in charge of commanding the troops and horses of the various chou and concurrently managed the affairs of the fu. If they had comprehensive control over 10 chou, then they were called Ta-tu-tu-fu (大都督府). The rest were middle or lower tu-tu-fu. In the Ta-tu-tu-fu, the tu-tu was rank 2B, and (for his subordinate officials) he had ch'ang-shih (長史), ssu-ma (司马) and lu-shih (錄事), ch'ang-chin (營軍) and other officials. The ch'ang-shih was rank 3B; the ssu-ma was rank 4B and below. In the middle and lower fu, the rank of the tu-tu was dropped by one grade, and the fu assistants were also dropped (in grade) and reduced in number.

In the border chou that were in control of the fan-i (藩表: tributary barbarians?), they established Tu-liu-fu (都護府) which in rank and grade were the same as the Tu-tu. (end note)

-The hsien-ling (縣令) (note: the ling of an upper hsien was rank 6B and above. (For subordinate officials) he had a ch'eng, chu-fu (主簿), wei-cheng
who were rank 8 and below. The ling of the ching-hsien (capital hsien),
and the chi-hsien (capital area hsien) and the hsien assistants
were all dropped one degree in rank. The ling and assistants in the
middle, middle-lower, and lower hsien were all dropped one degree in rank. (end note)

(note: **Tu Yu (杜佑)** said: The assistant officials of the
chou and fu of the T'ang dynasty were the same as the Sui dynasty. They
had pieh-chia (別部), ch'ang-shih (長史), and /ssu-ma (司馬),
lu-shih (錄事), ch' an-ch' i n-shih (參軍), and ssu-kung (司功),
ssu-ts'ang (司常), ssu-lu (司護), ssu-ping (司兵), ssu-fa (司法),
and ssu-shih (司士) etc., the 6 ch' an-ch' i n (參軍). In the fu,
these were ts' ao (曹), and in the chou they were ssu (司). In the
fu they established two men (for each of them), and in the chou they
established one man. They also had grades for the ch' an-ch' i n. Generally
speaking, they all were rank 7 and below, or possibly rank 8 or 9.

In addition there was one wen-hsiüeh (文學) and one i-hsiüeh po-shih (医学
博士). The wen-hsiüeh of the fu and chou were rank 8B, but they
had no responsibilities and the gowned and capped (scholars) were
ashamed to become (these officials).

He also said: As for the lu-shih and ch' an-ch' i n, the Chin dynasty
established them. Basically they were officials of official fu (kung-fu
official units), and were not posts of the chou and chih (local administration).
They were in charge of all the lu (蠻) and the ts' ao (曹) documents
and ledgers and x pointed out good and bad (points about officials) and
impeached (wrongdoers). In later ages the tz'u-shih (刺史) had soldiers
(chiü), and when they opened up fu (government) they established them
(soldier subordinates) together with (the tz'u-shih) and in the beginning
of the Sui dynasty they were regarded as chih officials (chih-kuan 郡官).
As for the ssu-kung (司勲) and ch' an-ch' i n (參軍), both Han dynasties
had Kung-ts' ao-shih (功曹史) who were in charge of selecting and
appointing men of merit and effort, and this was followed in subsequent ages.
He also said: From the Han and Wei dynasties on, all the local assistant officials of the chou and chin from the ch'ang-shih and sui-ma on down were all appointed by the tz'u-shih and t'ai-shou themselves (tzu-pi) 真御. This was the same for several ages. By the time of the Northern Ch'i, in the wu-p'ing (marital pacification) period (570-576), the Hou-chu(後主) made a lot of mistakes in governing. He had a lot of people he favored (seeking favor 僵倖) and he gave them the right to sell office, and he divided up the chou and chin (among them), and down to the appointment of local officials men handed down official orders. Therefore they had used imperial decree to appoint (ch'ih-yung 募用) the chu-fu of the chou(chou chu-fu 提督) and the Kung-ts'ai of the chin (ch'ìn kung-ts'ai 功曹). Thus from this time on, the province of the chou and chin (magistrates) (officials) did not again have the authority to hire and appoint (magistrates) (pi-shu) (subordinates). (note) The fu-che-ch'ung-tu-wei (府折衝都尉,府) was in charge of commanding troops (ling-ping 領兵). The che-ch'ung tu-wei for upper fu was rank 4A and above, and he had (as subordinate officials) the (左右果毅都尉,別將). The 果毅 was rank 5B. The che-ch'ung and chiang-i (將威) of lower-middle and lower fu were all dropped down by one rank. There were 1200 troops for an upper fu, 1,000 for a middle fu, 800 for a lower fu. Altogether there were 634 fu for the whole empire.

I note that the T'ang che-ch'ung-fu were subordinated to the chu-wei (諸衛), and for that reason the kuang-chih (官志) of the T'ang (-shu)
lists them in the Capital Bureaucracy (nei-chih(内職). However, the various fu were scattered among each of the tao (circuits), so that in fact (the fu) were Provincial Officials (posts : wai-kuan). It is only that in establishing the fu, they followed the fixed quotas of troops and so it was not necessary to one fu in every chou, and it was different from the chên-wei(郡尉) system of the Han dynasty. It is for this reason that at the present time they also are not attached to the chou officials, it is said. (end note) (whose note is this? a later Chinese commentator ma or Yu?)

-the chen-chiang(鎮將) (note: They were in charge of defense.

An upper chen-chiang was rank 6A and below, and for subordinates he had fu x(副) and chên-chin(軍) for the chen (garrison) and other officials. For middle and lower chen, the chiang and fu (officials) were dropped by one grade in rank. There were 500 troops for an upper chen, 300 for a middle chen, and if there were not enough troops (to make 300), then it became a lower chen. There were altogether 245 chen. In addition there were shu(成) which were also divided into three grades. Upper shu commanders (shang-shu-chu(上尉) were rank 6A and below, and they had assistants (shu-fu(成副)). Middle and lower shu were also dropped in rank by one grade. 50 men constituted an upper shu; 30 men a middle shu, and if there were not enough to make 30 men, then it was a lower shu. The total number of shu was 342. With regard to the subordinate officials of the chen and shu, in former periods the chin-shou(郡守) selected men and appointed them. The practice of the court commissioning them (ch'a-chien差遣) began in the Sui dynasty. The T'ang followed this and made it their system.) (end note)

-In the T'ang dynasty there were 328 chou and fu, and 1,573 hsien. (note: At the time the boundaries of the land were 9,500 li east and west, and 16,900 li north and south.) (end note)
The Sung dynasty continued the evils of the T'ang and the Five Dynasties and there was much confusion (disarray) in the bureaucratic system of the chou and hsien (local govt). With regard to the mu-yin (牧尹) of the fu (府), Imperial Princes (huang-tzu 子) held the post of yin concurrently, but they were not always established (appointed). And he separately (especially) established temporary magistrates (ch'ian chih-fu 權知府), and used officials of the capital court to carry out the duties of the mu-yin (牧尹). (note: Beneath the mu-yin of the fu there were hsiao-yin (少尹), t'ung-p'an (通判), ssu-lu (司錄), hu-ts'ao (戶曹), fa-ts'ao (法曹), shih-ts'ao (士曹), ssu-li (司理) and other officials, just as in K'ai-feng (the capital). In Lin-an (臨安) and other fu, the number of officials was even larger.) (end note)

With regard to the chou and hsien, in accordance with the T'ang dynasty system, they had different grades of wangs, chin, upper, middle, and lower. (note: among the hsien there were ch'ih-hsien (赤県), chi-hsien (畿县) and wang and chin, upper, middle, middle-lower, and lower--8 ranks) (end note) and the magistrates (shou-ling) of the chou and hsien many times were officials with duty responsibilities at the court in the capital. When they filled a post in the provinces, sometimes they carried (central govt titles?) and sometimes not. They were regarded as superior or inferior on the basis of this (their capital office titles?). (note: If the hsien-ling (district mag.) was a capital court official, then he was a chih-hsien-shih 知縣事) and for his subordinates he had a ch'eng, chu-fu, and wei (尉) like an administrative town (regular district). If it was a big (hsien) then he had 2 wei; if small, then perhaps they did not have a chu-fu.) (end note)

In the system of the Great Ming dynasty, they had fu, chou, and hsien. (note: I note that since the Han dynasty they used the chin to control (領) hsien, and that was all. The Sui and T'ang dynasties changed the chin to a chou and also used the chou to control (govern) the hsien. The Sung dynasty followed the evils of the late T'ang and Five Dynasties,
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and there (bureaucratic) system had much that was confused (in disarray).

In Yuan times they had the lu(路), fu, chou, and hsien—4 grades.

They used the lu(路) to control the chou (州) controlled the hsien, or perhaps they used the lu to control the fu, and the fu control the chou, and the chou controlled the hsien. They also had (independent) fu and chou that were not subordinated to the lu but were directly subordinated to the province (sheng 省). In the Great Ming dynasty they made an overall change in this system, but in some cases they followed the old system.

Generally speaking, they used the fu to govern (control) the hsien, but they also had fu controlling chou and chou controlling hsien.)(end note)

- The Ch'ing-fu-ying(京府尹). (note: rank 3A. He had as subordinates a ch'eng-chih(ch'eng 中), chih-chung(治中) and t'ung-p'an (通判) and other officials. The ch'eng was rank 4A, the chih-chung was rank 5A; the t'ung-p'an was rank 6A.) (end note)

- the chou chih-shout(州知州). (note: rank 5B. He had as subordinates the t'ung-chih(同知), p'an-kuan(判官) and other officials. The T'ung-chih was rank 6B, the p'an-kuan was rank 7B) (end note)

- the hsien chih-hsien(縣知縣). (note: rank 7A. He had as subordinates a ch'eng, chu-fu. The ch'eng was rank 8A.

As for the chih-hsien (magistrate) of a capital hsien, he was rank 6A; his ch'eng and chu-fu were also dropped one grade in rank.

- I note that in the Ming system of assistant fu officials, below the t'ung-p'an and t'ui-kuan(推官), they had the ching-li(經歷), chih-shih(知事), chao-mo(照磨), sau-yi(司獄) and others, about six or seven officials. As for the assistant officials of the chou, beneath the p'an-kuan they also had several officials. Also, with regard to the school (educational) officials (hših-chiao kuan) of the fu, chou, and hsien, they had the chiao-shou(教授), hših-cheng(學正), chiao-yi(教授), and the hsun-tao(訓導) every place had them. However, the chiao-shou of the fu were rank 9B, but the hših-cheng...
and lower officials and the hsien-tao were all not part of the regular bureaucracy (wei ju-lu 来入流). They were put together in a group with the i-hsiang 学, yin-yang-hsiang 陰陽学, monks (tsung-cheng 僧正) and taoists (tao-cheng 道正), and this was regrettable.

In addition the fu and hsien all had shui-ma (水馬) and i-ch'äng (騨政) who all were not part of the regular bureaucracy.) (end note)

--- The Wei chih-hui-shih (衛指揮使) (note: rank 3A. For their subordinates they had chih-hui (指揮, t'ung-chih (同知), ch'ien-shih (僉事), and chen-fu (鎮撫) and other officials. The t'ung-chih was rank 3B; the ch'ien-shih was rank 4A. In general, 5,600 troops constituted one wei, and wei wei was in command of 5 so (所). Altogether there were 493 wei throughout the empire.

