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Great Clansmen, Bureaucrats, and Local Magnates: The Structure and Circulation of the Elite in Late-Tang China

The predominant paradigm describing Chinese elite society of the first millennium AD was defined thirty years ago in carefully researched studies by Patricia Ebrey and David Johnson, both of whom partly built upon the foundation of earlier scholarship by Takeda Ryūji 竹田龍兒, Moriya Mitsuo 守屋美都雄, Niida Noboru 仁井田陸, Sun Guodong 孫國棟, Mao Hanguang 毛漢光, and others.¹ According to this model, a circumscribed number of aristocratic “great clans” were able to maintain their social eminence for nearly a thousand years while simultaneously coming to dominate the upper echelons of the government bureaucracy. The astonishing longevity of these families was matched in remarkability only by their sudden and complete disappearance after the fall of the Tang at the turn of the tenth century. In their place, a new civil-bureaucratic scholar-elite came to the fore, an elite described in enormous detail first by Robert Hartwell and Robert

I WOULD like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments, as well as all of the participants in the 2007 AAS panel where I first presented this paper, notably the discussants Robert Hymes and Beverly Bossler. To minimize the number of footnotes, references for epitaphs of individuals are not included in the main text and notes, but instead can be found in the appendix. All tables are located at the end of the article, after the appendix.

¹ David Johnson, “The Last Years of a Great Clan: The Li Family of Chao chün in Late T’ang and Early Sung,” *HJAS* 37.1 (1977), pp. 5–102; David G. Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977); Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China: A Case Study of the Po-ling Ts’ui Family* (New York: Cambridge U.P., 1978); Takeda Ryūji 竹田龍兒, “Tōdai shijin no gunbō ni tsuite” 唐代士人の郡望について, *Shigaku* 史學 24.4 (1951), pp. 26–53; Takeda Ryūji, “Jōgan shizokushi no hensan ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu” 貞觀氏族志の編纂に関する一考察, *Shigaku* 25.4 (1952), pp. 23–41; Niida Noboru 仁井田陸, *Chūgoku hōseishi kenkyū* 中国法制史研究, vol. 3: *Dōrei nōdohō, kazoku sonraku hō* 奴隸農奴法, 家族村落法 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1962); Sun Guodong 孫國棟, “Tang Song zhi ji shehui mendi zhi xiaorong” 唐宋之際社會門第之消融, *Xin Ya xuebao* 新亞學報 4.1 (1959), pp. 211–304; Mao Hanguang 毛漢光, “Tangdai tongzhi jiecheng shehui biandong: cong guanli jiating beijing kan shehui liudong” 唐代統治階層社會變動: 從官吏家庭背景看社會流動, Ph.D. thesis (Taipei: Guoli zhengzhi daxue zhengzhi yanjiusuo, 1968).

Hymes and then by Beverly Bossler.² The ubiquitous claims made by Tang officeholders to a prestigious choronym – that is, to the commandery of provenance of an aristocratic great clan of the same surname – has led to near unanimous agreement as to the validity of this model among specialists of the Tang.³ Consequently, scholarly debates have tended to revolve around the issues of how the great clans survived so long and what brought about the emergence of the “newly risen” elites who came to replace them in post-Tang China.

A vast corpus of newly available source material – excavated tomb epitaphs – now permits not only a new approach to exploring these unresolved debates, but also a novel opportunity to revise and complicate in substantial ways the dominant paradigm.⁴ For the period prior to the popularization of printed local gazetteers in the Song, nearly all

² Robert M. Hartwell, “Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750–1550,” *HJAS* 42.2 (1982), pp. 365–442; Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (New York: Cambridge U.P., 1986); Beverly J. Bossler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, and the State in Sung China (960–1279)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, 1998).

³ The most significant critique of this model has been put forward by specialists of the Six Dynasties period, who have questioned the political dominance of the great clans prior to the founding of the Tang, especially under the Southern Dynasties; see Dennis Grafflin, “The Great Family in Medieval South China,” *HJAS* 41.1 (1981), pp. 65–74. This critique is less applicable to the Tang. David Johnson has shown that, clear to the end of the dynasty, most Tang chief ministers had great clan backgrounds. Moreover, in a study of nearly eight thousand Tang officeholders occupying all levels of the Tang bureaucracy, Mao Hanguang has shown that thirty-nine families came to represent nearly half (43%) of all officeholding families by the final three decades of the dynasty. See Johnson, *Medieval Chinese Oligarchy*, pp. 131–41; Mao, “Tangdai tongzhi jiecheng,” pp. 232–33; Nicolas Tackett, “The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites,” Ph.D. diss. (New York, Columbia University, 2006; available at <www.ntackett.com>), p. 63, fig. 2.1.

⁴ The database of late-Tang tomb epitaphs consulted for this study was based on a wide variety of sources. Most epitaphs excavated in recent decades or transcribed in Qing- and Republican-era epigraphic (or, rarely, genealogical) works can be found in transcription in one or more of the following: Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良 and Zhao Chao 趙超, eds., *Tangdai muzhi huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1991); Zhou Shaoliang and Zhao Chao, eds., *Tangdai muzhi huibian xuji* 唐代墓誌彙編續集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2001); Wu Gang 吳鋼, ed., *Quan Tang wen buyi* 全唐文補遺 (Xi'an: San Qin chubanshe, 1994–2007), vols. 1–9, as well as the Qian Tang zhi zhai 千唐誌齋 special volume; Chen Shangjun 陳尚君, ed., *Quan Tang wen bubian* 全唐文補編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005); Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, ed., *Quan Tang wen xinbian* 全唐文新編 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 2000); and the numerous volumes of the *Xin Zhongguo chutu muzhi* 新中國出土墓誌 series. For a convenient source of reproductions of rubbings of a large corpus of epitaphs, including a number of as-of-yet unpublished inscriptions, one can turn to the on-line epigraphic collection of the National Library of China in Beijing (currently found at <http://res2.nlc.gov.cn/ros/index.htm>). Inscriptions excavated more recently are frequently reproduced in a range of archaeological journals; these are indexed annually in a special section on epitaphs contained in *Zhongguo kaoguxue nianjian* 中國考古學年鑒 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984–). Finally, a few additional epitaphs in the database consist of unpublished inscription stones or rubbings encountered in scattered museums around China, Taiwan, and elsewhere. For a more comprehensive list of published sources of epitaph transcriptions or rubbings, see Tan Kai 譚凱 (Nicolas Tackett), *Tangmo zhi Songchu muzhi mulu* 唐末至宋初墓誌目錄 (author-published in Shanghai, 2005).

