

**A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE RECRUITING SYSTEM IN
“MILITARY PROVINCES” IN THE LATE TANG –
FOCUSING ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE
ANCILLARY PERSONNEL IN
HUAINAN AND ZHEXI**

WATANABE Takashi

translated by **Jessey J.C. Choo**

Introduction

The scholarship on Tang “military provinces” (*fanzhen*) in Japan could be divided into roughly three stages of development.¹ The first stage, which could be referred to as the founding period, stretches from before World War II to the 1950s. The studies conducted in this period help us understand each and every aspect of the basic facts, if we take Hino Kaisaburô’s great pioneering achievements as representative. Central issues include the situation of military control as manifested in the positioning of garrison commanders, the three-way division of tax revenue from each prefecture and the significance of the financial reform in the Xianzong reign, the negotiation between the Tang court and the military provinces over economic policy, and the court’s policies to re-establish over time direct communication with prefectures bypassing the provincial governors and to eventually regain direct control over all prefectures in the early Song.² In addition, we should not ignore the contributions that Iwasa Seiichirô and Kikuchi Hideo made on the origin of the military commander system and of the military organization under his control.³ These studies formed a foundation upon which the scholarship on Tang military provinces could advance into the next stage of development.

The second stage began roughly in the 1950s and lasted until the beginning of the 1970s. It took place at a time when the theory of periodization was enthusiastically debated as the study of Socio-Economy History reached its peak, under the

¹ For the Japanese trends on the research of military provinces, please see Ôsawa 1973a, Itô 1983, Shimizu 1983, and most recently Takase 2002. For the Chinese trend, see the brief discussion in Song 1989.

² For the representative works, see Hino 1938, 1939-40, 1942, 1956, 1957, and 1961.

³ See Iwasa 1930 and 1936. See also Kikuchi 1961-62, and 1979.

strong influence of Marxist historiography and amidst the impact of Japan's surrender and the establishment of the new China. Thoroughly carried out during this period was the task of analyzing and clarifying the structure of provincial power based on the framework of the "Tang-Song Transition", including on the kinds of effects that Tang provinces did or did not achieve in such transition. There naturally has been an accumulated body of research on the growth of the newly risen local elite — in other words, the former self of the scholar-official class of the Song dynasty — and its relationship with the provincial power. A series of studies by Kurihara Masuo on the fictive father-son relation that was formed between the military commanders and their subordinates⁴ and the highly refined theory of Hori Toshikazu based on his thorough investigation of the power structure of provincial guards⁵ are representative of the theories on the structure of provincial power. Since Naitô Konan, the Kyoto School has understood the structure of provincial power from the standpoint of the Tang-Song Transition having propelled the Chinese society from the medieval to the early modern period. In contrast, both Kurihara and Hori took the view that the Tang-Song Transition was of moving from the ancient into the medieval period. I find that while Tanigawa Michio's studies on the three military provinces in the Northeast appear to reject the views of Kurihara and Hori, they are in reality based on an interest in questions of the same nature.⁶ On the relationship between provincial power and the local elite, the studies of Tanigawa and Matsui Shûichi have made clear the process through which the local elite advanced to the lowest ranking posts and cooperated with the provincial power.⁷ It was the process of the so-called "shadowy possession (*ying-zhan*)" with which the local magnates gained the privileges of tax and corvée exemptions by serving as civil administrators or military officers of the lower ranks (including those who served in name only) in the provincial government.⁸

One should take notice of the point Tonami Mamoru raised about the informal recruiting (*bizhao*) system of the Tang military provinces. Tonami pointed out the existence of a system in which the provincial governor could decide on how to staff his own administration. Tonami explained in detail not only the bureaucratic

⁴ See Kurihara 1953 and 1956.

⁵ See Hori 1951, 1960. The latter, especially, is a study that demonstrates the highest level of scholarship on military provinces in the second period.

⁶ See Tanigawa 1978 and 1988.

⁷ See Tanigawa 1952 and Matsui 1957.

⁸ For an excellent summary of the perspectives and results of the studies on the military provinces in the second stage of development in the scholarship, see also Kurihara 1970.

system at the time when such a recruiting system was utilized, but also the introduction of the newly risen class to offices of power. What Tonami presented was a remarkable insight that the introduction of the newly risen class to offices of power through this recruiting system served as the context in which the extremely fierce struggle between the Niu and the Li factions at the court took place, as each factions formed a pyramid shape vertical alignment through it.⁹ Tonami's theory was extremely significant as it was the first to point out the importance of the existence of these provincial recruits. Considering that these provinces were civil as well as military administrations that supported the Tang dynasty for its last 150 years, these provincial recruits — who were at once the civil/administrative staff of the province and the nominal (acting, concurrent, or probationary) officials of the Tang court — certainly existed to connect the two. By calling our attention to these provincial recruits, Tonami encouraged us to reconsider the theories of the provincial power that had hitherto placed too much emphasis on its military aspect.

Therefore, the common understanding that has surfaced from these studies in the second stage is that between the rebellions of An Lushan and Huang Chao, most provinces including those that were fiscally important — such as Jiang-Huai and Sichuan — came under the direct control of the court and were re-integrated into the Tang bureaucratic system, with the exceptions of some recalcitrant provinces (*fance*), such as three provinces in the Northeastern region.¹⁰ The court appointed as governors to the loyal provinces (*shundi*) high-ranking officials who came from families that had been aristocratic since the Southern-Northern Dynasties. In anticipation of being recalled to the court and becoming high-ranking officials in the central bureaucracy, they sent so-called “tributes (*jinfeng*)” made up of treasures they had acquired through irregular means to the emperor, worsened the exploitation of provincial resources, and precipitated peasant rebellions at the end of the Tang. In the late Tang, over half of the holders of official posts in the central bureaucracy, as well as the provincial governors, came from the families that were aristocratic since the Southern-Northern Dynasties. While they had lost the privileges they amassed through the nine-rank system and were cut off from the country estates that had served as their financial bases as they relocated to the Chang'an and Luoyang, they did still preserve their refinement in high culture,

⁹ Tonami 1962. For related studies, see Tonami 1964, 1973, Otagi 1971, 1973. For the perspectives on the Niu-Li factional struggle, including objection to the Tonami's view, see Watanabe 1994b.

¹⁰ For examples, see Matsui 1957, 1964 and Kurihara 1970.

their social prestige, and their own social network. Hence they adapted themselves to the civil examination system, and perpetuated their grip on the central bureaucracy.¹¹ The existence of Tang court, which ensured the reproduction of central bureaucrats, enabled the aristocracy to control the central bureaucracy; therefore with the collapse of the Tang dynasty, the aristocratic control met its end. I refer to this final phase of the aristocratic control since the fourth century as the system of “bureaucratized aristocracy”. Since most of Tang military provinces were reintegrated into the system controlled by bureaucrats with aristocratic background, it is a bit one-sided for the scholarship in this period to consider the cause of the decline of the Tang dynasty as being the provincial nature against central authority. The departure of the third stage of scholarship lies in its adoption of a broader view in investigating the situation of the provinces in the late Tang.

One characteristic of the third stage of scholarship that has developed since the mid-1970s is its adoption of multiple angles in its perspective. Benefiting from the recent publication of the huge number of historical materials, particularly the epitaphs, the scholarship of this period has intended to delineate various aspects of the provincial establishments with approaches that were more demonstrative than theoretical as in the second stage. In terms of multi-angle perspective, Ôsawa Masaaki’s theory on the types of military provinces is a case in point.¹² He divided Tang military provinces into three categories: (A) those that were autonomous, such as the ones in the Northeast; (B) those that were independent and denied the central authority of the Tang court; (C) those that supported the central authority of the court, such as Jiangnan and Sichuan. The basic principle underlined that court policy towards the provinces was to draw financial support from group (C), suppress the appearance of group (B), and slowly reabsorb group (A), using their inability to deny the central authority of the Tang court in order to gradually control them.¹³ In this sense, not all provinces were against the Tang court. Rather, they could be regarded as co-existing with the dynasty. Research by

¹¹ For the speedy response the aristocracy had toward the civil examinations in the second half of the Tang, see Tonami 1968 and Watanabe 1993. This trend is described in Tonami as “the transformation of great-clan aristocracy into bureaucratic aristocracy” and as the transformation of class composition from one that based in personal “ascription” (property) to one that based in merit, in Seo 2001.

¹² See Ôsawa 1973b and 1975. For examples on similar attempts to categorize military provinces in China and the West, see Zhang 1983, Wang 1990, and Twitchett 1976.

¹³ See Ôsawa 1973b, p. 14.

Chinese scholar Zhang Guogang also proceeds along a similar line of inquiry.¹⁴

From the new perspective of the co-dependency between the Tang court and the provinces, some argue that the court used military provincial governments to reorganize the local administration.¹⁵ Others suggest that instead of achieving central control through the disintegrated *liling* system, the administrative priority (of the court) had shifted to the understanding of the individual characteristics of each locality; thus at such time, the real function of military provincial governments was to serve as the vehicle for the court to control the localities.¹⁶ Another view — which will be presented in this article — consists of a new reading of the ancillary personnel in the provincial government (*muzhi guan*) and their particular role in ingeniously bridging the court and military provinces.¹⁷ These views are supported by the careful researches of newly discovered source materials such as the huge quantity of epitaphs, as well as fragmented historical documents related to institutions, various personal anthologies (*wenji*) and notes (*biji*). This method testifies to the second characteristic of the scholarship in this stage. Such detailed studies of source materials also led to the studies focusing on the individual characteristic of each military province.¹⁸

For example, the traditional hypothesis of the power structure of the North-eastern provinces was based on the role of the Headquarter Guards (*yajun*) of military governors. The Headquarter Guards, boasting strong solidarity, formed the primary military force that supported the autonomy of these three provinces on the one hand. On the other hand, due to their frequent coup d'état, they also served as the cause of provincial instability. The difficulty in substantiating this hypothesis has prompted some scholars to point out the difference in terms of power structure between the Weibo and Chengde provinces.¹⁹ Moreover, new trends in this stage also include studies that review the relationship between the

¹⁴ Zhang 1983.

¹⁵ See Cheong 1992 and 1994; in which he argues that the Tang court actively utilized the military provinces as the connection points between the center and localities and pursued a policy that reorganized local administrations with the provincial governments serving as its cores.

¹⁶ Nakasuna 1988.

¹⁷ For examples of the relationship between Tang literati and provincial governments, see Dai 1990, 1994, and 1998, as well as Shi 2003. With regard to provincial posts, such as the military officers, other than the ancillary personnel, see Watanabe 1988, 1991-93, and 1994a; as well as Fukui 2003.

¹⁸ See Matsui 1959, in which he paid close attention to the particularity of the Lulong Army of Youzhou in the Northeast. Recently, Moribe Yutaka has studied the Zhaoyi Army of Zelu, see Moribe 1994 and 2002c. Also see Huang 1983 on the Zhongwu Army of Chenxu.

¹⁹ See Watanabe 1995.

local elite and provincial power since the late Tang from the perspective of local society,²⁰ such as on the economic flows and local defense, without slavishly following the classic definition of the local elite as the landowners, and studies that focus on the ethnicity,²¹ of such Chen Yinke's classic study as a forerunner.²² Unlike scholarship in the second stage, which was enslaved within fixed perspectives, the current trends are among the most flexible in perspective and the most fruitful in collecting substantive results. Bringing together research results from all previous scholarship, the goal of the scholarship of this current stage is to establish a new and comprehensive view of the organization of military government and its position in the process of Tang-Song Transition.

This paper aims to provide a new reading on the ancillary personnel in the provincial governments and their outlook. The previous scholarship has treated the recruiting system of these ancillary personnel in the provincial governments as the ladder allowing a newly risen class to break into the bureaucracy, and hence being considered the antithesis of the aristocracy.²³ The understanding that this recruiting system led to steadily eroding the aristocratic control over the bureaucracy and "the last such recruits became the scholar-official class of the Song Dynasty after going through a similar process repeated during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties,"²⁴ was indeed attractive to us from the viewpoint of Tang-Song Transition. If this is the case, this recruiting system served as a centrifugal force that worked against the aristocracy. However, the fact remains that the aristocracy continued to dominate the bureaucracy of the dynasty after the An Lushan Rebellion as much as it did in the preceding period. As previously mentioned, much recent research has paid attention to this continuation and the political and institutional framework that made it possible. I have also repeatedly argued in recent years that the appointment to these ancillary posts in the provincial govern-

²⁰ Satake Yasuhiko has pioneered research taking the perspective of local society; see Satake 1990. In regard to self-defense forces that focused on local protection, see the numerous works of Hino. (It is regrettable that he passed away before finishing his 1984 article.) Recent notable studies also include the two articles by Anazawa 1999 and 2002, as well as Yamane 2002.

²¹ Moribe pays attention to the active role played by Sogdian military men in the military provinces in the second half of the Tang Dynasty; see Moribe 1997, 2001, 2002a, 2002b and 2004. Also Li Hongbin is interested in discussing the division of the Shuofang Army in the period from the An Lushan Rebellion to the Xianzong reign and the establishment of new military management in the Northwest from the contexts of the internal politics of Tang and mobile relation between Tang, Tibet and Uighur, see Li 1999.

²² See Chen 1944.

²³ Tonami 1962 (1986, p. 73).

²⁴ Tonami 1962 (1986, p. 74).

ments was part of the “elite course”, linking the recruiting system of the provincial governments with the central bureaucracy.²⁵ This paper builds upon earlier conclusions and furthers the understanding of the internal state of the system. In addition, it is an attempt to re-examine the true state and historical significance of this recruitment system through an investigation of the class background of those who were recruited by this system, based on the case studies of the compositions of the provincial staff at the financially advanced Huainan and Zhexi provinces.

I. The Status and Characteristics of the Ancillary Posts in the Officialdom in Mid-and Late Tang

In my previous article, I uncovered the actual condition of the ancillary posts in provincial governments. Here I will first return to it, adding some source materials I was unable to introduce. It should be noted that late Tang literati considered it normal for one to serve at an ancillary post in a provincial government. There are ample examples in which a provincial government informally recruited *jinshi* graduates who had entered the central bureaucracy and taken up the elite posts, such as the Collating Director (*jiaoshu lang*) [of the Imperial Library] that was the bottom-most of the “eight eminent posts (*bajun*)”, or of the slightly lesser Correcting Editor (*zhengzi*).²⁶ Among those who served as Chief Ministers during the reigns between Emperors Daizong (r. 762–79) and Xizong (r. 873–88), as many as 73% had the experience of serving at ancillary posts in provincial governments.²⁷ Many elite bureaucrats as well as those in the reserve responded enthusiastically to the recruiting calls of provincial governments. The reasons behind this were the stagnated advancement in the central bureaucracy caused by a chronic shortage of vacant posts and the roundabout career path for those who ad-

²⁵ See Watanabe 1998 and Matsuura 1998.

²⁶ See *Fengshi jianwen ji* 3, p.16. Also see TYL8, “Addenda,” p. 717. The so-called “eight eminent posts” were indeed a most coveted course of advancement. One becomes a *jinshi* graduate, then a Collating Director, a Metropolitan District Defender (*ji wei*), an Investigating Censor (*jiancha yushi*), a Remembrancer (*shiyi*), the Deputy Bureau Director (*yuanwai lang*), the Secretariat Drafter (*zhongshu sheren*), and finally the Vice Minister of the Grand Secretariat (*zhongshu shilang*). A slightly less coveted path was to start as passing the decree exam (*zhike*), becoming an Correcting Editor (*zhengzi*), then a Capital District Defender (*jing wei*) or Vice Magistrate of Metropolitan District (*ji cheng*), an Attending Censor in the Palace (*dianzhong shi yushi*), a Rectifier (*buque*), a Bureau Director (*langzhong*), the Supervising Secretary (*jishizhong*), and finally the Minister of the Grand Secretariat (*zhongshu ling*).

²⁷ Watanabe 1998, p. 359.

vanced based on a system of promotion by seniority (*xunzi ge*).²⁸ Therefore, taking up an ancillary post at a provincial government became a route that bypassed these predicaments. Moreover, provincial ancillary posts offered various advantages.

The first advantage is related to the petition and transfer of the acting (*jianjiao*), concurrent (*jian*), and probationary (*shi*) officials. Originally, in order to designate the status of provincial ancillary officials whose posts were extra-legal in the *luling* bureaucracy, they were given court offices with added titles, such as “acting”, “concurrent”, or “probationary”. (Those who carried the titles of the Censorate officials were called “*xianguan*”).²⁹ What is significant is that despite the fact that these titles were mostly nominal, they could be used as official credentials to influence one’s promotion as well as one’s official career afterward. It became the custom that these added titles as well as those of the regular officials (*zhengyuan guan*) could be equally used as official credentials.³⁰ Moreover, such acting, concurrent, or probationary officials could have opportunity for promotions when the provincial governor petitioned on their behalf; the obscure officer in the following epitaph is one example:

[Zheng Gao] passed the *jinshi* examination and, ... was appointed the Correcting Editor of the Heir Apparent (*taizi zhenzi*). The late Civil Governor of E’yue province, He Shigan, recruited [him] to be a Judge (*tuiguan*) [in his administration]. [His] substantive post (*zhishi guan*) was promoted to the [probationary] Chief Musician (*taichang si xielü lang*). And [His] substantive post then became the [probationary] Judicial Case Reviewer (*dali pingshi*) and Concurrent Investigating Censor (*jiancha yushi*) as [he] held the provincial post of the Assistant Civil Commissioner (*guancha zhishi*). Moreover, he was promoted from the Attending Censor in the Palace (*dianzhong shi yushi*) to the Attendant Censor (*shi yushi*) [both as *xianguan*]. The province was peaceful for some ten years due to the con-

²⁸ With regard to “the system of promotion by seniority,” see Toriya 1980 and Tsukigi 1987.

²⁹ Tonami 1973 (1986, p. 98).

³⁰ Those who served under the commissioners (including provincial governors), such as the provincial ancillary officials, while attending the morning assembly at court, were to be treated in accordance with the regular attending officials (*changcan guan*) and censors (of the same rank), see THY 62 “Memorial submitted by the Censorate in the tenth month of the Zhenyuan 12th year (796),” p. 1281.

tribution of Zheng's support to the provincial government.³¹

In other words, Zheng Gao's official credential was smoothly augmented starting with the Chief Musician, to the Judicial Case Reviewer and Concurrent Investigating Censor, then to the Attending Censor in the Palace, and finally to the Attendant Censor, all during some ten years of serving as a Judge and then as the Assistant Civil Commissioner under the Civil Governor of the E'yue province. His case — four promotions in some ten years — was the standard pace of promotion,³² it was not rare for the promotions of the acting, concurrent, or probationary officials to be expedited due to the petition of the provincial governors. I think that to be promoted faster than what was regulated had become normal.³³ In addition, the Censorate posts, to which more than half of the acting, concurrent, or probationary posts that Zheng occupied belong, were the noticeable “pure posts (*qing-guan*)” highly esteemed as official credential.³⁴ When one was up for an appointment to the regular post at the court (through the “Winter Recommendation (*dongjian*)” which will be discussed later), such an official credential as having held the acting, concurrent, or probationary post while serving in the provincial government was actually given adequate consideration. In other words, the official credential of having held an acting, concurrent, or probationary post was not nominal; it had real function in one's career in practice. The provincial ancillary officials were frequently given the substantive posts of either the Censorate or the Court of Justice. It could be because the court assumed that the duty of these provincial ancillary officials included the surveillance of the province. Moreover, I think that the court demonstrated through these investitures its deferential treatment to the provincial ancillary officials. Noticeably, other than the acting, concurrent, or probationary posts in the Censorate or the Court of Justice, Collating

³¹ *STMZHB*, Luoyang 12, “The Epitaph of Zheng Gao (AD 805),” p. 187.

³² It seems that the transfer of those “acting”, “concurrent”, or “probationary” officials of the Censorate or the Three Departments was conducted in either “every three years” (*THY* 78, “Decree of the twelfth month of the Zhenyuan 16th year (800),” p. 1704); or “every three evaluations (*kao*)” (*THY* 81, “Grand Secretariat-Chancellery response to the decree of the fifth month of the Yuanhe second year (807),” pp. 1782-3), or “every thirty months” (*THY* 78, “Decree of the seventh month of the Yuanhe 7th year (812),” p. 1704).

³³ See *THY* 78, “Decree of the second month of the Zhenyuan 4th year (788),” p. 1703; and *CFYG* 631, “Memorial submitted by the Grand Secretariat-Chancellery in the ninth month of the Taihe first year (827),” pp. 7566-7.

³⁴ With regard to the “pure posts”, please refer to *JTS* 42, “Monograph on Bureaucracy,” pp. 1804-5; and the entry on the Director of the Bureau of Personnel in *Tang liudian* 2.

Director (*jiaoshu lang*) or Correcting Editor (*zhengzi*), Deputy Bureau Director (*yuanwai lang*) and Bureau Director (*langzhong*) posts that were usually given to the provincial ancillary officials still belonged to elite posts.³⁵

I think that the afterimage of the “guest assistant (*binzuo*)” of commanderies in the Southern-Northern Dynasties must have served as a context of the deferential treatment towards the provincial ancillary officials. The Military Governor of Ziqing, Tian Shengong, who came from a military background, was surprised to see that the Deputy General Commander of Henan, Li Guangbi, treated his staff with utmost courtesy. After Tian returned to his province, he inquired after Liu Wei, an Executive Officer (*panguan*), of what he saw. Liu answered, “Since the administrative assistants (*panguan*) are considered to be the ‘guests of the provincial government (*mubin*)’, there is no rite with which for the governor to receive bows [from them]”. Tian then apologized to every staff member by bowing to them.³⁶ Pei Jie, the Executive Supervisor (*lushi canjun*) of Shan [superior] prefecture, was invited to the party hosted by the Civil Governor of Shangguo, Li Mian; but Pei did not appear at all. Li questioned him the next morning. Pei responded that, “there are already many respectable guest staffs (*binliao*) in your government. Since I am but a petty official, I dared not be in the same company.” Li apologized and, “immediately ordered a carriage to take him to [the residence of] Pei, where he paid his respects and invited Pei to serve in his province

³⁵ In connection to this, among the provincial ancillary officials of Huainan and Zhexi listed in Tables II and III, those whom I proved to hold “acting”, “concurrent”, or “probationary” posts are as follow: 8 Collating Directors, 1 Editorial Director (*zhuzuo lang*), 14 Investigating Censors, 20 Attending Censors in the Palace, 10 *shiyu* (which means Investigating Censors or Attending Censors in the Palace), 15 Attendant Censors, 2 Vice Censors-in-Chief (*yushi zhongcheng*), 1 Censor-in-Chief (*yushi dafu*), 14 Deputy Bureau Directors, 8 Bureau Directors, 17 Judicial Case Reviewers, 3 Judicial Rectifiers (*dali sizhi*), 1 Deputy Director of Ceremony (*taichang si fengli lang*), 4 Chief Musicians, 1 Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang boshi*), 1 Chamberlain for the Palace Revenues (*taifu qing*), 1 Director of the Palace Administration (*dianzhong jian*), 1 Instructor of the Imperial Academy (*guozhi zhujiao*), 1 Advisor for the Heir Apparent (*taizi siyi lang*), 1 Executive Supervisor of the [superior] prefecture (*fu lushi canjun*), and 1 Supervisor in the Imperial Army (*weizuo*). Those underlined are either the “pure posts” or the “pure and prestigious posts (*qingwang guan*)” (of the third rank and above). Other than those, the starters of the “eight eminent posts” — Collating Director and Judicial Case Reviewer (See TYL 5, “Addenda,” p. 447) were also clearly elite.

³⁶ See *Fengshi wenjian* ji 9, “Reformed,” p. 80. The term “*panguan*” was often used when referring to upper level administrative staff, such as secretary-general, of the provincial government. In such case, it is translated here as the “Executive Officer”. It was also applied more broadly to any provincial ancillary posts; as such, it is translated as the “administrative assistants.” For details, see Yan 1969, pp. 187–9.

government.”³⁷ It is enough to tell from these examples the high status of provincial officials.

However, I think the most important purpose of the deferential treatment of the provincial ancillary officials was to ensure a permanent returning path between the central government and provinces, tying the provincial ancillary officials to the central bureaucratic system; such linkage between the two was also closely connected to the Winter Recommendation system. The Winter Recommendation was a practice in which a finite number of incumbent officials would recommend certain qualified individuals to the regular attending officials (*changcan guan*) of the eighth rank and above, whom the Council of Chief Ministers [i.e. the Grand Secretariat-Chancellery (*zhongshu menxia*)] had the authority to appoint. The time for recommendation to take place (i.e. winter), the range of officials who have the credential to make recommendation, the maximum number of those recommended, the oral examination for the recommended, and the system of selection were all decided during Dezong’s reign between the years of 788 and 793.³⁸ The importance of the Winter Recommendation is that it provided a framework through which “any civil governor or prefectural administrator”³⁹ could make recommendations and hence established a system whereby provincial ancillary officials under a military or civil governor could be recruited back as regular officials of the court. When the recommended were selected and appointed, the official credential of each was given serious consideration. This then was a system that gave those provincial ancillary officials who possessed the pure and important (*qingyao*) official credential, even if just the acting, concurrent, or probationary posts, great advantages. Cases of someone from the provincial government “being summoned to the court to take up a certain post” are numerous in the Biographies in the Official Histories. For example:

[Wang Zhi] had served in the retinues of four governorships — Caizhou,

³⁷ See *Yinhua lu* 3, p. 850.

³⁸ See *TD* 15, “Civil Service Examination,” p. 366 and *THY* 82, “Winter Recommendation,” pp. 1790–2. For detailed analysis, see Watanabe 1998, pp. 372–80.