I note that the Ming established wei and this was similar to the T'ang dynasty's establishment of the che-ch'ung-fu (折衝府). But the fu (府) of the T'ang were subordinated to the various wei in the capital and the people they were in command of were all duty and off-duty civilian-soldiers (fan-hsiu mín-ping 督休民兵). With regard to these, each were under the jurisdiction of their home province (sheng)’s tu-chih-hui-ssu (都指揮司), and the men they were in charge of were the officers and subordinate soldiers (ch'ang-tsung 队丁), who did not engage in agriculture (ch'ang-tsung pu-neng chih ping 遊卒不用之卒). (end note).

--- the so ch'ien-hu (千户) (note: rank 5A. For his subordinates he had a fu-ch'ien-hu (副千) of rank 5B. 1,120 troops made up one so. One so controlled 100 household. Each so had 10 pai-hu (百戶) of rank 6A who controlled 120 soldiers.) (end note)

--- In the Ming dynasty there were 150 fu, 240 chou, 1,127 hsien (their land boundaries were east and west, north and south).

(note: Ch'iu Chin (丘濬) said: "When our dynasty was first founded, most of the chin and hsien followed the old names of the conquered states. (former)."
Among them there were some who had (names) that were not the same, but from the beginning the territorial boundaries were not different. At that time people left their (home areas) and did not return, and there were no fixed numbers (quotas) of population. But at the present time the registers have been established and the number of people increases by the day, but the chün and hsien still follow the old system and there are great discrepancies between large and small ones and those with large and small populations. There are some fu that control several dozen chou and hsien while the smallest has scarcely two or three hsien. Or there may be one hsien that controls 700 or 800 li (villages?), while the smallest does not have enough for one li. In establishing a bureaucratic system, even though you can completely eliminate special ranks and grades so that there are no major differences between what is large and what is small, (still) one should not dare to change the bureaucratic system of yet it would seem that former emperors (our forefathers), and we should take into consideration the system of former ages in order to made grades for the fu and hsien (local administration). I foolishly request that we divided the fu into upper, middle, and lower--three grades, and the grades of the chou and hsien would also be like this. An upper hsien would control the population of the territory of a 100 li (villages)(note: 100 households make up one li)(end note); a middle hsien would control 50 li (villages) or more; and a lower hsien would control 40 villages or less. If a hsien had more than a 100 villages, then we might upgrade it to a chou, or divide it up into one or two hsien. If the population of a hsien is too small, then assign it to a neighboring village, divide it up and support it? (increase it). If the population of a chou is too small, then you might downgrade it to a hsien, or increase (its population) with people living nearby. The fu will also be handled this way. If it is done this way, then with regard to the responsibilities of the officials, there will be places that are complicate (complex) and those that are simple (to govern), and this can be used (as a basis)
for promoting or dismissing them (ch'ŏngch'oe).

With regard to what is produced from the land, there are those places where the crop is abundant and where it is thin (not much), and this can be used to rank grade their taxes (科職) And with regard to places where people congregate (to dwell), there are those places where they are numerous and where there are few of them, and this can be used to determine labor service requirements. If you want to see territorial boundaries regulated equally, if you want work to be performed equally, and if you want taxes to be distributed equally and fairly and the basis for Great Peace (established), it certainly depends on this (doing it this way)."

The Shu-ch'ing says, "Outside (in the provinces) there are the chou, mu, hou, and pai (州牧侯伯)

- The Wang-chih (section of the Li-chi) says: Each chou of the 9 chou is 1,000 li square, and outside 1,000 li they established the fang-pai (方伯) (note: Inside (in the capital area) one chou was the king's territory (wang-chi). What this (above) refers to is the area outside the 1,000 li of the wang-chi.) (end note) For the (other) 8 chou, there were 8 pai (八伯).

- The Son of Heaven sent his ta-fu (大夫) to be the san-chien (三桓) and act as chien (丞: director) over the states of the fang-pai (方伯). There were three (of them) for one state (kuo). (for all this see above)

- Note that the fang-pai (方伯) were the chiefs (ch'ang) of the local feudal lords (chi fang chu-hou ch'ang). The phrase that the ta-fu acted as chien means that they especially despatched court officials to go and direct them (chien-chih).

In ancient times the feudal lords (chu-hou) all held their kuo (states) hereditarily. The fang-pai was the only one who (had the right) to launch punitive expeditions (ch'ien cheng-fa). His power was long (term) and his authority was heavy (great) and it was easy for them to act on their
own authority. Therefore the Son of Heaven also especially despatched chien (監) in order to govern (restrain?) them (lin-chih 靈之).

The intention behind this was to link together the inner and outer regions (nei-wai hsiang-t'ung chih i) so-called (內外相統) This was like the post of fang-pai (方伯) in later ages, which in all cases was an official (term of duty) who was a court official with limited responsibilities (ch'ao-ch'en hsien-jen 朝臣限任之員) and is not to be compared with (someone, a feudal lord) who had extensive authority over his state (國 phase) passed down to be succeeded to it by inheritance (ch'ian-kuo shih? 非傳國世異之官) to

In addition, especially established Ts'ung-ping-kuan (總兵官) General Military commander) in order to control the army (troops), which is completely different from the ancient feudal system (ku feng-chien...)

It is not necessary also (in addition) to despatch chien-ch'a (監察) and yu-shih (御史) and by this means cause them (provincial governors? hsi-i-chih) dissatisfaction (以擾之).

The Ch'in dynasty used yu-shih to supervise (chien) the various ch'ün, and they called them chien (監).

- Wu-ti of the Han dynasty divided up the empire into 13 pu (部), and in each pu he established a tz'u-shih (刺史). (Note: In the early Han dynasty they eliminated the ch'ün-chien (郡監) of the Ch'in dynasty.

Hui-ti (惠帝: 194-187 BC) despatched a yu-shih to supervise (chien) the san-fu (三輔) and investigate lawsuits. Later on (in) the chou, they restored the chien-ch'a (監察) yu-shih (御史). Wen-ti (179-156 BC), because the yu-shih were not upholding the law and (the yu-shih's) subordinates were not performing their responsibilities right, ordered the PM (ch'eng-hsiang 子相) to despatch shih (史) to govern the chou (tz'u-chou 刺史), but they were not always appointed. In the yin-feng year period of Wu-ti's reign (110-104), for the first time they established the 13 pu (部) and created the post of pu-tz'u-shih (部刺史), of rank (ch'ih 軍) 600 shih, and used him to maintain surveillance over and conduct (the affairs of) the ch'ün-ku (郡國).
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In general, the tz'u-shih stayed in their posts for 9 years. Since the people of the san-fu and the kuan-nei (area within the passes) territory, in the cheng-hua period and after (92-88 BC, Wu-ti), abolished the (post of) tz'u-shih/and subordinated (these areas) to the chiao-wei (校尉) to investigate (maintain surveillance over). (end note)

In the time of Ch'eng-ti (32-6 BC), the Ta-ssu-kung (大司空), Ho Wu (何武) memorialized on the meaning of the Spring and Autumn (Annals?) (and said that) "You should use the noble to rule the base; you should not use the {

The rank of the tz'u-shih is beneath that of the ta-fu, yet he rules over the 2,000 shih (rank officials). Light and heavy (high and low rank) are not in balance. I request that you abolish the tz'u-shih, and instead create the post of chou-mu (州牧) in order to be in accordance with the ancient system." Subsequently, (as a result of this request), they abolished the tz'u-shih and established the chou-mu (note: his rank was exactly 2,000 shih, and his position was just after the 9 ching (卿))(end note)

--. The Chin dynasty divided up the chou. There were 19 chou, and they established (the post of) tz'u-shih (to govern them). (note: For subordinates he had pin-chia (别驾), chih-chung (治中), tsung-shih (从事), fa-t'sao (法曹) and other officials.)(end note)

--. The T'ang dynasty divided up the empire into 10 circuits (tao) and established (the post of) hsüin-ch'a-shih (巡按使; to govern them). Subsequently they changed it to An-ch'a-shih (按察使). In the k'ai-yuan year period (Hsüan-tsung, 713-742), they divided (the empire) into 15 circuits (tao) and changed (its chief official) to a Ts'ai-fang-shih (按察使) (note: Within the passes (kuan-nei), the Ts'ai-fang-shih was controlled by a capital officials.)(end note) Later on they changed (the name) to Kuan-ch'a-shih (觀察使). If it was a place where the army was located (yu jung-yu chih ti? 有戎旅之地), they appointed a Chieh-tu-shih (御度使).
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(note: The Kuan-ch'\(\text{a}-\)shih had (for subordinate officials) the fu-shih (副使), chih-shih(支使), p'an-kuan(判官), chang-shu-chi(掌書記) and other officials. It was also like this for the Chieh-tu-shih. In addition to the Kuan-ch'\(\text{a}-\)shih and Chieh-tu-shih, there were also various other shih(使), such as the Tsu-yung-shih(租庸使), Ch'\(\text{m}-\)y\(\text{n}-\)shih(轉運使) and the Salt and Iron shih(鹽鐵使) but they had not fixed site (office) of government, and these posts were not always established, so for that reason they were not listed in the Kuan-chih (treatise on bureaucracy in the dynasty history?).)(end note)

--. The Sung dynasty divided up the tao (circuits) into 15 lu（路 ）。
Jen-ts\(\text{h}ng\) (1023-64) divided them (further) into 18 lu. Shen-ts\(\text{hng}\) (1068-86) again divided them into 23 lu. At the beginning they established the post of An-ch'\(\text{a}-\)shih (to govern the lu) (note: the Ta-fu-shou-ch'\(\text{en}\) (大府中書) had supervision over them concurrently)(end note) and Ch'\(\text{m}-\)y\(\text{n}-\)shih(轉運使).

Later on they also established (the posts of) ti-tien(提刑) and hsing-y\(\text{\u0015}\) (刑獄). In general there were four bureaus (ssu-ssu in the lu?).