surviving literary and historical sources were produced by high officeholders based in the capital. Consequently, the focus of past scholarship on the pre-Song upper class has rested on families with traditions of bureaucratic service and, especially by the late Tang, families with a visible presence in the capital. Epitaphs allow us to dig deeper into society and provide some of the very first snapshots we have of life in the Tang provinces and of those segments of the upper strata of society with minimal or no ties to the state. The epitaphs, which typically identify the places of death and burial of the deceased, also allow us to explore for the first time geographic variations in the nature of medieval Chinese elites and the role played by geography in the reproduction of political and social power and prestige.

The present study will concentrate primarily on epitaphs of women and men buried between the years 820 and 880 and so whose lives spanned the century prior to the Huang Chao 黃巢 Rebellion that effectively brought an end to Tang imperial power. Through the use of an empirical definition of the Chinese upper class – defined as the segment of society enjoying more elaborate and expensive burials characterized by the presence of a tomb epitaph – it is possible to examine economic elites, who were generally but not always coequal as a group with the corps of bureaucrats that governed the empire. In order to assess the significance of geography, the “capital” (with particular emphasis on the Tang Eastern Capital of Luoyang 洛陽) will be conceptualized in contradistinction to the provinces, although other regional categories will also be considered. Using this approach, I will argue that, by the late Tang, what was much more important than “great clan” status in guaranteeing national political prominence was membership in a far more circumscribed and far more exclusive social network of families based in the capital; that mobility into and out of this political elite was closely tied to migration into and out of the capital; and that, in the context of this conflation of social and geographic mobility, a non-officeholding economic elite began to emerge in the provinces that could compete successfully with officeholding families for local prominence.

EXCAVATED EPITAPHS AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

Tomb epitaphs (*muzhiming* 墓誌銘) dating to the Tang period consist of slabs of limestone (in some cases brick or even porcelain) buried within tombs on which were inscribed biographies of the deceased.⁵ These biographies contain rich details of particular interest to the social

⁵ The literature on tomb epitaphs is rich. For one of the more comprehensive descriptions

or cultural historian, details including place of residence and burial; time of death and burial; bureaucratic career of the deceased or of the spouse of the deceased; names of and government offices held by agnates, affines, friends, and political patrons; and eulogistic representations that shed light on the cultural values then idealized in society. Excavated epitaphs are of particular interest because they deal with a greater range of society than do either dynastic-history biographies or the epitaphs preserved in the literary collections of famous writers. Moreover, in recent decades, archaeologists have discovered a tremendous number of such inscriptions, thus providing the historian with an ever larger corpus of new source material.

Tomb epitaphs are of special value to the present study for two reasons. First, as noted by Beverly Bossler, they allow one to identify with some exactitude a family's primary geographic attachment.⁶ Localizing the place or places of residence of late-Tang elites is problematic when depending on traditional textual sources, such as dynastic-history biographies. Almost without exception, individuals claimed to originate from the provincial place of origin of a famous great clan of the same surname, a place they quite plausibly had never set foot in during their lifetimes. Moreover, officeholding elites were typically rotated to bureaucratic posts all over the empire, further confusing attempts to situate geographically these individuals. One fixed site unquestionably of special significance to the late-Tang upper class was the ancestral cemetery 先塋. Families generally strived almost at any cost to lay their dead alongside their forebears.⁷ Individuals who died in remote locations were typically brought back for burial, as confirmed in countless Luoyang epitaphs.⁸ When expediency required burial elsewhere, excuses were explicitly enunciated in the text of the epitaph, and the burial was generally said to be temporary 權厝. In the case of Xue Zan

by an archaeologist and the foremost authority on Tang tomb epitaphs, see Zhao Chao, *Gu-dai muzhi tonglun* 古代墓誌通論 (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2003). For an account of epitaphs as religious objects and of the development of the *muzhiming* as a literary genre, see Timothy M. Davis, "Potent Stone: Entombed Epigraphy and Memorial Culture in Early Medieval China," Ph.D. diss. (New York, Columbia University, 2008).

⁶ Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, pp. 41-43.

⁷ The importance of burial with one's family is reflected in the fact that a special verb (*fu* 祔) existed to denote burial with one's spouse or with one's kinsmen.

⁸ See, e.g., the epitaphs of Liu Hao 劉皓 (775-820), Wang Jingzhong 王敬仲 (759-826), Ms. Lu 盧氏 (769-834), Wang Xiuben 王修本 (d. 837), Ms. Xu 徐氏 (812-845), Zhang Xin 張信 (782-850), Pei Gao 裴誥 (801-850), Yang Yu 楊宇 (807-851), and Huangfu Hui 皇甫煒 (813-865). Note also that if a soldier died away from home and his body could not be recovered, special rituals were conducted to call back the soul to the family graveyard; see the epitaph of Ma Gongliang 馬公亮 (804-875).

薛贊 (762–840), for example, the author of the inscription notes that “his hometown is remote, so he has not yet been returned there for burial 舊里綿遠, 未遂歸葬.”⁹ The decision to establish a new family cemetery elsewhere, then, was not a decision taken lightly and probably involved an intention to settle down permanently at the new location.