³⁹ The “appeasement” policy of the reigns of Daizong and Dezong probably brought about granting provincial governors the right to make recommendations such as these. In “Li Leng” (*TPGJ* 151, from *Xu dingming lu*, p. 1084), the namesake of the story was a *jinshi* graduate of the year 786 during the reign of Dezong working under the Military Governor of Hezhong, Hun Jian. Li requested from Hun an irregular recommendation in order to receive the appointment of the Metropolitan District Defender.

Chenxu, Dongchuan, and Shan'nan West respectively, reached [the rank of] the Concurrent Investigating Censor by repeated recommendation [of the governor] , and then was summoned to the court to take up [the post of] the Attending Censor in the Palace.

Here is another example:

[Niu Hui] served in the retinues of three provincial governors, gained [the rank of] the Attending Censor in the Palace (as *xianguan*), and was bestowed the crimson court robe [of the fifth rank] and honorary fish pouch (*yudai*). [He] was summoned to the court and appointed as the Right Rectifier.

Yet another example:

[Lu Shang], at the time when Wang Bo and Duan Wenchang were the succeeding Military Governors of Xichuan, [he] served on the retinue as the secretarial staff (*jishi*) and reached [the post of “acting”] Deputy Director of the Bureau of Rites. [He] was later summoned to the court and appointed as the Deputy Director of the Bureau of Works.⁴⁰

Judging from these records, the number of those who entered the court and were appointed to the central bureaucracy through the Winter Recommendation is quite considerable. Note particularly that each of them held the rank of Concurrent Investigating Censor, Attending Censor in the Palace (as *xianguan*), or Acting Deputy Director of the Bureau of Rites as the pure and important acting, concurrent, and probationary officials while serving in provincial governments, and were then appointed to the corresponding posts of Attending Censor in the Palace, Right Rectifier, or Deputy Director of the Bureau of Works after returning to the court as pure and important regular officials.⁴¹ If we erase the characters for “acting”,

⁴⁰ JTS 163, “The Biography of Wang Zhi,” p. 4267. JTS 172, “The Biography of Niu Hui,” p. 4474. JTS 176, “The Biography of Lu Shang,” p. 4575.

⁴¹ Originally, the Winter Recommendation applied only to those whose official credential was of the “acting or probationary” official of the fifth rank and above. However, I believe that those in the sixth rank and below carrying the titles of either Bureau (Deputy) Directors (*langguan*) or Censors became qualified for the Winter Recommendation following the precedence of the so-called “*bashi langguan (yushi)*,” i.e. those who returned from fulfilling regional surveillance duty carrying

“concurrent,” or “probationary” in the titles they held before their return to the court, it appears that their official credential would fit perfectly the course consisting of the “eight eminent” or that consisting of posts slightly lesser in rank. This fact would not seem so strange when one considers that provincial ancillary officials were treated as the guest staff and that those who were in charge of document, such as the Chief Secretary (*zhang shuji*) or the Assistant Civil Commissioner (*guan cha zhishi*), were noticeably reputable. For example, Li Ao’s *The Records of Extraordinary Talents* (*Zhuoyi ji*) records that the Lu brothers — Jian-neng, Jianci, Hongzhi,⁴² and Jianqiu — “each served as the Chief Secretary” in the provinces of Xiazhou, Hemeng, Zhaoyi, and E’zhou respectively; hence, “it appears that those in charge of documents in provincial government must be chosen among those who were renowned for literary talent at the time. There was no other case like the four Lu brothers in which each of them had such reputation and was recruited.” The talented ones in the provincial ancillary posts were recruited to fill the elite posts at the court. It is not without reason that the provincial ancillary posts were seen as the shortcut to advancement, if we consider the following. The first is a statement made in “The Edict to Appoint Wen Yao-qing and Others”⁴³:

The talented nowadays are recruited first by provincial governments and then promoted to the court. Therefore the provincial recruits are only one level below those who serve in the Three Departments or Censorate as eight or nine of every ten of them will eventually be appointed to high offices at the court.

The other is:

... Because of this, the authority of the provincial governments grew ever greater. It seemed to those who were ambitious for grandeur that the court was no longer the place where the sun shone and provincial govern-

the temporary *langguan* or Censor titles. See *THY* 75, “Decree in the twelfth month of the Zhenyuan 9th year (793),” p. 1614 and *CFYG* 631, “Memorial submitted by the Grand Secretariat-Chancellery in the fifth month of the Yuanhe second year (807),” p. 7562.

⁴² The text and *JTS* 163 (p. 4270) record his name to be “hongzheng”, but judging from *XTS* 73A (p. 2933) and 177 (p. 5283), “hongzhi” should be the correct one. See also the “eighth month of the Huichang 4th year (844)—*kaoyi*” in *ZZTJ* 248, p. 8006.

⁴³ *Bo Ju yi ji* 49, p. 2924.

ments became the places of importance. [Whence] without working hard, promotions came speedily and advancement to the level of the Bureau Director or Deputy Director of State Affairs was possible.⁴⁴

Next, we should touch upon the reverse course of entering the court from provincial posts — namely, the cases of incumbent court officials being recruited to serve in provincial governments. When those high-ranking court officials — either Chief Ministers or the likely candidates of Chief Ministers — were appointed as provincial governors, they became patrons of informal recruitment. Those whom they recruited and cultivated private connections with would expect to receive various kinds of tangible or intangible benefits, beginning with the recommendations for promotion, when they were summoned back to the court as the Chief Ministers. Therefore many who already occupied elite posts such as the Metropolitan District Defender, Censor, or Bureau (Deputy) Director enthusiastically responded to recruitment of provincial governments as in the following examples. Wang Qi, the Metropolitan District Defender, was recruited by Li Jifu as the Chief Secretary of the Huainan Governorship; Lu Jian'neng, the Attending Censor in the Palace, was recruited by Niu Sengru to be the Executive Officer of Shan-nan East Governorship; Liu Gongchuo, the Deputy Director of the Bureau of Personnel, was recruited by Wu Yuanheng as an administrative assistant of Xichuan Governorship; and Li Shi, the Director of the Bureau of War, was recruited by Linghu Chu as the Deputy Governor of Taiyuan.⁴⁵

The court had repeatedly issued edicts to prohibit the informal recruitment of incumbent Bureau (Deputy) Directors or Censors, but to no avail.⁴⁶ The practice of the Chief Minister-turned-Provincial Governor recruiting incumbent court officials became commonly recognized.⁴⁷ Judging from the quote — “It is the practice that when the Imperial District (*chixian*) Defender was recruited by the Chief Minister turned Provincial Governor to his retinue, he would be given the crimson

⁴⁴ TYL 8, “Addenda,” p. 693.

⁴⁵ See JTS 164, p. 4278; JTS 163, p. 4272; JTS 165, p. 4300; JTS 172, p. 4483.

⁴⁶ The court repeatedly issued edicts to prohibit informal recruitment of incumbent Bureau (Deputy) Directors and Censors in the year of 784 (see THY 54, “Grand Secretariat,” p. 1089) and in the years of 828 and 837 (see THY 79, “Miscellanea about the Various Commissioners,” p. 1709 and 1712). The existence of these repeated edicts tells a different story — no one really heeded the orders that banned the practice.

⁴⁷ See THY 79, “Memorial submitted by the Grand Secretariat-Chancellery in the fourth month of the Kaicheng 4th year (838),” p. 1713.

robe (*feifu*) and the [substantive] post of the Attending Censor in the Palace”⁴⁸ — the recruited incumbents were bestowed with ranks (acting, concurrent, or probationary) and robes based on a set pattern and regulation of designations. The provincial governor, when returning to court as a Chief Minister, customarily recommended those who served him in the province, the so-called old subordinates (*guli*), just as “when Lu Shang was welcomed back to the court as the Chief Minister, Sun Tang was given deferential treatment and appointed the Chief Musician, following “the custom in case of Provincial Governor turned Chief Minister (*xiangmu tili*).”⁴⁹ Moreover, in this other case:

Li Fangxuan graduated from the *jinshi* examination (AD 826) and was appointed the Collating Director of the Imperial Library, then was offered the position of Executive Officer carrying the title of Chief Musician by the Civil Governor of Jiangxi Pei Yi (served 830-833). When Pei was re-assigned as the Civil Governor of Xuanshe (833), he was appointed the [probationary] Judicial Case Reviewer and the Militia Executive Officer (*tuanlian panguan*). As Feng Su, the Vice President of the Boards of Wars, was appointed the Military Governor of Dongchuan (835), [Li] became a Civil Executive Officer [in his retinue] carrying the title of Investigating Censor in the Reserve (*jiancha yushi lixing*). Less than a year later, [Li] was summoned by the Censorate and became a regular Investigating Censor. He then became the Left Rectifier. When Li Guyan, the Vice-Minister of the Chancellery as a Chief Minister, was appointed the Military Governor of Xichuan (836), Li [Fangxuan] became the Military Advisor carrying the title of Acting Deputy Director of the Bureau of Rites. He was then summoned to the court to serve as the Imperial Diarist (*qiju lang*).⁵⁰

This demonstrates that it had become the norm (in the second half of the dynasty) for Tang officials, especially the upper echelon who were *jinshi* graduates to be first assigned as the Collating Directors, and then after having reached the more pure and important posts, to steadily advance their career following a zigzag course taking alternatively the provincial and court posts.

This demonstrates that the provincial ancillary officials were firmly tied to the

⁴⁸ JSCB 117, “The Epitaph of Kong Yu (AD 874),” p. 2138.

⁴⁹ STMZHB, Luoyang 15, “The Epitaph of Sung Tang,” p. 7.

⁵⁰ Fanchuan wenji 8, “The Epitaph of Li Fangxuan,” pp. 130-1.

central bureaucracy and were organically absorbed into the bureaucratic system of the Tang court.

Though today's provincial governors recruit talented men and treat [them] with respect, the latter are not always capable in the matters of military or cultural refinements. They attach themselves to the status of court post (*guan'zhi*) and salary. When a serious incident breaks out in the province, few are capable of resolving crisis or alleviating suffering.⁵¹

Such a record in an epitaph vividly captures the image of those provincial ancillary officials who looked to the court rather than the province they served and cared about only their rank and salary. In addition, we have the following cases for consideration. The court decreed that "each military or civil governor should assign the responsibility of managing post station to one of the administrative assistants" in the Dali 14th year (779) under Emperor Daizong and again in the Yuanhe 5th year (810) under Emperor Xianzong.⁵² In the Taihe 4th year (830) during Emperor Wenzong's reign, the court approved the memorial by Wei Mo, the Vice Censor-in-Chief, that "those who carry the title of Censor among the provincial ancillary officials of a Civil Governor should be entrusted to preside over the cases of appeals the local people filed."⁵³ At the grand gathering in the court, "in cases there are not enough Investigating Censors to oversee the assembly of official, those who serve under various governors and are visiting the court as the emissaries should temporarily take up the responsibility."⁵⁴ In these cases, the "acting", "concurrent", and "probationary" offices were neither nominal nor signs for promotion. The Tang court could order the title holders to serve the actual function of their title when the occasion called for it.⁵⁵ In this way, we could re-

⁵¹ *STMZHB*, Luoyang 14, "The Epitaph of Zhang Xing (AD 850)," p. 23.

⁵² *THY* 61, "Post Relay Stations," pp. 1249-50.

⁵³ *THY* 62, "Memorial submitted by Wei Mo in the eighth month of the Taihe 4th year (830)," p. 1275. Since there were no fewer than five or six executive officers in the retinue of a civil governor, Wei Mo suggested that those who carry the acting, concurrent, probationary posts of the Censorate shall preside over judicial cases. He requested specifically that, "if they are meritorious and are able to overturn false convictions, whenever there is a vacancy among the regular posts in the Censorate, they shall be recommended for it."

⁵⁴ *TGSB* C, p. 53.

⁵⁵ As seen in the material source listed in the footnote number 41, the provincial ancillary officials frequently received the treatment corresponded to these posts in a way similar to the Bureau (Deputy) Directors (*langguan*) and Censors who were sent to the provinces on surveillance duties.

gard this political measure employed by the Tang court as clever.

What was the purpose of the Tang court to connect the provincial ancillary officials to the organizations in the central bureaucracy after these elaborated procedures? It was none other than to restrain those military provinces from within, which had become strong centrifugal forces against the court as a result of the An Lushan Rebellion. If the feeling and aspirations of provincial ancillary officials could be permanently turned to the court, they would function no differently from a centripetal force that subsumed the provinces under the central control. An example of this was the action taken by various ancillary officials on the eve of the famous rebellion of Li Qi, the military governor of Zhexi.

[Governor Li] Qi often behaved in violation of laws. Lu Tan frequently remonstrated with him so sternly that those who heard them all feared for him. [Lu] had requested numerous times to be dismissed but to no avail. Though he served in the administration of [Li] Qi for seven years, he received no promotion. As Li Qi's behaviors became increasingly excessive, [Lu] Tan worried that calamity would surely befall him. Knowing that it was impossible to persuade Li, he and Pei Du, Li Yue, and Li Leng all abandoned their posts one after another.⁵⁶

In addition to the actions of Lu Tan and others, Wang Dan was killed because he “and the Army Supervisor had repeatedly persuaded” Li to return to the court in the midst of the volatile situation of the mounting rebellion.⁵⁷ Moreover when Li Shen was forced to draft an announcement for the rebellion, he “feigned to quake with fear — his brush trembled and paper shook, unable to write a single word” — and escaped the danger.⁵⁸ They are all the embodiments of this invisible centripetal force.⁵⁹ When one takes into consideration that the loyal provinces under the central control were generally incorporated into a system of control by the

⁵⁶ *Li wengong ji* 12, “The Biography of the Late Military Governor of Dongchuan,” p. 62.

⁵⁷ *JTS* 112, p. 3342.

⁵⁸ Shen Yazhi, “The Biography of Li Shen” in *WYYH* 795, p. 4203.

⁵⁹ The Military Governor of Zhaoyi, Lu Congshi, refused to obey orders from the court and was subsequently executed. His Chief Secretary, Kong Kan, was recorded to have also taken a similar action. According to the biography of Kong Kan that “whenever [Kan] reached treasonous language while taking down [Congshi's] dictation, he fiercely remonstrated against it. Congshi got angry [with him]. A little over a year later, Kong returned to Luoyang claiming health reasons.” See *JTS* 141, pp. 4096-7.

aristocratic bureaucrats since the ninth century with the exception of the recalcitrant provinces (such as the three provinces in the Northeast), the background of military governors was no longer the only issue. Rather, we shall attempt to understand the situation by studying the structure of the upper level of the provincial power as a whole, including the ancillary officials.⁶⁰

Now before we proceed, there is still one more thing we should ascertain with regard to various provincial posts we referred to collectively as the provincial ancillary offices. There existed obvious differences in characteristics between the two parallel systems of posts among the provincial ancillary offices, those of the upper level, who were the aforementioned “guests of the provincial government (*mubin*)” and “guest staff (*binliao*)”, and those of the lower level whose functions were rather closer to that of the clerks. Since the ancillary offices of provincial governments were originally part of an extra-legal system, the difference in status among them has hitherto never been clearly pointed out. The tendency thus far is to treat these two systems as one.

For example, the following posts were listed in the Monograph on Bureaucracy of XTS 49B as the provincial ancillary officials — Deputy Commissioner-acting-as-the-Military Governor (*fu dashi zhi jiedu shi*), Camp Adjutant (*xingjun sima*), Deputy Governor (*fushi*), Executive Officer (*panguan*), Assistant Commissioner (*zhishi*), Chief Secretary (*zhang shuji*), Judge (*tuiguan*), Inspector (*xunguan*), Associate Judge (*yatui*), Same as Deputy Military Governor (*tong jiedu fushi*), Inspector of Postal Relay Stations (*guanyi xunguan*), Legal Staff of Provincial Court-house (*fu fazhiyuan guan*), Assistant Staff (*yaoji*), Staff Placed According to Needs (*zhuyao*), and Servant (*qinshi*). This record not only presents many problems, such as that the “Same as Military Deputy Governor” is no more than an added title and *fu fazhiyuan guan* appears nowhere else in Tang sources, but it also had the archetypal shortcoming of listing the high level provincial officials of Inspector and above together with the low level provincial officials of Associate Judge and below.⁶¹ The upper level provincial ancillary officials, namely the “guest

⁶⁰ In fact, even in the three so-called “recalcitrant provinces” in the Northeast, there are numerous examples of *jinshi* degree holders and those of the aristocratic families taking up provincial ancillary posts. Having such a kind of connection through provincial ancillary officials, I believe, there was preserved between the Tang court and the three Northeastern provinces a certain interdependence, rather than just complete antagonism. For details on this point, please refer to Watanabe 1997.

⁶¹ The accounts on the military system in the Monograph on Military of XTS similarly contain many mistakes, especially in the section on extra-legal posts; see Tang 1957, pp. 32-82. Even in Yan Gengwang’s studies, while he paid special care in seeking after the role of each and every

staff”, were closely linked to and constantly recruited from or into the central bureaucracy as stated earlier. There were well defined regulations with regard to their transfer (i.e. promotion) to other offices within the Censorate and the Three Departments, such as the following edict issued in the twelfth month of the Zhenyuan 16th year (800) during the reign of Dezong:

Before commissioners of Civil (*guancha*), General Militia (*du tuanlian*), Defense (*fangyu*), Fiscal and Agriculture (*zhidu-yingtian*) and Frontier-Management (*jinglüe*) and Pacification (*zhaotao*) of all circuits petition the Censorate and the Three Departments for promotions on behalf of their Deputy Commissioners, Camp Adjutants, Executive Officers, Assistant Commissioners, Advisors, Chief Secretaries, Judges, Inspectors, more than three years shall have passed from the previous appointment.⁶²

As shown in **Table I**, the memorial submitted by the Grand Secretariat-Chancellery in the ninth month of the Huichang 5th year (845) during the reign of Emperor Wuzong states the numbers of “the administrative assistants in all circuits.”

Those who were collectively referred to as retainers (*congshi*) or administrative assistants (*panguan*) in the historical sources were frequently the upper level provincial officials. I argue that the Tang court treated this level of provincial officials in accordance with those so-called “officials of the Censorate and Three Departments (*taisheng zhi guan*)”. Recruits who were well known literati in the history of literature of the mid-and late Tang, such as Han Yu (as the Civil Judge) of Bianzhou, Du Mu (as the Chief Secretary) of Huainan, and Li Shangyin (as the Inspector) of Yunzhou, each entered the upper level of the respective provincial government. The term “provincial ancillary officials”, usually refers particularly to the upper crust of provincial officials; which I have done repeatedly thus far in this article. However, we find another group of job titles under the governorship, such

provincial ancillary post, he did not differentiate between the two levels and completed with only listing them one-dimensionally; see Yan 1969, pp. 177-236. Still in *TD* 32, “Bureaucracy,” the numbers for various kinds of staff under military governors are: 1 Deputy Military Governor, 1 Camp Adjutant, 2 Executive Officers, 1 Chief Secretary, 1 or maybe 2 Advisors (*cannou*) and 4 Attendant Officers (*suijun*) — altogether 11 or 12. It did not suffer from this kind of misunderstanding.

⁶² *THY* 78, “Miscellanea about the Various Commissioners,” p. 1704. See also *THY* 81 “Evaluation,” p. 1783. Still the reason why Camp Adjutant and Advisor do not appear in **Table I** is that in the year 839 such positions were eliminated as superfluous; see *THY* 79, p. 1713.

Table 1 The Fixed Number of the Ancillary Posts

Civil Governor	5 (previously 6)	Deputy Commissioner of Militia (<i>huanlian fushi</i>), Executive Officer (<i>panguan</i>), Civil Executive Officer (<i>guancha panguan</i>), Assistant Commissioner (<i>zhishi</i>), Judge (<i>tuiguan</i>)
Military Governor	6 (previously 8)	Deputy Military Governor (<i>jiedu fushi</i>), Executive Officer, Chief Secretary (<i>zhang shuji</i>), Judge, Civil Executive Officer, Assistant Commissioner
Youzhou/Ziqing	7 (previously 9)	Same as the above plus the Military Judge of Lulong [Youzhou] /Inspector of Silla and Barhae [Ziqing]
Huainan/Hedong	8†	Same as the above plus Inspector, Executive Officer in Agriculture (<i>yingtian panguan</i>) [Huainan], and Executive Officer of Viceroy (<i>liushou panguan</i>) [Hedong]
Xichuan	8 (previously 12)	Same as the above (but Civil Judge instead of Military Judge), plus Inspector and the Executive Officer of Yuan'an

(data taken from *THY* 79, pp. 1714-5)

†On the Huainan and Hedong, there are some missing phrase in the text, thus I attempt to estimate the number of their ancillary posts using some other materials.

as Associate Judge, Assistant Staff, Staff Placed According to Needs, and Servant, as well as, Registrar (*kongmu guan*), Express Courier (*qushi guan*), and Attendant Officer (*suijun*), that did not appear in the aforementioned regulation for the promotions of “acting”, “concurrent,” or “probationary” officials. With regard to the actuality of low level provincial officials of such kinds, since I have already discussed it elsewhere, please refer to that article for details.⁶³ Just to restate the conclusion, there existed clerical posts of what should be called “provincial clerks (*muli*).”

A good example is the *kongmu guan*. The *kongmu guan*, as Hu Sanxing explains in his annotations of *Zizhi tongjian*, “was someone who served as clerk in administrative office. This name first appeared in Tang times. It was called such because every conceivable business (every hole and item) would have to pass through the hands of one who occupied this position.”⁶⁴ The Biography of Liu Zhongyin, who became the Military Governor of Dongchuan, states that “a *kongmu li* named Bian Zhangjian had bribed the Army Supervisor with goods. Military governors that came before [Liu] could do nothing about him.”⁶⁵ Both records sug-

⁶³ Watanabe 2001.

⁶⁴ *ZZTJ* 216, p. 6905.

⁶⁵ *JTS* 165, p. 4306.

gest that there existed in the provincial government managers of general affairs,⁶⁶ who were frequently referred to as the *kongmu li* or *kongmu guan*.⁶⁷ In addition, in the episode of Han Huang and Liu Yuanzuo:

Han Huang came to the court from Jiangdong... At the time, Liu Yuanzuo was the Military Governor of Bianzhou with fearsome military strength. The court was having difficulty controlling him. In order to persuade Liu to come and pay respect to the court, Han became a fictive brother of Liu and bowed to Liu's parents. Han stayed at the Liu's for three days and paid Liu's army handsomely with gold and clothes. The army of Bianzhou came to admire Han and Liu came to respect Han. However, Liu sent someone to spy on Han. At night, Han asked his *kongmu li*, "How much did we spend today?" and inquired further in great detail. [Upon hearing it,] Liu despised Han.⁶⁸

the *kongmu guan* existed to examine the particulars of accounting. They clearly belong to a different category from those provincial officials of the upper level who were in charge of drafting documents and held their own against the governor as "the guests of the provincial government (*mubin*)."⁶⁹ Other jobs, such as the Assistant Staff and Staff Placed According to Needs, will be mentioned in the later section. In any case, they are surely clerical posts. I believe that the class difference between the upper and lower officials in the organizations of provincial administrations nearly corresponded to the relationship between those of official status (*liunei guan*) and those not of official status (*liuwai guan*).

II. The Composition of Ancillary Officials in the Provinces of Huainan and Zhexi

Now, let us return to the system of informal recruiting by governors. The provincial ancillary posts that have been discussed thus far either in the context of "the antithesis of the system of aristocracy" and "the ladder through which the newly risen class climbed into officialdom", or in the context of "the pyramid-

⁶⁶ See also Cai Cili's "The Inscription for the Dining Hall in the Office of Registrars of Qianzhou," *WYYH* 806, p. 4263.

⁶⁷ For example, Hu Zhen was mentioned in *ZZTJ* 226 as the *kongmu guan* serving the Chengde Army (p. 7292): he was mentioned in *JTS* as *kongmu li*. See *JTS* 187, "The Biography of Shao Zhenchuan," p. 4905.