One was called su-shih(統使) (note: equivalent to the An-ha\(\text{h}晕)shih) 安撫使; the second was ts'ao(漕) (note: equivalent to Ch'\(\text{m}-\)y\(\text{n}-\)shih(轉運使); the third was called hsien(縣) (note: equivalent to ti-hsing 提刑); the fourth was called ts'ang(倉). Each of them established their own office (t'ai 豐) and each of them had ch'\(\text{u}-\)shih 賜. (note: In addition to this there were also chih-chih(制置), hs\(\text{\u0015}\)-fu(宣撫), chao-t\(\text{h}ao(招討), chao-fu(招撫) and other shih(使). All of them had subordinates (ch'\(\text{u}-\)shih-shih 條屬), but not all of these officials were appointed on a regular basis, but their titles were so numerous that I will not record them all (here). In addition there was the so-called Chih-tu-shih, but they were not regarded as Provincial Officials (wai-kuan); they were only regarded as additional officials for the purpose of attending the imperial relatives and the prime ministers(tsai-hsiang) who had retired (chih-shih-sche 致仕者).
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In general, in the beginning of the Sung dynasty, they took warning from the evil problem of the powerful border garrisons of the Five Dynasties period. They had the Chieh-tu-shih do away with soldiers (their private military forces?) and they had them live in houses, but they gave them superior treatment in terms of salary and rank, and later on they followed this principle of handling them and made such people "retired extra officials" (chih-shih chia-kuan). (end note)

The Great Ming dynasty divided up the empire into two capitals and 13 provinces (liang ching-chi chi shih-san sheng). (Note: "sheng" was originally the name for the forbidden palace, which in the past had been called "the forbidden (area)" (chinch'ien). In the Han dynasty in order to observe the taboo on the name of the father of Empress Ylian (Yuan-hou), they changed (chinch'ien) to sheng, but previous ages only called the official bureau within the forbidden palace the sheng. They never called any outside agency (any bureau outside the palace administration) by the name of sheng. In Yuan times, the chou and fu within the capital area (chi-nei) was subordinated directly to the Chung-shu-sheng. Outside (in the provinces) the various circuits (tiao) each established a detached Chung-shu-sheng (hsing Chung-shu-sheng), and for this reason the provinces was called sheng. In the Great Ming dynasty, even though they changed this system, the term, sheng, was retained and was not changed. (end note)

The two capital areas (liang ching-chi) were directly subordinated all of to the Six Boards (liu-pu). In the 13 sheng (provinces), they established Pu-cheng-ssu in order to have comprehensive responsibilities for the receipt control over of imperial orders (ch'eng-liu) and the promulgation of orders to the people (hsuan-hua). They also established Tu-tu chih-hui-shih-ssu (都督指揮使司) in order to take charge of military administration. They also established An-chi'ssu (按察司) to take charge of laws and regulations (hsien-to).
These three bureaus (san-ssu) jointly governed one walled city (the provincial capital?). In addition, every year they despatched chien-ch'a (top civil official) and yii-shih in order to make the rounds of the province and investigate things (hsün-an). (note: the Pu-cheng and An-ch'a (officials) all held their posts for 9 years. The chih-hui might hold his post for his whole life. All of them took their families with them to establish permanent residence (in their duty posts). The Chien-ch'a yii-shih came in a single cart (carriage) (alone) and investigated things (and) for one year and was then changed, but in fact the chien-ch'a had exclusive responsibility for making decisions on all affairs. ) (end note)

The Pu-cheng-ssu (had) Left and Right Pu-cheng-shih (note: There were two men each of rank 2B. They had (as subordinates) left and right ch'an-cheng (布政), left and right ch'an-i (晉察 ) and ching-li (經歷), tu-shih (節理) and other officials. All the ch'an-cheng were rank 3B, and all the ch'an-i were rank 4B) (end note)

The Tu-chih-hui-ssu (note: he was rank 2B. He had as subordinate officials a tu-chih-hui-t'ung-chih (都指揮同知), a ch'ien-shih (校尉) and ching-li (經歷), tuan-shih (監事), tu-shih (節理) and other officials. The Tu-chih-hui-t'ung-chih was rank 2B; the ch'ien-shih was rank 3A) (end note)

The An-ch'a-ssu (按察司) had an An-ch'a-shih (按察使) (note: he was rank 3A. He had as subordinates a fu-shih (都司), ch'ien-shih (校尉), ching-li-ssu (經歷司) and other officials. The Fu-shih was rank 4A; the ch'ien-shih was rank 5A) (end note)

The Chien-ch'a yii-shih (御史) (note: he was rank 7A, and was also called the hsün-an yii-shih (巡御史). Originally he was in the category of a Tu-ch'a-yulan (御史院官) official, but they established yamen in each of the sheng (provinces) and he came "by single cart" (alone) to assume responsibilities (in the province) (end note)
I note that government administration, education, punishments, and laws (cheng chiao hsing fa 政教刑法 ) (are matters) the jurisdiction over which basically cannot be divided into two places (you can't divide up responsibility among two officials for handling them). If once you have established a Pu-cheng 布政 ) in order to exercise comprehensive jurisdiction over the administration of a single area, and then you also establish an An-ch'a-ssu 掌察司 ), I don't know whether this is correct (obtains the proper result) or not. If you also despatch a separate Chien-ch'a 監察 ) and this chien-ch'a has exclusive responsibility to make decisions on his own authority, then the Pu-cheng, on the contrary, comes close to being a superfluous post, and this is not in accordance with the (original) purpose for the establishment of the Pu-cheng. Generally speaking they (probably) wanted that these officials would check each other (hsiang-chih 相制 ) so that (no single one of them) would have universal authority (wu-p'ien 無偏 ), and that was all there was to it. But naturally it gave rise to evils (problems).

Wang T'ung (王通 )* said: "If in entrusting responsibilities you do not (confer it on) a single (official, person), then this becomes the medium for confusion (lan chih mi la 亂事). If there is no stop (restraint) on supervision and investigation, it becomes the agency for corruption. (chien-ch'a pu chih kan chih fu ya 監察予止奸之倉). This was the way by which the Ch'in dynasty fell. If you investigate things on the basis of the facts, then naturally you will be able to see what is right and what is wrong." (if you look at the history of bureaucratic organization on the basis of facts, you can see what is good and bad, well done and mistakenly done in bureaucratic organization)

* (Han, III, 426, f.n. In China there were people with the name Wang T'ung. One was a shih-chung (侍中 ) in the Ch'en 陳 dynasty; another was wen-chung-tzu (文中子 ) in the Sui dynasty; another attained the post of Ch'un-t'u-chih-chui (春輔副 ) in the Yüan; and the last was T'ai-tzu t'ai-pin (太保大保 ) in the Ming. This is the Ming person.)
The tu-ch'uan-yin-yen-ssu yin-shih (note: rank 3B), he had as subordinates the xinshih t'ung-chih (同知), fu-shih (副使), p'an-kuan (判官), ching-li-ssu (经历司) and other officials. The t'ung-chih was rank 4B; the fu-shih was rank 5B. (end note)

-I note that even though I have not been able to describe in detail the bureaucratic system established in the Great Ming dynasty, still I have used what has been included in records handed down to investigate (study) it. Their system of capital (central govt) officials (nei-kuan 内官) was truly simple and streamlined (chien-sheng 简省), as in the case where they abolished the Shang-shu (尚書) and Shu-mi (史官) and other miscellaneous titles, and in this regard they far surpassed previous ages (dynasties), but when it comes to their provincial official system (wai-kuan), then it was indeed extremely (too) complicated 極繁: too many officials, overlapping responsibilities etc.\]

---Numbers of officials:

- In the Hsia dynasty there were 120 officials. (note: The Shang-shu (Book of History) says, "The officials of the Hsia and Shang were double, so that it ought to be 200. Cheng Hsüan says 120.)(end note)

- The Yin dynasty had 240. (note: The Ming-tang-wei (明堂位) was 200. Ch'eng Hsüan says 240.)(end note)

- The Chou dynasty had 3,190. (note: (These were the number of officials) at the king's court and in the capital area (chi-nei). As outside of this, as for the number of officials (serving under) the feudal lords, I don't know what it was. The Ming-tang-wei (明堂位) has 300. Ch'eng Hsüan says 360. This seems to be talking about the ch'ang-ssu (長史: chief officials). The T'ung-tien says that the nei-kuan (capital officials) in the Chou numbered 2,643, and the officials of the outside feudal lords' states came to 61,032. I do not know what this is based. )(end note)
- In the Han dynasty from the ch'eng-hsiang (城市) down to the tso-shih (州), there was a total of 130,285 officials. (note: In the time of Ai-ti (6-1 BC), the number included the officials and clerks in the fu, chin, kuo, and hsien towns)(end note)

The Later Han dynasty had 7,567 officials.
- The Chin dynasty had 6,836.
- The Sung dynasty had 6,172.
- The Later Wei dynasty had 7,764.
- The Later Chou dynasty had 2,989. (note: including capital officials (nei-kuan) (end note)
- The Sui dynasty had 12,576. (note: There were 2,581 capital officials (nei-kuan), and 9,995 provincial officials of the chou and hsien)(end note)
- The T'ang dynasty had 18,805. (note: There were 2,621 capital officials (nei-kuan), and 16,185 officials in the provincial chou and hsien.
- Sung dynasty (blank). (note: Even though the bureaucratic system of the Sung had various bureaus, they were under the jurisdiction of other officials and they did not have fixed quotas and no exclusive responsibilities. The posts of Chieh-tu-shih (諸郡都尉) and Mu-yin (牧尹) were both empty offices, but there was a very large number of officials with authority. Also when matters arose, extra officials were created, increased or decreased, and there was no regularity to the changes so it is difficult to record a figure (number). Generally speaking, however, in Sung times the number of officials was extremely large.)(end note)
- The Great Ming dynasty had 20,400 and more. (over 20,400).

-Ranks (p'in-ch'i'ih)
- The officials of the Chou had 9 ming ranks (chou kuan chiu-ming 国官九命)
- In the Han dynasty, from the chung-erh-ch'ien-shih (中二千石) down to the pai-shih (百石), there was a total of 96 grades (t'ang 等).

Going from the top to the bottom there were 16 t'ang (grades) from cheng (中) 2,000 shih, 2,000 shih, pi (比) 2,000 shih... 100 shih.
355, 18:11a) Ch'eng-ti (32-6 BC) abolished the 800 shih and 500 shih grades, and after this there were 14 grades. (end note)

In the Later Han dynasty from the chung-2,000 shih down to the 100 shih there were 13 grades (teng).

18:11b) At the beginning of the Wei dynasty, they followed the Han system and then they changed it and established the 9 p'in (ch'iu-p'in九品). (note: The 1st p'in was the most noble, next came the 2nd p'in, and 3rd p'in down to the 9th p'in) (end note) The Chin, Sung, and Ch'i dynasties all followed this.

- The Liang dynasty established the 18 pan班, and the higher the no. of the pan, the more noble (the rank). (note: the 18th pan was the noblest, next came 17 and 16 down to 2 and 1) (end note). The Ch'eng陈 dynasty followed this.

- The Later Wei dynasty established the 9 p'in九品, and for each p'in they established a tsung 徙:lower half), making a total of 18 p'in. From the 4th p'in down, every p'in was divided into upper and lower chiai階, making a total of 30 grades (teng等). The Northern Ch'i dynasty followed this.

- The Later Chou dynasty made (chih制) the 9 ming ranks (ch'iu-ming 九命). Every ming rank was divided into two. Cheng正 meant the upper level, making a total of 18 ming ranks.

- - The Sui dynasty established 9 p'in九品. Each p'in had a tsung徙). From the fourth p'in on down every p'in had an upper and lower, making a total of 30 teng (grades). (The grades) started from the T'ai-shih and T'ai-fu大師大府, and they called (people with rank) the liu-nei流內, and this was the beginning (origin) of the phrase, liu-nei. (note: They also had shih視), with those from rank 2a (cheng erh p'in正二等) down to rank 9. It began with the Hsing-t'ai shang-shu-ling行監尚書令, as the highest official in this category?), and these people were called the shih-liu-nei視流內) (end note).
They also established Merit Officials (hsin-kuan 數官), and from the Shang-chu-kuo(上柱國) on down there was a total of 11 grades (teng), and they used this in order to reward those who performed with diligence and effort. (note: the 11 grades consisted of the Shang-chu-kuo(上柱國), Chu-kuo, Shang-ta-chiang-chün(上大將軍), ta-chiang-chün, shang-k'ai-fu/t'ung-san-ssu(上府儀同三司), k'ai-fu-i t'ung-san-ssu, shang-i-t'ung-san-ssu(上儀同三司), i-t'ung-san-ssu, Ta-tu-tu-xing(大都督), shuai-tu-tu(帥都督), and tu-tu.)(end note)

They also established san-kuan(散官: non-incumbent officials) of which there were 7 grades (teng) from the t'ie-chin(特進) on down which they used to add (give to) civil and military (officials) who had both virtue and reputation a reputation for virtue. (note: the seven grades consisted of t'ie-ching, tso-kuang-lu ta-fu(左光禄大夫), yu-kuang-lu-ta-fu(右), 金紫光祿大夫, 銀青光祿大夫, 朝議大夫, 朝散大夫.)(end note)

The T'ang dynasty followed the Sui system and had 9 p'in. Each p'in had a cheng and tsung(正従), and they also divided the civil and military officials into two branches. Among the civil officials, from the 4th grade (down?) there were upper and lower, making 30 grades (teng). The K'ai-fu-i-t'ung-san-ssu(儀同三司) and on down were regarded as civil non-incumbent officials (wen-san-kuan 文散官, with a total of 29 chiai(階).)