It is worth noting that, because of the critical importance of the regular ceremonies and sacrifices performed at the ancestral tombs, elite families seem generally to have lived and owned property nearby. Especially in the provinces away from the capital cities, tomb inscriptions typically note that the deceased women and men died at “private residences 私第” or at privately-owned “country villas 別墅” in the same county as the family graveyard or in a neighboring county. The situation was somewhat more complicated at the metropolitan center, where, as I will discuss below, members of the upper class were particularly mobile. But although it is difficult to know for sure where specific individuals spent most of their time, even in Luoyang, residency in the close vicinity of the ancestral cemetery seems to have also been the norm. As suggested by table 1, approximately one quarter of Luoyang elite burials involved individuals who were away from home at the time of their demise – that is, serving in office in the provinces, accompanying an officeholding relative, or traveling. These individuals typically died at “official apartments 官舍” – accommodations provided by the government to bureaucrats on temporary assignments – or at an “inn 旅館.”¹⁰ In these cases, epitaphs – which typically only mention places of death, burial, and officeholding – rarely provide an indication as to where the deceased lived when not away from home.¹¹ If one *excludes* this group, then about two-thirds (199/316) of the remaining epitaphs

⁹ After the Huang Chao Rebellion in 880, chaos and roving armies were frequently cited as impediments to a return home for burial; see the epitaphs of Li Bugong 李布公 (d. 885) and Luo Qian 駱潛 (848–884).

¹⁰ For a few of many examples, see the epitaphs of Wei Shu 韋署 (748–821); Ms. Pei 裴氏 (792–821), who died at her uncle’s place of office; Zhang Xun 張巽 (782–825); Zhang Xiucheng 張秀誠 (744–828); Xu Pan 徐盼 (807–829); Pei Xuan 裴諠 (763–829); and Ms. Li 李氏 (753–828), who died at her son’s place of office.

¹¹ In some rare cases, however, epitaphs for individuals dying away from home do allude explicitly to Luoyang as a place of residence. We are told, e.g., that Lu Zixian 盧子獻 (842–869) was born in Luoyang. And Ms. Fan 范氏 (821–875) was “about to return to Luoyang” when she died unexpectedly in an inn in Yangzhou. The epitaphs of both Cui E 崔鏗 (804–822) and Lu Pan 盧槃 (d. 879) explicitly mention residences in the vicinity of Luoyang. Finally, in a few cases of individuals dying away from home, it is known from the epitaphs of close relatives that at least some members of the family lived in Luoyang. Thus, Zheng Benrou 鄭本柔 (792–823) died away from home, whereas her husband Yang Hangong 楊漢公 (d. 861) died in a residence in the Luoyang area, as did Cui Hongzai’s 崔弘載 (d. 798) agnatic nephew Cui Yanwen 崔彥溫 (816–858), Cui Feng’s 崔逢 (750–823) father Cui Bo 崔譚 (711–781), and Lu Jifang’s 盧季方 (782–848) wife Ms. Zheng 鄭氏 (808–864).

were for individuals who died in Luoyang itself, usually at privately owned residences (table 1). Of the remaining individuals, about half (54/117) died in the Western Capital of Chang'an 長安. Finally, only about 1 in 9 (48/430) Luoyang elite burials involved individuals who had died in the provinces for reasons other than government service or travel. However, one should bear in mind that, even in the case of this very last group, it can often be shown on the basis of the epitaphs of close relatives that the family maintained strong ties to the capital, owning property in the Luoyang area.¹² Other instances, discussed below, involved either families in the process of relocating to Luoyang or families taking advantage of provincial bureaucratic appointments to accrue property at sites of government service. Indeed, individuals buried in the Luoyang area for whom one of the two capital cities played no role except as a place of burial were the exception.¹³ Thus, for the purposes of this study, I will consider the place of burial of the deceased – as described in the epitaph or elucidated from the site of excavation – to reflect the primary geographic attachment of the family. Provincial epitaphs were generally composed for provincial elites. The surviving corpus of Luoyang epitaphs, on the other hand, represents a capital elite, who not only buried its dead in Luoyang but also – when not away from home for travel or for a fixed-term provincial government appointment – lived at family residences at the metropolitan center, usually in the Eastern Capital of Luoyang but sometimes in Chang'an.¹⁴

¹² Ms. Jing Juanzhi 敬捐之 (783–840), e.g., died in Qingzhou for reasons that are not entirely clear; according to the epitaph of her husband, Cui Yuanfu 崔元夫 (ca. 782–ca. 839), the family owned a private residence in Luoyang's Sigong 思恭 ward, where Cui's body was brought after his death, and also owned a villa in Sishui 汜水 county, Henan prefecture. Similarly, both Lu Chuyue 盧處約 (780–834) and his wife Ms. Li 李氏 (788–843) died in Yangzhou, where Lu had lived in his retirement; however, the wife of one of his agnatic cousins, Ms. Zheng 鄭氏 (808–864), died in a private residence in Changshui 長水 county, Henan prefecture.

¹³ One possible such exception is the Li family, buried at the Xingyuan 杏園 cemetery in Yanshi 偃師 county, just east of Luoyang. Whereas Li Yu 李郁 (791–842), his brother Li He 李郃 (798–842), and his son Li Duanyou 李端友 (811–853) died while serving in provincial posts, Yu's wife Ms. Cui 崔氏 (793–843), his daughter Ms. Li 李氏 (833–844), and his other son Li Cun 李存 (817–845) all died at a residence in Bozhou. Thus far, I have been unable to identify any family members appointed to office there, nor have I found mention of any family residences in the vicinity of Luoyang.

¹⁴ Note that even those individuals who died in Chang'an were plausibly members of families that split their time between the two capital cities, as evinced by the Cui and Xiang families, both buried in Luoyang. Although Cui Shu 崔毓 (801–820) died at a private residence in Chang'an's Tongyi 通義 ward, his brother Cui E's 崔鏗 (804–822) epitaph mentions a family villa outside of Luoyang. Whereas Mr. Xiang 向公 (754–827) died in a private residence in Chang'an, his wife Ms. Song's 宋氏 (759–819) epitaph states that the family lived in Luoyang's Tongli 通利 ward. The precise relationship between Chang'an and Luoyang elites, if a distinction can be made between them, will be the subject of a future study.