⁶⁸ *TGSB* A, p. 27.

shaped faction” in the Niu-Li Factionalism, were exclusively of the upper level that maintained a bi-directional course of advancement with the central bureaucracy. Nonetheless their close link with the central bureaucracy through their place on the bi-directional course of advancement and the elevated status they enjoyed as “guest staff (*mubin*),” as we saw in the previous section, warrants the question of whether the so-called “newly risen class” of the locality could easily get recruited to fill these posts to be an important issue for investigation. Since the fixed number of the upper level provincial ancillary posts could not be very high as shown in <Table I>,⁶⁹ cases such as Linghu Chu⁷⁰ and Luo Rang⁷¹ demonstrate how pro-

⁶⁹ A memorial presented by the Grand Secretariat-Chancellery in the sixth month of the Kaicheng 4th year (839) records that “there are seven posts together ranging from Deputy Governor to Inspector”; see *THY* 79, p. 1713. Fu Zai’s “The Eulogy of the Portrait of Various Gentlemen Serving at the Provincial Government of Jiannan Xichuan (AD 788)” (*WYYH* 783, pp. 4141-2) lists the names of eleven staff members who held the titles of substantive posts. The inscription on the back of the “Stele of the Zhuge Wuhou Shrine (AD 809)” (*BQSJSBZ* 68, p. 5092) jointly signed the names of nine ancillary officials, including the Camp Adjutant (*xingjun sima*), Deputy Agriculture Commissioner (*yingtian fushi*), Civil Executive Officer (*guancha panguan*), Finance Executive Officer (*zhidu panguan*), Military Chief Secretary (*jiedu zhang shuji*), Assistant Civil Commissioner (*guancha zhishi*), Civil Judge (*guancha tuiguan*), Military Judge (*jiedu tuiguan*), and Military Inspector (*jiedu xunguan*), under the Xichuan governorship. Also “Signatures and Verses in the Time of the Festival by Yang Sifu and Others (AD 837)” (*BQSJSBZ* 68, p. 5093) lists six, which are Military Executive Officer (*jiedu panguan*), Assistant Civil Commissioner, Military Secretary, Military Judge, Military Advisor (*jiedu canmou*), and Interim Conciliatory Inspector (*she anfu xuanguan*). Moreover, “The Newly Repaired Stone Inscription at the Administrative Hall (AD 817)” (*JSCB* 107, pp. 1797-8) lists 18 ancillary officials serving under the Military Governor of the Wuning Army of Xuzhou, including Interim Deputy Governor (*she jiedu fushi*), Camp Adjutant, Interim Deputy Agriculture Commissioner, Military Executive Officer, Civil Executive Officer, *zhidu* □□□*yingtian panguan* (three letters missing) 2, Military Advisor, Military Chief Secretary 2, Civil Judge 2, Interim Civil Judge, Military Inspector, Interim Military Inspector, □□Inspector, Interim Finance Inspector, Agriculture Inspector-Interim-Finance Judge (*yingtian xunguan she zhidu tuiguan*). “The Inscription Written at the Visitation by Li Huan to the Shrine Which Contained the Portraits of the Emperors in Qingtang Temple (AD 823)” (*BQSJSBZ* 65, pp. 5052-3) lists a total of seven provincial ancillary officials serving under the General Militia and Civil Commissioner (*du tuanlian guancha shi*) of Jinzhou, Cizhou: Civil Executive Officer, Assistant Civil Commissioner, Civil Judge, Interim Militia Executive Officer (*she tuanlian panguan*), Interim Civil Judge, and Interim Civil Inspector 2. In the case of Xichuan, there is the possibility that the aforementioned list does not include all of the ancillary officers. However, it is within the full number of personnel that was previously set at 12. Wuning is over the old limit (8) by 10; and Jin-Ci is over (5) by 2. Especially in the case of Wuning, even when the number of its provincial ancillary officials had already expanded to the utmost, it is within the range of some ten people. Still, once Yang Sifu, who was the Military Governor of Xichuan when he inscribed his name in 837 (mentioned above), became a Chief Minister, he made the recommendation to lower the number of personnel serving at provincial government. See *XTS* 174, p. 5240. It is interesting as pointed out by Tonami 1973; See Tonami 1986, p. 108.

⁷⁰ See *JTS* 172, “The Biography of Linghu Chu,” p. 4459: “Linghu Chu ... took the *jinsi* ex-

vincial governors had taken great pain to elevate the reputation of their administration by hiring great talents and prominent figures.⁷² Moreover, a provincial governor could earn himself the honor and his administration great reputation by employing many well-known talents. Such cases included but not limited to: the governorship of Li Xiyun at Zhexi was known for having “selected solely the men of noble character (*gaoshi*) at the time to serve”;⁷³ the governorship of Cui Yan at Xuanshe “employed among its staff many prominent figures (*mingshi*), and of whom many advanced to important offices later”;⁷⁴ the governorship of Wu Yuanheng at Xichuan was known to have “done its utmost to select the best at the time when it first commenced”;⁷⁵ the governorship of Wang Zhi at Xuanshe which recruited “everyone who was prominent at the time”;⁷⁶ and the governorship of Shen Zhuanshi at Jiangxi refused the request made by a Chief Minister on behalf of his relative for an ancillary post and “hence its staff included only the best at the time.”⁷⁷

Did the “newly risen class” truly encroach upon provincial ancillary offices (henceforth it refers particularly to the top level as before)? To approach this issue, I choose to examine the composition of provincial ancillary personnel of individual provinces. The most appropriate provinces for such scrutiny would be the

amination at age 20 and passed it in the year of 791. Wang Gong, the Civil Governor of Guiguan, favored his talent and would like to respectfully recruit him. However, he was afraid that Linghu might not agree. Therefore he preemptively memorized [his intention] to the throne and then recruited Linghu.”

⁷¹ See *CFYG* 729, “Regional Government,” p. 8674: “Luo Rang mourned for his father. Even after the mourning period ended, he continued to wear hemp clothes and keep to a vegetarian diet. For ten years, he declined invitations from various provincial governments. When Li Yong became the Military Governor of Huainan, he went to Luo’s home and asked Luo to serve on his staff. [Having accepted such invitation,] Luo was appointed an Investigating Censor.”

⁷² Gao Xiayu, the Military Governor of Fen’ning. When he took the duties of defending northern frontier by meritorious military services, he wanted to elevate the authority of the provincial government and therefore recruited talented Lü Rang, who was the Defender of the Lantian District, as the Chief Secretary; see *STMZHB*, Luoyang 14, “The Epitaph of Lü Rang (AD 856),” p. 54. Even among various recalcitrant governors, there are stories such as: Wang Wujun, the Military Governor of Chengde, who wanted to recruit the celebrated scholar, Dou Chang; and Wu Shaoyang, the Military Governor of Huaixi, wanted to recruit the famed literati Wu Wuling. See *Doushi lianzhu ji* and *XTS* 203, “The Biography of Wu Wuling,” p. 5788. Many *jinshi* graduates as well as members of the great clans were in the service as ancillary officials even in the three Northeastern provinces, as previously discussed in note 60.

⁷³ See *XTS* 130, “The Biography of Pei Zhou,” p. 3507.

⁷⁴ See *JTS* 188, “The Biography of Cui Yan,” p. 4935.

⁷⁵ See *JTS* 158, “The Biography of Wu Yuanheng,” p. 4160.

⁷⁶ See *JTS* 163, “The Biography of Wang Zhi,” p. 4268.

⁷⁷ See *XTS* 132, “The Biography of Shen Zhuanshi,” p. 4541.

provinces of the Jiang-Huai area that, being the most advanced region both in terms of agricultural production and circulating economy, served as the backbone of Tang finance. As it have been pointed out before, these provinces were where many local potentates, the so-called “land owner/wealthy merchant/local magnate,”⁷⁸ resided and are said to have encroached upon the provincial power structure through “shadowy possession (*yingzhan*).”⁷⁹ In this section, I choose the governorships of Huainan and Zhexi to represent the Jiang-Huai area as the subjects for my analysis of the composition of the provincial ancillary personnel. While Huainan was a province in the class of military governorship (also together with Xichuan and Hedong were known as the three important provinces to which the Chief Ministers flocked like the giant birds⁸⁰), Zhexi was in the class of civil governorship. One reason for me to choose these two is to verify if their difference in class is reflected in the social background of the ancillary officials they recruited.

Next, in term of the method of analysis, I attempt to find as much information as possible on these ancillary personnel from official histories, literary collections, local gazetteers, and epitaphs, adding to the laborious work by Dai Weihua.⁸¹ The study focuses on the period beginning with the establishment of governorships after the An Lushan Rebellion and ending around the year 880 when the political power of the Tang court collapsed due to the Huang Chao Rebellion. Please refer to the attached lists of **〈The Personnel of the Ancillary Posts under the Huainan Governorship〉** (pp. 49–51) and **〈The Personnel of the Ancillary Posts under the Zhexi Governorship〉** (pp. 52–53) for information on the members of the governorships of Huainan and Zhexi with regard to their family background and eligibility of entering the officialdom (*chushen*). The kinds of family background and eligibilities of entering the officialdom are differentiated as follow. Here is an explanation of the lists including the symbols used.

With regard to the family backgrounds, I adopt the term “*menfa* aristocracy,” “*junxing* aristocracy,” and “*shuxing*” proposed by Denis Twitchett and Yoshioka Makoto.⁸²

⁷⁸ The influential view of the recent years suggests that the “newly risen class” of the time which was described as “local magnates (*tuhao*)” refers not just to the major land owners, but also to the “class of managers of multiple industries” that had actively involved in circulating economy. See Ôsawa 1992 and 1993.

⁷⁹ On the prevalence of “shadowy possession (*yingzhan* or *yingpi*)”, please refer to Tanigawa 1952 and Matsui 1957.

⁸⁰ *Fanchuan wenji* 10, “The Wall Inscription of the Administrative Hall of the Army Supervisor of Huainan” states that “[one] came [into this governorship] retired from the position of a Chief Minister and left promoted to the position of a Chief Minister” (p. 159).

⁸¹ See Dai 1994. In this book, Dai widely collected from all kinds of historical materials information on each and every holder of provincial posts in every province of Tang.

⁸² See Twitchett 1966, 1973 and Yoshioka 1981, 1982.

◎—The so-called “*menfa*” refers to roughly 30 clans that were among the upper echelon of the aristocracy listed in Liu Fang’s “The Treatise on Clans” of the eighth century (XTS 199). They are as followed: (shows in the bracket are locales from which the clans originated (*junwang*), according to <The Genealogical Tables of Chief Ministers> in XTS and Lin Bao’s *Yuanhe xingzan*.)

[Guanzhong Group] Wei (Jingzhao); Pei (Hedong); Liu (Hedong); Xue (Hedong); Yang (Hongnong); Du (Jingzhao, Xiangyang); Yuan (Henan); Zhangsun (Henan); Yuwen (Henan); Lu (Henan); Yuan (Henan); Dou (Henan, Fufeng); Li (Longxi, the Imperial Clan)

[Shandong Group] Wang (Taiyuan); Cui (Boling, Qinghe); Lu (Fanyang); Li (Zhaojun); Zheng (Yingyang)

[Jiangzuo Group] Wang (Langye); Xie (Chenjun); Yuan (Chenjun); Xiao (Lanling); Zhu (Wujun); Zhang (Wujun); Gu (Wujun); Lu (Wujun)

○—The so-called “*junxing*” refers to the class that was viewed in most part as the minor aristocracy whose reputation was acknowledged at the local level. In terms of the distinction between the scholar official (*shi*) and commoner (*shu*) emerged in the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, these clans were identified as those of scholar-officials. As members of these clans had entered the officialdom by the end of the Southern and Northern Dynasties at the latest, they were not the “newly risen class”. I think the parameter of the *junxing* aristocracy is reflected roughly in the various tables and records of *junwang* produced during the Tang.⁸³ Individuals, who did not belong to the *menfa* aristocracy but, whose family name and birth place are consistent with these *junwang* tables and records are labeled as “*junxing*.”⁸⁴

⁸³ These tables and records of *junwang* include the description on clans and *junwang* of *Taiping huanyu ji*, *Guang yun*, and Dunhuang Documents, Beijing Wei.-79 and Stein 2052. With regard to the genre of *junwang* tables, please refer to Niida 1958, Ikeda 1959-60 and Yoshioka 1981.

⁸⁴ However, I corrected the list by adding to the *junxing* aristocracy the Han clan of Changli and the Li clan of Liaodong, both of which had been socially recognized as the “aristocratic” since the previous dynasties; see XTS 73A, pp. 2859-72 and 72A, pp. 2593-6. In terms of the Han clan of Changli, please refer also to the episode in which Han Gao, whose father and grandfather were both Chief Ministers, said to the Wang Shuwen clique that “I would not serve the upstarts,” (JTS 129, p. 3604) or to Han Yu’s, who came from the Han clan of Yingchuan lineage, false claim of being from the Han clan of Changli (see Takeda 1951, pp. 34-6). The Li clan of Liaodong was one of the Eight Pillars of the State (*ba zhuguo*) in the Western Wei and an illustrious clan of the Guanzhong Group.

× —The so-called “*shuxing*” refers to individuals whose family name and birth place do not match those in the *junwang* tables and records. They are to some degree overlapping with the so-called “newly risen class.”

Next, with regard to the methods of entering the officialdom, especially by the examinations, I used the mentioning of passing examination in epitaphs to supplement what is in Xu Song’s *Dengke jikao* and Meng Erdong’s *Dengke jikao buzheng*.

Conducting the task as such, I find there were a total of 132 ancillary officials in Huainan and 105 in Zhexi. Needless to say, I do not deny feeling that the number of people involved is very small in this period a little over a century. Even so, I believe the number is sizable for us to gage the relatively general trend. Based on these data, I have arranged into the next two tables our information on the family backgrounds and the eligibilities of entering officialdom of the ancillary personnel of the Huainan and Zhexi governorships.

〈Table II〉 The Family Background of the Ancillary Officials of Huainan Governorship

	<i>Menfa</i>	<i>Junxing</i>	<i>Shuxing</i>	Unknown	Total [%]
<i>Yin</i> privilege	18	7	2	0	27 [20%]
Exams (<i>jinsi</i>)	29 (24)	18 (16)	10 (9)	6 (6)	63 (55) [48% (42%)]
Others	2	0	4	1	7 [5%]
Unknown	7	3	2	23	35 [27%]
Total [%]	56 [42%]	28 [21%]	18 [14%]	30 [23%]	132

〈Table III〉 The Family Background of the Ancillary Officials of Zhexi Governorship

	<i>Menfa</i>	<i>Junxing</i>	<i>Shuxing</i>	Unknown	Total [%]
<i>Yin</i> privilege	12	1	4	0	17 [16%]
Exams (<i>jinsi</i>)	26 (21)	22 (20)	4 (4)	1 (1)	53 (46) [50% (44%)]
Others	2	2	2	1	7 [7%]
Unknown	2	3	2	21	28 [27%]
Total [%]	42 [40%]	28 [27%]	12 [11%]	23 [22%]	105

As seen in these tables at least, what is clear from the first glance is the overwhelming advantage of the *menfa* aristocracy (accounts for 42% of the total in

Huainan and 40% in Zhexi) and the majority of those who were eligible for official assignments by ways of examinations (especially the *jinshi* exam) (accounts for 48% of the total [and 42% of that were *jinshi* graduates] in Huainan and 50% [and 44% of that were *jinshi* graduates] in Zhexi). Including those of *junxing*, which account for 21% in Huainan and 27% in Zhexi, the aristocratic classes took up roughly two third of the entire body of ancillary personnel who served in these two governorships. The percentage of the *shuxing* class is still low even if we consider that some of the personnel who came from unknown family background might belong to it. This fact suggests the assumption that the provincial ancillary post served as the ladder through which the “newly risen class” entered the officialdom cannot be substantiated. The following <Table IV> lists the percentage of people who were native of the Jiang-Huai region and served in these two governorships. In both Huainan and Zhexi, they account for only 14% of the total number. On top of it, in Huainan, only 6 out of the 18 persons belonging to the *shuxing* class were natives; and 6 out of 12 in Zhexi.

<Table IV> The Provincial Ancillary Officials of the Huainan and Zhexi Governorships that were born in the Jiang-Huai Region
(including *junwang* of the Jiangzuo Group)

	<i>Menfa</i>	<i>Junxing</i>	<i>Shuxing</i>	Unknown	Total [%]
Huainan (born in Jiang-Huai/Total)	7/56	4/28	6/18	1/30	18/132 [14%]
Zhexi (born in Jiang-Huai/Total)	4/42	5/28	6/12	0/23	15/105 [14%]

Needless to say, we have to consider the problem that the biases in the existing historical materials engendered. For example, the overwhelming majority of epitaphs belonged to members of the aristocracy. The chance of survival for any written material on a person of the “newly risen class” is indeed very low. However, what I would like to consider here is the fact that the *jinshi* examination, which had become the “dragon gate” to enter officialdom in the second half of the Tang, worked more to the benefits of the aristocracy. This is due to its content, which was based primarily in poetry — an aristocratic refinement, and due to the visible and invisible workings of various connections (*guanjie*)⁸⁵ making

⁸⁵ See *Tang zhiyan* 6, “Memorial of Wang Lengran in the Kaiyuan era,” p. 67. “*Guanjie*” in modern Chinese is “*guanxi*”. In *TGSB* C (p. 56), we see that “to visit and entreat the powerful and important was referred to as ‘*guanjie*’.”

it different from what took place since the Song Dynasty. An example is the practice of “*xingjuan* (to circulate in advance one’s literary works among the examiners)” that influenced the examiner prior to the examination.⁸⁶ In front of the narrow door of Tang examinations, “which appears to served as the reinforcement for the old aristocracy that was heading toward decline, instead of producing a new bureaucratic class,”⁸⁷ those from obscurity (*guhan*) could do nothing other than swallowing their tears. As such, was it really easy for the “newly risen class” of a locality to barge into the rank of ancillary posts that had become part of the course of advancement extending from passing the examination as seen in the previous section?

◀Table V▶ The Composition of the Essential Personnel of the Central Bureaucracy during the Mid-Tang (755-826)

	<i>Menfa</i>	<i>Junxing</i>	<i>Shuxing</i>	Unknown	Exam graduates
Reigns of Suzong — Shunzong [755-805]	46% [41%]	22% [22%]	28% [36%]	3% [1%]	49%
Reigns of Xianzong — Jingzong [805-826]	59% [60%]	23% [23%]	16% [15%]	2% [2%]	82%

†data based on Watanabe 1993.

The percentage in [] was that of exam graduates in each category who served as the essential personnel of the central bureaucracy.

In ◀Table V▶, I outlined my analysis of the composition of the essential personnel of the central bureaucracy (i.e. the Chief Minister, President of the Board of Personnel, Vice-President of the Board of Personnel, Vice-President of the Board of Revenue as Financial Commissioner, Vice-President of the Board of Rites, Left and Right Supervisor of the Department of State Affairs (*zuoyou cheng*), Secretariat Drafter, Supervising Secretary, and the Hanlin Scholar) that should have been the finishing points of this course of advancement during the mid-Tang. Its characteristics are the shocking restoration of *menfa* aristocracy to power and the sharp increase in ratio of examination graduates. These data demonstrate that civil examination in the post An-Shi Rebellion era had served the interest of the *menfa* aristocracy as a footing that allowed it to shove the “newly risen class” aside and restore its influence. Also, the ratio of *menfa*, *junxing*, and *shuxing* in the composition of the essential personnel of the central bureaucracy

⁸⁶ With regard to the Tang custom of “*xingjuan*,” please refer to Cheng 1980.

⁸⁷ See Tonami 1968 (1998, p. 58).

during the mid-Tang is astonishingly similar to that of the ancillary personnel of the Huainan and Zhexi governorships; so is the high ratio of examination graduates in the central bureaucracy. Taking these together, it may be proper to say that the results of the aforementioned analysis of the composition of the ancillary personnel in the Huainan and Zhexi governorships reflect the general trend.

I would like to pick up some non-*menfa* aristocrats who were native to the Jiang-Huai region and investigate their profile. Let us begin with the case of Liu Sanfu (see Appendix: Huainan 81 and Zhexi 64, 70) who was an example of talented men from obscure background being promoted by Li Deyu. Liu Sanfu was a native of the Jurong County in Runzhou. It is recorded that Liu had faithfully followed Li as a longtime subordinate (*guli*) like a shadow following the body since he first brought his work to Li, then the governor of Zhexi, in the Zhangqing era (821-24) and was subsequently recruited.⁸⁸ However, there is a historical source indicating that Liu was already the Defender of the Jintan County in Runzhou at the time of his recruitment,⁸⁹ as well as an epigraphic source recording that he was previously the Executive Officer of Military Affairs (*junshi panguan*) of Chuzhou and the former Vice Director for Ceremonies in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*taichang si fengli lang*) during the latter years of the Yuanhe era (805-20).⁹⁰ His case therefore shall not be interpreted as a commoner being recruited. Moreover, the *JTS* records that Liu “had lost his father when he was very young and was impoverished. His mother was ill and he had done his utmost to care for her with piety.” Since *Guang yun* listed the Liu clan as the *junxing* of the Danling Commandery, Runzhou, I think it is better to consider Liu Sanfu as one who came from the dwindling local aristocracy rather than from the “newly risen class” of his locale.

Next, Luo Rang (see Appendix: Huainan 62) was a native of the Kuaiji Commandery, Yuezhou. His father, Luo Xiang, was the Metropolitan Governor. Luo Rang passed the *jinshi*, *boxue hongci* which was one of the selective exams the

⁸⁸ See *JTS* 177, “The Biography of Liu Ye,” p. 4616 and that in the *XTS* 183, p. 5381. Li Deyu’s action of promoting men from obscure background became one of the evidence to support the claim on Li’s without faction; see Tang 1970 and Wang 1996. With regard to the history of scholarship and the various issues on the Niu-Li Factionalism, please refers to Watanabe 1994b, pp. 85-91.

⁸⁹ *TYL* 3, “Praise,” p. 279.

⁹⁰ *QTZZCZ*, no. 1013, “The Epitaph of Lady Li, née Liu of Guangping (AD 818).” Liu Sanfu, the author of the epitaph, was a distant nephew of the lady. As such he was a member of the Guangping Liu clan from which came Chief Ministers Liu Xiangdao and Liu Jingxian of the early Tang and a Chief Minister Liu Congyi of the mid-Tang.

Board of Personnel administered (*libu kemu xuan*) and decree exams, and became the Defender of the Xianyang District. As previously described, he left the officialdom for ten some years due to the death of his father and returned only at the earnest solicitation of Military Governor Li Yong.⁹¹ Though the Luo clan was seen as one of the *shuxing*, the case of Luo Rang too was not one that can be interpreted as a commoner being recruited overnight. Wu Dan (see Appendix: Zhexi 55), similarly came from a *shuxing* in Jiangnan, entered the officialdom as a *jinshi* graduate. His father was the Keeper of the Palace Gate of the Heir Apparent (*taizi gongmen lang*); grandfather was the Adjutant (*sima*) of Muzhou; and great grandfather was the Secretarial Receptionist for the Heir Apparent (*taizi tongshi sheren*).⁹² Luo Yin (see Appendix: Huainan 115), a late Tang poet, was a native of the Xincheng County in Hangzhou. His grandfather was the Magistrate of the Futang County in Fuzhou; and his father was a graduate of the exam based on Kaiyuan Rituals.⁹³

It is in this way that among the few provincial ancillary officials in the Jiang-Huai region who came not from the *menfa* aristocracy, we found no case that shows any trace of a “newly risen class” of the locality that sprang into the center of provincial power structure. Rather we found that even those who came not from the *menfa* aristocracy were recruited because their actions conveyed the value of the orthodox culture, such as the literary refinements or etiquette, that supported the rule of the Tang bureaucracy. However in Huainan and Zhexi, since Gao Pian served as the Military Governor at the end of Qianfu era (his appointment to that of Zhexi was just before Chang’an was sacked in the turbulence related to the Huang Chao Rebellion), there were examples of people who became ancillary officials coming from clearly noticeable “newly risen class.” Gu Yun (see Appendix: Zhexi 96), who was a son of a salt merchant in Chizhou,⁹⁴ and Lü Yongzhi (see Appendix: Zhexi 97), “who was a native of Boyang and whose family were brokers for generations,”⁹⁵ are recognizable examples of these. It is well known that Lü Yongzhi led a group of “wicked men (*yaoren*)” that followed Gao Pian to Huainan, gradually monopolized the provincial administration and later forced Gao into a wretched end. In the recent years, Yamane Naoki also sees the

⁹¹ *JTS* 188, “The Biography of Luo Rang,” p. 4937; *XTS* 197, “The Biography of Luo Rang,” p. 5628.

⁹² See *Bo Juyi ji* 69, “The Preface and Epitaph of Wu Dan,” pp. 3669–71.

⁹³ *Wuyue beishi* 1, p. 45; *Tang caizi zhuan* 9, p. 112.

⁹⁴ See *Tangshi jishi* 67, pp. 1012–3; *TYL* 7, “Addenda,” p. 679.

⁹⁵ See *XTS* 224, “The Biography of Gao Pian,” pp. 6396–6401.

group of “wicked men” in connection with the members of a circulating economy, such as the lower level merchants, and describes that Gao’s attempt to re-organize the military and financial structure of Huainan in order to be self-sufficient in the decline of the Tang regime had resulted in their overnight rise in power.⁹⁶ At any rate, the gaining force and rapid advancement of the “newly risen class” in the provincial power structure was built upon the collapse of the system that had hindered its rise in politics; in other words, it was caused by the collapse of the political and cultural orthodoxy centered on the Tang court, which was the bureaucratic order that had placed provincial ancillary posts on the course of advancement.

III. Career and “Connection” with regard to Informal Recruitment

If the provincial ancillary posts were *the* course of advancement in the officialdom in the second half of the Tang, what kind of people were truly the subjects of informal recruitment? In this section, I would like to investigate further into this matter. First, since the recruits for provincial ancillary posts were principally those who were eligible to enter the officialdom (*you chushen zhe*),⁹⁷ *jinshi* exam graduates (whose future prospect was thought to be bright) became the recruitment target in numerous instances. It was the standard course of action to recruit recent *jinshi* exam graduates as provincial ancillary officials⁹⁸ as seen in the memorial submitted by the Grand Secretariat-Chancellery in the first month of the

⁹⁶ See Yamane 2000.

⁹⁷ The decree of the sixth month of the Huichang 5th year (845) (*THY* 79, p. 1714) states, “Recently, most of the referrals to the ancillary posts or the prefectural and county posts by the various circuits are *jinshi* candidates (*xianggong jinshi*). But this practice was prohibited and must not be tolerated. Those who are not eligible to enter the officialdom shall not be employed. From now on, this practice will be prohibited forever.” The recruitment of *jinshi* candidates as well as *mingjing* candidates (who were recommended by their local authority to take the exams in the capital, which they didn’t subsequently pass) was a new trend in the late Tang (See Otagi 1973). However, I wonder if they could be appointed to the upper level ancillary posts. As will be described later, the newly risen class could only be appointed to the level of the prefectural and county officials or the lower level ancillary posts. Therefore, it is obvious that the ancillary posts referred to in the above decree are of lower level. The case of Wei Mao, which Otagi took as a typical example, was a recruitment for the prefectural supervisor (*JSXB* 9, “The Epitaph of Mr. Wei”). The case of Tao Piao, who was a *jinshi* candidate, was recruited as a *yaoji*, —a low ranking post (*QTW* 778, “The credential for various ancillary posts written for Yingyang gong(Zheng Ya)”, by Li Shangyin, p. 9275).