(note: the 用府儀同三司 (was) 1 B (從一品)
In the case of military officials, from the third p'in (down), there were upper and lower divisions (within each p'in) making a total of 31 grades. From the third plin (on down), these were regarded as military non-incumbent officials (wu-san-kuan 武散官), a total of 45 chiai(階) (note: this note lists all the 45 chiai, from grade 1B down to 9B) (covers 355, 18:12b-356 18:13a)

They also had Merit Officials (hsün-kuan 勳官), and from the Shang-chu-kuo(上柱國) down to the Wu-ch'i-wei(武騎尉) there was a total of 12 grades (teng). (note: There were 12 chuan(轉) :grades) or merit ranks. The 12th chuan was the shang-chu-kuo who was seen as rank 2A (shih cheng erh-p'in 該正二階). The 11th chuan was chu-kuo, seen as 2B. The 10th chuan was Shang-hu-ch'üin(上護軍; Sanghogun), seems as rank 3A. The 9th chuan was Hu-ch'üin (護軍: Hogun), seen as 3B. The 8th chuan was ... etc., down to 7B)(end note)

They also established 9 p'in grades of merit rank (hsün-p'in 勳品), starting from the lu-shih(錦衣) of the wei (chü-wei 諸衛) and the lingx-shih(令史) of the 5 sheng. They were called "outside the regular officials" (liu-wai 流外). This was the origin of the term, "liu-wai". (note: The hsün-p'in or merit ranks began with the Ch'i and Liang dynasties who also had them.) (end note)

I note that the san-kuan 非官 :non-incumbent offices) basically originated in the Sui dynasty, and it was not something that existed in ancient times. By the T'ang dynasty, they established ranks for them (chiai-tzu 階資), but these chiai ranks became even more numerous and they divided them into the gwo branches of civil and military. To divide civil and military officials into two branches is an evil characteristic of a declining age (mo-shih chih'pei 末世之弊). In addition, they had a variety of names like "merit-rank" (hsün-p'in 勳品) and liu-wai(流外) which began here (in this dynasty). If things are like this, then how would a bureaucratic system avoid being in confusion?
From this time on down to the Sung dynasty, then in addition you had what
was called the i-pan kuan-chiai (官方 ranks for
physician officials) and the Nei-shih kuan-chiai (内侍官階 :official
ranks for palace officials). The fragmentation was so great
that they abandoned the root xian (what was fundamental) and increased
what was distant (from the fundamentals, the inconsequential things).
This (these ranks) are even less worth talking about.

The Sung dynasty followed the evil system of the late T'ang and the
Five Dynasties, and for the most part followed the old 9 p'in. For each
of the p'in they had cheng and tsung (upper and lower 正 從 ),
and they also divided the civil and military officials into two branches.

With regard to the civil officials, from the 4th p'in rank on down, they
had upper and lower civil non-incumbent officials (文職文官)
with a total of 29 chiai (階 : ranks). (note: these titles are all listed
here. Similar titles to the T'ang and Sui—K'ai-fu-i-t'ung-san-ssu,
1B, t'e-chin, 2A, Kuang-lu ta-fu, 2B, etc.)

For the military officials, from rank 3 on down, they had upper and
lower divisions for military non-incumbent officials (武職官
with a total of 31 chiai grades. (note: these titles listed here, ranks 1B
down to 9B...)

Later there were additions and deletions to this, so that the
number of civil grades (文職官) was 24, later changed to 37 chiai;
and there were 52 military chiai grades (note: they were so complicated
there is no point in listing them) (end note). Also they divided the
Nei-shih kuan-pan (內侍官階 : ranks of palace officials) into 12 chiai
grades (note: too complicated to record), and 14 chiai grades for medical
officials (醫官階:note...). Also they had 12 grades (級 )
of Merit Officials (勳官 ). (note: titles for ranks 2A to 2 7b
listed here). And they also had the category of liu-wai(流外).
The system of the Great Han dynasty also had the 9 p'in, for each of them there were cheng and tsung (正従) making a total of 18 p'in. From rank 2A on down, they also divided the officials into the two branches of civil and military. With regard to the civil officials, from rank 5B (tsung wu p'in 從五品) on up, every p'in had 2 chiai (階). (Han, III, 436, and 435, has three chiai for all p'in above 5b?? Makes more sense, from the following phrase, but my text has 2 chiai) And from rank 6A on down, every (p'in) had 2 chiai. Altogether there were 46 chiai (階).

(note: For rank 1A, if it was an initial appointment (ch'osu 初授), the official became a t'ei-chin ch'ung-lu ta-fu 傳進崇德大夫. If he was appointed as a promotion (sungsu 陞授), the he was called a t'ei-chin kuang-lu ta-fu 傳進光禄大夫. If he was given an additional shang appointment (chia-shou 加授), he was called a tseng kuang-lu-ta-fu/chu-kuo (贈光禄大夫上柱國). . . . (the same system pertains to all fancy title ranks down to 9b)(Han is covered on pp. 356, 18:14b to 357, 18:15a)

For military officials, from rank 6B on up, every p'in had 3 chiai, and from rank 7A on down, 2 chiai, stopping at rank 8B. There was no 9th rank (for military officials) There was a total of 46 chiai. (note: lists all the titles, has same system of three different titles according to whether it was an initial appointment, promotion, or "additional" appt) (covers, p.357, 18:15a-b)

-Fief noble ranks (feng-chieh 封貴) 建國

When T'ang, Yu and Hsia 唐虞夏 (of feudal nobility) and they had 5 grades (teng 等) (of feudal nobility) and they called them kung, hou, pai, tsu, nan (公侯伯子男)

-the Yin dynasty had three grades: kung, hou, and pai (note: a kung (duke) had 100 li, a marquis had 70 li, and an earl (pai) had 50 li)(end note)

- The Chou dynasty had 5 grades, kung, hou, pai, tsu, and nan.
The kung and hou (dukes and marquises) had 100 li (of territory). The earls (pai) had 70 li; the viscounts and barons (tzu, nan) had 50 li. When the Duke of Chou was the regent (she-cheng, 謝政), he changed the system and enlarged the fiefs so that the dukes got 500 li, the marquises got 400 li, the earls got 300 li, the viscounts got 200 li, and the barons got 100 li. (end note)

Ch'in

In the Han dynasty there were 20 grades (teng) of noble rank (ch'ieh). (note: the highest was the ch'e-hou (徹侯) who obtained a shih-hsieh (食邑).) The next was a kuan-nei-hou (圈內侯 : within-the-passes marquis) who consumed the taxes from the area "within the passes" (the country proper?) (shih tsu-shui 食租税). As for the other 18 grades, they were from the ta-shu-ch'ang (大廬長) on down, like the (ranking of) official posts. (end note)

--- In the Han dynasty there were three grades (teng), of kuo-wang (國王), kuo hou (國侯), and t'ing-hou (亭侯). (note:/All the wang, land was divided up and given to them (lieh-ti 裂地). Hou (marquises) were ranked in accordance with the number of households (they had), and this marked the beginning of the practice of dividing up population (fen-jen 分人: and granting it to them?). In the early Han dynasty, a man who was awarded merit was enfoeoffed and listed among the hou (marquises), and the number of these came to 143 men. Those who "consumed the income from an administrative town" (shih-i-che 食邑者) eliminated taxes (除租), but every year each household transported (paid) 200 cash to them (每戶一年輸納鈔二百) (end note)

In the Later Han dynasty they also had 3 grades. (note: Imperial princes (huang-tzu 皇子) were enfoeoffed as wang and their ch'ieh( 郡) were regarded as kuo( 國). As for the marquises (lieh-hou 封侯), even in the case of the original merit (?元勲) of K'ou Hsin( 居信) and Teng Yu (滕禹), they did not have more than 4 hsien( 衛) (end note)

---. The Wei dynasty had wang (kings), kung, hou, pai, tzu, and nan.
Next after them came the hsien-hou (縣侯). Next after them came the hsiang-hou (鄉侯). Next after them came the t'ing-hou (亭侯). Next after them came the Kuan-nei-hou (國內侯), making a total of 9 grades.

(note: The practice of regarding the Kuan-nei-hou was empty fiefs (honorary fiefs? hsi-feng 虚封) began at this time.) (end note)

The Chin dynasty had wang, kung, hou, pai, tzu, and nan. They also had k'ai-kuo (開國), ch'un-kung (郡公), hsien-kung (縣公), ch'un-hou (郡侯), hsien-hou (縣侯), pai, tzu, and nan, and hsiang-hou, t'ing-hou, kuan-nei-hou and other hou, a total of 16 grades.

(note: Regarding the wang, those with large kingdoms (ta-kuo) had 20,000 households, 3 armies, and 5,000 troops. Kingdoms next in size had 10,000 households, 2 armies, and 3,000 troops. Low kingdoms (hsia-kuo 下國) had 5,000 households, 1 army and 1,500 troops. The system for dukes (kung) seems to have been like the hou-kuo (侯國: marquises) which had 5,000 households? If a hou (marquis) had less than 5,000 households, his state had 1 army with 1,000 men. As for the earls, viscounts, and barons, and below, each of them had different grades but did not have armies (ch'un) (end note)

The Sung, Ch'i, and Liang dynasty all followed the system of the Chin dynasty. (Note: In the Sung dynasty by the hsiao-chien period (454-457 AD) (enfeoffed kingdoms) "your humble subject" the officials of the kuo (國 ) could not call themselves "officials" (ch'en 臣) to their ruler, but this was changed and later they were called "lower officials" (hsia-kuan 下官). The Liang dynasty also established a system (for fief titles) and they called the kings (wang) ling (令 ); if they were inside the boundaries (of the state?) they were called tien-hsia (殿下). They called dukes and marquises chiao (郊 ), and if they were inside the boundaries, they called them ti-hsia (第下 ). In referring to themselves, they all used the term, kua-jen (l, the ruler) and their subordinates submitted memorials (p'iao-ji 萬疏) like officials (ch'en 臣 ) but they did not call themselves ch'en (臣). In sending down written documents (wen-shu) to the ch'un (郡), all the officials used "kao" 文書.
bureaucratic org., feudal ranks -35- chikkwan kosol, ha

--- The Later Wei dynasty had wang (王子), k’ai-kuo chün-kung (開國郡公),
san-kung (散公), hou (侯), san-hou (散侯), pai (伯), san-pai (散伯)
tzu (子), san-tzu (散子), nan (男), san-nan (散男), a total of
11 grades. (note: A king consumed 1/2 (the crop?). A duke took 1/3.
Marquises and earls took 1/4; viscounts and barons took 1/5.)(end note)

--- The Northern Ch’i had wang, kung, hou, pai, tzu, nan—6 grades.