The second great value of epitaphs to the present study involves their function as an identifying marker of members of the wealthier strata of society. Tomb inscriptions were both necessary features of elite burials and features generally restricted to those who could afford more elaborate tombs.¹⁵ *Muzhiming* often concluded with “statements of purpose” explaining why the inscription was carved:

Fearing that in the deep and distant future the hills and valleys will have shifted and there will remain no spirit altar as evidence [of the tomb], what vestige will be found upon examination?... [So] we cut and carve this inscribed stone, which can be inspected for a thousand years to come. 恐年深歲遠，陵谷更移，靈几無憑，驗之何跡? ...刊勒貞石。千載將驗。¹⁶

To be sure, aspects of such statements were largely formulaic, but they nevertheless can be read as expressions of anxiety.¹⁷ Given long-term changes in topography, many families worried that the mounds and shrines marking their ancestors' places of burial would be unrecognizable in the distant future and so the tombs would one day be discovered by accident. In the context of such fear, for those who could afford it, tomb epitaphs made of imperishable material such as limestone were an essential component of a proper burial and the only guarantee that the tomb would be identifiable a thousand years in the future.¹⁸

¹⁵ Bossler has made a similar argument regarding Song-era epitaphs; see Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, p. 10.

¹⁶ See the epitaph of Liu Hui 劉惠 (772–848).

¹⁷ The statements are formulaic in the sense that they are found at the very end of epitaph “prefaces,” just before several lines of rhymed verse; they nearly always begin with one of three verbs (恐, 慮, or 懼); and they frequently allude to “hills and valleys 陵谷.” Nevertheless, with the exception of these formulaic elements, the precise wording and imagery of the statements could vary enormously. This variability implies, I believe, that these statements were more than simply ritualistic enunciations, the underlying meaning of which was no longer important. Several centuries later, Zhu Xi apparently accepted a literal reading of these statements. In his justification for why tomb epitaphs should be used, he writes, “The reason for these measures is the fear 慮 that at some future time the hills and valleys 陵谷 might change and the grave might be mistakenly disturbed by someone. If they first see this stone then they would know the name of the deceased and be able to cover it over again.” Translation adapted from Patricia Buckley Ebrey, transl., *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1991), pp. 109, 201. Such a concern was certainly rooted in experience. Numerous ancient graves had undoubtedly been stumbled upon by accident in the Tang and Song periods, just as many historical tombs excavated today were first uncovered unintentionally by farmers ploughing their fields or workers at urban construction sites. For one example, in this case of a Sui-era brewer discovering an older tomb while excavating a cellar, see Davis, “Potent Stone,” p. 266.

¹⁸ Statements of purpose frequently point out that the epitaph inscriptions were “imperishable 不朽.” Epitaph covers, slabs of limestone placed directly above the inscribed epitaph text, presumably had the function of further ensuring that the epitaphs would still be legible hundreds of years into the future.

Of course, the cost of proper funerals could be substantial. First, diviners had to be hired to select a favorable date for the burial, then geomancers were consulted to determine an auspicious location for the grave. In many cases, tomb land would have to be purchased.¹⁹ In addition, coffins needed to be constructed, a one- or two-chambered brick-walled tomb built, and slabs of limestone for the epitaphs cut, carved, and polished. Finally, the family needed to commission an author to write the text of the epitaph and sometimes a separate calligrapher and carver to produce the final inscription.²⁰ In a few cases, the character count of an epitaph was inscribed onto the stone, implying that the prices of the author, calligrapher, and carver were most likely dependent on the total number of characters on the stone.²¹ Given all of these expenses, it is no surprise that some families complained that they had “exhausted the wealth of the household in order to prepare for the funeral in accordance with ritual 罄家內之資財，備遷葬同禮。”²² Others sought financial contributions from family members or wealthy patrons.²³ Indeed, it is generally understood that tomb inscriptions were not included in the vast majority of graves dating to the Tang period. *Muzhiming* were characteristic of only the more sophisticated tombs, and were limited to families who had the resources to fund a more elaborate burial.²⁴

¹⁹ For more on epitaphs alluding to the purchase of burial land, see Tackett, “Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites,” pp. 38–39, figs. 1.4–1.5.

²⁰ For a summary of some of the requirements of a proper burial, see the tomb epitaph of Wang Yu 王玉 (769–841). Allusions to geomancy and divination in epitaphs are very common; see, e.g., the inscriptions for Han Jian 韓堅 (763–851) and Fei Fu 費俯 (856–877). Regarding the cost of epitaphs, Han Yu 韓愈 (785–824), famous for his inscriptions, could command a sum of 400 strings of cash as a commission, enough to feed 100 people for an entire year; see Huang Zhengjian 黃正建, “Han Yu richang shenghuo yanjiu – Tang Zhenyuan Changqing jian wenrenxing guanyuan richang shenghuo yanjiu zhi yi” 韓愈日常生活研究, 唐貞元長慶間文人型官員日常生活研究之一, *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 4 (1998), p. 256. To get some sense of the total cost of a typical funeral, one can turn to Wei Jinghong’s 衛景弘 (812–855) epitaph, which states that his elder brother provided 200,000 cash to pay for the funeral and support the deceased’s family.

²¹ See the epitaphs of Fei Fu 費俯 (856–877), Yang Jian 楊劔 (833–879), Ms. Zhang 張氏 (795–855), and Lai Zuoben 來佐本 (d. 873). For reproductions of rubbings of the relevant portions of these epitaphs, see Tackett, “Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites,” p. 22 (fig. 0.9). A similar phenomenon was later observed in woodblock printing. Blockcarvers often carved their name onto the center fold as part of the accounting procedure determining their final commission; see Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th–17th Centuries)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), p. 34.

²² See the epitaph of Liu Hui 劉惠 (772–848).

²³ For a discussion of the patrons who financed a funeral, see the epitaph of Ms. Yu 于氏 (840–871).