⁹⁸ As I already made clear in the previous section, the percentage of the provincial ancillary officials of Huainan and Zhexi who entered the officialdom through passing *jinshi* exam was very high. Among the 594 provincial ancillary officials whose method of entering officialdom has been identified by Wang Dequan, 309 were *jinshi* exam graduates; See Wang 1994.

Dazhong second year (848) during the reign of Xuanzong.⁹⁹ However, while the regulation stipulates that a *jinshi* exam graduate must first serve as a local official for the length of two evaluations before he could be recruited for a provincial ancillary post under a governor or a commissioner of financial affairs, many did not observe the rule, judging from an edict issued in the Huichang second year (842) during the reign of Wuzong, which cited an earlier edict issued in 835.¹⁰⁰ The fact that being recruited by a provincial governor was generally the set course for those who passed the *jinshi* exam is also demonstrated in the following case:

The second brother [of Lady Lu] named Yi succumbed to illness after passing the *jinshi* examination before he could be recruited by a provincial governor. He died in his home at Zhaoguo Ward.¹⁰¹

In view of this episode that Hu Sanxing praised,

Bandits sacked Lizhou and killed its prefect Li Xun and the Executive Officer Huangfu Zhen. Huangfu had attempted to pass the *jinshi* examination twenty-three times to no avail; yet, Li recruited him. Huangfu escaped when the bandits attacked and sacked the city. He asked someone, “Did the prefect escape?” He was told that, “the bandit had captured him.” He said, “I have received [from Li] extraordinary acknowledgment, I can’t leave him now.” Huangfu returned to seek the bandits and died together with Li.¹⁰²

we could tell that for a provincial governor (in this case a prefect) to recruit someone who did not have a *jinshi* degree was a show of extraordinary condescension;

⁹⁹ The memorial submitted by the Grand Secretariat-Chancellery states that: “Starting with the first year of the Zhenyuan era (785) until the autumn and winter of the ninth year of the Taihe era (835), every *jinshi* exam graduate was given probationary office through the recommendation of the governor and became a staff member in the latter’s retinue.” *THY* 76, “*Jinshi* Examination,” pp. 1637-8.

¹⁰⁰ The edict issued on the eighteenth day of the twelfth month in the Taihe 9th year states that: “Those who passed the *jinshi* exam shall first be appointed prefectural supervisors or defenders of an important district. None shall petition for them to serve [as provincial ancillary officials] until they have been twice evaluated. ... Recently, governors of various provinces have not observed this rule. They appointed to their staff those who should be occupying the prefectural posts.” See *CFYG* 632, “Bureaucratic Evaluation,” p. 7575.

¹⁰¹ See “The Epitaph of Lady Lu, née Zheng of Yingyang (AD 858),” in *Luoyang xinhua muzhi*, p. 117.

¹⁰² *ZZTJ* 253, p. 8233.

henceforth, in such context, we could understand the motivation for Huangfu Zhen who risked his life to repay the kindness he had received. This next case in contrast,

Zhang Buyi consecutively passed the *jinshi* and the *boxue hongci* examinations. At that very same year, four provincial governors tried to recruit [him]. [They are] Vice Censor-in-Chief Li Ning of Jiangxi, Chief Minister Li Hui of Dongchuan, Chief Minister Li Shen of Huainan, and Presiding Minister [of the Department of State Affairs] Gui Rong of Shan'nan West. Theirs are all the most illustrious provincial governments.¹⁰³

shows those *jinshi* graduates who also passed the *boxue hongci* exam which was regarded as the most difficult of the selective exams the Board of Personnel administered were very much in demand among those renowned governors.

Moreover, once entering a provincial government, a *jinshi* exam graduate would also receive preferential treatment when he was reviewed for acting, concurrent, or probationary posts. Whereas an edict (dated to the eighth day of the fifth month of the Taihe third year (829) during the reign of Wenzong, that was cited in a memorial submitted by the Grand Secretariat-Chancellery in the twelfth month of the same year) stated that:

In order to be considered for an acting, concurrent, or probationary post, especially that of Investigating Censor and of Attending Censor, the provincial ancillary official petitioned must have gone through no fewer than six evaluations as a regular official, even if he had acquired some relevant credentials. For the post of Attending Censor in the Palace, one must have gone through no fewer than nine evaluations; and for any post above the Attending Censor in the Palace, [one needs to go through] three more [evaluations].

However, in the same memorandum was also a request that,

Those who previously held the pure posts of the sixth rank and above in the central bureaucracy, or served as the supervisors of the Metropolitan areas of Henan and Jingzhao, or entered officialdom through passing either

¹⁰³ TYL 4, "Envy," p. 373.

jinshi, *pingpan rudeng*,¹⁰⁴ or any of the other various exams, will not be subjected to this rule.¹⁰⁵

Graduates of *jinshi* and various other exams, especially the decree exams and the selective exams the Board of Personnel administered, received favorable treatment when accumulating credentials in the service of provincial governments. In other words, *jinshi* and various other exams were instrumentally tied to the informal recruitment, in a fashion similar to how the acting, concurrent, or probationary titles as (official credentials) were tied to the central bureaucracy through the system of Winter Recommendation.

Next, since informal recruitment was about personal contacts, there ought to be some examples of talented men from obscured background being promoted. However, in reality, it would not be hard to imagine that there were numerous cases in which connection (*guanjie*) had operated. In the following table, **Table VI**, I listed some cases that I found in various historical records.

Thus, I think personal connections of various kinds — such as being distant relations, in-laws, members of the same clan, former acquaintances, or even former patron and patronee — had strong influence at the scene of informal recruitment. Yao Kuang entreated his old friend Dugu Wensu, the Civil Governor of Hunan, to exercise influence on behalf of his son-in-law, Zhao Jing; the latter was then appointed the Executive Officer of Hunan.¹⁰⁶ Dou Yu was recruited because he was the son-in-law of the powerful minister, Han Huang.¹⁰⁷ Judging from these cases, the circumference of personal connections must have come to cover an even wider range for many people as their blood/marital relations and old acquaintances multiplied. As such, it should be obvious as a matter of course which class would be benefited by the informal recruitment. In other words, the beneficiary was no other than the aristocratic class — also the *menfa* aristocracy that had exerted great influence — who had kept various connections through friends of previous generations or marital relations. In fact, Maeda Aiko points out that among the cases collected in the biographies of the two official Tang Histories about informal recruitment in the second half of Tang, the majority were of members of

¹⁰⁴ The placement examination administered by the Board of Personnel was constituted of four parts: Appearance (*shen*), Speech (*yan*), Calligraphy (*shu*) and Judgment (*pan*). “*Pingpan rudeng*” has come to be understood as those who scored very high on Judgment. See Ichihara 1963, pp. 122-3.

¹⁰⁵ *THY* 79, “Miscellanea about the Various Commissioners,” p. 1710.

¹⁰⁶ *TPGJ* 152, “Zhao Jing Liu Mai (from *Jiahua lu*),” pp. 1091-2.

¹⁰⁷ *JTS* 183, “The Biography of Dou Yu,” p. 4749.

◁Table VI▷ Examples of Recruit through Personal Contacts

The Type of Connection	The Recruited	The Recruiting Governor/ Province	The Relation of the Recruited to the Recruiting	The Primary Source
By Blood or Marriage	Lu Fan	Pei Ji/Qianzhong	Cousin (<i>biaoxiong</i>)	<i>STMZHB</i> , Luoyang 13, p. 43
	Ma Feng	Lü Yuanying/E'yue	Brother-in-law (<i>meixu</i>)	<i>THY</i> 78
	Wang Kun	Wang Zai /Hedong	Cousin (<i>congdi</i>)	<i>BQSJSBZ</i> 74
	Lu Jiu	Lu Hongxuan/ Dongchuan	Cousin (<i>cong gaozu xiong</i>)	<i>QTZZCZ</i> 1118
	Zhang Guan	Zhang Zhao/ Qiangzhong	Clansman (<i>zongren</i>)	<i>QTZZCZ</i> 1161
	Jia Su	Jia Dan/Yicheng	Clansman (<i>zongdang</i>)	<i>Duyang zaban</i>
	Sun Jingyu	Wei Zhengguan/ Lingnan	In-law (<i>waiqi</i>)	<i>QTZZCZ</i> 1178
	*Cui Maozao	Cui Yanzhao/ Hedong	Cousin (<i>zai cong kunzhong</i>)	<i>QTZZCZ</i> 1194
	Han Shou	Li Dang/Tiande	In-law (<i>waizu</i>)	<i>QTZZCZ</i> 1202
By Interactions in the Officialdom	Du You	Wei Yuanfu/Zhexi	Son of old acquaintance (<i>guren zhi zi</i>)	<i>JTS</i> 147
	Dou Qun	Yu Di/ Shan'nan East	Old acquaintance (<i>guren</i>)	<i>CFYG</i> 729
	Li Fan	Du Ya/East Capital	Son of old acquaintance	<i>JTS</i> 148
	Lu Yan	Unnamed	Son of old acquaintance	<i>XTS</i> 184
	Du Yuanyin	Zhao Zongru/ Shan'nan West	Patronee (<i>mensheng</i>) [<i>hongci</i> exam]	<i>Yinhua lu</i> 2
	Li Hua	Zheng Ya/Shan'nan West	Grandson of the Patron (<i>zuozhu zhi sun</i>)	<i>STMZHB</i> , Beijing 2, p. 112

*Cui Maozao was an example of recruitment at the county level (as the Defender of the Jiaocheng county of Taiyuan).

the Five Great Clans of Shandong (i.e. Boling/Qinghe Cui clans, Fanyang Lu clan, Zhaojun Li clan, Yingyang Zheng clan, and Taiyuan Wang clan) recruiting one another. In addition, a high percentage of *jinshi* exam graduates from the Five Great Clans were recruited by governors also from the Five Great Clans.¹⁰⁸ In the end, was the system of informal recruitment not also built upon the network of

¹⁰⁸ Maeda 1984.

the aristocratic society?

Such network based on personal connections came to wield tremendous influence even in the central bureaucracy. For examples, Chief Minister Li Shi, who came from the Li clan of Longxi, recommended his own brother Li Fu at the discussion [between ministers and the emperor] in Yanying Hall;¹⁰⁹ Chief Minister Liu Yuan of Pengcheng recommended Liu Zhan to the post of Hanlin Scholar because they were of the same clan;¹¹⁰ Liu Zhan, who later also became prominent, likewise recommended an old friend's son Liu Ye to the post of Hanlin Scholar;¹¹¹ Chief Minister Dou Can of the Henan Dou clan nominated various kinsmen, such as Dou Shen and Dou Rong, for posts;¹¹² Zhang Zhongli of the Fanyang Zhang clan was appointed Recorder of the Censorate (*yushi tai zhubu*) by the recommendation of his father-in-law Wei Chan (from the Wei clan of the capital), who was the Vice Censor-in-Chief;¹¹³ Chief Minister Yang Shou from the Hongnong Yang clan transferred Li Chen of Longxi, for whom he had a match made in the previous year, first from Administrative Supervisor of the metropolitan area to the Defender of Chang'an District, then to the Executive Officer of the Militia Commissioner (*tuanlian panguan*) in Hunan as the Investigate Censor in the Reserve (*jiancha yushi lixing*) that summer, and then to the Director of the Imperial Library a year later.¹¹⁴ Other episodes, though special as they are about choosing sons-in-law, perhaps all the more plainly demonstrate the qualities that provincial governors made most of when appraising a person at the time.¹¹⁵ These qualities were

¹⁰⁹ *JTS* 172, "The Biography of Li Shi," p. 4487.

¹¹⁰ *JTS* 177, "The Biography of Liu Zhan," p. 4605.

¹¹¹ *JTS* 177, "The Biography of Liu Ye," p. 4618.

¹¹² *JTS* 136, "The Biography of Dou Can," p. 3747. Though Dou Shen was referred to in the biography as a "distant relative," he was still an intimate of Dou Can. For Dou Can and those in his surrounding, please see Watanabe 1989, pp. 6–10. Moreover, one episode states that, "Linghu Tao often recommended those clansmen who came to him [for jobs] because there were so few in the rare clan. Henceforth relations of near and far all came [to him for jobs], including some whose last name was really Hu but [changed it by] adding the character 'ling' [in order to claim to be his relative]. *Jinshi* graduate Wen Tingyun poked fun of this in a poem. [It goes] 'since the elder statesman [i.e. Linghu Tao] rose to prominence, every Hu [which also means 'nomadic tribes'] in the world now obeyed the [Tang Empire's] order ['order' in Chinese pronounced *ling*; it is a pun for the character 'ling' in Tao's last name]'. The case is interesting because it shows how the connection with a clansman played an effective role at the time. See *TYL* 7, "Addenda," p. 648.

¹¹³ See *Guke congchao*, "The Epitaph of Zhang Zhongli (AD 879)," p. 7622.

¹¹⁴ See *STMZHB*, Beijing Daxue 2, "The Epitaph of Lady Li, née Yuwen (AD 867)," p. 150.

¹¹⁵ Such as Yi Shen, the Governor of Anhuang, who was constantly looking for some young men from the illustrious clans to marry his daughters; and Li Changrong, the Governor of Heyang and later Zhaoyi, who married his daughters to famous talented men of the day and appointed his sons-in-law to his own retinue. See *TGSB* A, p. 29.

whether one came from an “illustrious clan (*mingzu*)” and whether one gained contemporary acknowledgment (*shiming*) by passing either the *jinshi* or any other decree exam that served as the objective measure for one’s talent and literary ability.¹¹⁶

In view of this, the astonishing similarity between the composition of the essential personnel in the central bureaucracy of the mid-Tang and that of the provincial ancillary personnel in Huainan and Zhexi shown above is most definitely not coincidental. In other words, the background and the initial credential of provincial ancillary officials, which were linked intimately to the central court, almost paralleled with those of important officials in the central bureaucracy. It is the *menfa* aristocracy that made most effective use of the course of advancement of the day — i.e. entered the officialdom through passing exams, then served as a provincial ancillary official (and built on his official credential while at it) and finally returned to the court. The system of recruiting provincial ancillary officials in the second half of the Tang like the *jinshi* examination, instead of being a ladder through which the “newly risen class” entered the officialdom, was after all one useful to the *menfa* aristocracy. I think it played a crucial role in supporting the revival of its political influence since the mid-Tang. *This*, I would say, is the most important significance of the provincial recruiting system.

IV. The System of Military Provinces and the Local Newly Risen Class

As seen above, provincial ancillary posts were closely connected to the management of government organization as a part of the elite course of advancement. If it served to restore the *menfa* aristocracy to power, where then did the much talked about encroachment of provincial power structure by the local “newly risen class” which began with the “shadowy possession” take place? This is a question I shall investigate in depth. Given my opinion based on a separate investigation of the lower level provincial ancillary officers, either the promotion of the “newly risen class” or the “shadowy possession” began at the rank of lower level provincial officers, such as military personnel, prefectural and county officials, and

¹¹⁶ In contrast, the following case demonstrates the evident misfortune of being a *hanshi*, who had neither any kind of personal connection in the officialdom, nor a *jinshi* degree. Emperor Xuanzong was so impressed by the memorial drafted by Tian Xun, the Chief Secretary of the Hezhong Governor Zheng Guang, he wanted to make Tian a Hanlin Scholar. However those who reviewed the case refuted it because Tian did not have a *jinshi* degree and no one supported him as he was from an obscure background. The emperor hence did not go forward with his plan. See *TYL* 3, “Praise,” p. 282.

clerical offices.¹¹⁷ Judging from the famous incident recorded in the “Amnesty proclaimed at the Southern Suburb (*nanjiao shewen*)” on the third day of the first month in the Huichang 5th year (845) of the Wuzong reign:

As for the migrant households (*kehu*) of the Jiang-Huai region and those who relocated to avoid household levy (*hushui*), while they should pay the summer or autumn taxes, they have been exempted from selective labor services. As for those among the myriad residents of each prefecture who have had an one-term office and who have moved to a neighboring prefecture upon the completion of their tenures serving the low ranking military or administrative posts at the provincial government, they represent themselves as the “official households (*yiguan hu*)”. They have acquired much capitals and properties while paying taxes at a lower rate and are exempted from various selective labor services. [They gradually sold everything they had at their home prefecture to resolve their household registration. Thus the number of those myriad residents who pay regular taxes (*zhengshui*) has decreased daily. In each prefecture and county, fewer are providing the various selective labor services.] From this point on, those among the myriad residents of Jiang-Huai region — with the exception of the *jinshi* graduates or the graduates of various exams — who have relocated to another prefecture after they have completed their term in office, will no longer represent themselves as the “official households.” Their levy on selective labor service will be the same as the common resident of the said prefecture.¹¹⁸

Those who became the subject of prohibition by having avoided the selective labor services through “moving to a neighboring prefecture upon the completion of their tenures serving the low ranking military or administrative posts at the provincial government” were not “*jinshi* graduates or graduates of various exams.” In other words, they were not among the provincial ancillary officials composed of talented men who graduated from the *jinshi* examination. In fact, the aforementioned *Amnesty* also mentioned that:

Recently when each circuit petition for [local] appointments, the number

¹¹⁷ Watanabe 2001.

¹¹⁸ *WYYH* 429, p. 2175.

they requested have become so large that it not only encroaches on the authority of the Board of the Personnel but also opens the gate of nepotism. From this day onward, circuits including Huainan, Zhedong, Zhexi, Xuan-she, E'yue, Jiangxi, Jingnan, and Shan'nan East can no longer petition for [local] appointment. [... ...] While in the past, military officers (*junjiang*) were often assigned to regular posts (*zhengzhi*) because of their distinguished services in war, from this day onward unless they have any distinguished service in war, they will not be assigned to regular posts.¹¹⁹

Here, the appointments that the various provincial governments in the Jiangnan region to which this prohibition was issued superfluously petitioned for were the prefectural and county offices that had become the subject of placement selection at the Board of Personnel and the military officers who had “no distinguished services in war.” The case of two “powerful [local] families (*haojia*)” “seeking magistrate posts” through bribing the eunuch who served as the Commissioner of Spring Clothing (*chunyi shi*) during Han Ci's term as the Civil Governor of Guiguan (835–837)¹²⁰ and that of He Zai of Dezhou in Hebei who through presenting strategies to the Military Governor Sir Cheng (Cheng Rihua?) of the Henghai Army was appointed the Executive Supervisor (*lushi canjun*) of Jingzhou and subsequently transferred to the Defender of Jingcheng County, the Vice-magistrate of Leling County, the Interim Magistrate of Leling County, the Military Assistant Staff (*jiedu yaoji*), Provisional Supervisor of Market Affairs (*quan zhi shishi*),¹²¹ are notable examples of the kinds of the prefectural and county offices. According to the same epitaph, while He Zai's *junwang* was the Lujiang Commandery, “the descendants have scattered and the He family now locates at the Ande County in Dezhou.” As he was buried in the Congxiao Township of Linjin County in Jingzhou that was close to the boundaries of Dezhou, it is perhaps better to recognize him as someone who was a local commoner.¹²² His last career, Military Assistant Staff was a low ranking ancillary post (as will be discussed below). And judging from the title of “Provisional Supervisor of Market Affairs,” we could presume the lowliness of its duties.

Next, on “military officers (*junjiang*)”:

¹¹⁹ WYYH 429, p. 2174.

¹²⁰ JTS 101, “The Biography of Han Ci,” p. 3150.

¹²¹ STMZHB, Shanxi, “The Epitaph of He Zai (AD 809),” p. 148.

¹²² Though He Zai's great grandfather was the Magistrate of Jiacheng County in Ruzhou and his grandfather was the Executive Supervisor of Bozhou, his father did not serve any official post.

I received the emperor's kindness and was promoted to the Civil Governor of Xuanshe from being the Mayor of Henan. [... ...] An Administrative Officer of Corps (*yaya*) named Li Weichen whose family was extremely wealthy had for years engaged in illegal and vile deeds and set up "shops (*dian*)"¹²³ to gain profit and made commoners obey his orders. [... ...] Li's son, Zicheng, was so malicious and infamous that the Administrative Officer of Corps-in-Chief (*du yaya*), Cui Jingneng, came to see me several times requesting earnestly that I punish Li strictly according to the laws. [... ...] Yu Xiong, the Commissioned Officer of Subjugation (*taoji shi*), constructed a stone lock gate which cut off the water supply for 130 families, taking it for his own use, and watering only his own field.¹²⁴

People like the Administrative Officer of Corps Li Weichen and the Commissioned Officer of Subjugation Yu Xiong surely existed as stated in the "Amnesty proclaimed at the Southern Suburb" issued in the Qianfu second year (875) of the reign of Xizong,¹²⁵ and in Zheng Ji's "The Record of Restoring the Southern Gate of the Prefectural Seat of Chuzhou."¹²⁶ Moreover, I think what had become the subject of advancement for the local "newly risen class" adding to these were the menial, lower level provincial ancillary offices. For example:

The name [of the tomb owner] was Cheng, [whose family] originated from Jincheng. [... ...] As the descendants of the family had decided to reside in Luzhou, they are now natives of Luzhou. [... his] grandfather named Zhen was the Military Registrar of Memorials (*jiedu biao Zhuang kongmu guan*), Concurrently Same as the Deputy Military Governor (*jian tong jiedu fushi*), Executive Official (*changshi*) of Zezhou, Acting Advisor to the Hair-Apparent (*jianjiao taizi binke*), Supreme of Pillar of the State (*shang zhuguo*) and was bestowed the purple court robe (*cizi*) and honorary fish pouch of gold

¹²³ "*Dian*" was usually referred to an inn that has a restaurant, a storage house (and sometimes even a bank). At some rural areas, there existed "*dian*" that collaborated with bandits selling stolen and prohibited goods. See Hino 1970. The "*dian*" mentioned here was also one that engaged in these illegal activities.

¹²⁴ QTW 790, "The Ritual Words Offered for the Deity of Zihua" by Zheng Xun, p. 9437.

¹²⁵ "Wealthy families in Jiangnan region where upon one's gaining a military post the whole household is exempted from selective labor services, cause the poor to exile," see *Tang da zhaoling ji* 72, p. 402.

¹²⁶ "Selling government property at the marketplace and concealing family property by registering as military household," see QTW 763, p. 9074.

(*jin yudai*). His uncle named Gui was the Military Assistant Staff, Court Gentleman for Promoted Service (*dengshi lang*), Probationary Executive Official of the Right Capital Guard (*shi you jinwuwei changshi*), and the Right Supplementary Staff Placed According to Needs (*you buchong jiedu zhuyao*).¹²⁷

As the “Registrar of Memorials” and “Military Assistant Staff” and “Right Supplementary Staff Placed According to Needs” for two generations under the governorship of Zelu, the father-and-son pair of Shentu Zhen and Gui was a notable example. The “Registrar of Memorials” was probably the registrar in charge of documents related to administration.¹²⁸ Shentu Zhen was also the calligraphist of his father Huiguang’s epitaph, (recorded as *Guang* in the aforementioned epitaph of Shentu Cheng), and at that time Zhen’s titles were “the Military Assistant Staff of the Zhaoyi Army, Gentleman-Litterateur (*wenlin lang*), Probationary Supervisor of the Military Section of the Left Militant Guard (*shi zuo wuwei bingcao canjun*) and Supreme of Pillar of the State.”¹²⁹ Therefore, we can suppose that the Military Assistant Staff was a position lower than the Registrar among the lower level provincial ancillary officials.

Next, a Mr. Li served consecutively as the Irregular Express Courier (*san qushi guan*) (825), the Regular Express Courier (*zheng qushi guan*) (827–835), the Military Assistant Staff (838), and finally the Military Attending Officer (*jiedu sui-jun*) (year?).¹³⁰ Express Courier, as suggests by its name I think, was a low official that carried out various miscellaneous services. Comparing to it, the Military Assistant Staff appeared to be of higher rank. At the time when the three North-

¹²⁷ STMZHB, Shanxi, “The Jointed Epitaphs of Mr. Shentu and His Wife (née He) (AD 879),” p. 172.

¹²⁸ The item on “the Registrar Office of Troops (*juncao si kungmu guan*)” in the well-known “The Inscription in Commemoration of the Construction of Yongchang Fort by Wei Junjing (AD 895)” (in JSXB 12, p. 3252) lists offices such as Registrar in Duty of Acceptance of Letters (*ting-tou kaichai shuzhuang kongmu guan*) and Registrar of Letters (*shuzhuang kongmu guan*). Still, I think that the cases of lower level provincial ancillary officials who were given nominal substantive posts, such as the Shentu father and son pair and the Mr. Li who was given the position of Probationary Supervisor of the Military Section of the Left Militant Guard mentioned in the “The Epitaph of Mr. Li,” were numerous, as will be shown below. However, as we discussed earlier, since the titles of low ranking provincial ancillary officials do not appear in the regulations related to the transferring of acting, concurrent, or probationary posts, these substantive posts were similar to that were superfluously assigned to military officers. They were only for conferring special privilege and favor.

¹²⁹ STMZHB, Beijing 2, “The Epitaph of Shentu Huiguang (AD 816),” p. 49.