--- The Northern Chou established a system with 5 grades, kung, hou, pai, tzu, and nan.

--- The Sui dynasty had kuo-wang (國王), ch’ün-wang (郡王), kuo-kung (國公),
chün-kung (郡公), hsien-kung (貞倉), hou, pai, tzu, and nan, a total
of 9 grades. (note: A kuo-wang was rank 1A; a chün-wang,
kuo-kung were rank 1B; a chün-kung was rank 2A; a hsien-kung was rank 2B;
a hsien-hou was rank 3B; a hsien-pai was rank 4B; and above; a hsieng-tzu
was 5A and above; a hsien-nan was 5B and above.

With regard to their shih-i (食邑), a kuo-wang had 10,000 households;
a chün-wang had 5,000 households; a kuo-kung had 3,000 households; a
chün-kung had 2,000 households; a hsien-kung and below had 1,500 households
or 1,000 or 700, 500 household down to a hsien-nan with 300 households.

However, none of them had (actual) land. Only in the case of the shih-feng-che
(食封者: truly or actually enfeoffed persons) did they give them the
(right to collect) taxes (tzu-yung 稱庸).

The Huang-tzu (皇帝) were enfeoffed as kuo-wang. The t’ai-tzu (太子), the tzu (子: regular princes), and the ch’in-wang (親王)’s
legitimate successor (ch’eng-chih-tzu 承嫡子) were chün-wang (郡王).
The chu-tzu (諸子) were chün-kung. Those enfeoffed for merit, from the
beginning of the T’ang dynasty down to the t’ien-pao period (742-756, Hsuan-tsung)
as actually enfeoffed persons (shih-feng-che 食封者) numbered over 100.
From the chih-te reign period (of Su-tsung, 756-758 AD) to the Ta-li period (of Tai-tsung, 766-780 AD), there were 265 persons (merit subjects granted actual prebendal fiefs) (end note).

The Sung dynasty followed the T'ang system. They had kuo-wang, chin-wang, kuo-kung, chin-kung, hsien-kung, hou, pai, tsu, and nian, a total of 9 ranks. (note: kuo were divided up into large, next, and small, 3 grades. A duke (kung) had 2,000 households or more. A marquis had 1,000 and up. An earl had 700 households and up. A viscount had 500 households and up, and a baron had 300 households and up. However, since the T'ang dynasty, the so-called shih-i-che (食邑者) became an "empty title" (hsii-shuo 哲所), and they only talked about the "actual enfeoffed person" (shih-feng-che 實封者) and the grades of yearly income that they received. By the time of the Sung dynasty, both of them (they, too) were not given any grants, but at the time they were appointed (granted noble, feudal titles), they were given names and shares (albotments) only with the appellations of the shih-i 食邑. (end note)

-- Ming dynasty. (BLANK)

- General Discussion (ts'ung-lun 總論).

In the early Han dynasty the bureaucratic system was simple (chien-yeh 賢野). In the reigns of Yuan-ti and Ch'eng-ti and after (48-32-6 BC), (the number of officials) gradually increased. In the Kuang-wu restoration (chung-hsing) in the 6th year of the chien-wu year period (30 AD) an edict was issued (chao 詔) which said: "The reason why we provide for officials and appoint (petty) officials is to benefit the people (fu chang-kuan chih-li so-i wei min ye 夫張官置吏所以為民也). At the present time the common people (pai-hsing 百姓) have met with confusion (disruption from warfare) and the population has decreased, but the number of hsien officials and clerks posts that have been established are still high (numerous). Have the ssu-li 同理 and chou-mu 齊牧 each see to it that their subordinate (bureaus, officials) are truly (doing work?) (conduct an investigation).
bur. org., local govt in China -37- chikkwan kosol, ha

general discussion

358, 18:17b) (note: "shih 㝡̄ mean s to investigate their actuality (to see whether things are real and actual or not) and (have them) reduce the number of officials, and if the hsien and kuo (are not large enough) so that a chief official (magistrate) can be appointed for it, then combine them. (end quote?) Therefore (as a result of this), they combined and eliminated (eliminated through combination) over 400 hsien and reduced the number of official posts to 1/10 of (what it had been before).

In the reign of Hu-ti of the Chin dynasty (265-290), (the emperor) issued an edict (chaoshih 促史 ) which said: The court officials should report to me on what is harmful and what advantageous about the government! They felt what was lacking in both public and private affairs (affairs) stemmed from the fact that too many official posts had been established, and that the most urgent (task) for the time was to combine offices, reduce labor service, and promote agriculture, and that was all.

Subsequently it was proposed to cut down (the no. of) chou, ch'un and hsien petty officials (li 支) by half and transfer them to agricultural work. The Chung-shu-chien 中書監, HeHua He (滑) offered the opinion that reducing the number of petty officials was not as good as reducing the number of regular officials (kuan); and that reducing the number of regular officials was not as good as cutting down on the amount of business (shih 㝡̄ ), and that cutting down on the amount of business was not as good as purifying one's mind (ch'ing-hsin 清心 ). In the past when Su Ho 萧何 and Ts'ao Ch'an 曹参 were prime ministers of the Han dynasty, things were clear and quiet (tai chi ch'ing-ching 太極清靜) and the people, because of this, were at peace and unified; and this is what I mean by purifying one's mind.

To repress idle talk (抑制說), simplify written documents (chien wen-an 簡文案), reduce petty and bothersome tasks (略細苛), pardon small mistakes (宥小失), change ordinary ways (pien-ch'ang 便民), and definitely punish those who seek advantage (profit) (chiao-li-che 資私利).
is what I mean by cutting down on business (sheng-shih 省事).

When Kuang-wu-ti combined and reduced the number of hsien and kuo, and reduced the number of officials, that is what I mean by "cutting down on the number of officials" (sheng-kuan 省官). And when Hsing-ti of the Wei dynasty (227-240) sent envoys (commissioners) out to the four (corners) of the empire to cut down on the clerks (petty officials) in the empire, that is what I mean by "cutting down on the number of clerks" (sheng-lı 省吏).

If at the present time you want to search for it at the root, then you ought to take as the first order of business reducing business (the amount of routine administrative work that is done), calculate who is able an appoint them to office, entrust them with the conduct of affairs and hold them responsible for their accomplishment.

If you want to cut down on the number of regular officials, then the 9 ssu (chiu-ssu 九寺) can be combined with the Shang-shu(尚書) and the Lan-t'ai (蘭臺) ought to be attached to the San-fu (三府). (note: the 9 ssu refers to the chiu-ching-ssu 九卿寺).

At the beginning of the Han dynasty each of the 9 ministers (chiu-ching) had one that was under his charge. After they moved the capital East, the various ts'ao (曹) of the Shang-shu (尚書) divided up responsibility for all affairs, and the 9 ching were hardly concrete (actual) officials (kugwan 勤官). Therefore they (he) wanted to combine them with the Shang-shu.

The Lan-t'ai (蘭臺) was the Yi-shih-t'ai (御史臺). The san-fu (三府) was the san-kung-fu (三公府). In the Han dynasty, the prime minister (ch'en-hsiang 臣相) had (as subordinates?) the ch'ang-shih (長史) and ssu-chih (司直), and the yi-shih ta-fu (御史大夫) had (as subordinates) the chung-ch'eng and shih-yi-shih (中丞侍御史). They were in charge of investigating and bringing (indictment on) illegal (acts_ Therefore he wanted to attach the Lan-t'ai (i.e., the Yi-shih-t'ai) with the San-fu (end note).

If you draw up a large rank order (regulation (ta-li 大例), and reduce
the number of petty officials in the empire by half, I fear that the
responsibilities and tasks in the chün and kuo, in terms of those
that are difficult and those that are easy, would not be the same, so

that you cannot apply (the same rule, cut people everywhere) uniformly
and generally. If you have an empty spot or vacancy, in all cases
somebody must be reappointed to it, or on the contrary, if you have too many
officials, you also have no choice but to investigate this."

--- The Treatise of the T'ang History (T'ang-chih 唐史) says:

T'ai-tsung cut down on the number of capital and provincial officials and
set a quota of 730 officials saying: "With this (number of officials),
accommodate it will be sufficient to entertain the worthy and talented
men of the Empire." (note: The T'ung-tien says: In the 6th year
of the cheng-kuan period (632 AD), the number of officials in the Ta-sheng nei-kuan
(大參參政 ) was set at 643 persons. " This figure is different from
the above (T'ang-chih figure) (end note) After this there were irregular
specially established (fan-wai t'e-chih 前特置 ) t'ung-cheng-yüan
(同正員 ), and other types of posts such as the chien-chiao(校尉 ),
chien-shou(專中 ), p'an(弁 ), and chih (知 ), all of whom were
not part of the original system. Probably at the outset, (T'ai-tsung)
had always intended to establish a system and set up a clear order
(ming chi-mang 明紀纲 ) which would remain the law for 10,000 generations,
but the reason why it ended up with people encroaching on one another and
causing disruption and confusion was because at the time the rulers were not
able to protect (the original system) carefully, but adopted all kinds of
haphazard (kuch'a ) shoddy practices. Therefore, matters became even more numerous and complicated,
and more and more officials became superfluous and ended up losing their
responsibilities and tasks (jobs), until finally (the original system) could
not be restored.
In the time of Jui-tsun (睿宗; 684 only) of the T'ang dynasty, The Chien-ch'a yu-shih (殿中侍御史, Han Yuan) (韓瑗) submitted a private memorial (sangso, 諂疏) which said: "You calculate the amount of work to be done and then establish officials, and you calculate (the number of officials) and then appoint men (to the posts). What need is there to bring them in and order them to serve in office and abandon their basic occupations? In my stupid opinion the state has opened the gates to office wide, and everyone has abandoned agriculture and sericulture, industry (artisanry) and commerce and are personally running after office. Usually one man tills the fields and provides the food for several hundred people. One woman rears silkworms and provides the clothes for several hundred people so that in the end it has brought about a situation where in both public and private (circumstances) (both the state and private persons) have nothing saved up. If we do not reform these evils, then it definitely will get worse."

--. In the time of Te-tsung (780-805), Tu Yu (杜佑) was the Minister of Taxation (戶部) and was in charge of the country's taxes. At the time there were many shortages (much of a shortage) in expenses in for using the army (河朔), so he submitted a proposal which said: "T'ang and Yu (唐虞, i.e. Yao and Shun) investigated ancient (practices) and established officials (a bureaucratic system). The number of officials in the Hsia and Shang dynasty was double that, and they, also, were well used (controlled). The Chou dynasty established the six officials (六官) each of whom had his subordinates (徒屬). Even though they made much of letters and did away with true
bur. org., local govt in China, general discussion - 41- chik kwon kosol, ha

quality, had a lot of officials, and too much business to handle,

nevertheless the maximal (bureaucratic) order was not in confusion and

there was no creation of duplicate posts. (雖然文去質，吏繁事競，然而

而條流污，職非重設).