²⁴ A series of regional studies confirms this generalization. To list three examples, in Anhui, vertical shaft tombs 豎穴墓 and pit tombs 土坑墓 of the Tang period had few grave goods at all; by contrast, double-chambered brick tombs always contained epitaphs. In Tang and Song

To be sure, sumptuary rules were in effect that may have had an impact on certain aspects of the funerary process. Statutes issued by the Tang central government in 741, 811, and again in 841 regulated the numbers and sizes of burial goods according to four categories: officials of rank three or above; officials of rank five or above; officials of rank nine or above; and “commoners” (non-officeholders).²⁵ In a series of studies of Tang tombs excavated in the vicinity of Xi’an 西安, both Qi Dongfang 齊東方 and Su Bai 宿白 have observed that tomb architecture and the composition of grave goods indeed reflected the rank of the tomb occupant (as determined by the corresponding tomb epitaph) throughout the first half of the Tang dynasty.²⁶ However, enforcement of these regulations broke down in the post-An Lushan 安祿山 period. Indeed, rules issued in 811 and 841 each increased total allotments of grave goods, and both sets of rules concluded with complaints about the general lack of adherence to earlier regulations. More to the point, according to the rules of 811 and 841, even non-officeholders were allowed burial goods totaling first 15 and later 25 items.²⁷ Although commoners were forbidden to employ carriages to transport the epitaph stones during the funerary procession, no proscriptions were in effect forbidding the burial of epitaphs within the tomb. Ye Wa 葉娃 has convincingly argued that, when enforcing sumptuary rules, the state was less interested in what was buried underground and far more interested in the publicly visible aspects of mortuary practice – notably the funeral procession itself, in which some of the larger grave goods might play a conspicuous part, and the size of the tomb tumulus.²⁸ It is

Hubei, there was a direct correlation between tomb size, quality of grave goods, presence of a tomb inscription, and official rank of the tomb occupant. Finally, architecturally significant Tang tombs excavated in the vicinity of Taiyuan and Changzhi (Shanxi province) all contained tomb epitaphs. See Fang Chengjun 方成軍, “Anhui Sui Tang zhi Song muzang gaishu” 安徽隋唐至宋墓葬概述, *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化 1998.4, p. 51; Yang Baocheng 楊寶成, ed., *Hubei kaogu faxian yu yanjiu* 湖北考古發現與研究 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 304–6, 319–25; *Shanxi kaogu sishi nian* 山西考古四十年 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 266, 269–71.

²⁵ Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang hui yao* 唐會要, *Lidai huiyao congshu* edn. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991) 38, pp. 811–14, 816–17.

²⁶ Qi Dongfang 齊東方, “Tangdai de sangzang guannian xisu yu liyi zhidu” 唐代的喪葬觀念習俗與禮儀制度, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 2006.1, pp. 59–82; Qi Dongfang, “Shilun Xi’an diqu Tangdai muzang de dengji zhidu” 試論西安地區唐代墓葬的等級制度, in *Jinian Beijing daxue kaogu zhuanye sانشi zhounian lunwen ji* 紀念北京大學考古專業三十週年論文集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 286–310; Su Bai 宿白, “Xi’an diqu de Tang mu xingzhi” 西安地區的唐墓形制, *WW* 1995.12, pp. 41–50.

²⁷ Qi, “Tangdai de sangzang,” pp. 70, 77; *Tang hui yao* 38, pp. 816–17.

²⁸ Ye Wa, “Mortuary Practice in Medieval China: A Study of the Xingyuan Tang Cemetery,” Ph.D. diss. (Los Angeles: U.C.L.A., 2005), esp. pp. 296–98.

fair to say, then, that tomb inscriptions were markers of the wealthier strata of society, irrespective of officeholding status. Thus, in the present study, the more or less random sample of excavated epitaphs can be deemed representative of a cross-section of elite society.²⁹

Of course, that is not to say that individuals buried with epitaphs constituted a homogeneous socioeconomic class. Different levels of wealth were represented. In the case of a series of late-Tang tombs excavated in the vicinity of Zhenjiang 鎮江 (in Jiangsu 江蘇 province), for example, simpler tombs contained brick epitaphs; limestone inscriptions were exclusively found in more elaborate tombs.³⁰ Presumably, this discrepancy reflects two different socioeconomic levels. On the other hand, regional differences should not be overlooked. For example, *muzhiming* in the form of porcelain bowls have only been found in the vicinity of the Yue 越 kilns in northern Zhejiang 浙江. One should not attempt to differentiate the wealth of elites on the basis of whether or not corresponding epitaphs were made of stone or porcelain. Epitaphs demarcated any of a number of different levels of the wealthier strata of society.

ELITES, OFFICEHOLDING, AND THE STATE

The first striking difference between elites buried in Luoyang and their counterparts in the provinces involves patterns of officeholding across multiple generations. Table 2 categorizes epitaphs according to the strength of the officeholding tradition of the deceased's family. A "strong" tradition designates families that held office consistently over multiple generations. A "weak" tradition indicates no more than two generations of officeholding among affinal and agnatic kin. In some instances, ties to officialdom could be quite weak. Of all of Ms. Wei's 衛氏 (844–886) relatives, for example, only her brother held office. In the case of Zhang Jinmo 張進莫 (777–826), neither he nor his ancestors or descendants held bureaucratic titles, though two of his sons-in-law served in the local military government. Finally, the designation

²⁹ The most significant biases affecting epitaphs has to do with great variations in resources available to archaeologists in different parts of China today. In addition, tombs are discovered with far more frequency in large cities such as Beijing, where active construction projects frequently uncover material remains from ancient times. But although one should not draw too many conclusions based on a comparison of the absolute numbers of epitaphs discovered in Luoyang and Beijing compared to other less urbanized regions, general comparisons can still be made between the composition of elites from Luoyang and the composition of elites from other parts of China, with the understanding that the overall sample size is determined as much by conditions in China today as by conditions affecting China in the ninth century.