¹³⁰ STMZHB, Beijing 2, “The Epitaph of Mr. Li (AD 856),” p. 114.

eastern provinces rebelled during the Jianzhong era, the Military Governor of Youzhou, Zhu Tao, named himself the King of Ji (*Ji wang*) and changed the title of Express Courier and the Military Assistant Staff to Bearer of Orders (*chengling*).¹³¹ In the colophon of the *Da bore boluo midou jing*, inscribed in Fangshan, we can find Han Gongming who was the Military Assistant Staff (*jiedu yaoji*) and Executive Officer of the Governor's Residence (*shizhai panguan*).¹³² And in the epitaph of Cheng Junxin who served in the Pinglu province, we find his titles as the Military Assistant Staff and Accountant of Grains Office (*zhiji hudou si*).¹³³ Still more, the aforementioned office of Staff Placed According to Needs (*zhuyao*) of Shentu Gui, I think, is equivalent to that of the "*quyao*" mentioned in the epitaph of Xing Tong.¹³⁴ While "*zhuyao*" was charged with maintaining the order, its role was to occupy the position next to the Registrar who was the manager of the general affairs.

In any case, the series of lower level provincial ancillary officials (i.e. Express Courier — the Military Assistant Staff — Staff Placed According to Needs — Registrar) were those who carried out the actual business of every minute provincial administration. In other words, they were menial positions. Clearly a line was drawn between them and the upper level provincial ancillary officials that were recruited from talents who had an eye on soon becoming court officials and were favorably treated as "guest staff". We could grasp that there existed a qualitative difference.¹³⁵ We see recorded in the "The Epitaph of Yang Songnian (AD 858)" that:

[He] was promoted to be the Magistrate of Henan District. "□ *xing* (one letter missing)" customarily served in the military and became low ranking officers (*junli*). Since the superior officers in the army were especially protective of them, the magistrate could not dismiss them from the service.

¹³¹ XTS 212, "The Biography of Zhu Tao," p. 5971.

¹³² See the second part of the *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian* (p. 175). The *Da bore boluo midou jing* bears Han Gongming's name at the end of *juan* 471 between the mention of "Shi Zaixin, the Prefect of Zhuozhou" in the beginning of *juan* 471 and that of "Zhang Yunshen, the Military Governor of Youzhou Lulong" in *juan* 472. As Shi Zaixin was a clansman of Governor Shi Yuanzhong (tenure 834-41) and Zhang Yunshen's tenure started around 850s, I could deduce the date of Han Gongming.

¹³³ See *STMZHB*, Jiangsu Shandong, "The Epitaph of Cheng Junxin (AD 878)," p. 137.

¹³⁴ "[His] father named Xian, ... was given the job of *quyao* in the provincial office of the governor, which governed six sections and ensured that everyone followed the rule." See *JJZMYW*, "The Jointed Epitaph of Xing Tong and His Wife (née Pang) (AD 833)," p. 13652.

¹³⁵ For details on the duties, statuses, and ranks of lower level provincial ancillary officials, please refer to Watanabe 2001.

However, Yang visited the military station in person and transferred all of them to “*xiang* □□□(three letters missing).”¹³⁶

While various important characters are illegible, deducing from the characters of “□ *xing*” and “*xiang* □□□”, this could be read as the removal of local magnates (“*haoxing*”?) from the *junli* positions to that of various leadership roles (*lizheng*, *cunzheng*) in village and township (*xiang*).¹³⁷ The “*junli*” in this case is probably a name not only for military officers such as Administrative Officer of Corps, Commissioned Officer of Subjugation and so on, but also for lower level provincial ancillary officials such as Express Courier and Assistant Staff and so on.

Now, what is noticeable is that people who served as the rank and file prefectural and county officials (except the elite posts, such as the Defender of Metropolitan district), lower level provincial ancillary officials, and military officers, were from the same pool as demonstrated in these three cases: the aforementioned He Zai became the Military Assistant Staff from being prefectural and county officials such as the Prefectural Supervisor and County Magistrate; Liu Tan went from being an Express Courier, Vice Magistrate of Lucheng County in Cangzhou, Executive Registrar (*kongmu panguan*), Captain in Duty of Factory Affairs (*zuofang jiang*), Vice Magistrate of Lingjin County, Magistrate of Lucheng County, to the Same as Deputy Commissioner of Frontier Management (*tong jinglüe fushi*) and the Administrator under the General Commnader of Corps (*du zhi bingma shi yaya*).¹³⁸ Zheng Yu, a *mingjing* candidate who entered provincial government in his twenty, first became an Executive Registrar of the prefecture, then the Left Inspector (*zuo yuhou*) of the Tangxing Army, and finally the Inspector of Corps in-Chief (*du yuhou*) after several transfers.¹³⁹ Moreover, in the case of the aforementioned Military Assistant Staff Li, where as his grandfather was a Headquarter Commander (*yaqian bingma shi*), his eldest son was a Headquarter Guard (*yaqian zidi*), and his father-in-law was a Deputy Commissioned Officer of Subjugation at the Governor’s Headquarter (*jiedu yaqian taoji fushi*), and Bi Cen, son of the Defender of Xiabo County in Shenzhou, was a Military Staff Placed According to Needs of the Military Governor of Yiwu Province.¹⁴⁰ In this manner, those who were prefectural and county officials, lower level provincial ancillary officials, and

¹³⁶ QTZZCZ, No. 1141, “The Epitaph of Yang Songnian (AD 858).”

¹³⁷ On various leadership roles in village and township see Funakoshi 1968.

¹³⁸ JJZMYW, “The Preface of Liu Tan (AD 805),” p. 13635.

¹³⁹ Guozhi shihua 15, “The Epitaph of Zheng Yu,” p. 1271.

¹⁴⁰ STMZHB, Luoyang13, “The Epitaph of Wife of Mr.Bi, née Zhao (AD 810),” p. 3.

military officials frequently appear to be either father and son or marital relations. This also goes to show that these three belonged to the same level in the hierarchy of bureaucratic organization in the second half of the Tang.¹⁴¹

It is worth noting that the Li's family or Shentu father and son gained the lower level ancillary posts and military posts within one province. Mr. Li passed through the ancillary posts in the Zhenwu Province for thirty one years. The above-mentioned Liu Tan entered the provincial service as the Express Courier at 20 years old, passed through a number of the prefectural and county posts, lower level ancillary posts, and military posts all within the province of Henghai until he died at the age of 54. He Zai became the Supervisor of Jingzhou at 40 and held the prefectural and county posts or military posts in the Henghai Province successively for twenty seven years. So, it is clear that these posts have an indigenous aspect. This is quite a contrast to the cases of upper level ancillary officials, who held the posts temporarily as they were promoted to the court officials through the Winter Recommendation system, or transferred to the other provinces accompanying the governors.¹⁴²

Now, I think I have presented a comprehensive view on the provincial ancillary posts in the late Tang. In short, they have two levels. One is the upper level provincial ancillary officials who were called the "guest staff" — the Executive Officer, Chief Secretary, Judge, Assistant Commissioner, Inspector, and etc. Another is the lower level officials who carried out the actual business of every minute provincial administration — i.e. Registrar, Staff Placed According to

¹⁴¹ Zhongbian, the second son of the tomb owner in the previously discussed jointed epitaph of Xing Tong and his wife, was an Executive Officer of Lumbering Affairs at Beishan Forest (*beishan chang caizhuo wu panguan*). Zhongshou, the third son was the Sergeant of the Left Fengsheng Battalion [and] Auditors of Taxes of Seven Towns (*zuo fengsheng jiang yaguan* □ *qicheng shuiwu gongshi*). This Zhongbian, I think, is also the Xing Bian of "The Jointed Epitaph of Xing Bian and His Wife (née Zhou) (AD 913). See *STMZHB*, Hubei, p. 139. This epitaph states that Bian was first a Staff Placed According to Needs of the Provincial Office of Zhenzhou and Executive Officer of Forest Management (*shanchang wu panguan*), then a Captain in Duty of Forest Management (*shanchang jiang*). He was given the posts of Deputy Commissioner of Frontier Management (*jinglie fushi*), then Superintendent of Forest Management (*shanchang wu duzhi guan*), Defense Commander (*zhengya bingma shi*) of Raoyang Fortress in Shenzhou, and finally the Commander of Headquarter (*yaqian bingma shi*). And Zhen, the second son of Bian, was a Military Express Courier (*jiedu qushi guan*) and General Manager of Salt Warehouse (*du yancang zhuanzhi guan*), and Nian, the third son, was an Express Courier of Governor's Office (*shiyuan qushi guan*) and Chief of Personnel Affairs (*zhi zhiyuan shi*).

¹⁴² Similar cases are too numerous to enumerate, one example would suffice to illustrate my point. Liu Sanfu always attended Li Deyu, who took the post of the Zhexi governor thrice, and held posts of the Yicheng, Xichuan, and Huainan provinces accompanying Li (*JTS* 177, "The Biography of Liu Ye," p. 4616).

Needs, Military Assistant Staff, Express Courier. There was a large gap between the two levels. While the former was linked with the central bureaucracy and was the ladder to the pure and important posts, the latter was indigenous and arose from the same pool as certain military officers and low level local officials. In the late Tang, the so-called “newly risen class” could only break into the lower level of the provincial power structure.

Conclusion

Cui Xian of Boling was said to be the kind of person who was aspired to retirement in mountain forest since young, and often traveled quietly to Mt. Nan for days on end without return. When he reached twenty, he passed consecutively several literary examinations. Poetry was his best. He was quite taken to drinking. Whenever the wind and the moon were quiet and lonely, he would recite poetry at length. Often he would become desolated, shed tears and would not stop reciting until he was quite drunk.¹⁴³ However, famous ministers, such as Zheng Yuqing and Li Yijian, “recruited him to serve in their provincial governments and treated him as a teacher and a friend.”¹⁴⁴ Du Mu, who was recruited by Niu Sengru to serve in Yangzhou of the Huainan province, “did only his duties and indulged in the banquets.” Though he lived a rather dissipated life, he was apparently under the protection of Niu, who favored his talents.

What episodes like these demonstrate is the kind of worth that was respected in the retinue of provincial governors and in establishing the politically orientated personal connections behind the informal provincial recruitment. These are talents in “Literature”, which was represented by writing poetic verse and parallel prose, and by the command of an admirable range of precedents based on Confucian cultivation and scholarship. Needless to say, these are the talents of cultural values. In reality, “Literature,” such as drafting of memorials and documents of various kinds, composing of poetry when receiving emissaries from the court and other provincial governments, was a significant part of a provincial government’s daily operation. Dai Weihua has thoroughly discussed how the provincial government had become the place where rich literature was produced as literati became friends at both the public and private parties and composed poems in response to one another.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ CFYG 729, “Recruitment,” p. 8674.

¹⁴⁴ TPGJ 273, “Du Mu (from *Tang qieshi*),” p. 2151.

¹⁴⁵ Dai 1990 and 1997.

The understanding of the “newly risen class” as economic strongmen who steadily rose in power and readily entered central bureaucracy in the second half of the Tang using the informal recruitment system as the ladder was perhaps too simple. On this point, I find using Pierre Bourdieu’s theory on reproduction as a way to approach the politics and social structure of the second half of the Tang (and that of the Imperial China) attractive.¹⁴⁶ The basis of Bourdieu’s theory on reproduction is not the economic capital that had thus far served as the center of class-consciousness. Rather it is the cultural as well as social capitals that play a more significant role in reproducing the elite class. To Tang elite, who had moved to reside in the two capital cities far away from their financial basis in their native provinces and had lost most of the self-evident political privileges due to the abolishment of the nine-rank system, cultural capitals (such as “Literature,” Confucian cultivation and etiquettes) and social capitals (cultivated through the unrelenting practice of intermarrying within the same social rank,¹⁴⁷ as well as through social intercourse in the officialdom for generations) were their last weapons. The purpose of civil examination system was primarily to promote talented men regardless of their social background; however the aristocratic class came to seize the system, especially in the second half of the Tang. The civil examination in fact became a ladder that led to high ranking offices for the aristocrats. Moreover, they turned “Literature” (that was taken as the yardstick of civil examination and therefore the representation of the *distinction* between oneself and others) into the tool for *distinction*.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, the [examinee’s] semi-open maneuver to solicit pat-

¹⁴⁶ Bourdieu 1979. In Japan, the attempt to introduce Bourdieu’s theory on reproduction to the studies of Chinese history was stimulated by Elman 1991 which covers Ming and Qing history (see also the all-inclusive later work of Elman 2000). Its influence can be seen in Hirata Shigeki’s study of Song civil examinations and bureaucracy (Hirata 1997, 1998), in which “network” served as the key concept, as well as in Watanabe Yoshihiro’s argument that the possession of various cultural values served as the basis for “eminent personage” (Watanabe 1995, 2003). The latter argument is especially very interesting, as it suggests that the very possession of the cultural values, such as learning in Confucian classics, literature, historiography, may inherently define the social status of “aristocracy.”

¹⁴⁷ On the aristocrats’ insistence on practicing intermarriage within the same social rank in the second half of the Tang, see Otagi 1987.

¹⁴⁸ Liu Fen, whose biography was included in the Records of Literary Circle (*wenyuan*), was erudite and wrote well. After he passed the *jinshi* examination, he shocked the court by submitting to the decree exam (AD 828) an essay that criticized eunuchs severely. He was recruited by Linghu Chu (the governor of Shan’nan West) and Niu Sengru (the governor of the Shan’nan East) to serve as a provincial ancillary officer and treated as a “teacher and friend” (*JTS* 190, pp.5064-7). Similar to the aforementioned case of Cui Xian, the reason why a relationship like this could be established between a governor and a member of his retinue was that a sympathy existed between them as

ronage from ministers prior to the event characterizing the Tang civil examination restored the political influence of the aristocracy in the second half of the Tang. And the social capital preserved by the aristocratic class was put to thorough use there. It was certainly that as Tonami Mamoru suggests: “[Tang civil examinations] appeared to have served as the reinforcement for the old aristocracy that was heading towards decline, instead of producing a new bureaucratic class.” As such, to the aristocratic class, the provincial informal recruitment system also had the function of reproducing its status as political elite. The informal recruitment of the Tang, both as an elite course of advancement in the officialdom and as a system that attached great importance to “Literature,” was in a sense a brother of the civil examination of the Tang. In addition to cultural capital, social capital (i.e. personal connection of various kinds) was more strongly effective at the informal recruitment than at the examination.

A bizarre phenomenon appeared in the second half of the Tang when the aristocratic class regained the power at the center of the officialdom using both the civil examination and the informal recruitment. The year 881, approaching the end of Tang, when the menace of the Huang Chao Rebellion was still at its greatest, Zheng Congdang, who was a Chief Minister assigned to the post of the Military Governor of Hedong, recruited prominent figures — Deputy Director of the Bureau of War and Compiler at the Historiography Institute (*shiguan xiuzhuan*), Liu Chonggui; former Deputy Director of the Bureau of Honorific Titles (*sixun yuanwai lang*) and Compiler at the Historiography Institute, Zhao Chong; Magistrate of Chang’an District, Wang Diao; former Left Remembrancer (*zuo shiyi*), Li Wo — to be his administrative staff. “The staff he built his government with was so great, that it was the best at the time. Those who admired it at the court referred to Taiyuan (the seat of Hedong province) as the ‘petite court’.”¹⁴⁹ In the year 888, Wei Zhaodu, the Military Governor of Xichuan, when becoming the Commissioner of Pacification Commanding the Mobile Force (*xingying zhaotao shi*) to subdue Chen Jingxuan who occupied Chengdu,¹⁵⁰ recruited the Military Governor of the Shan’nan West (Yang Shouliang) as the Deputy Commissioner, and

they shared the same cultural values. I want to treat the system of provincial recruitment as the loci where the perception of the *distinction* produced by this cultural as well as the historically condensed identity indicator, i.e. aristocrat, was dominative. When we adopt this viewpoint, it seems possible to understand why the governors of this period treated provincial ancillary officers favorably as guests, though at first glance this phenomenon was anachronistic.

¹⁴⁹ CFYG 729, “Recruitment,” p. 8676.

¹⁵⁰ ZZTJ 257, p. 8383.

the Military Governor of Dongchuan (Gu Yanlang) as the Camp Adjutant. The situation was such that “those recruited as administrative staff by these three military governors were all sons or brothers of prominent figures at the court.”¹⁵¹

Episodes such as these clearly demonstrate the aristocraticism that dominated the provincial informal recruitment system. But this aristocraticism could not exist without the Tang Dynasty, which authorized the bureaucratic system that was the nucleus of the centripetal force for the regular officials at the court, and the “Literature” that was the yardstick of cultural values. As such, once the Tang court and its bureaucratic organs disintegrated, aristocraticism along with its political hegemony suffered the ruinous fate as the final afterglow of the aristocratic society. “Sons and brothers of prominent figures at the court,” who laughed at Wang Jian (who was a betrayer of the Huang Chao Rebellion and appointed to the Commander-in-Chief of the Mobile Force at the time) and his vulgar followers, were acting anachronistically. Such anachronism was mercilessly eradicated when Wang Jian murdered his ridiculers upon becoming the autocrat of Sichuan. Thence from the end of the Tang and throughout the Five Dynasties, the “sons and brothers of prominent figures at the court”, who had served as “frivolous administrative staff”¹⁵² completely retreated from the political stage and were replaced through the system of informal recruitment by “the newly risen class” that was the real former body of the Song scholar-official class.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ *TPGJ* 266, “Wang Xianzhu was ridiculed by the frivolous (from *Beimeng suoyan*),” p. 2091.

¹⁵² *ibid.*

¹⁵³ The typical example is Feng Dao, who was recruited as the *caoguan* (equivalent to the Supervisor) under the governor Liu Shouguang in Yunzhou. After Liu went to ruin, Feng was offered the post of Inspector in Hedong Province (*Jiu Wudai shi* 126, p. 1655. *Xin Wudai shi* 54, p. 612). Another example is the ancestry of the Song eminent minister Han Qi. Han Yibin was a Military Executive Officer. His first son, Dingci, was a Civil Executive Officer. His second son, Changci was a magistrate and his son, Gou, was a prefect. His son Guohua, who was Han Qi's father became a *jinshi* graduate in the early Song. See *Anyang ji* 46, pp. 492-3. and *Song shi* 277, p. 10221.

The Personnel of the Ancillary Posts under the Huainan Governorship (756-879)

governor	term of office	No.	name	ancillary post	birthplace		descent		method/time of official entrance	sources			remarks	
					circuit	prefecture/county	junwang	tables of junwang		JTS	XTS	table of XTS		
李成式	756	1	裴 茂	判官	?	?	◎	河東	太·廣·S	蔭	114	144	71上	
		2	蕭穎士	掌書記	淮南	揚州?	◎	蘭陵	太·北·S	▲開元23	190F	202	—	英668
		3	蕭 直	行軍司馬	?	?	◎	蘭陵	太·北·S	△開元28	—	—	71下	毘陵11
高 適	756~757	4	張 一	?	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	詩150
		5	李 肅	判官	?	?	◎	臨西	太·廣·S	蔭?	—	—	72上	英627
		6	權 皋	判官	隴右	秦州略陽	○	天水	太·廣·S	▲天寶7	148	194	75下	
鄧景山	757~761	7	關 播	?	河北	衛州汲	×	(河東)	—	▲天寶15	130	151	75下	
		8	韓 湜	?	關內	京兆長安	○	昌黎	(姓)	蔭	129	126	73上	
		9	崔 論	行軍司馬	河北	定州安喜	◎	博陵	廣·S	蔭?	—	—	72下	吳興14
崔 圓	761~768	10	李 承	判官	河北	趙州高邑	◎	趙郡	太·廣·北·S	△—	115	143	72上	
		11	董 管	節度判官	河東	河中虞鄉	×	(河東)	—	△—	145	151	75下	韓集8
		12	張萬福	節度副使	河北	魏州元城	×	—	軍	—	152	170	—	
		13	殷 寅	判官	河南	陳州長平	○	陳郡	廣	▲天寶4	—	202	—	岑集4
		14	韋儼(環)	行軍司馬	關內	京兆?	◎	京兆	太·廣	蔭?	—	—	74上	英389 姓四校2
		15	史 一	?	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	岑集5
		16	郭 一	參謀	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	詩149
		17	薛 晃	?	江南	常州義興	○	晉陵	S	蔭?	—	—	—	英720 毘陵16
				18	李 翰	掌書記	河北	趙州贊皇?	◎	趙郡	太·廣·北·S	▲—	190F	203
19	薛 弁			?	?	?	◎	河東	太·廣·S?	?	—	—	73下	毘陵16
20	李翰II			掌書記?	河北	趙州贊皇?	◎	趙郡	太·廣·北·S	▲—	190F	203	72上	粹73
韋元甫	768~771	21	崔 元	?	河南	許州鄆陵?	◎	清河	太·廣·S	蔭?	—	—	—	千唐1008
		22	王 一	行軍司馬	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	粹73
		23	杜 佑	?	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	太·廣·S	蔭	147	166	72上	
陳少遊	773~784	24	房儒復	判官	河南	河南河南	○	河南	太·廣·S	蔭?	111	139	71下	舊126
		25	裴 胄	觀察判官·行軍司馬	河南	河南?	◎	河東	太·廣·S	△—	122	130	71上	
		26	劉太真	節度判官	江南	宣州	○	宣城	廣	▲天寶13	137	203	—	文538
		27	關播II	判官	河北	衛州汲	×	(河東)	—	▲天寶15	130	151	75下	
		28	盧 羣	?	河北	幽州?	◎	范陽	廣·北·S	辟	140	147	73上	
		29	陸 質	?	江南	蘇州	◎	吳郡	太·廣·北·S	辟	189F	168	—	
		30	趙 匡	節度判官	河東	河中	×	(天水)	—	蔭?	—	200	—	柳集9
		31	呂 渭	參謀·觀察判官	河東	河中	○	河東	太	▲—	137	160	—	匯編洛陽12
		32	崔 頴	判官	關內	京兆?	◎	博陵	廣·S	?	—	—	72下	舊126
		33	溫 述	參謀	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	舊126
		34	趙 旼	巡官	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	舊126
		35	許子璠(璠)	判官	?	?	×	(安陸)	—	蔭?	—	—	73上	舊126
杜 亞	784~789	36	梁 肅	掌書記	河南	河南陸渾	○	安定	太·廣·S	▼建中1	—	202	—	英944
		37	元 洪	?	?	?	◎	河南	廣·S	?	—	—	75下	英726
		38	張 凡	?	?	?	?	—	▲—	—	—	—	—	英726
		39	韋 聿	?	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	太·廣	蔭	140	158	—	權集23
		40	張弘靖	?	河東	河中猗氏	○	范陽	廣·S	蔭	129	127	72下	
		41	韋聿II	?	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	太·廣	蔭	140	158	—	權集23
杜 佑	790~803	42	劉禹錫	掌書記	河南	河南?	○?	河南	廣	▲貞元9	160	168	—	劉集39
		43	劉伯趨	節度判官	河南	河南伊闕	×	(廣平)	—	▲—	—	160	71上	
		44	賈 常	參謀	關內	京兆金城	◎	扶風	太·廣·S	▲大曆14	155	175	71下	
		45	裴 樞	?	?	?	◎	河東	太·廣·S	▲永泰2	—	—	71上	詩271
		46	段平仲	掌書記	隴右	涼州	○	武威	廣	▲—	153	162	—	
		47	南宮偉	判官	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	舊147
		48	李 亞	判官	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	舊147
		49	鄭元均	判官	河南	鄭州?	◎?	滎陽	太·廣·北·S	▲建中2	—	—	—	舊147 柳集12
		50	豆盧策	掌書記	?	?	?	—	—	▲—	—	—	—	匯編洛陽12
		51	廖 一	參謀	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	詩359
		52	路 應	行軍司馬	關內	京兆三原	○	陽平	廣	蔭	—	138	75下	韓集26 劉集11
		53	王 鐸	節度副使·行軍司馬	江南	?	×	—	—	軍	151	170	—	舊13