When the Ch'in clan (dynasty) established a bureaucratic system, in many cases they followed the circumstances of the times. In the

beginning of the Han dynasty the continued to use (the Ch'in system) (洪驚) and later on gradually increased and expanded (the number of official posts). In the 6th year of Kuang-wu-ti's reign (30 AD) he abolished more than 400 hsien and retained only about 1/10 the number of hsien officials. In the Wei dynasty during the t'ai-hua year period (227-233)(K'ung-ti) (the emperor) divided up and ordered commissioners (shih-ch'en 使臣) to cut down the number of officials in the chou and chin. And in the cheng-shih period (240-249) they again combined the chin and hsien (into smaller nos.).

In the 6th year of the Ta'i-yüan period of the Chin dynasty (381 AD, Hsiao-wu-ti) they cut out more than 700 official. In the 3rd year of the k'ai-huang period of the Sui dynasty (583 AD, under Wen-ti), they abolished more than 500 chin. In this dynasty in the cheng-kuan period (627-650, T'ai-tsung) we cut out more than 600 capital officials (nei-kuan 官).

If you investigate the basis reason behind the establishment of official (posts), it is done in order to govern the mass of the people, and it is for this reason that in ancient times they established officials after calculating (the number of)people (to be served, governed). For this reason under the Chou official system they estimated the number of people (yüeh jen 野人) and determined the number of officials (ting-yüan 定員) for the hsiang(鄉), su(郡), shao(鎭), hsien(縣) and chin(畿), and there were no empty posts created (hsü-shuo 虛設). From the Han, Wei, Chin, and Sui dynasty down to our Sage T'ang dynasty, all of them followed upon (were based on) wars where the people took flight and left (their villages, and the people were in difficulty and troubled
by tax exactions and provisions supplies (for the armies: cheng-shan), and proposals for the reduction of officials and posts is preserved in policy recommendations (fang-ts'ei or written records of the time). In the Chin dynasty, both Hsün Hsu (恒溫) and Huan Wen (桓溫) made this (kind of) proposal. How would it not be by this means that rest would be given to the people and an evil (situation) saved? In ancient times, Kao Yu (皋繇) was made shih (tso-shih: Han, III, 447--became the Fa-kuan 司法) and rectified the five punishments, but at the present time we have the Minister of Punishments (Hsing-pu shang-shu 刑部尚書) and the Ta-li-ching (大理卿) these were two Kao Yu's.

Ch'ui was made (appted) the kung-kung (作共工) and he kept the tools sharp (li chi-yung 利器用). At the present time we have the Kung-pu shang-shu (工部尚書) and the Chiang-tso-chien (將作監). These are two Ch'ui's.

Hsieh (契:one of Emp. Shun's ministers) was made the Ssu-tu (司徒) and he propagated the five teachings. At the present time we have the Ssu-tu (司徒), and the Hu-pu shang-shu (戶部尚書). These are two Hsieh's.

Pai-i (伯夷) was made the chih-tsung (秋官司) and took charge of the country's rites. At the present time we have the Li-pu shang-shu (禮部尚書), and the Li-i-shih (禮儀使). These are two Pai-i's.

Pai-i (伯夷) was made the Yu (虞:Chief forester) and was in charge of the mountains and marshes. At the present time we have the Yu-pu lang-chung (虞部郎中) and the Tu-shui-shih-che (都水使者). These are two Pai-i's.

Pai-i (伯遐) was T'ai-ku (太僕) in charge of carts and horses. At the present time we have the T'ai-pu-ching (太僕卿), the Chia-pu lang-chung (鴻都郎中), the Shang-nien feng-yü (尚傔奉御), and the Hsien-chiu-shih-che (兼僕使者). These are four Pai-i's.
In ancient times the Son of Heaven had six armies. The Han house (dynasty) had the Front, Rear, Left, and Right Generals (chiang-chiin) -- 4 men. At the present time we have the 12 Guards (wei-ch'ieh), the Shen-ts'e (神策) and other (armies, making up?) 8 armies, and a total of 60 generals (chiang-chiin). (The number of generals) have increased over the ages until it has reached this (figure). The old names are not abolished while new posts are added on by the day. The names are numerous and the responsibilities posts are duplicated (chih chung 重職), (so much so) that I cannot bring all of them up (recollect all of them).

The Later Chou dynasty established the six officials (liu-kuan) in accordance with the ancient Chou (system), and they probably did it because of this (because of the proliferation of posts and officials). If we briefly ask about some of the provincial officials (wai-kuan) of the present time, (we would see that) the pieh-chia (別駕) was a post established in the Han dynasty. The Sui dynasty hsiih-ch'a (洮州) of the tz'u-shih (刺史) is like the fu-shih (副使) subordinate official of the Kuan-ch'a-shih (觀察使) of today. The Ch'ang-chin (參軍) was established at the end of the Later Han dynasty. He participated in the military affairs of the various fu (府), like the p'an-kuan (判官) of the Ch'ien-tu (緯度) of today. Official names and responsibilities (duties) have changed and are not the same (as today), but only empty and meaningless titles have been preserved and none of these (older officials) have any real work to do.

Also, the hsiin Ssu-tien (司田) is a post that was established some time ago in ching-lung 3rd year (709 AD, Chung-tsung's reign), but within a short time (wu-he) because it became bothersome and superfluous, it was abolished and combined in with the Ssu-hu; this was something that was particularly a good compromise solution (in tune with the middle way). Truly we ought to take into consideration where there are too many (officials) who ought to be reduced and study closely what should
what should be reduced and what increased. If you want to search the
best way to manage things (chih-li 數理), definitely you definitely
have to "rectify names" (cheng-ming 正名).

In the Shen-lung period (705-707, Chung-tsung restoration after
Empress Wu), the bureaucratic system was in confusion and disarray.
The agencies (agency, yu-su 有司) (in charge of personnel?) strove to
gather in people that had been selected (for office) from a wide area,
and they competed with one another to obtain names and titles (of office).
At that time posts were given to all of them without omission, and as a
result (because of this), petitions (memorials) were submitted for the
appointment of over 2,000 men as irregular officials (yan-wai-kuan 员外官).
From then on it subsequently became a regular system (they became regular
officials), and in the k'ai-yan (713-42, Hsüan-tsung) and T'ien-pao (742-756,
Hsüan-tsung) periods, throughout the four regions of the empire there
were no worries and the common people were in perfect conditions (shih
全瞜).
The total population came to over 9 million households. Even though
the 10,000 (mass of) officials were numerous and the expenses great, the
people had more than enough strength (to provide for them), and it was
not a problem worth being concerned about.

At the present time the war has not yet been ended (ping-ke wei ning
兵革未寧) and the black-haired common people are withering (declining,
fading) and diseased (tiao-fei 潮瘡). Several years ago over 1,300,000
households were cut from (eliminated from) the registers of the empire.
When our sage emperor ascended the throne he sent out commissioners (officials)
(shih-ch'en 使臣) to investigate (the registers) and
bring together and collect (the figures on) both settled households
(t'u-hu 本戶) and "guest households" (k'e-hu 客戶: migrants),
and calculating these together, they came to a figure of 3 million and
several tens of thousands. Compared to (the population figures) of the
t'ien-pao period (742-756), this was scarcely one third. And among these
the floating and dependent (parasitary) population (migrants: fôu-chî 動戶) constituted 2/5 (of the 3 million households). The number of people who pay taxes have been reduced severely. With things like this how can we continue to have those who consume taxes (officials) as we did in the past?  In one chou (pref.) we do not have three or four thousand households, but there are 50 or 60 officials (there). (That is like) having 9 shepherds for 10 sheep, and burden the people. They afflict the clerks with all kinds of bothersome tasks. If you give thought to this, then (you would conclude) that this great evil situation really should be reformed. Many of those with opinions (proposals) on the question say that we still have recalcitrant troublemakers jumping around (pà-hú 歌扈) and (for this reason) we ought not combine and reduce the number of officials, for after we did so, it is feared that those who were dismissed would have no way to obtain office, and they would probably attach themselves to others to make their way (別有依託) and moreover (they) are tied closely to their ranks and salaries, which combine to make this a dike (barrier) (to the abolition of offices and posts). This then is an opinion which represents ordinary feelings (about this problem). But I fear that this is not a point of view that will save (rectify) the evil situation. If there are men of talent around, then they should be selected for office. If you have a man of no talent, then why fear that he might run away.

How much worse is it since each of (these superfluous officials) has his marriage relations and his family property which he regards with affection?

In the 6th year of the chien-wu period of the Later Han dynasty (30 AD) (the emperor) reduced the number of hsien and cut down (on the number of) officials, but (eminent officials? like?) Kung-sun Shû 司馬光 and Wei Hsiao 魏孝 were not eliminated (from office).

In the T'ai-hua and chengshih year periods of the Wei dynasty (227-233, 240-249), (the Wei), Wu and Shu (蜀) states were standing
like a tripod. In the 6th year of the t'ai-yüan period of the Chin dynasty (381 AD, under Hsiao-wu-ti of Eastern Chin), the state of Wu still existed.

In the 3rd year of the k'ai-huang period of the Sui dynasty (583 AD, Wen-ti), the Ch'ien clan 程氏 carved out (territory) upon which it based itself. In all of these cases they summoned and gathered together outstanding men 招集俊乂, (招羅俊乂), for their intentions were to swallow each other up and obliterate (their enemies). At that time it seems that they were not worried about losing worthy men who could be used by their enemies for this their plan (in reducing the numbers of officials) was to rectify an evil situation. How much more so (should be cut down on the number of officials) at the present time when the groups of (followers of.) Tien Yi-hé 田悦 are inferior and petty (yung-wei庸瑣) and vex the people with punishments and terrorize them with tax collections. They are only concerned about armies and warfare, and the gowned and capped scholars are treated like slaves and prisoners of war? [MY NOTE: Morohashi, 7: p.1052. Tien Yi-hé 田悅 lived in the T'ang dynasty and was a nephew of Ch'eng Ssu 承嗣. He was violent and cruel (p'iao-han剽悍) and was good at fighting. Ch'eng Ssu appreciated his talents and when he was about to die entrusted him with the duties of Chieh-tu 齊度. The emperor subsequently appointed him Chieh-tu-shih. In the reign of Te-tsung (780-805) he plotted rebellion, took the dynastic title of Wei and arrogated to himself the title of (chien-ching 獨稱) "wang". Later on there was the rebellion of Chu Ssu 車批 and the emperor headed out for Feng-t'ien 前天. He pardoned Tien Yi-hé's crimes and enfeoffed him with the title of Ch'i-yang-chün-wang (新陽郡王). Later on his was killed by his younger nephew, Hsu 夔). (T'ang-shu, 210, Chiu-T'ang-shu, 140) Truly there is nothing to be concerned about (by cutting down on the number of posts and officials); we ought to carry out a reform; we cannot fail to reform things minfieh and continue on the old path (with the old, present system)."