³⁰ Liu Jianguo 劉建國, "Jiangsu Zhenjiang Tang mu" 江蘇鎮江唐墓, *KG* 1985.2, p. 146.

“none” means that neither the deceased nor any relative mentioned in the epitaph is known to have attained office.

In Luoyang, an overwhelming majority (84%) of elites came from families with strong officeholding traditions; in most cases, the deceased (or the spouse of the deceased), as well as the deceased’s son(s), father, grandfather, and great grandfather all held government positions. At the same time, one very rarely encounters Luoyang epitaphs composed for individuals without known family connections to officialdom; in the representative sample of Luoyang epitaphs presented in table 2, only 2% can be classified as “none.” The situation was very different in the provinces. Fewer than 1 in 10 epitaphs from Jiangnan Dong 江南東 circuit in the southeast were for members of families with strong officeholding traditions. Among officeholders whose graves were in the provinces, most belonged to families with weak traditions of officeholding. In other words, unlike capital elites, provincial elites did not consistently secure offices over successive generations.

An even more notable feature of the social landscape of provincial north and south China was the presence of non-officeholding elites, especially prevalent in the southeast (Jiangnan Dong circuit and Yangzhou 揚州 prefecture) and a zone in north China spanning southern Hebei 河北 and southeastern Hedong 河東. Among these individuals, many were merchants, large landowners, or perhaps men involved in specialized regional industries, such as winemaking in the vicinity of Taiyuan 太原, a renowned center of viticulture.³¹ To be sure, some undoubtedly served the state in an unofficial capacity.³² What is significant, however, is that it was common in these regions to attain economic prominence without holding a state-ordained bureaucratic title.

³¹ For examples of merchants, see the epitaph of Zhao Cong 趙琮 (d. 875), buried in Qingzhou in the north, and that of Sun Sui 孫綏 (798–878), buried in Yangzhou, the great southern commercial center. For a good example of a non-officeholding large landowner, see the epitaph of Mr. Xu 許公 (d. 867), discussed below. The winemaker in question was Zuo Zheng 左政 (784–855). Although it is not explicitly clear that Zuo was involved in the production of grape-based wines, grape wines from Taiyuan were famous in the Tang; see Edward H. Schaffer, *Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1963), pp. 144–45. Taiyuan viticulture was still well-known in the early-Yuan period. Marco Polo remarked that Taiyuan had “many fine vineyards, producing wine in great abundance”; see Ronald Latham, transl., *The Travels of Marco Polo* (New York: Penguin Books, 1958), pp. 164–65.

³² E.g., Zhang Mian 張冕 (816–879) himself “assisted the military governor 佐元戎,” his grandfather “served in the military government 職效轅門,” and his son was “in the army 在軍.” In the case of Zhang Cheng 張誠 (770–844), his father, grandfather, and great grandfather all “assisted the imperial state 佐輔王國.” The fact that no specific offices are given anywhere in the epitaphs in question implies that none of these men could claim the prestige afforded by a ranked bureaucratic title. Nevertheless, it is likely that some of the families’ status at the local level was acquired through ties to the government.

Family patterns of officeholding as depicted in table 2 provide insight into both ninth-century social mobility and the late-Tang state's ability to control economic and other resources. Only a minute portion of the upper class at the capital lacked a prominent officeholding ancestry, implying that upward or lateral mobility into this political elite was rare. Moreover, because so few individuals buried in Luoyang with an epitaph stone had failed to hold office themselves (or to marry an officeholder), lack of government employment must have either led to an immediate decline in economic status (and a concomitant inability to finance an elaborate burial) or to the outward relocation of non-officeholding branches of these families to the provinces – a conflation of social and geographic mobility that I will discuss in more detail, below.

By contrast, it might be argued that the prevalence in the provinces of upper-class families with weak officeholding traditions indicates a greater degree of both upward and downward mobility. Thus, a man like Bu Cui 卜權 (757–822), who was apparently the first in his family to hold office, might represent a family on the rise. On the other hand, a certain Chen Zhi 陳直 (796–864), whose grandfather and great-grandfather served but who himself along with his father and sons did not, might represent a family in decline. Such an analysis, however, is undoubtedly oversimplistic. To begin with, it is generally difficult to ascertain the socioeconomic status of the non-officeholding ancestors of bureaucrats. When they did not hold office, ancestors were stereotypically praised for their meritorious conduct or for delighting in nature and the outdoors, in accordance with a longstanding eremitic tradition.³³ Such euphemistic language rarely reveals whether or not the family was wealthy prior to service in office. In addition, in regions away from centers of political power, land and commercial resources may have contributed more directly than officeholding to a family's economic status. On the basis of the material remains from tombs, it is clear that some non-officeholding elites in the provinces rivaled bureaucratic elites in wealth.³⁴ Some men, such as Zhang Gongzuo 張公佐

³³ One individual (among a great many) praised for “delighting in the outdoors 樂山水” was Lu Ti 盧侗 (727–790), buried in Zhengzhou.

³⁴ For some evidence that non-officeholders might rival officeholders in wealth, see Liu Jianguo 劉建國, “Jiangsu Zhenjiang Tang mu” 江蘇鎮江唐墓, *KG* 1985.2, p. 146. In the case of tombs M7 through M17, corresponding epitaphs indicate that M8, M9, and M10 were the tombs of officeholders. If we consider brick chambered tombs and stone epitaphs to be more elaborate than simple pit tombs and brick epitaphs, we find that two of three officeholders received a more elaborate burial; however, one officeholder received a simpler burial and two non-officeholders also received elaborate burials. An approach to estimating the economic resources of the deceased when no excavation report of the tomb exists is simply to consider the size of the epitaph; see Tackett, “Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites,” pp. 41–44.