governor	term of office	No.	name	ancillary post	birthplace		descent		method/time of official entrance	sources			remarks	
					circuit	prefecture /county	junwang	tables of junwang		JTS	XTS	table of XTS		
王 鈞	803~808	54	穆 賞	?	河南	懷州河內	○	河南	太·北·S	▲貞元8	155	163	—	英783
		55	薛 審	行軍司馬	河東	河中?	◎	河東	太·廣·S?	蔭	—	—	73下	劉集3
		56	張士陵	參謀	關內	涇州	○	安定	廣	▽大曆5	—	—	—	匯編洛陽13
李吉甫	808~810	57	孔 戡	節度判官	河北	冀州下博	○	魯國	太·北·S	—	154	163	75下	—
		58	楊同慈	?	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	文479
		59	崔國楨	?	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	文479
		60	王 起	掌書記	?	?	◎	太原	太·廣·S	▲貞元14 ▼元和3	164	167	72中	—
李 鄴	810~817	61	張 一	?	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	紀事55
		62	羅 讓	?	江南	越州會稽	×	—	—	▲貞元17 ▼元和1	188	197	—	—
		63	王 質	參謀	河東	并州祁	◎	太原	太·廣·S	▲元和6	163	164	—	劉集3
		64	崔 戎	?	河北	深州安平	◎	博陵	廣·S	△—	162	159	72下	—
		65	李公佐	?	關內	京兆長安?	◎?	隴西	太·廣·S	蔭?	—	—	70上	廣記343
		66	韋 署	巡官	關內	京兆	◎	京兆	太·廣	?	—	—	74上	匯編江蘇
衛次公	817~818	67	崔戎Ⅱ	?	河北	深州安平	◎	博陵	廣·S	△—	162	159	72下	—
		68	韋弘景	節度副使	關內	京兆	◎	京兆	太·廣	▲貞元一	157	116	74上	—
		69	皇甫湜	?	江南	睦州新安	×	—	—	▲元和1	—	176	—	—
李夷簡	818~822	70	宋申錫	?	?	?	×	(廣平)	▲—	167	152	75上	—	詩487
		71	顏 順	營田副使	?	?	○?	琅邪	太·廣·北·S	?	—	—	—	赤城8
		72	張又新	?	河北	深州陸澤?	×	(常山)	▲元和9	149	175	—	才校6	
王 播	822~827	73	鄭 德	?	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	廣記84
		74	李德脩	行軍司馬	河北	衛州	◎	趙郡	太·廣·北·S	蔭?	—	146	72上	吳興14
		75	陸 暢	觀察判官	江南	蘇州	◎	吳郡	太·廣·北·S	▲元和1	—	—	—	劉集28 英639
		76	李 回	掌書記	關內	京兆長安	◎	隴西	太·廣·S	▲長慶1 ▼長慶1	173	131	70上	千唐1037
崔 從	830~832	77	皇甫曙	行軍司馬?	?	?	?	—	—	▲元和11	—	—	—	詩556·廣記155
		78	杜 牧	掌書記	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	太·廣·S	▲太和2 ▼太和2	147	166	72上	樊川10
		79	韓 綽	判官	?	?	×	(廣陵)	—	?	?	—	—	樊川4
		80	張 鷟	節度副使	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	新180
李德裕	837~840	81	劉三復	?	江南	潤州句容	○	丹陵	廣	▲—	177	183	71上	—
		82	杜 鎰	觀察使	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	太·廣·S	▲太和6	—	—	72上	樊川9
		83	陳脩古	節度推官	關內	京兆?	×	(潁川)	—	?	?	—	—	匯編洛陽13
李紳Ⅰ	840~842	84	魏 鋼	觀察推官	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	舊18下·173
		85	李公佐Ⅱ	?	關內	京兆長安?	◎?	隴西	太·廣·S	蔭?	—	—	70上	舊18下
		86	元 壽	推官	?	?	◎	河南	廣·S	?	—	—	75下	舊18下
		87	吳 洪	推官	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	舊18下
		88	翁 恭	推官	?	?	?	—	?	?	—	—	—	舊18下
		89	竇 修	?	?	?	?	—	▲貞元21	—	—	—	—	金華上
		90	張不疑	?	?	?	?	(南陽)	▲—	—	—	—	—	廣記372 語林4
杜悰Ⅰ	842~844	91	楊 收	節度推官	關內	同州馮翊	◎	弘農	太·廣·北·S	▲會昌1	177	184	71下	—
		92	薛庭(廷)範	節度副使	河東	河中寶鼎	◎	河東	太·廣·S?	蔭?	—	—	73下	英412
		93	孟 遲	掌書記	河北	德州平昌	○	平昌	廣·S	▲會昌5	—	—	—	紀事54
杜悰Ⅱ	852~855	94	畢 誠	?	河南	鄆州須昌	○	東平	太·北	▲太和6	177	183	75下	—
		95	楊 嚴	?	關內	同州馮翊	◎	弘農	太·廣·北·S	▲會昌1	177	184	71下	—
		96	李 嶠	觀察使	?	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	匯編洛陽14
		97	李羣(之)	?	淮南	廬州合肥?	?	(趙郡)	—	▲長慶4	—	—	72上?	詩535
崔 鉉	855~862	98	王 凝	節度判官·副使	河東	并州晉陽	◎	太原	太·廣·S	△太和9 ▲大中1	165	143	72中	司空7
		99	楊收Ⅱ	觀察使	關內	同州馮翊	◎	弘農	太·廣·北·S	▲會昌1	177	184	71下	—
		100	孔 緯	觀察使	河北	冀州下博	○	魯國	太·北·S	▲—	179	163	75下	—
		101	路 巖	觀察使	河北	魏州冠氏	○	陽平	廣	▲—	177	184	75下	玉泉
		102	崔 雍	?	河北	深州安平	◎	博陵	廣·S	▲—	—	159	72下	語林7
		103	崔 珏	?	?	?	◎	清河	太·廣·S	▲大中—	—	—	72下	崔言11
		104	袁 充	節度副使	?	?	?	?	?	?	—	—	—	崔言11
		105	崔 澹	?	河北	深州安平	◎	博陵	廣·S	▲大中13	—	—	72下	金華上
令狐綯	862~869	106	王 徽	掌書記	關內	京兆	◎	京兆	廣	▲大中11	178	185	72中	—
		107	班 蒙	觀察使	?	?	?	?	?	?	—	—	—	廣記174

		108	鄭 敗	?	河南	鄭州	◎	景陽	太·廣·北·S	▲會昌 2	178	185	75上	元龜729
		109	馬 舉	行軍司馬	?	?	?			軍	—	—	—	廣記224
馬 舉	869~870	110	孫 眺	觀察支使	?	?	◎	樂安	太·北·S	?	—	—	—	千唐1186
		111	韋昭度	節度判官	關內	京兆	◎	京兆	太·廣	▲咸通 8	179	185	74上	南部已
李 蔚	870~874	112	裴虔餘	?	?	?	?	—	—	?	—	—	—	掖言13
		113	盧 澄	?	?	?	?	—	—	?	—	—	—	語林7
		114	李 一	?	?	?	?	—	—	?	—	—	—	甲乙
		115	羅 隱	?	江南	杭州錢塘	×	—	—	辟	181	—	—	才校9
劉 鄴	874~879	116	張 禎	?	河南	鄧州	○	南陽	太·廣·北·S	蔭?	162	—	—	—
		117	楊 篆	?	河南	號州弘農	◎	弘農	太·廣·北·S	▲—	—	—	71下	掖言9 匯編洛陽14
		118	杜晦辭	節度判官	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	太·廣·S	蔭?	—	—	72上	語林7
		119	許 棠	館驛巡官	江南	宣州涇	×	—	—	▲咸通12	—	—	—	語林7
		120	劉崇龜	?	河南	滑州胙	○	河南	廣	▲咸通 6	179	90	71上	語林7
		121	杜讓能	掌書記	關內	京兆	◎	京兆	太·廣·S	▲咸通14	177	96	72上	—
不 詳		122	陸 勣	?	江南	蘇州吳	◎	吳郡	太·廣·北·S	蔭?	162	159	—	詩590
		123	陸師德	觀察支使	河南	陝州	◎	吳郡	太·廣·北·S	蔭?	179	—	73下	—
		124	鄭資(寶)	掌書記	江南	蘇州?	×	—	—	▲乾符 4	—	—	—	—
		125	岑 定	節度判官	山南	鄧州棘陽	○	南陽	S	蔭?	—	—	72中	—
		126	朱 滔	?	江南	蘇州丹陽?	◎	吳郡	太·廣·北·S	?	—	—	74下	廣記351
		127	李象古	?	關內	京兆長安	◎	隴西	太·廣·S	蔭	131	80	70下	匯編洛陽13
		128	張進金	節度副使	?	?	×	(清河)	—	軍?	—	—	—	匯編北大2
		129	袁 蔚	節度副使	?	?	◎	陳郡	廣	蔭?	—	—	74下	姓四校4
		130	徐 澄	?	?	?	◎	東海	廣·S	?	—	—	75下	姓四校2
		131	盧 約	?	?	?	◎?	范陽?	廣·北·S	?	—	—	—	金續11
		132	沈師黃	營田巡官	江南	湖州武興	○	吳興	太·廣·S	▲開成一	—	—	—	千唐1125

note

i) The column of birthplace includes *junwang*. When one's birthplace is different from *junwang*, I generally adopt the former.

ii) The column of decent: ◎=*menfa* ○=*junxing* ×=*shuxing*

tables of *junwang*: 太=『太平實字記』 廣=『廣韻』 北=北京大學藏敦煌文獻位字79號
S=Stein document (S.2052) (姓)=『元和姓纂』

iii) The column of method: ▲=*jnshi* △=*minging* ▼=*zhike* ▽=*zhuke*

The time of official entrance is based on the data in *Dengke jikao* and *Dengke jikao buzheng*, complemented with the data in the epitaphs.

蔭=*menyin* 蔭?=the route is not mentioned, but his father and grandfather were of the fifth rank and above or his great-grandfather was the third rank and above.

辟=recruitment 軍=military officer

iv) Sources

舊=『舊唐書』 新=『新唐書』 通=『資治通鑑』 吳越=『吳越備史』

元龜=『冊府元龜』 廣記=『太平廣記』 英=『文苑英華』 文=『全唐文』

詩=『全唐詩』 粹=『唐文粹』 顏集=『顏魯公集』 岑集=『岑參集校注』

毘陵=『毘陵集』 權集=『權載之文集』 元寶=『李元寶文集』 李文=『李文公集』

韓集=『韓昌黎集』 柳集=『柳河東集』 白集=『白氏長慶集』 劉集=『劉賓客集』

樊川=『樊川文集』 司空=『司空表聖文集』 甲乙=『甲乙集』 因話=『因話錄』

金華=『金華子』 玉泉=『玉泉子』 東觀=『東觀奏記』 西陽=『西陽雜俎』

語林=『唐語林』 掖言=『唐掖言』 南部=『南部新書』 紀事=『唐詩紀事』

才校=『唐才子傳校箋』 姓四校=『元和姓纂四校記』 名畫=『歷代名畫記』

嘉定鎮江=『嘉定鎮江志』 吳興=『嘉泰吳興志』 赤城=『嘉定赤城志』

萃編=『金石萃編』 金續=『金石續編』 寶刻=『寶刻叢編』

吳興金石=『吳興金石』 千唐=『千唐誌齋藏誌』

匯編○○=『隋唐五代墓誌匯編』○○卷

The Personnel of the Ancillary Posts under the Zhexi Governorship (756-879)

governor	term of office	No.	name	ancillary post	birthplace		descent		method/time of official entrance	sources			remarks
					circuit	prefecture /county	junecang	tables of junecang		JTS	XTS	table of XTS	
鄭吳之	758	1	張從師	?	?	◎ ?	吳郡	太·廣·北·S	▲天寶 7	—	—	—	見跋11
顏真卿	759~760	2	權 皋	行軍司馬	隴右	秦州略陽	○	天水	太·廣·S	—	148	194	75下
		3	戎 昱	?	山南	荊州	○	江陵	S	▲ ? —	—	—	才校3
		4	李 萼	團練副使	河北	趙州 ?	◎ ?	趙郡 ?	太·廣·北·S	▼ —	—	194	—
侯令儀	760	5	韋 儼	節度觀察副使	關內	京兆 ?	◎	京兆	太·廣	蔭 ?	—	74上	吳興金石3
李廣琛	761~765	6	劉 一	?	?	?	?	—	?	—	—	—	詩
		7	李藏用	節度副使	?	?	?	—	?	—	—	—	通222
韋元甫	765~768	8	杜 佑	?	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	太·廣·S	蔭	147	166	72上
		9	李嘉祐	判官	河北	趙州	◎	趙郡	太·廣·北·S	▲天寶 7	—	—	詩206·249
		10	王 圓	?	?	?	?	—	?	—	—	—	英863
		11	陸 迅	?	?	?	?	—	?	—	—	—	英863
		12	張 象	?	?	?	?	—	?	—	—	—	英863
		13	裴 胄	觀察支使	河南	河南 ?	◎	河東	太·廣·S	△ —	122	130	71上
李德筠	768~772	14	許鳴謙	觀察判官	關內	京兆長安	×	(晉陵)	蔭 ?	—	—	—	舊122 新130
		15	崔 造	判官	河北	深州安平	◎	博陵	廣·S	辟	130	150	72下
		16	朱自勉	?	?	?	?	—	?	—	—	—	粹21
		17	盧東美	?	?	?	◎	范陽	廣·北·S	辟	—	72上	韓集24
		18	郭季膺	?	河東	汾州介休	○	太原	太·廣	?	—	—	匯編河南
李 涵	772~776	19	呂 渭	觀察支使	河東	河中	○	河東	太	▲ —	137	160	—
		20	袁 高	觀察判官	河北	滄州東光	×	(樂陵)	—	▲ —	153	120	74下
		21	褚 沖	?	江南	湖州長城	×	—	?	—	—	—	吳興16
		22	房 式	副丹陽軍使	河南	河南	○	河南	廣·S	▲ —	111	139	71下
		23	何士幹	判官	淮南	廬州 ?	○	廬江	廣·S	▲永泰 2	—	—	英973
		24	李 倫	?	?	?	?	(隴西)	—	?	—	70上	匯編河南
		25	元友直	判官	河南	河南 ?	◎	河南	廣·S	▼建中 1	—	—	英973
		26	顧 況	參謀·判官	江南	蘇州海鹽	◎	吳郡	太·廣·北·S	▲至德 2	130	—	英41·705
		27	裴 樞	?	?	?	◎	河東	太·廣·S	▲永泰 2	—	71上	詩217
		28	陸長源	轉運副使	江南	蘇州吳	◎	吳郡	太·廣·北·S	蔭 ?	145	151	73下
		29	戴 嵩	巡官	?	?	?	—	辟 ?	—	—	—	名畫10
		30	李士舉	觀察判官	?	?	?	—	?	—	—	—	英803
		31	房式Ⅱ	觀察支使	河南	河南	○	河南	廣·S	▲ —	111	139	71下
		32	張 宇	?	?	?	○	清河	太·廣·北·S	?	—	72下	元寶4
		33	劉 緒	?	河南	河南 ?	○ ?	河南 ?	廣	辟	—	—	劉集39
		34	李季貞	節度判官	關內	京兆長安	◎	隴西	太·廣·S	蔭 ?	—	70上	文618
		35	殷 一	節度推官	河南	陳州 ?	○ ?	陳郡 ?	廣	▲ ? —	—	—	匯編江蘇
		36	姚南仲	推官→支使	關內	華州下邽	○	吳興	太·廣·北·S	▼乾元 2	153	162	74下
		37	竇 晷	節度支度判官	?	?	◎	河南	太·廣	蔭 ?	—	71下	金續9
		38	房孺復	?	河南	河南	○	河南	廣·S	▲ —	111	139	71下
		39	韋渠牟	?	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	太·廣	蔭 ?	135	167	—
		40	崔 適	推官	?	?	◎ ?	博陵 ?	廣·S	?	—	—	樞集35
王 緯	787~798	41	劉緒Ⅱ	?	河南	河南 ?	○ ?	河南 ?	廣	辟	—	—	樞集39
		42	李士舉Ⅱ	觀察判官	?	?	?	—	?	—	—	—	英803
		43	杜式方	?	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	太·廣·S	蔭	147	166	72上
		44	盧 坦	轉運判官	河南	河南洛陽	◎	范陽	廣·北·S	蔭 ?	153	159	73上
		45	丘 丹	?	江南	湖州吳興 ?	○ ?	吳興	太·廣·S	?	—	—	詩307 姓四校5
李 鎰	799~807	46	盧坦Ⅱ	?	河南	河南洛陽	◎	范陽	廣·北·S	蔭 ?	153	159	73上
		47	裴 度	?	河東	蒲州聞喜	◎	河東	太·廣·S	▲貞元 5 ▼貞元10	170	173	71上
		48	李 約	?	關內	京兆長安	◎	隴西	太·廣·S	蔭 ?	—	70下	通236 才校6
		49	李 稷	?	?	?	?	(隴西)	—	?	—	70上 ?	李文12
		50	潘孟容	副使	河北	冀州信都	×	(河南)	—	蔭(▲ ?)	162	160	—
		51	趙 伉	?	山南	鄧州穰	○	南陽	太·廣·北·S	▲ —	—	73下	因話2
		52	李 紳	掌書記	江南	湖州無錫	◎	趙郡	太·廣·北·S	▲元和 1	173	181	72上
		53	王 澹	判官	?	?	?	—	?	—	—	—	舊112 吳興18
		54	許 縱	?	?	?	?	—	?	—	—	—	英795

governor	term of office	No.	name	ancillary post	birthplace		descent		method/time of official entrance	sources		
					circuit	prefecture / county	junwang	tables of junwang		JTS	XTS	table of XTS
		55	吳 丹	節度判官	江南	常州晉陵？	×	—	▲貞元16	—	—	白集69
		56	張 登	？	山南	鄧州？	○？	南陽？	▲貞元16	—	—	權集33
李元素	807~808	57	李紳II	？	江南	潤州無錫	◎	趙郡	▲元和1	173	181	72上
韓 皋	808~810	58	竇 庠	節度副使	關內	京兆金城	◎	扶風	▲元和1	155	175	71下
		59	袁德師	？	河北	滄州東光	×	(樂陵)	▲元和1	—	—	廣記260
薛 平	810~815	60	馮 定	？	江南	婺州東陽	×	—	▲貞元18	168	177	—
		61	李 位	都團練副使	關內	京兆長安	◎	隴西	△—	—	—	70下
		62	王師簡	觀察判官	？	？	？	？	？	—	—	寶刻15
寶易直	819~822	63	李 蟾	都團練判官	關內	京兆長安	◎	隴西	▲元和6	—	—	70上
李德裕I	822~829	64	劉三復	掌書記	江南	潤州句容	○	丹陵	▲—	177	183	71上
		65	鄭 亞	？	河南	鄭州	◎	滎陽	▲元和15	178	185	75上
		66	段成式	？	山南	荊州	×	(齊郡)	▲元和6	167	89	75下
		67	李蟾II	觀察判官	關內	京兆長安	◎	隴西	▲元和6	—	—	70上
王 璠	832~834	68	邢 羣	團練巡官·觀察推官	河北	瀛州？	○	河間	▲太和3	—	—	樊川8
		69	韋齊休	團練副使	？	？	？	—	▲—	—	—	廣記348
李德裕II	834~835	70	劉三復II	？	江南	潤州句容	○	丹陵	▲—	177	183	71上
李德裕III	836~837	71	杜 頌	團練巡官	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	▲太和6	—	—	72上
		72	陳 一	？	？	？	？	—	？	—	—	詩475
路 隨	835	73	李敬彝	？	？	？	◎	隴西	△元和一	—	—	新179
		74	邢羣II	？	河北	瀛州？	○	河間	▲太和3	—	—	樊川8
盧 商	837~840	75	李肇(確)	？	河北	衛州	◎	趙郡	▲太和3	174	180	72上
		76	楊 發	？	關內	同州馮翊	◎	弘農	▲太和4	177	184	71下
盧簡辭	842~845	77	孟 遲	掌書記	關內	德州平昌	○	平昌	▲會昌5	—	—	紀事54
鄭 朗	849~851	78	楊 假	？	關內	同州馮翊	◎	弘農	▲開成5	177	184	71下
		79	鄭 言	觀察使	？	？	◎	滎陽	▲會昌4	—	—	75上
		80	鄭 碣	都團練判官	？	？	◎？	滎陽	▲太和3	—	—	樊川19
		81	皇甫鉞	都團練副使	？	？	？	—	？	—	—	樊川17
		82	孫 珣	？	河東	潞州涉	○	樂安	▲太和3	—	—	千唐1113
崔橫由	855~856	83	杜 蔚	？	關內	京兆長安？	◎	京兆	▲太和3	177	—	72上
		84	王 凝	？	河東	并州晉陽	◎	太原	△太和9	165	143	72中
		85	于 珪	？	關內	京兆高陵	◎	河南	▲大中3	149	104	72下
蕭 實	856~858	86	孫 瑄	觀察使	河東	潞州涉	○	樂安	▲大中3	—	—	73下
李 琢	858	87	孫瑄II	？	河東	潞州涉	○	樂安	▲大中3	—	—	73下
鄭處誨	859~861	88	孫瑄III	？	河東	潞州涉	○	樂安	▲大中3	—	—	73下
盧 耽	861~862	89	孫瑄IV	判官	河東	潞州涉	○	樂安	▲大中3	—	—	73下
杜審權	863~869	90	令狐澄	觀察判官	河東	并州？	○	敦煌	▲太和3	—	—	75下
趙 隱	874~876	91	張 禕	？	山南	鄧州	○	南陽	▲太和3	162	—	—
		92	劉 植	副使	？	？	？	？	？	—	—	吳興14
		93	鄭仁表	掌書記	河南	鄭州？	◎	滎陽	▲咸通9	176	182	—
		94	杜晦辭	？	關內	京兆萬年	◎	京兆	▲太和6	—	—	72上
		95	羅 隱	？	江南	杭州錢塘	×	—	辟	181	—	—
高 駢	878~879	96	顧 雲	行營都招討判官	江南	池州	×	—	▲咸通15	—	—	—
		97	呂用之	觀察推官	江南	饒州鄱陽	×	—	辟	—	224下	—
不 詳		98	李 湯	判官	？	？	？	—	？	—	—	—
		99	王 諸	都團練判官	？	？	◎	太原	▲太和3	—	—	—
		100	杜審權	？	關內	京兆長安？	◎	京兆	▲太和3	177	96	72上
		101	姚 頤	館驛巡官	？	？	×	(陝郡)	？	—	—	74下
		102	李 一	判官	？	？	？	—	？	—	—	—
		103	李 一	？	？	？	？	—	？	—	—	—
		104	周 一	判官	？	？	？	—	？	—	—	—
		105	張 一	？	？	？	？	—	？	—	—	—

Glossary

Ande	安德	Cheng Junxin	成君信
Anhuang	安黃	<i>chengling</i>	承令
<i>bajun</i>	八儁	Cheng Rihua	程日華
<i>bashi langguan</i>	罷使郎官	<i>chixian</i>	赤縣
<i>ba zhuguo</i>	八柱國	Chizhou	池州
<i>beishan chang caizhuo wu panguan</i>	北山場採斫務判官	<i>chushen</i>	出身
Bi Cen	畢岑	Chuzhou	楚州
<i>biji</i>	筆記	<i>chunyi shi</i>	春衣使
<i>bizhao</i>	辟召	Cizhou	慈州
Bian Zhangjian	邊章簡	<i>cizi</i>	賜紫
Bianzhou	汴州	<i>cong gaozu xiong</i>	從高祖兄
<i>biaoxiong</i>	表兄	<i>congshi</i>	從事
<i>biaozhuang guan</i>	表狀官	Cui Jingneng	崔敬能
<i>binliao</i>	賓僚	Cui Maozao	崔茂藻
<i>binzuo</i>	賓佐	Cui Xian	崔咸
Boling Cui	博陵崔	Cui Yan	崔衍
<i>boxue hongci</i>	博學宏詞	Cui Yanzhao	崔彥昭
Boyang	鄱陽	<i>cunzheng</i>	村正
Bozhou	博州	<i>Da bore boluo miduo jing</i>	大般若波羅蜜多經
<i>buque</i>	補闕	<i>dali pingshi</i>	大理評事
Caizhou	蔡州	<i>dali sizhi</i>	大理司直
<i>canjun</i>	參軍	Danling	丹陵
<i>canmou</i>	參謀	Dezhou	德州
Cangzhou	滄州	<i>dengshi lang</i>	登仕郎
<i>caoguan</i>	曹官	<i>dian</i>	店
<i>changcan guan</i>	常參官	<i>dianzhong jian</i>	殿中監
Changli Han	昌黎韓	<i>dianzhong shi yushi</i>	殿中侍御史
<i>changshi</i>	長史	Dongchuan	東川
Chen Jingxuan	陳敬瑄	<i>dongjian</i>	冬薦
Chenjun	陳郡	Dou Can	竇參
Chenxu	陳許	Dou Chang	竇常
Chengde	成德	Dou Qun	竇群

Dou Rong	竇榮	<i>gaoshi</i>	高士
Dou Shen	竇申	Gao Xiayu	高霞寓
Dou Yu	竇覲	<i>guhan</i>	孤寒
Du Mu	杜牧	<i>guli</i>	故吏
<i>du tuanlian guan</i>	都團練觀察使	<i>guren</i>	故人
Du Ya	杜亞	Gu Yanlang	顧彥朗
<i>du yancang zhuanzhi guan</i>	都鹽倉專知官	<i>guancha panguan</i>	觀察判官
<i>du yaya</i>	都押衙	<i>guancha tuiguan</i>	觀察推官
Du You	杜佑	<i>guancha zhishi</i>	觀察支使
<i>du yuhou</i>	都虞候	<i>guanjie</i>	關節
Du Yuanying	杜元穎	<i>guanyi xunguan</i>	館驛巡官
<i>du zhi bingma shi yaya</i>	都知兵馬使押牙	<i>guan</i>	官秩
Duan Wenchang	段文昌	Guangzhong	關中
Dugu Wensu	獨孤問俗	Guangping Liu	廣平劉
E'yue	鄂岳	Guiguan	桂管
E'zhou	鄂州	Gui Rong	歸融
<i>fance</i>	反側	<i>guozi zhujiào</i>	國子助教
Fanyang Lu	范陽盧	Han Changci	韓昌辭
Fanyang Zhang	范陽張	Han Ci	韓伋
<i>fanzhen</i>	藩鎮	Han Dingci	韓定辭
<i>fangyu</i>	防禦	Han Gao	韓皐
<i>feifu</i>	緋服	Han Gongming	韓公明
Fen'ning	邠寧	Han Guohua	韓國華
Feng Dao	馮道	Han Huang	韓滉
Feng Su	馮宿	Han Qi	韓琦
<i>fu dashi zhi jiedu shi</i>	副大使知節度事	<i>hanshi</i>	寒士
<i>fu fazhiyuan guan</i>	府法直院官	Han Shou	韓綬
Fufeng	扶風	Han Yibin	韓乂賓
<i>fu lushi canjun</i>	府錄事參軍	Han Yu	韓愈
Futang	福唐	<i>haojia</i>	豪家
Fu Zai	符載	<i>haoxing</i>	豪姓
Gao Pian	高駢	Hedong	河東
Gao Qu	高璩	Hemeng	河孟
		Henan Dong	河南竇
		He Shigan	何士幹
		Heyang	河陽
		He Zai	何載