(end Tu Yu's memorial)
In the time of Hsien-tsung (806-821), the T'ung p'ing-chang-shih (同平章事), Li Chi-fu (李吉甫) of the T'ang, was good at evaluating officials and rating them for promotion or dismissal. Famous for his book, the Chin-kuo-chih (郡國志) which was referred to in later times for its essay on land (ti-chih 地志). memorialized: At the present time the number of guard troops (宿兵) in China is over 800,000 men. Five or six out of every ten men are merchants, monks, or taoist adepts and do not till the land. The situation is such that ordinarily the 3/10 of the population that labors with their muscles and work their bones to bitterness (勞筋苦骨之人) supply the other 7/10 of the population who just wait for their clothes and sit and eat. At the present time there are no less than 10,000 officials of the capital and the provinces who are provided with tax money. Throughout the empire there are very many cases where the land area of one hsien is regarded as a chou, and the people of one village (hsiang) are treated as a hsien. I request that we cut down on the number of officials and combine the number of chou and hsien and reduce the path to office, and set limits on emoluments and salaries." The emperor then ordered Yin P'ing-chung and Li Chiang (尉復和) and others to decide on the details, and they reduced and combined 308 officials and more than 1,700 various kinds of irregular officials (liu-wai 流外).

When asked about the posts of Ssu-tu (司徒), Ssu-ma (司馬), Ssu-kung (司空), the san-kung (三公) and the san-hsiao (三少), (Chu Hsi) said: "In the Han dynasty from the time that the Old Text Book of History (ku-wen shang-shu 古文尚書) was discovered, it (they) had the chapter on the officials of the Chou dynasty (Chou-kuan-p'ien 周官篇). In the 25 chapters (p'ien) that were orally handed down (transmitted) by Fu Sheng (伏生): Han, III, 450. Note: His name was Fu Sheng (伏生), but called FuSheng (生) by the people of the time. He was a po-shih of the Ch'in dynasty who had a copy of the Shang-shu. When Han Wu-ti was looking..."
for people who knew about the Shang-shu, Fu Sheng was 90 years old at that time and he obtained 29 p'ien (chapters) of the Shang-shu. This text was the New Text Book of History (Chin-wen shang-shu), and he was made the Shang-shu ta-fu (尚書大傅). (End Han's note) there was no Chou-kuan (周官) chapter?). For that reason the Han dynasty only established (the posts of) T'ai-wei (太尉), Ssu-tu (司徒), and Ssu-kung (司空) which they regarded as the san-kung (三公), and there were no Chou (type) san-kung and san-hsiao (三公三少). Probably they did not get a look at the Old Text Book of History (Ku-wen Shang-shu), but only saw Fu Sheng's text in which the chapters (entitled) the mu-shih (牧誓) and the li-cheng-p'ien (立政篇) mention was made of the Ssu-tu, Ssu-ma, and Ssu-kung, (and the Han dynasty) established (these posts on the basis of the Fu Sheng New Text Book of History). In ancient times in the kuo (states) of the feudal lords (chu-hou), the feudal lords were only able to establish the posts of Ssu-tu, Ssu-ma, and Ssu-kung—the three ministers (san-ching 三公). Only the Son of Heaven was able to establish (appoint) the san-kung and san-hsiao (三公三少)—the six ministers (liu-ching 六卿). What is discussed in the mu-shih and li-cheng (牧誓立政) chapters (of the New Text Book of History) refers to the time when the Chou house was still (one of) the feudal lords, and for that reason it does not mention the san-kung and san-hsiao (三公三少). And what is discussed (included) in the Chou-kuan-p'ien (周官篇, of the Old Text Book of History) refers to the time when the Chou had already obtained the empire (conquered the empire, the world). Basically (the job of the) san-kung and san-hsiao was to teach the way and assist the Son of Heaven; they were only supplementary (additional) officials (chia-kuan 加官).

The Duke of Chou made the T'ai-shih (大師) a concurrent prime minister (chung-tsai 常卿), and the Duke of Shao (Shao-kung 司空) made the T'ai-pao (太保) and concurrent PM (chung-tsai). Because these positions (offices) were additional posts (chia-kuan 加官), they combined (held concurrently) the post (responsibilities) of chung-tsai.
In later ages offices and functions (kuan-chih) became even more confused (難). At the present time we have finally adopted the posts indicating use of san-kung and san-hsiao (三公) official (titles) as (titles) of rank (ch'ai-kuan), and we have not restored the posts of shih (師) nor their pao (保). The responsibility to speak (to the emperor) about the true Way (of government) and to manage the country.

However, in ancient times it seems that civil officials of merit and virtue and high reputation were able to obtain the additional official (appointment, post) of shih or pao (師保), and by this means obtained the name (title) of those who were instructing and assisting the Son of Heaven. In later ages, they either used princes (chu-tzu 骨子) or military officials to do it (in these posts), but how could the sons of the Son of Heaven or military officials be able to meet the responsibilities of a shih or a pao (師保)? But they stuck to the error of their ways and transmitted this practice through the generations and were not able to reform it." (end of Chu Hsi's comment)

Ma Tuan-lin (馬端臨) Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao? said: "In ancient times they established official posts on the basis of the work that had to be done (ku-che yin-shih shuo kuan) and they appointed people to functions after calculating their ability (liang-neng shou-chih). They had no special distinction for the "pure or dirty" (noble or base); they made no distinction between inner and outer (capital and provincial: nei-wai chih p'ien); and there was no difference between civil and military (officials). In the time of T'ang and Yu (唐虞: Yao and Shen), Yu was put in charge of general supervision of government (百官之長), Hsiang was in charge of instruction (education), Kao T'ao (皋陶) clarified punishments. Pai I (伯夷) was in charge of rites. Hsi Hua 羲和) was in charge of the calendar. (羲) was in charge of music. I (太) was appointed the forester (Yu 喻). Ch'ui (蚩) was kung-kung in charge of public works.
Generally speaking if a (man) was skilled and refined (ch'ing 精), he (was responsible for) speaking on the true way of government and running the country (lung-tao ch'ing-pang); and if he were rough (and untutored 粗), then he managed finances and took care of equipment. As for their positions (wei 位: rank), all of them were kung-ching (公卿).

As men, all of them were sages and worthies (sheng, hsien). After this (time) those men who were placed in office to govern the people would falsely represent (themselves) (kuei 語) as pure and high, and below them they looked down on people who were full of crooked stratagems and various abilities (to work corruption?). Those people who took these talents of theirs to serve their superiors were themselves content to be regarded as inferior and found it difficult (were not able to) nurturing (ch'ang-min 長民) speak about matters involving aiding the world and improving things special official posts were established for the people. Because of this, those who played music, regulated the calendars, or were physicians or ritual specialists, in order to manage these things (these people). And they called them "the miscellaneous posts" (tsa-liu 雜流). When they were dismissed from office (pin 捌), (these specialists, low functionaries), they could not associate with the ranks of the regular silk-clad officials (樞掛け). Thus the division between pure and dirty officials was first made.

In the past (at the height of the Chou dynasty (tsai ch'eng Ch'ou 在成周) they established offices and divided up responsibilities (shuo-kuan fen-chih 服役職). The official in charge of clothing (綾衣) and the one in charge of raising horses (騷馬) were all people who were summoned to office because of their outstanding talent (yü chün chih liu 顏俊之流). Even the lung-pai (賓宰) and nei-tsa (內宰) (who managed palace affairs) were all men who were appointed because of their outstanding worthiness. (hsing hsien chih lung 興賢之侶, lung means companions). This intentions was still preserved down to Han times.
For this reason they used Confucian scholars (ju-che) to be shih-chung (侍中) and thus used worthy scholars (hsien-shih 騙士) to fill the posts of lang-shu (郎署). Men like Chou Ch'ang (周昌), Yu Hsiang (袁盎), and K'ung An-kuo (孔安國) were able to come and go to the forbidden palace to attend and serve on (the emperor) where they assembled in the emperor's private quarters and expressed their views and correct mistakes (ke-fei). They picked up what was left behind (拾遺: looked for things that were forgotten) and rectified things that were done wrong (補過). Those people with exceptional talents and abilities reached the post of kung and ching (公卿), general (chiang 將) and prime minister (hsiang 相) and were given responsibility for important affairs on behalf of the state. Huo Kuan (霍光) and Chang An-shih (張安世) were examples of such men.

From the middle of the Han dynasty on, this intention was not preserved, and as a result if a man were not a eunuch (yen-shu 良侍) or a favorite of the emperor's (pi-hsia 歎侍), he was not able to serve for a day in the palace courtyard, and worthy and able silk clad scholars (摠紳) especially were given posts as clerks and appeared in the ranks of officialdom. (僕屬, 表著)

In the Han dynasty they made a division (distinction) between the palace and regular bureaucratic administration (kung-chung fu-chung chih p-fen 宮中府中之分) and the T'ang dynasty had the cliques of the Southern and Northern Bureaus ( Nan-SSU Pei-SSU chih tang 南司北司之屬), and in assuming their responsibilities they did not associate with one another in their planning. Their ranks (p'in-liu 品流) were also separate and different, and the division between inner and outer officials began with this.

In ancient times civil (officials) were used to manage (run) the country and military (officials) were used to repress rebellion. (po-lan 培礦) If they occupied the posts of important officials (ta-ch'en 大臣), then when
when they went out (of the capital on business, to command troops?), they could be used as generals (chiang 頭), and when they returned they could be used as chief ministers (hsiang 相) (they performed dual functions as civil and military officials). And if they occupied inferior posts (hsiao-ch'ên 小臣), then they would hold their brushes and could be used to respond to questions or they could carry weapons and be used in the vanguard (of the armies) (also dual functions as civil and military officials). In later ages, those who were in charge of writing and ink did not again have any knowledge about fighting war camps (戰陳), and those who bore arms did not again have any knowledge about records and ledgers (chien-p'ien 簡編). As a result of this they were organized into left and right and were selected in two (ways for office) (two personnel administrations, liang-hsüan 雨雙), and the division between civil and military officials began with this. (kuan chih wen-wu shih fen 官文武始分）

Supplement on clerks and runners (li-li fu吏隸附) - in the Chou-li the tsai-fu(卒夫) was in charge of the orders (fu) to summon (recruit?) the 100 officials (百官之徵使) and he distinguished between 8 jobs (functions, chih). The fifth was called shu(書) and it was in charge of the documents (契) of the official which he was responsible for storing and keeping (治藏). The 6th was called shih(吏) and was responsible for the written records of the official (shu) which assisted him in governing. The seventh were called hsü(屬) who were in charge of the procedure (order) of the official (office) by means of which he maintained order. The 8th was called tsu(徒) who was in charge of (transmitting) the officials orders (ling) and was summoned to run errands (i ching-ling 以徵命?).

Wu Ts'ao-lü(吳草薑)(Han, III, 453, name was täng(章), official of the Hsin dynasty, reached post of Han-lin hsiêh-shih 翰林院土) said: "The fu(府) was in charge of storing documents and equipment. The
bur. org., local govt in China, clerks ad runners -53- chikkwa kosół, ha

The shih (史) was in charge of written statements (records) and recording events (shu-shih (書史)). The hsü (史) was in charge of ordering (filing) documents. This called those with talent and intelligence shih-ch'ang (什長): "worthy to be 10 clerks?" The tu (佐) were runners who responded to calls. All four of these were commoners serving in official posts.

Ch'iu Chün (丘著) (Han, III, 453, man of the Ming, conversant in laws and institutions) said: "The shih is like the present day clerks who are in charge of the storehouses and granaries. The shih is like the present li-tien (吏典) who is in charge of documents and files. The hsü (史) is like the present tu-li (都吏). The saying that one hsü is worth 10 tu (one clerk is worth 10 runners) is what is meant by the phrase (their talents and intelligence was worth 10). The tu (佐) are like the li-tsu (吏卒) of the present day."