(802–846) from Qizhou 齊州 (modern-day Ji'nan 濟南 in Shandong 山東), retired from office in order to pursue highly profitable commercial endeavors.³⁵ Indeed, late Tang epitaphs reveal that the Confucian-inspired notion that service to the state was the most laudable pursuit was not unanimously accepted by all.³⁶ Four-fifths of the lengthy epitaph for Mr. Xu 許公 (d.867), a wealthy non-officeholding landowner from Hebei, was dedicated to a descriptive catalog of his property, which included eighty acres of farmland, fifty-nine mulberry trees, a house in town, and two country villas.³⁷ Dong Weijing 董惟靖 (796–852), on the other hand, is praised for having “transported currencies to provide for his descendants and revered Buddhism to increase his good fortune 運泉貨以業子孫, 崇釋宗以益景福.” Commerce was as honorable a vocation as worshipping the Buddha; through trade, Dong could fulfill his paternal responsibilities to his children. For probably a significant segment of provincial society in the late Tang, the accrual of land and commercial wealth was as respectable as attaining bureaucratic office.

But although lack of office did not indicate lower status in society, a close reading of certain epitaphs does reveal examples of upward mobility into the provincial political elite. Zhu Shan 朱贍 (809–865), for example, was the first known member of his family to serve in office. He served his entire career in the Zhongwu 忠武 Army, as did three of his sons.³⁸ What is significant is that Zhu Shan began his career as a common soldier, an indication that his family was probably neither wealthy nor politically prominent. Among epitaphs, Zhu's case was not unique, although it is difficult on the basis of data from epitaphs to tell whether or not this avenue of upward mobility was widespread.³⁹

Besides clarifying the issue of social mobility, regional variations in family officeholding patterns also provide insight into the state's success at monopolizing economic resources. Political elites in Luoyang, among whom one could count the families of numerous high ministers, had the power to mould state policy so as to ensure the enduring political dominance of their own social class. As such, elites in

³⁵ See also the epitaphs of Tang Hong 唐洪 (817–871) and of his father Tang Qiong 唐瓊 for the example of a military family from Hebei that went into trade and relocated to Qingzhou.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–41. Such alternative provincial value systems will be the subject of a future study.

³⁷ Besides Mr. Xu's epitaph, see also *ibid.*, pp. 37–38, 51, which includes a table summarizing Mr. Xu's property.

³⁸ Zhu Shan and one of his three sons died in Annan (in modern-day Vietnam), but they went there as part of a contingent of the Zhongwu army, presumably sent there on the order of the throne. The home base of this army would have remained at Chenzhou.

³⁹ Another very similar example involves Wang Wenjin 王文進 (d. 886).

the capital should not be conceptualized in the context of a state-elite dichotomy.⁴⁰ The state in many ways embodied the consensus opinions of the metropolitan upper class, whose members converted economic, cultural, and military resources into the offices that guaranteed access to more resources.⁴¹ This strategy for reproducing a family's elite status was effective in regions where the state apparatus dominated society by means of its prestige and its access to military force. In the capital cities – centers of state power – virtually no individual without ties to the state could compete with families holding the reins of political power. Local society in certain border regions that hosted a significant military presence – including the regions north and west of Chang'an (provincial Guannei 關內) and Youzhou 幽州, the autonomous province in the far northeast – were equally dominated by officeholding elites. The Youzhou regime seems to have been especially effective at controlling regional economic resources – not one epitaph of a non-officeholding elite family has yet been discovered in the regions under the control of this regime.

On the other hand, in parts of the North China Plain, the Lower Yangzi, and northern Zhejiang, it was possible for private individuals to accumulate economic resources apparently without ties to government. A comprehensive explanation of geographic variations in state influence at the local level will require further research. Presumably, the rich grain- and silk-producing regions of southern Hebei, the rice-growing areas straddling the Lower Yangzi, and the cities and towns lining the Yongji Canal 永濟渠 in Hebei and the Grand Canal farther south provided opportunities for private individuals to accrue substantial wealth.⁴² Quite possibly, a smaller government and smaller ratio of military per capita in these regions (by comparison with the capital and the border regions) meant that there were fewer agents of the state (bureaucrats or military officers) who could forcibly acquire these local resources for their own use by legal or extra-legal means. To be sure, state monopolization of resources implies that attaining a bureaucratic position was a mark of upward social mobility in political power cen-

⁴⁰ The rich historical literature dealing with Chinese administrative history, in particular, has tended to reify the state in an overly abstract manner, while failing to take into account the actual individuals who embodied and determined state policy.

⁴¹ Curiously, very few military men are buried in the immediate vicinity of Luoyang, although military elites are detected among epitaphs from Mengzhou just to the north. This absence of a military elite may represent an important distinction between the Chang'an and Luoyang elites, and will be the subject of a future study.

⁴² For evidence of the large quantity and high quality of grain and silk produced in southern Hebei (as well as other regions of the North China Plain), see Denis Twitchett, "Provincial Autonomy and Central Finance in Late T'ang," *AMNS* 11 (1965), pp. 216, 224–29.

ters such as Luoyang and Youzhou. Nevertheless, it is clear that there was a substantial elite with few ties to government that succeeded in dominating local society in numerous provincial regions of China.