Hezhong	河中	<i>jiedu yaqian taoji fushi</i>	節度衙前討擊副使
Henghai	橫海	<i>jiedu yaoji</i>	節度要籍
<i>hongci</i>	宏辭(詞)	<i>jiedu zhang shuji</i>	節度掌書記
<i>honglu qing</i>	鴻臚卿	Jincheng	金城
Hongnong Yang	弘農楊	<i>jinfeng</i>	進奉
Hu Sanxing	胡三省	<i>jinshi</i>	進士
<i>hushui</i>	戶稅	Jintan	金壇
Hu Zhen	胡震	<i>jinxian</i>	緊縣
Huaxi	淮西	<i>jin yudai</i>	金魚袋
Huainan	淮南	Jinzhou	晉州
Huaizhou	懷州	Jingcheng	景城
Huangfu Zhen	皇甫鎮	<i>jinglüe shi</i>	經略使
Hun Jian	渾瑊	Jingnan	荆南
<i>ji cheng</i>	畿丞	<i>jing wei</i>	京尉
<i>jishi</i>	記室	Jingzhao	京兆
<i>jishizhong</i>	給事中	Jingzhou	景州
Ji wang	冀王	Jurong	句容
<i>ji wei</i>	畿尉	<i>juncao si kongmu guan</i>	軍曹司孔目官
Jiacheng	郟城	<i>junjiang</i>	軍將
Jia Dan	賈耽	<i>junli</i>	軍吏
Jia Su	賈餗	<i>junshi panguan</i>	軍事判官
<i>jian</i>	兼	<i>junwang</i>	郡望
<i>jiancha yushi</i>	監察御史	<i>junxing</i>	郡姓
<i>jiancha yushi lixing</i>	監察御史裏行	<i>kao</i>	考
<i>jianjiao</i>	檢校	<i>kehu</i>	客戶
<i>jianjiao taizi binke</i>	檢校太子賓客	Kong Kan	孔戡
Jiangzuo	江左	<i>kongmu guan</i>	孔目官
<i>jiaoshu lang</i>	校書郎	<i>kongmu li</i>	孔目吏
<i>jiedu biao Zhuang kongmu guan</i>	節度表狀孔目官	<i>kongmu panguan</i>	孔目判官
<i>jiedu canmou</i>	節度參謀	Kuaiji	會稽
<i>jiedu fushi</i>	節度副使	Lanling	蘭陵
<i>jiedu panguan</i>	節度判官	Lantian	藍田
<i>jiedu qushi guan</i>	節度驅使官	<i>langguan</i>	郎官
<i>jiedu sui jun</i>	節度隨軍	Langye	琅邪
<i>jiedu tuiguan</i>	節度推官	<i>langzhong</i>	郎中
<i>jiedu xinguan</i>	節度巡官		

Leling	樂陵	Liu Fang	柳芳
<i>libu kemu xuan</i>	吏部科目選	Liu Fen	劉蕢
Li Changrong	李長榮	Liu Gongchuo	柳公綽
Li Chen	李郴	Liu Jingxian	劉景先
Li Dang	李讜	<i>liunei guan</i>	流內官
Li Deyu	李德裕	Liu Shouguang	劉守光
Li Fan	李藩	<i>liushou panguan</i>	留守判官
Li Fangxuan	李方玄	Liu Tan	劉談
Li Fu	李福	<i>liuwai guan</i>	流外官
Li Guyan	李固言	Liu Wei	劉位
Li Guangbi	李光弼	Liu Xiangdao	劉祥道
Li Hua	李晝	Liu Yuan	劉瑑
Li Hui	李回	Liu Yuanzuo	劉元佐
Li Jifu	李吉甫	Liu Ye	劉鄴
Li Leng	李稜	Liu Zhan	劉瞻
Li Mian	李勉	Liu Zhongyin	柳仲郢
Li Ning	李凝	Longxi Li	隴西李
Li Qi	李錡	Lucheng	魯城
Li Shangyin	李商隱	Lu Congshi	盧從史
Li Shen	李紳	Lu Fan	盧瑋
Li Shi	李石	Lu Hongxuan	盧弘宣
Li Weizhen	李惟眞	Lu Hongzhi (zheng)	盧弘止(正)
Li Wo	李渥	Lu Jianci	盧簡辭
Li Xiyun	李栖筠	Lu Jian'ning	盧簡能
Li Xun	李詢	Lu Jianqiu	盧簡求
Li Yijian	李夷簡	Lujiang	盧江
Li Yong	李鄴	Lu Jiu	盧就
Li Yue	李約	Lulong	盧龍
<i>lizheng</i>	里正	Lu Shang	盧商
Lizhou	澧州	<i>lushi canjun</i>	錄事參軍
Liaodong Li	遼東李	Lu Tan	盧坦
Linjin	臨津	Lu Yan	路巖
Linghu Chu	令狐楚	Luzhou	潞州
Linghu Tao	令狐綯	Lü Rang	呂讓
Lingnan	嶺南	Lü Yongzhi	呂用之
Liu Chonggui	劉崇龜	Lü Yuanying	呂元膺
Liu Congyi	劉從一	Luo Xiang	羅珣

Ma Feng	馬縫	<i>shanchang jiang</i>	山場將
<i>meixu</i>	妹婿	<i>shanchang wu duzhi guan</i>	山場務都知官
<i>menfa</i>	門閥		
<i>mensheng</i>	門生	<i>shanchang wu panguan</i>	山場務判官
<i>mingjing</i>	明經		
<i>mingshi</i>	名士	<i>Shan'nan</i>	山南
<i>mingzu</i>	名族	<i>Shangguo</i>	商虢
<i>mubin</i>	幕賓	<i>shang zhuguo</i>	上柱國
<i>muli</i>	幕吏	<i>she anfu xinguan</i>	攝按撫巡官
<i>muzhi guan</i>	幕職官	<i>she jiedu fushi</i>	攝節度副使
Muzhou	睦州	<i>she tuanlian panguan</i>	攝團練判官
<i>nanjiao shewen</i>	南郊赦文		
Niu Hui	牛徽	<i>Shentu Cheng</i>	申屠成
Niu Sengru	牛僧孺	<i>Shentu Gui</i>	申屠珪
<i>panguan</i>	判官	<i>Shentu Huiguang</i>	申屠暉光
Pei Du	裴度	<i>Shentu Zhen</i>	申屠軫
Pei Ji	裴佶	<i>Shen Yazhi</i>	沈亞之
Pei Jie	裴渢	<i>Shenzhou</i>	深州
Pei Yi	裴誼	<i>Shen Zhuanshi</i>	沈傳師
Pengcheng Liu	彭城劉	<i>shi</i>	試
Pinglu	平盧	<i>shi</i>	士
<i>pingpan rudeng</i>	平判入等	<i>shiguan xiuzhuan</i>	史館修撰
Poyang	鄱陽	<i>shiming</i>	時名
<i>qicheng shuiwu gongshi</i>	七城稅務公事	<i>shiyi</i>	拾遺
<i>qiju lang</i>	起居郎	<i>shi you jinwuwei changshi</i>	試右金吾衛長史
Qianzhong	黔中	<i>shiyu</i>	侍御
<i>qinshi</i>	親事	<i>shi yushi</i>	侍御史
<i>qingguan</i>	清官	<i>shiyuan qushi guan</i>	使院驅使官
Qinghe Cui	清河崔	<i>Shi Yuanzhong</i>	史元忠
<i>qingwang guan</i>	清望官	<i>Shi Zaixin</i>	史再新
<i>qushi guan</i>	驅使官	<i>shizhai panguan</i>	使宅判官
<i>quyao</i>	驅要	<i>shi zuo wuwei bingcao canjun</i>	試左武衛兵曹參軍
<i>quan zhi shishi</i>	權知市事		
Ruzhou	汝州	<i>shu</i>	庶
Runzhou	潤州	<i>shuxing</i>	庶姓
<i>san qushi guan</i>	散驅使官		

<i>shuzhuang kongmu guan</i>	書狀孔目官	<i>waizu</i>	外族
<i>shundi</i>	順地	Wang Bo	王播
Shuofang	朔方	Wang Dan	王澹
<i>sima</i>	司馬	Wang Diao	王調
<i>sixun yuanwai lang</i>	司勳員外郎	Wang Gong	王拱
<i>suijun</i>	隨軍	Wang Jian	王建
Sun Jingyu	孫景裕	Wang Kun	王坤
<i>taichang boshi</i>	太常博士	Wang Qi	王起
<i>taichang si fengli lang</i>	太常寺奉禮郎	Wang Shuwen	王叔文
<i>taichang si xielü lang</i>	太常寺協律郎	Wang Wujun	王武俊
<i>taifu qing</i>	太府卿	Wang Zai	王宰
<i>taisheng zhi guan</i>	臺省之官	Wang Zhi	王質
Taiyuan Wang	太原王	Weibo	魏博
<i>taizi gongmen lang</i>	太子宮門郎	Wei Chan	韋蟾
<i>taizi siyi lang</i>	太子司議郎	Wei Junqing	韋君靖
<i>taizi tongshi sheren</i>	太子通事舍人	Wei Mao	魏邈
<i>taizi zhengzi</i>	太子正字	Wei Mo	魏謩
Tangxing	唐興	Wei Yuanfu	韋元甫
<i>taoji shi</i>	討擊使	Wei Zhaodu	韋昭度
Tao Piao	陶鏐	Wei Zhengguan	韋正貫
Tiande	天德	<i>weizuo</i>	衛佐
Tian Shengong	田神功	<i>wenji</i>	文集
Tian Xun	田詢	<i>wenlin lang</i>	文林郎
<i>tingtou kaichai shuzhuang kongmu guan</i>	廳頭開拆書狀孔目官	Wen Tingyun	溫庭筠
<i>tong jiedu fushi</i>	同節度副使	Wen Yaoqing	溫堯卿
<i>tong jinglüe fushi</i>	同經略副使	<i>wenyan</i>	文苑
<i>tuhao</i>	土豪	Wujun	吳郡
<i>tuanlian fushi</i>	團練副使	Wuning	武寧
<i>tuanlian panguan</i>	團練判官	Wu Shaoyang	吳少陽
<i>tuiguan</i>	推官	Wu Wuling	吳武陵
<i>waiqi</i>	外戚	Wu Yuanheng	武元衡
		Xichuan	西川
		Xiabo	下博
		Xiazhou	夏州
		<i>xianguan</i>	憲官
		Xianyang	咸陽
		<i>xiang</i>	鄉

<i>xianggong jinshi</i>	鄉貢進士	<i>yingtian panguan</i>	營田判官
<i>xianggong mingjing</i>	鄉貢明經	<i>yingtian xinguan</i>	營田巡官
<i>xiangmu tili</i>	相幕體例	<i>Yingyang Zheng</i>	滎陽鄭
<i>Xiangyang</i>	襄陽	<i>yingzhan</i>	影占
<i>Xincheng</i>	新城	<i>Yongchang</i>	永昌
<i>Xing Bian</i>	邢汴	<i>you buchong jiedu zhuyao</i>	右補充節度逐要
<i>xingjuan</i>	行卷	<i>you chushen zhe</i>	有出身者
<i>xingjun sima</i>	行軍司馬	<i>Youzhou</i>	幽州
<i>Xing Tong</i>	邢通	<i>yudai</i>	魚袋
<i>xingwang</i>	姓望	<i>Yu Di</i>	于頔
<i>xingying zhaotao shi</i>	行營招討使	<i>yushi dafu</i>	御史大夫
<i>Xing Zhongbian</i>	邢忠汴	<i>yushi tai zhubu</i>	御史臺主簿
<i>Xing Zhongshou</i>	邢忠收	<i>yushi zhongcheng</i>	御史中丞
<i>Xuanshe</i>	宣歙	<i>Yu Xiong</i>	余雄
<i>xunguan</i>	巡官	<i>yuanwai lang</i>	員外郎
<i>xunzi ge</i>	循資格	<i>Yuezhou</i>	越州
<i>yaqian bingma shi</i>	衙前兵馬使	<i>Yunzhou</i>	鄆州
<i>yaqian zidi</i>	衙前子弟	<i>zai cong kunzhong</i>	再從昆仲
<i>yajun</i>	牙軍	<i>Zelu</i>	澤潞
<i>yatui</i>	衙推	<i>Zezhou</i>	澤州
<i>yaya</i>	押衙	<i>Zhang Buyi</i>	張不疑
<i>Yanying</i>	延英	<i>Zhang Guan</i>	張觀
<i>Yang Shou</i>	楊收	<i>zhang shuji</i>	掌書記
<i>Yang Shouliang</i>	楊守亮	<i>Zhang Yunshen</i>	張允伸
<i>Yang Sifu</i>	楊嗣復	<i>Zhang Zhao</i>	張沼
<i>Yang Songnian</i>	楊松年	<i>Zhang Zhongli</i>	張中立
<i>yaoji</i>	要籍	<i>Zhao Chong</i>	趙崇
<i>Yao Kuang</i>	姚曠	<i>Zhao Jing</i>	趙憬
<i>yaoren</i>	妖人	<i>Zhaojun Li</i>	趙郡李
<i>Yicheng</i>	義成	<i>zhaotao</i>	招討
<i>yiguan hu</i>	衣冠戶	<i>Zhaoyi</i>	昭義
<i>Yi Shen</i>	伊慎	<i>Zhao Zongru</i>	趙宗儒
<i>Yiwu</i>	義武	<i>Zhexi</i>	浙西
<i>yin</i>	蔭	<i>Zhenwu</i>	振武
<i>Yingchuan Han</i>	潁川韓	<i>zhenya bingma shi</i>	鎮遏兵馬使
<i>yingpi</i>	影庇	<i>Zheng Congdang</i>	鄭從謹
<i>yingtian fushi</i>	營田副使		

Zheng Gao	鄭高	<i>zhongshu menxia</i>	中書門下
Zheng Guang	鄭光	<i>zhongshu sheren</i>	中書舍人
Zheng Ji	鄭吉	<i>zhongshu shilang</i>	中書侍郎
<i>zheng qushi guan</i>	正驅使官	Zhongwu	忠武
<i>zhengshui</i>	正稅	Zhu Tao	朱滔
Zheng Ya	鄭涯	<i>zhuyao</i>	逐要
Zheng Yu	鄭玉	<i>zhuzuo lang</i>	著作郎
Zheng Yuqing	鄭餘慶	<i>Zhuoyi ji</i>	卓異記
<i>zhengyuan guan</i>	正員官	Ziqing	淄青
<i>zhengzhi</i>	正秩	<i>zongdang</i>	宗黨
<i>zhengzi</i>	正字	<i>zongren</i>	宗人
<i>zhidu panguan</i>	支度判官	<i>zuofang jiang</i>	作坊將
<i>zhiji hudou si</i>	支計斛斗司	<i>zuo fengsheng jiang yaguan</i>	左奉勝將押官
<i>zhike</i>	制科		
<i>zhishi</i>	支使	<i>zuoyou cheng</i>	左右丞
<i>zhishi guan</i>	職事官	<i>zuo yuhou</i>	左虞候
<i>zhi zhiyuan shi</i>	知職員事	<i>zuozhu</i>	座主
<i>zhongshu ling</i>	中書令		

Primary Sources and Abbreviations

- Anyang ji* 安陽集 (宋·韓琦) in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 vol. 1089. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-86.
- Baqiongshi jinshi buzheng* (BQSJSBZ) 八瓊室金石補正 (清·陸增祥) in *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編 vol. 6-8. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1977.
- Bo Juji ji* 白居易集. *Bo juji ji jianjiao* 白居易集箋校 annotated by Zhu Jincheng 朱金城. Shanghai: Shanghai guji shubanshe, 1988.
- Cefu yuangui* (CFYG) 冊府元龜 (宋·王欽若等). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960.
- Dengke jikao* 登科記考 (清·徐松). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984.
- Dengke jikao buzheng* 登科記考補正 amended by Meng Erdong 孟二冬. Beijing: Beijing Yanshan chubanshe, 2003.
- Doushi lianzhu* 竇氏聯珠集 (唐·褚藏言) in *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 3rd series. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935.
- Duyang zabian* 杜陽雜篇 (唐·蘇鶚) in *Tang Wudai Song biji shiwuzhong* 唐·五代·宋筆記十五種. Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001.

- Fanchuan wenji* 樊川文集 (唐·杜牧). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978.
- Fangshan shijing tiji huibian* 房山石經題記彙編 edited by Beijing tushuguan jinshi zu 北京圖書館金石組 and Zhongguo fojiao tushuwenwuguan shijingzu 中國佛教圖書文物館石經組. Beijing: Shumu wenjian chubanshe, 1987.
- Fengshi jianwen ji* 封氏見聞記 (唐·封演). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958.
- Guangyun* 廣韻 (宋·陳彭年). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982.
- Guke congchao* 古刻叢鈔 (元·陶宗儀) in *Shike shiliao xinbian* vol. 10.
- Guzhi shihua* 古誌石華 (清·黃本驥) in *Shike shiliao xinbian* 2nd series. vol. 2. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1979.
- Jingji zhoumu yuwen* (JJZMYW) 京畿冢墓遺文 edited by Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 in *Shike shiliao xinbian* vol. 18.
- Jinshi cuibian* (JSCB) 金石萃編 (清·王昶) in *Shike shiliao xinbian* vol. 1-4.
- Jinshi xubian* (JSXB) 金石續編 (清·陸耀遹) in *Shike shiliao xinbian* vol. 4-5.
- Jiu Tangshu* (JTS) 舊唐書 (後晉·劉昫等). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- Li Wengong ji* 李文公集 (唐·李翱). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992.
- Luoyang xinhua muzhi* 洛陽新獲墓誌 edited by Luoyang shi dier wenwu gongzuodui 洛陽市第二文物工作隊, Li Xianqi 李獻奇 and Guo yinqiang 郭引強. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996.
- QianTangzhizhai cangzhi* (QTZZCZ) 千唐誌齋藏誌 edited by Henan sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河南省文物研究所. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984.
- Quan Tangwen* (QTW) 全唐文 (清·董誥等). *Quan Tangwen xinbian* 全唐文新編 edited by Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良. Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 2000.
- Sui Tang Wudai muzhi huibian* (STMZHB) 隋唐五代墓誌匯編. Tianjin: Tianjin guji shubanshe, 1991-92.
- Taiping guangji* (TPGJ) 太平廣記 (宋·李昉等). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955.
- Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (宋·樂史). Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1963.
- Tang caizi zhuan* 唐才子傳 (元·辛文房). *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 唐才子傳校箋 annotated by Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987-1995.
- Tang da zhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集 (宋·宋敏求). Taipei: Dingwen shuji, 1978.
- Tang guoshi bu* (TGSB) 唐國史補 (唐·李肇). Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957.
- Tang huiyao* (THY) 唐會要 (宋·王溥). Shanghai: Shanghai guji shubanshe, 1991.
- Tang liudian* 唐六典 (唐·李林甫等). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991.
- Tangshi jishi* 唐詩紀事 (宋·計有功). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965.
- Tang yulin* (TYL) 唐語林 (宋·王楙). *Tang yulin jiaozheng* 唐語林校證 anno-

- tated by Zhou Xunchu 周勛初. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
- Tang zhiyan* 唐摭言 (五代・王定保). Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957.
- Tong dian* (TD) 通典 (唐・杜佑). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988.
- Wenyuan yinghua* (WYYH) 文苑英華 (宋・李昉等). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1966.
- Wuyue beishi* 吳越備史 (宋・范垫, 林禹) in *Sibu congkan* 3rd series.
- Xin Tangshu* (XTS) 新唐書 (宋・歐陽脩等). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- Yinhua lu* 因話錄 (唐・趙璘). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1957.
- Yuanhe xingzuan* 元和姓纂 (唐・林寶). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994.
- Zizhi tongjian* (ZZTJ) 資治通鑑 (宋・司馬光). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956.

References

- Anazawa Akiko 穴澤彰子. 1999. "Tô Sô henkakuki ni okeru shakaiteki ketsugô ni kansuru ichishiron 唐宋變革期における社會的結合に關する一試論 (A preliminary study on the social formation during the period of Tang-Song Transition)." *Chûgoku: shakai to bunka* 中國：社會と文化 14: 98-120.
- 2002. "Tô Godai ni okeru chiiki chitsujo no ninshiki 唐・五代における地域秩序の認識 (Understanding of the regional orders in the Tang and Five Dynasties)." *Tôdaishi kenkyû* 唐代史研究 5: 46-71.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1979. *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.
- Chen Yinke 陳寅恪. 1944. *Tangdai zhengzhishi shulunkao* 唐代政治史述論考 (A study of the political history of the Tang). Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan. Reprinted in 1979.
- Cheng Qianfan 程千帆. 1980. *Tangdai jinshi xingjuan yu wenxue* 唐代進士行卷與文學 (Between literature and the scrolls presented by jinshi candidates during the Tang). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- Cheong Byungjun 鄭炳俊. 1992. "Tô kôhanki no chihô gyôsei taiei ni tsuite 唐後半期の地方行政體系について (The system of the local administration during the second half of the Tang)." *Tôyôshi kenkyû* 東洋史研究 51 (3): 72-106.
- 1994. "Tôdai no kansatsu shochishi ni tsuite 唐代の觀察處置使について (On the Civil Governor of the Tang)." *Shirin* 史林 77 (5): 40-70.
- Dai Weihua 戴偉華. 1990. *Tangdai mufu yu wenxue* 唐代幕府與文學 (Tang provincial government and literature). Beijing: Xiandai chubanshe.

- 1994. *Tang fanzhen wenzhi liaozuo kao* 唐方鎮文職僚佐考 (*On the civil staff of the Tang provincial government*). Tianjing: Tianjing guji chubanshe.
- 1998. *Tangdai shifu yu wenxue yanjiu* 唐代使府與文學研究 (*Studies on the Tang provincial government and literature*). Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe.
- Elman, Benjamin. 1991. "Political, Social, and Cultural Reproduction via Civil Service Examinations in Late Imperial China." *Journal of Asian Studies* 50 (1): 7-28.
- 2000. *A Cultural History of Civil Examination in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fukui Nobuaki 福井信昭. 2003. "Tôdai no shinsôin 唐代の進奏院 (The Provincial Tributary Office of the Tang)." *Tôhōgaku* 東方學 105: 47-62.
- Funakoshi Taiji 船越泰次. 1968. "Tôdai kindensei ka ni okeru sashi risei 唐代均田制下における佐史・里正 (The *zuoshi* and *lizheng* under the Tang Equal Field System)." *Bunka* 文化 31 (3): 54-83. Later collected in his *Tôdai ryôzeihô kenkyû* 唐代兩稅法研究 (*Studies on the Tang Two-Tax system*), 337-371. Tôkyô: Kyûko shoin, 1996.
- Hino Kaisaburô 日野開三郎. 1938. "Tôdai no heiteki to kinsen 唐代の閉糶と禁錢 (*Bidi* and *jinqian* under the Tang)." *Shien* 史淵 19: 158-188.
- 1939-40. "Tôdai hanchin no bakko to chinshô 唐代藩鎮の跋扈と鎮將 (The provincial recalcitrance and garrison commanders during the Tang)." *Tôyô gaku* 東洋學報 26 (4): 503-539; 27 (1): 1-62; 27 (2): 153-212; 27 (3): 311-350. Later collected in the *Tôyô shigaku ronshû*, 東洋史學論集 (*Collected essays on the history of East Asia*) volume 1, 339-492. Tôkyô: San'ichi shobô, 1980.
- 1942. *Shina chûsei no gunbatsu*. 支那中世の軍閥 (*Warlords in Medieval China*). Tokyo: Sanseidô. Later collected in the *Tôyô shigaku ronshû*, volume 1, 21-171.
- 1956. "Hanchin jidai no shûzei sanbunsei ni tsuite 藩鎮時代の州税三分制について (About the triple division of prefectural tax during the time of military provinces)." *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 65 (7): 21-41. Later collected in the *Tôyô shigaku ronshû*, volume 4, 271-295. Tôkyô: San'ichi shobô, 1982.
- 1957. "Hanchin taisei ka ni okeru Tôchô no shinkô to ryôzei jôkyô 藩鎮體制下における唐朝の振興と兩稅上供 (The revival of the Tang Dynasty and the tribute of the Two-Tax under the provincial structure)." *Tôyô gaku* 40 (3): 1-39. Later collected in the *Tôyô shigaku ronshû*, volume 4,