According to the Wang-shih (王制) of the Li-chi, agricultural land was delinied (chih 制) into 100 mou (sections). With a share (fen 分) of 100 mou (note: fen might mean fertilizer) (end note), a superior farmer (shang-neng-fu 上農夫) would feed 9 persons; the next (good quality farmer) could feed 8 persons; the next could feed 7; the next could feed 6, and an inferior farmer could feed 5. When commoners served in office their salaries were graded in accordance with this (with the different productivity rates of farmers) (note: What Mencius explains is the same as this.) (end note)

Shang Ch'eng (商程) says: "What is meant by the phrase, "commoners serving in office" means these people (officials) like the fu, shih, hsü, and tu. They were appointed by their superior officials and not appointed by the command (ming 命) of the Son of Heaven or the ruler of a state. Ku Kung-yen (呂公言) : T'ang person, reached the post of T'ai-hsüeh po-shih, Han, III, 455) said: "In the Wang-chih a hsia-shih (下士) is seen as (equivalent to) a superior farmer (shang-neng-fu 上農夫)"
who can feed nine persons (with his production), and his salary was sufficient to replace (what he earned, produced) from cultivation, so that a fu (府: really means the salary provided for a fu) was (equivalent to a farmer who could) feed 8 persons, that for a shih(石) was (equivalent to, meant to replace) a farmer who could feed 7 persons; a hsü(釋) for feeding 6 persons, and a tu(徒), for feeding 5 persons."

(end of Ch'eng Hsian quote)

--- Ch'iu Chin(丘錫) said: "Former Confucian scholars have said that the Chou officials (Chou kuan) from the Ta-tsai(大宰) down to the yí hsia-shih(彝士) came to a total of 63 persons, but the fu, shih, hsü, and tu stopped at (were limited to?) 150 persons. This was also so for the "five officials" (ministries? wu-kuan 五官). The reason (kuan 官) why the number of regular officials was so numerous while the number of petty officials (li吏) was 500 is because so limited was because of their extreme (intent) to reduce the number of clerks and petty officials.

If the number of petty officials were reduced, then it is easy to provide salaries for them. If petty officials have salaries, then people will to have self-respect about themselves know how to love (care for?) themselves and for that reason at that time commoners held office. (seems to mean that in those times commoners were able to hold office because their agricultural income was replaced by salaries and their numbers were held down within reasonable limits), and in general if there was a man with rank and salary, there were not that were not men of worth and virtue.

And the Han dynasty seems to have copied this idea (intention), for a tso-shih(佐史) had an official rank of 10 shih(石), and in Ch'ang-an(長安) the Yu-chiao-li(御徼吏:Han,III, 455, police patrol who caught robbers) had a rank of 100 shih. For this reason 100-shih petty officials (li吏) all had a sense of self importance (respect), and it happened that frequently many outstanding (worthy) men appeared among them (among the ranks of the petty officials). In later ages from the court
at the top down to the chou and hsien at the bottom, every single office and bureau had so many li and hsü (clerks and runners) that you couldn't (control) and it was clear that the regular officials could not (control) the corruption of the clerks, so how could the empire be able to follow along and control them?

Also the reason why the Chou dynasty people kept the number of clerks small was definitely so that it would be easy to provide for their salaries, and so that people would know how to have respect for themselves (jen chih tzu-ai 人知自愛). And it was also for the purpose of cutting down on the business (work) that was done (sheng-shih 事事).

The proper way to conduct government is to entrust responsibility (to people) and hold them responsible for the accomplishment (of assigned tasks) (wei-jen tse ch'eng 委任責成 ), and at the end of the year review their performance (and with promotion on the basis of merit) (sui-chung kao hi tien-ts'ui? 而藏功考其殿最. You must see (investigation) cases to it that cases are not duplicated, and that the documents of investigation are not bothersome. Only after doing that will it be easy to review and compare (the performance of officials) and be without fear of causing confusion (on the one hand) or having things covered up (on the other). If regular officials are not given responsibility over a single task for a long enough time and there happen to be many clerks around, then there will be a limit to what a single man can know, while the wrongdoing (ts'ao-tsa 錯懇) of the clerks will be difficult to prevent, and thus the empire will always have a lot of affairs (to handle) but there would be no way to carry out the essential things (needed to handle them adequately)." (end of Ch'iü Ch'ün's quote)

In the Chou-li, the Ssu-li (司) was in charge of the laws pertaining to the 5 li (servants, 六條). (laws pertaining to the 5 types of controlling servants?). They were called: ...
The Ssu-li also distinguished the various kinds of goods (objects, things) and was in charge of their administration and orders (cheng-ling 政令), he commanded their people (shuai chi min 頭民) and apprehended robbers and bandits, performed labor service with regard to difficult tasks within the country, and on behalf of the hundred officials took responsibility for and stored (accumulated) tools (equipment), so that his work was involved in apprehending people (criminals). If the country had some matter pertaining to a sacrificial rite, entertainment of guests, or a funeral, then he (the ssu-li, or they—the li themselves) would perform service on those difficult bothersome and demeaning tasks. He was in charge of controlling the li (賓: servants) in the four quarters of the empire (ssu-ti 司緦) and made all of them wear the clothes of the country and carry the weapons of the country, defend the king's palace and the king's quarters while living in a hut out in the fields.

—Ch'iu Chün (丘濬) said: The term, li (賓), means those people to whom were given labor service of a laborious and demeaning type (經勞辱之役). Tsui-li (罪隸) were those who performed labor service because of crimes they had committed. The man (蠻: southern barbarians), min (閩: Fukien province), i (夷: eastern barbarians), and ho (貉: northern tribes, barbarians) li (隸) were those who were used because they were prisoners of war (俘屬). According to the system of the present time (今朝), each yamen, whether large or small has established (for it) chih-t'ing (直隸) and tsao-li (朝隸). With regard to all duty officials from rank 1 down to rank 9, all of them are also provided with tsao-li (朝隸) in order to perform the functions of errand boys (shih-ling 使令). How many of them they have depends on their rank and grade, which are used as the basis for grading and differentiating (the no. of xian servants). This is equivalent to requiring labor service from the common people and using them (for this). If one of the (common) people has committed a crime,
and subject to the punishment of transportation (tu 徒), the Fa-ssu(法司) also calculates the time (to be served) so that the man can be given to the official bureaus to perform labor service. The purpose behind this was a legacy of the Chou people's tsui-li (criminal servants) 即同人罪隷.

I note that the cho(ye(丞) of the present time are equivalent to the responsibilities of the ancient(古代) runners (transportation penny). With regard to them, we ought to fix a quota for the official offices. If there happens to be someone guilty of crime who is to be exiled and transported (遣送), then even though in name he is regarded as tu(徒: a runner), this situation is close to the intention behind to that of the criminal servants (tsui-li 罪隷) of ancient times.

However there are degrees (of lightness or seriousness) of crimes, and there is no standard (procedure) as to whether a man is exiled or released, and so these people cannot be included in the regular quotas (of servants). (note: I note that the tsui-li (criminal servants) of ancient times is equivalent to the present system whereby people involved in serious crimes are made slaves. However (in ancient times) all of them were under the jurisdiction of the Ssu-li(司隷) who divided them up and assigned them to laborious and base labor service.

This is like the practice of the present time where ordinary criminals are immediately exiled and sent off to the four remote regions (of the country) to be tu(徒: runners), but also before long they are sent back (home). Sometimes they are exiled and sometimes they are released. something

In ancient times how could they have had a system like this?

In making a system, if it is basically done like this, then it would not be the appropriate way to handle things, and the reason it is not like what was done in ancient times is also because it is like this.

I also note that in the Tso-chuan(左傳), the shih(士) treated the tsao(尾) as a ch'en(臣: subject?), and the tsao(尾)
treated the yü menials (臣) as ch'ên (臣: their inferiors?), and the yü treated the li (臣: their inferiors). Fu Ch'ien (服虔) (Han, III, 456, a man of the Later Han dynasty who wrote the Ch'un-ch'iu tso-shih chuan-chieh) said that a tsao (卒) was a tso (卒) and that tso meant someone who performed a task (成事); that a yü (卒) were chung (卒) and took care of many tasks (卒成事); that li (臣） were subordinates to the li (卒: clerks), and that the name, tsao-li (卒隸) probably came from this. (end note)

The numbers (quotas) of the fu, shih, hsü, and tu of the six officials (liu-kuan 六官) in the Chou-li can be seen in the above chapter. The Sui-jen (遂人) had 4 fu, 12 shih, 12 hsü, and 120 tu. The Hsien-shih-fu (晨師) had 20 fu, 4 shih, 8 hsü, and 80 tu. I am giving one or two examples (note: at first glance it seems confusing, but at the present time they are not completely listed. For details see the original classic.) (end note)

In Ch'in dynasty times the number of the chun and kuo households or more administrative towns (郡) that had 10,000 households or more had 69 chih-li (職吏) and 29 san-li (散吏).

Those areas (郡) that had 5,000 or more households had 63 chih-li and 22 san-li.

Those areas with less than 5,000 households had 50 chih-li and 13 san-li.

In the reign of Hyŏngjong (顯宗; 1009-1031) of the Koryŏ dynasty (the number of hyangni (鄉吏) in the chu and hyŏn (pref. and districts) was set. (Those units that had) 1,000 or more able-bodied males (忠丁) had 8 hojang (戶長), 4 puhojang (副戶長), 2 pyŏngjŏng (里正), 2 pubyŏngjŏng (副里正), 2 ch'angjŏng (倉正), 2 puch'angjŏng (倉佐), 20 sa (史), 10 pyŏngsa (兵史), 10 ch'angsa (營史), 6 kongsusa (公營史), 6 singnoksas (營營史), 4 kaeksa (倉營史), 4 yakchŏmsa (軍營史), 4 saoksas (司營史) (note: the total of the above comes to 84 people) (end note)

Those administrative towns (郡) that had 500 able-bodied males or higher had 7 hojang, 2 puhojang, 2 pyŏngjŏng, 2 pubyŏngjŏng, 2 ch'angjŏng, 2 puch'angjŏng...
bur. org., clerks and runners (Koryø) -59- chikkwan kosõi, ha

362, 18:26b) 14 sa, 8 pyöngsa, 8 ch'Angsa, 4 kongsusa, 4 shingnoks, 2 kaeksasa,
2 yakch'omsa, 2 saoks (note: The above combined comes to 61 persons)(end note)
-Those administrative towns that had more than 300 able-bodied males had 5 hojang,

363, 18:27a) 2 puhojang, 2 pyöngjong, 2 pubyöngjong, 2 ch'angjong, 2 puch'angjong,
10 sa, 6 pyöngsa, 6 ch'angs, 4 kongsusa, 4 shik singnoks, 2
kaeksasa, 2 yakch'omsa, and 2 saoks (note: the above combined comes to
51 persons)(end note)

-those adm. towns with exactly 100 able-bodied males or less had 4 hojang,
1 puhojang, 1 pyöngjong, 1 pubyöngjong, 1 ch'angjong, 1 puch'angjong,
6 sa, 4 pyöngsa, 4 ch'angs, 3 kongsusa, 3 singnoks, 1 kaeksasa,
and 1 yakch'omsa (note: the above combined comes to 31 persons)(end note)

-With regard to the various Pang'sa(邦), Chinjang(鎮) and hyôn (districts) with 100 able-bodied males or more had the same
number (of runners) as districts with 300 able-bodied males or more.