- 297-333.
- 1961. “Hanchin taisei to chokuzokushû 藩鎮體制と直屬州 (The provincial structure and the *zhishuzhou*)”. *Tôyô gaku* 43 (4): 1-36.
 - 1970. *Zoku Tôdai teiten no kenkyû* 續唐代邸店の研究 (*A follow-up study of Tang didian*). Later collected in the *Tôyô shigaku ronshû*, volume 18. Tôkyô: San'ichi shobô, 1992.
 - 1984. *Tômatsu Godaisho jiei gigin kô, jô* 唐末五代初自衛義軍考 (上) (*Study of volunteer self-defense forces in the late Tang and the early Five Dynasties*). Privately published.
- Hirata Shigeki 平田茂樹. 1997. *Kakyo to kanryôsei* 科擧と官僚制 (*Examination and the bureaucratic system*). Tôkyô: Yamakawa shuppansha.
- 1998. “Sôdai no hôto keisei no keiki ni tsuite 宋代の朋黨形成の契機について (The formation of factionalism in the Song).” In *Sôdai shakai no netto-waku* 宋代社會のネットワーク (*The network of the Society in the Song*), 3-46. Edited by Sôdaishi kenkyûkai 宋代史研究會. Tôkyô: Kyûko shoin.
- Hori Toshikazu 堀敏一. 1951. “Tômatsu shohanran no seikaku 唐末諸叛亂の性格 (The characteristics of various rebellions at the end of the Tang).” *Tôyô bunka* 東洋文化 7: 52-94. Later collected in the *Tômatsu Godai henkakuki no seiji to keizai* 唐末五代變革期の政治と經濟 (*Politics and economy during the transformational period between the late Tang and the Five Dynasties*), 266-310. Tôkyô: Kyûko shoin, 2002.
- 1960. “Hanchin shin'eigun no kenryoku kôzô 藩鎮親衛軍の權力構造 (The power structure of the provincial private guards).” *Tôyô bunka kenkyûsyô kiyô* 東洋文化研究所紀要 20: 75-147. Later collected in the *Tômatsu Godai henkakuki no seiji to keizai*, 34-98.
- Huang Qinglian 黃清連. 1983. “Zhongwu jun 忠武軍 (The Zhongwu Army).” *Bulletin of Institute of History and Philology* 64 (1): 89-134.
- Ichihara Kôkichi 市原亨吉. 1963. “Tôdai no ‘han’ ni tsuite 唐代の「判」について (On Tang judgments).” *Tôhō gaku* 東方學報 33: 119-198.
- Ikeda On 池田溫. 1959-60. “Tôdai no gunbôhyô 唐代の郡望表 (The Table of *Junwang* in the Tang).” *Tôyô gaku* 42 (3): 57-95; 42 (4): 40-58.
- Itô Hiroaki 伊藤宏明. 1983. “Tômatsu Godai seijishi ni kansuru shomondai 唐末五代政治史に關する諸問題 (Various problems concerning the political history of the late Tang and the Five Dynasties).” *Nagoya daigaku bungakubu kenkyû ronshû* 名古屋大學文學部研究論集 86: 121-139.
- 1992-93. “Tô Godai no toshô ni kansuru oboegaki 唐五代の都將に關する覺書 (A memorandum on the *dujiang* in the Tang and the Five Dynas-

- ties)." *Nagoya daigaku bungakubu kenkyû ronshû* 113: 301-323 and *Kagoshima daigaku hōbungakubu jinbun gakka ronsyû* 鹿兒島大學法文學部人文學科論集 36: 9-33; 37: 25-34.
- 1997. "Tô Godai ni okeru tokô ni tsuite 唐五代における都校について (On duxiao of the Tang and the Five Dynasties)." *Nagoya daigaku tōyōshi kenkyû hōkoku* 名古屋大學東洋史研究報告 21: 77-93.
- Iwasa Seiichirō 岩佐精一郎. 1930. "Setsudoshi no kigen 節度使の起源 (The origins of military governors)." Reprinted in the *Iwasa Seiichirō ikô* 岩佐精一郎遺稿, 17-33. Privately published, 1936.
- 1936. "Kasei setsudoshi no kigen ni tsuite 河西節度使の起源について (On the origin of the military governor of Hexi)." *Tōyō gaku* 23 (2): 107-119. Reprinted in the *Iwasa Seiichirō ikô*. 35-47.
- Kikuchi Hideo 菊池英夫. 1961-62. "Setsudoshisei kakuritsu izen ni okeru 'kōgun' seido no tenkai 節度使制確立以前における「行軍」制度の展開 (The development of the 'camp' system before the establishment of the system of military governors)." *Tōyō gaku* 44 (2): 54-88; 45 (1): 33-68.
- 1979. "Nittō gunsei hikaku kenkyû jō no jakkan no mondai 日唐軍制比較研究上の若干の問題 (Several problems concerning the comparative study of Japanese and Tang military systems)." In *Zui-Tō teikoku to Higashi Ajia sekai* 隋唐帝國と東アジア世界 (*Sui-Tang empire and the world of East Asia*), 387-421. Edited by Tōdaishi kenkyūkai 唐代史研究會. Tōkyō: Kyūko shoin.
- Kurihara Masuo 栗原益男. 1953. "Tô Godai no kafushi teki ketsugō no seikaku 唐五代の假父子の結合の性格 (The characteristics of the fictive father-son bond in the Tang and the Five Dynasties)." *Shigaku zasshi* 62 (6): 1-30.
- 1956. "Tô Godai no kafushiteki ketsugō ni okeru seimei to nenrei 唐五代の假父子の結合における姓名と年齢 (The age and name in the fictive father-son bond during the Tang and the Five Dynasties)." *Tōyō gaku* 38 (4): 61-88.
- 1970. "An Shi no ran to hanchin taisei no tenkai 安史の亂と藩鎮體制の展開 (An-Shi Rebellion and the development of the provincial structure)." In *Iwanami kōza sekai rekishi* 岩波講座世界歴史 (*The Iwanami seminars on world history*), volume 6, 161-196. Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten.
- Li Hongbin 李鴻賓. 1999. "Tangchao houqi shuofang jun yu xibei fangbian keju de zhuanbian" 唐朝後期朔方軍與西北防邊格局的轉變 (Shuofang Army of the late Tang and the transformation of frontier defense in the Northwest)." *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 5: 269-297.

- Maeda Aiko 前田愛子. 1984. "Chûgoku no kon'in: Tôdai no tsûkon seigen ni kansuru ritsuryô wo megutte 中國の婚姻：唐代の通婚制限に関する律令をめぐって (Chinese marriage: The Legal Codes concerning the restrictions on intermarriages in the Tang)." In *Higashi Ajia sekai ni okeru Nihon kodaishi kôza* 東アジア世界における日本古代史講座 (*Seminars on ancient Japanese history in the context of East Asian world*), volume 10, 130-162. Edited by Inoue Mitsusada 井上光貞. Tôkyô: Gakuseisha.
- Matsui Shûichi 松井秀一. 1957. "Tôdai kôhanki no Kô-Wai ni tsuite 唐代後半期の江淮について (Regarding the Jiang-Huai region in the second half of the Tang)." *Shigaku zasshi* 66 (2): 1-29.
- 1959. "Roryô hanchin kô 廬龍藩鎮考 (On the province of Lulong)." *Shigaku zasshi* 68 (12): 1-36.
- 1964. "Tôdai kôhanki no Shisen 唐代後半期の四川 (Sichuan in the second half of the Tang)." *Shigaku zasshi* 73 (10): 46-88.
- Matsuura Norihiro 松浦典弘. 1998. "Tôdai kôhanki no jinji ni okeru bakushokukan no ichi 唐代後半期の人事における幕職官の位置 (The position of provincial staff among the personnel in the second half of the Tang)." *Kodai bunka* 古代文化 50 (11): 32-43.
- Moribe Yutaka 森部豊. 1994. "Hanchin Syôgi gun no seiritsu katei ni tsuite 藩鎮昭義軍の成立過程について (The process of establishing the province of the Zhaoyi Army)." In *Chûgoku shi ni okeru kyô to kokka* 中國史における教と國家 (*Religion and the state in Chinese history*), 207-229. Edited by Noguchi Tetsurô 野口鐵郎. Tôkyô: Yûzankaku shuppan.
- 1997. "Tô Gihaku setsudoshi Ka Kôkei boshimei shishaku 「唐魏博節度使何弘敬墓誌銘」 試釋 (A preliminary analysis of the epitaph of He Hongjing, the Military Governor of Weibo)." In the *Yoshida Tora sensei koki kinen: Ajia shi ronshû* 吉田寅先生古稀記念アジア史論集 (*Essays on Asian History presented to Yoshida Tora on his seventieth birthday*), 125-147. Tôkyô: Tôkyô hôrei.
- 2001. "Kôshin An Bankin/Kashi fusai boshimei oyobi Ka Kunsei boshimei 後晉安萬金・何氏夫妻墓誌銘及び何君政墓誌銘 (The epitaphs of An Wanjin and his wife née He and the epitaph of He Junzheng)." *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyû* 内陸アジア言語の研究 16: 1-69.
- 2002a. "Tô zenhanki Kahoku chiiki ni okeru hikanzoku no bunpu to An-Shi gun engen no ichi keitai 唐前半期河北地域における非漢族の分布と安史軍淵源の一形態 (The distribution of the non-Han peoples in Hebei region in the first half of the Tang and a form of the origin of the An-Shi army)." — 67 —

- Tôdaishi kenkyû* 5: 22-45.
- 2002b. “Tôdai Kahoku chiiki ni okeru Sogudo kei jûmin 唐代河北地域におけるソグド系住民 (Sogdian residents in the Tang Hebei region).” *Shikyô* 史境 45: 20-37.
- 2002c. “Tô Takuro Syôgi setsudoshi kô 唐澤潞昭義節度使考 (On the military governor of the Zhaoyi Army of Zelu during the Tang).” In the *Chûka sekai no rekishiteki tenkai* 中華世界の歴史的展開 (*The development of the history of the Chinese world*), 97-131. Edited by Noguchi Tetsurô sensei koki kinen ronshû kankô iinkai 野口鐵郎先生古稀記念論集刊行委員會. Tôkyô: Kyûko shoin.
- 2004. “Tômatsu Godai no Daihoku ni okeru Sogudo kei Tokketsu to Sada 唐末五代の代北におけるソグド系突厥と沙陀 (Sogdian related Turks and Shatuo in the Daibei region at the end of the Tang and during the Five Dynasties).” *Tôyôshi kenkyû* 62 (4): 60-93.
- Nakasuna Akinori 中砂明德. 1988. “Kôki Tôchô no Kô-Wai shihai 後期唐朝の江淮支配 (The control of Jiang-Huai during the latter half of the Tang).” *Tôyôshi kenkyû* 47 (1): 30-53.
- Niida Noboru 仁井田陞. 1958. “Tonkô hakken no Tenka seibô shizokufu 敦煌發見の天下姓望氏族譜 (The ‘Tianxia xingwang shizu pu’ discovered in Dunhuang).” In the *Ishihama sensei koki kinen tôyôgaku ronsou* 石濱先生古稀記念東洋學論叢 (*Essays on oriental studies presented to Prof. Ishihama on his seventieth birthday*). Also collected in the *Dorei nôdo hô, kazoku sonraku hô* 奴隸農奴法・家族村落法の *Chûgoku hôseishi kenkyû* 中國法制史研究 (*A Study of Chinese legal history*), volume 3, 622-660. Tôkyô: Tôkyô daigaku shuppankai, 1962.
- Ôsawa Masaaki 大澤正昭. 1973a. “Tômatsu Godai seijishi kenkyû e no ichi shiten 唐末五代政治史研究への一視點 (A perspective on the study of the political history of the late Tang and Five Dynasties).” *Tôyôshi kenkyû* 31 (4): 123-131.
- 1973b. “Tômatsu no hanchin to chûô kenryoku 唐末の藩鎮と中央權力 (Province and the central authority at the end of the Tang).” *Tôyôshi kenkyû* 32 (2): 1-22.
- 1975. “Tômatsu hanchin no gun kôsei ni kansuru ichi kôsatsu 唐末藩鎮の軍構成に關する一考察 (An examination of the composition of the army of the late Tang province).” *Shirin* 58 (6): 140-156.
- 1992. “Tômatsu Godai ‘dogô’ ron 唐末五代「土豪」論 (On the ‘local magnates’ at the end of the Tang and in the Five Dynasties).” *Jôchi shigaku* 上

- 智史學 37: 139-161.
- 1993. “Tômatu Godai no zaichi yûryokusha ni tsuite 唐末五代の在地有力者について (On local power holders at the end of the Tang and in the Five Dynasties).” In the *Yanagida Setsuko sensei koki kinen: Chûgoku no dentô shakai to kazoku* 柳田節子先生古稀記念——中國の傳統社會と家族 (*Traditional society and family in China: Essays presented to Prof. Yanagida Setsuko on her seventieth birthday*), 129-149. Edited by Yanagida Setsuko sensei koki kinen ronshû henshû iinkai. Tôkyô: Kyûko shoin.
- Otagi Hajime 愛宕元. 1971. “Tôdai kôhan ni okeru shakai henshitsu no ichi kôsatu 唐代後半に置ける社會變質の一考察 (An examination of social transformation in the second half of the Tang).” *Tôhō gaku* 42: 91-125.
- 1973. “Tôdai no kyôkô shinshi to kyôkô meikei 唐代の郷貢進士と郷貢明經 (*The xianggong jinshi and xianggong mingjing of the Tang*).” *Tôhō gaku* 45: 169-194.
- 1987. “Tôdai Han'yô Roshî kenkyû 唐代范陽盧氏研究 (A study of the Lu clan of Fanyang in the Tang).” In the *Chûgoku kizokusei shakai no kenkyû* 中國貴族制社會の研究 (*Studies on the Chinese aristocratic society*), 151-241. Edited by Kawakatsu Yoshio 川勝義雄 and Tonami Mamoru 礪波護. Kyôto: Kyôto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyûsyô.
- Satake Yasuhiko 佐竹靖彦. 1978. “Kôshû hatto kara Goetsu ôchô e 杭州八都から吳越王朝へ (From the *badu* of Hangzhou to the dynasty of Wuyue).” *Tôkyô toritsu daigaku jinbun gaku* 東京都立大學人文學報 127: 1-36. Later collected in the *Tô Sô henkaku no chûkiteki kenkyû*, 261-310.
- 1990 *Tô Sô henkaku no chûkiteki kenkyû* 唐宋變革の地域的研究 (*Study on the regional aspects of the Tang-Song Transition*), Kyôto: Dôhōsha.
- Seo Tatsuhiko 妹尾達彦. 2001. “Shi no kotoba, tekusuto no kenryoku 詩の言葉, テクストの權力 (The language of poetry, the power of text).” *Chûgoku: shakai to bunka* 16: 25-55.
- Shi Yuntao 石雲濤. 2003. *Tangdai mufu zhidu yanjiu* 唐代幕府制度研究 (*Study of Tang provincial government system*). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.
- Shimizu Kazue 清水和恵. 1983. “Hanchin no kenkyûshi 藩鎮の研究史 (The history of the study of Tang military provinces).” *Ryûkoku shidan* 龍谷史壇 80: 53-62.
- Song Qianggang 宋強剛. 1989. “Tangdai fanzhen yanjiu shulüe 唐代藩鎮研究述略 (A brief discussion on the study of Tang military provinces).” *Zhongguo shi yanjiu dongtai* 中國史研究動態 1989 (11): 16-20.

- Takase Natsuko 高瀬奈津子. 2002. "Dainiji taisen go no Tōdai hanchin kenkyū 第二次大戦後の唐代藩鎮研究 (The studies of Tang military provinces in the post WWII era)." In the *Tōmatsu Godai henkakuki no seiji to keizai*, 225-253.
- Takeda Ryūji 竹田龍兒. 1951. "Tōdai shijin no gunbō ni tsuite 唐代士人の郡望について (On the *junwang* of the Tang gentry)." *Shigaku* 史學 24 (4): 26-53.
- Tang Chengye 湯承業. 1970. *Li Deyu yanjiu* 李德裕研究 (*A Study of Li Deyu*). Taipei: Taiwan zhengzhi daxue.
- Tang Zhangru 唐長孺. 1957. *Tangshu bingzhi jianzheng* 唐書兵志箋正 (An annotated study of the Monograph of Military in the *History of Tang*). Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.
- Tanigawa Michio 谷川道雄. 1952. "Tōdai no hanchin ni tsuite — Sessei no ba'ai 唐代の藩鎮について—浙西の場合 (Concerning the Tang military provinces: The case of Zhexi)." *Shirin* 35 (3): 70-89.
- . 1978. "Kasaku sanchin ni okeru setsudoshi kenryoku no seikaku 河朔三鎮における節度使權力の性格 (The characteristics of the power of the military governors in the three provinces of the Northeastern region)." *Nagoya daigaku bungakubu kenkyū ronshū* 74: 5-24.
- . 1988. "Kasaku sanchin ni okeru hansui no shōkei ni tsuite 河朔三鎮における藩帥の承繼について (On the succession of military governors in the three provinces of the Northeastern region)." In the *Chūgoku kodai no hō to shakai: Kurihara Masuo sensei koki kinen ronshū* 中國古代の法と社會：栗原益男先生古稀記念論集 (*Law and society in ancient China: Essays presented to Prof. Kurihara Masuo on his seventieth birthday*), 385-395. Edited by Kurihara Masuo sensei koki kinen ronshū henshū iinkai. Tōkyō: Kyūko shoin.
- Tonami Mamoru 礪波護. 1962. "Chūsei kizokusei no hōkai to hekisyōsei 中世貴族制の崩壊と辟召制 (The system of provincial recruitment and the collapse of the medieval aristocratic system)." *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 21 (3): 1-26. Later collected in the *Tōdai seiji shakaishi kenkyū*, 45-84.
- . 1964. "Tōmatsu Godai no henkaku to kanryōsei 唐末五代の變革と官僚制 (The bureaucratic system and the transition from the end of the Tang to the Five Dynasties)." *Rekishi kyōiku* 歴史教育 12 (5): 64-69. Later collected in the *Tōdai seiji shakaishi kenkyū*, 123-134.
- . 1968. "Kizoku no jidai kara shitaifu no jidai e 貴族の時代から士大夫の時代へ (From the age of aristocracy to the age of scholar-officials). In the *Chūgoku bunka sōsho* 中國文化叢書 (*A series of Chinese culture*), vol 8.

- Edited by Ogura Yoshihiko 小倉芳彦. Tôkyô: Taishûkan shoten. Later collected in the *Tô no gyôsei kikô to kanryô* 唐の行政機構と官僚 (*The administrative organizations and bureaucrats of the Tang*), 37-70. Tôkyô: Chûô kôronsha, 1998.
- 1973. “Tôdai shiin no ryôsa to hekisyôsei 唐代使院の僚佐と辟召制 (Provincial staffs and the system of the recruitment in the Tang).” *Kôbe daigaku bungakubu kiyô* 神戸大學文學部紀要 2: 85-119. Later collected in the *Tôdai seiji shakaishi kenkyû*, 85-122.
- 1986. *Tôdai seiji shakaishi kenkyû* 唐代政治社會史研究 (*Studies on the political and social history of the Tang*), Kyôto: Dôhōsha.
- Toriya Hiroaki 鳥谷弘昭. 1980. “Hai Kôtei no ‘junshikaku’ ni tsuite 裴光庭の「循資格」について (On Pei Guangting’s ‘xunzi ge’).” *Risshô shigaku* 立正史學 47: 47-62.
- Tsukigi Tadashi 槻木正. 1987. “Hakugaku kôshi ka, shohan bassui ka no jissai ni tsuite 博學宏詞科・書判拔萃科の實施について (On the establishment of *boxue hongci* and *shupan bacui* examinations).” *Kansai daigaku hōgaku ronshū* 關西大學法學論集 37 (4): 875-908.
- Twitchett, Denis. 1966. “Chinese Social History from Seventh to Tenth Centuries.” *Past and Present* 35: 28-53.
- 1973. “The Composition of the T’ang Ruling Class.” In the *Perspectives on the T’ang*, 47-85. Edited by Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 1976. “Varied Patterns of Provincial Autonomy in the T’ang Dynasty.” In the *Essays on T’ang Society: The Interplay of Social, Political and Economic Forces*, 90-109. Edited by John Curtis Perry and Bardwell L. Smith. Leiden: Brill.
- Wang Dequan 王德權. 1994. “Zhong wan Tang shifu liaozuo shengqian zhi yanjiu 中晚唐使府僚佐昇遷之研究 (Studies on the promotion of provincial staff during the mid- and late Tang).” *Guoli zhongzheng daxue xuebao* 國立中正大學學報 5 (1): 267-302.
- Wang Yanping 王炎平. 1996. *Niu-Li dangzheng* 牛李黨爭 (*The Niu and Li factionalism*). Xi’an: Xibei daxue chubanshe.
- Wang Yuanchao 王援朝. 1990. “Tangdai fanzhen fenlei chuyi 唐代藩鎮分類芻議 (Preliminary discussion on the classifications of the Tang provinces).” In the *Tangshi luncong* 唐史論叢 (*Essays on Tang history*), volume 5. Edited by Shi Nianhai 史念海. Xi’an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe.
- Watanabe Takashi 渡邊孝. 1988. “Tô Godai ni okeru gizen no shô ni tsuite 唐五

- 代における衙前の稱について (On the designation *yaqian* in the Tang and Five Dynasties).” *Tôyôshiron* 東洋史論 6: 16-34.
- 1989. “Tô no shôsetsu ‘Jôseiden’ to Tokusô Teigen nenkan ni okeru Tô San to Riku Shi no kôsô ni tsuite 唐の小説『上清傳』と徳宗貞元年間における竇參と陸贄の抗争について (On the Tang tale *Shangqing zhuan* and the struggle between Dou Can and Lu Zhi).” *Shihô* 史峯 2: 1-24.
- 1991-93. “Tô Godai no hanchin ni okeru ôga ni tsuite 唐五代の藩鎮における押衙について (On the office of *yaya* in the military provinces of the Tang and the Five Dynasties).” *Shakai bunka shigaku* 社會文化史學 28: 33-55; 30: 103-118.
- 1993. “Chû Tô ki ni okeru ‘monbatsu’ kizoku kanryô no dôkô: Chû sâyôkanshoku no jinteki kôsei wo chûshin ni 中唐期における「門閥」貴族官僚の動向：中央樞要官職の人的構成を中心に (The trends of bureaucratized *menfa* aristocracy in the mid-Tang period: With the focus on the composition of the essential officials in the central bureaucracy).” In *Yanagida Setsuko sensei koki kinen*, 21-50.
- 1994a. “Tô hanchin jussô kô 唐藩鎮十將考 (An investigation on the *shijiang* in the military provinces of the Tang).” *Tôhōgaku* 87: 73-88.
- 1994b. “Gyû-Ri no tôso kenkyû no genjô to tenbô 牛李の黨争研究の現状と展望 (The state of the field and the future prospect of the study on Niu-Li factionalism).” *Shikyô* 29: 69-107.
- 1995. “Gihaku to Seitoku 魏博と成徳 (Weibo and Chengde).” *Tôyôshi kenkyû* 54 (2): 96-139.
- 1997. “Keiyô Tei shi Jôjôkôbô issi to Seitokugun hanchin 滎陽鄭氏襄城公房一支と成徳軍藩鎮 (The Xiangcheng gong branch of the Yingyang Zheng clan and the military governorship of Chengde).” In *Yoshida Tora sensei koki kinen*, 149-176.
- 1998. “Chû ban Tô ki ni okeru kanjin no bakushokukan nyûshi to sono haikai 中晩唐における官人の幕職官入仕とその背景 (Entering officialdom through serving as provincial ancillary officials in the mid- and late Tang and its background).” In *Chûtô bungaku no shikaku* 中唐文學の視角 (*Perspectives on mid-Tang literature*), 357-392. Edited by Matsumoto Hajime 松本肇 and Kawai Kôzô 川合康三. Tôkyô: Sôbunsha.
- 2001. “Tôdai hanchin ni okeru kakyû bakushokukan ni tsuite 唐代藩鎮における下級幕職官について (On the lower ranking ancillary officials in Tang provincial governments).” *Chûgoku shigaku* 中國史學 11: 83-107.
- Watanabe Yoshihiro 渡邊義浩. 1995. “Sangoku jidai ni okeru ‘bungaku’ no seijiteki

- sen'yô 三國時代における「文學」の政治的宣揚 (The political enhancement of "Literature" in the Three Kingdom period)." *Tôyôshi kenkyû* 54 (3): 25-56. Later collected in his *Sangoku seiken no kôzô to 'meishi'* 三國政權の構造と「名士」 (*The regime structure of the Three Kingdoms and 'renowned gentlemen'*), 329-82. Tôkyô: Kyûko shoin, 2004.
- 2003. "Syoyû to bunka 所有と文化 (Possession and culture)." *Chûgoku: shakai to bunka* 18: 120-135. Later collected in the *Sangoku seiken no kôzô to 'meishi'*, 5-30.
- Yamane Naoki 山根直生. 2000. "Tômatsu ni okeru hanchin taisei no hen'yô 唐末における藩鎮體制の變容 (The transformation of the provincial structure at the end of the Tang)." *Shigaku kenkyû* 史學研究 228: 26-49.
- 2002. "Tômatsu Godai no Kishû ni okeru chiiki hattatsu to sejiteki saihen 唐末五代の徽州における地域發達と政治的再編 (Local development and political restructuring in Huizhou at the end of the Tang and in the Five Dynasties)." *Tôhōgaku* 103: 80-97.
- Yan Gangwang 嚴耕望. 1969. "Tangdai fanzhen shifu liaozuo kao 唐代藩鎮使府僚佐考 (An investigation on the retinue of provincial governors in the Tang)." In the *Tangshi yanjiu congkao* 唐史研究叢稿 (*Collected drafts on studies of Tang history*), 177-236. Jiulong: Xinya yanjiusuo.
- Yoshioka Makoto 吉岡眞. 1981. "Hachi seiki zenhan ni okeru Tôchō kanryō kikō no jinteki kōsei 八世紀前半における唐朝官僚機構の人的構成 (The composition of the Tang bureaucratic organizations in the first half of the eighth century)." *Shigaku kenkyû* 153: 19-43.
- 1982. "Zui Tō zenki ni okeru shihai kaisō 隋・唐前期における支配階層 (The ruling class in the Sui and the first half of the Tang Dynasties)." *Shigaku kenkyû* 155: 22-39.
- Zhang Guogang 張國剛. 1983. "Tangdai fanzhen leixing ji dongluan tedian 唐代藩鎮類型及動亂特點 (The types of the Tang military provinces and the characteristics of their unrest)." *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 4: 98-110. Later collected in his *Tangdai fanzhen yanjiu* 唐代藩鎮研究 (*The study of Tang military provinces*), 77-120. Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1987.