NATIONAL VERSUS LOCAL PROMINENCE

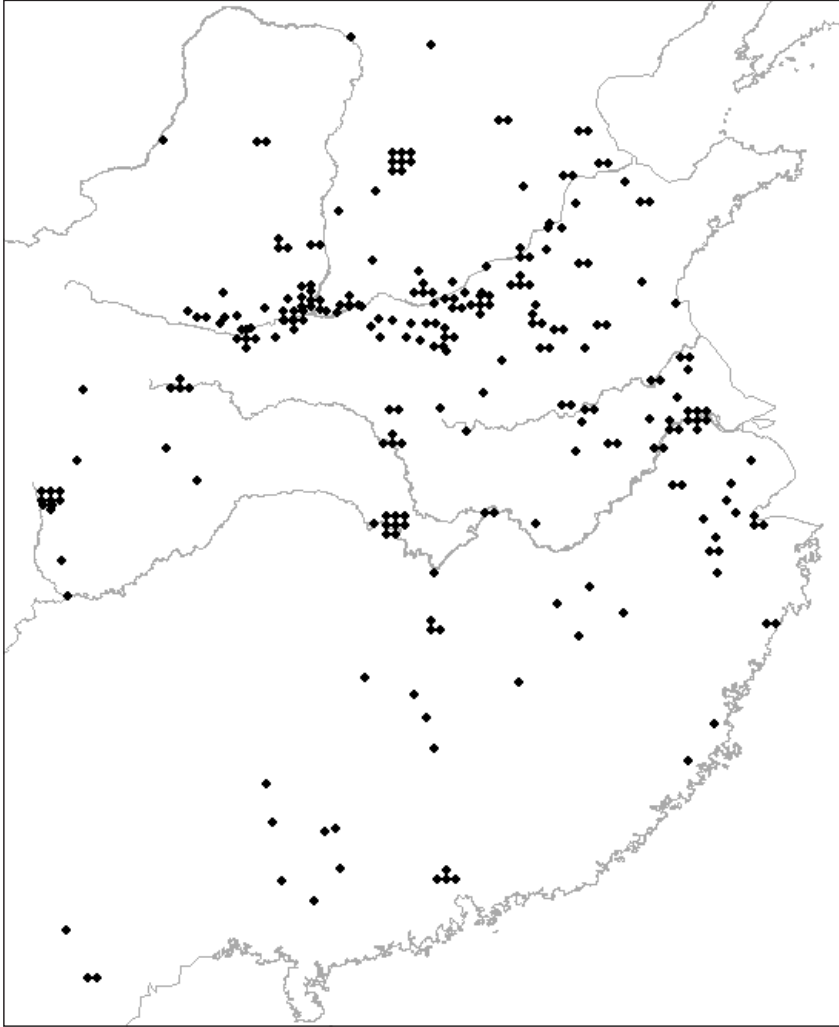
Capital elites can also be distinguished from local elites in terms of the geographic scope of their officeholding. Upper-class women and men entombed in Luoyang were nationally prominent. In other words, their bureaucratic careers and the careers of their relatives involved appointments both to offices in the central administration at the capital and to provincial posts throughout the entire region under the control of the political regime they served. In Luoyang, a large number of individuals portrayed in epitaphs could claim relations with the most powerful men in the land, namely present and former chief ministers. The daughter and son-in-law of the ninth-century chief minister Bai Minzhong 白敏中 were buried in Luoyang, as was the granddaughter of Niu Sengru 牛僧儒 and the consort, son, and granddaughter of his famous rival Li Deyu 李德裕.⁴³ Among Luoyang epitaphs, one also encounters the son of Xuanzong's 宣宗 chief minister Lu Shang 盧商; the son-in-law and grandson-in-law, respectively, of two of Xianzong's 憲宗 chief ministers, Wu Yuanheng 武元衡 and Du Huangshang 杜黃裳; the grandson and great-grandson-in-law of Daizong's 代宗 chief minister Pei Zunqing 裴遵慶; and the affinal nephew and grand nephew, respectively, of two other eighth-century chief ministers, Wang Jin 王縉 and Miao Jinqing 苗晉卿.⁴⁴

The national prominence of Luoyang elites is also reflected in the map (see overleaf), which shows the 258 known provincial assignments held by a random sample of 100 ninth-century officeholders buried in Luoyang. These individuals were rotated to positions all across Tang China, from modern-day Inner Mongolia in the north to modern-day Hanoi in the south. Although appointments do appear somewhat fewer in number in the south, one should bear in mind that most of these southern regions were sparsely populated in the ninth century and so did not necessitate large bureaucratic representations. The ancestors and descendants of individuals buried in Luoyang reflect a similar

⁴³ See, respectively, the epitaphs of Ms. Bai 白氏 (840-858), Huangfu Hui 皇甫煒 (813-865), Ms. Deng 鄧氏 (832-863), Ms. Liu Zhirou 劉致柔 (788-849), Li Ye 李燁 (826-860), and Ms. Li Xuanli 李懸黎 (859-871).

⁴⁴ See the epitaphs of Lu Zhizong 盧知宗 (816-874), Sun Jian 孫簡 (776-857), Yang Yu 楊宇 (807-851), Pei Gao 裴誥 (801-850), Li Mo 李謨 (836-867), Xiao Zheng 蕭徵 (758-824), and Miao Hongben 苗弘本 (797-855), respectively.

Map. Sites of Provincial Appointments of Officeholders Buried in Luoyang



The map reflects a random sample of 100 officeholders buried in Luoyang between 820 and 880. Each dot represents a single provincial appointment. The coast line (with the exception of portions of the coast between Shanghai and the Bohai), rivers (with the exception of the lower reaches of the Yellow River), and latitude and longitude coordinates of most counties in the southeast and some counties elsewhere were obtained from “CHGIS, Version 4” (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Yenching Institute, January 2007). The remaining geographic data are in accordance with Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集 (Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe, 1982), vol. 5.

pattern of diversity in provincial appointments. Great grandfathers, grandfathers, fathers, and sons – whose offices are commonly stated in epitaphs – tended each to serve in a different and far-flung corner of the empire. In the case of Xiang Qun 向群 (787–846), for example, his great-grandfather had served in Yuanzhou 袁州 (in Jiangnan Xi 江南西 circuit), his grandfather in Jinzhou 金州 (Shannan Dong 山南東 circuit), his father in Taiyuan 太原 (Hedong), and his son would serve in Suzhou 宿州 (eastern Henan). Hundreds of Xiang Qun’s contemporaries in Luoyang had similar ancestries. Thus, not only the careers of the deceased, but also of their ancestors and descendants reflected the national prominence of the late-Tang capital elite.

By contrast, officeholders buried in the provinces were much more likely to have served locally. With the exception of the Chang’an–Luoyang Corridor and – to a lesser extent – the Lower Yangzi region and Northern Zhejiang, it was unusual to encounter families of national political prominence, who both held office consistently over successive generations and who served all over the empire (table 3). Presumably, a certain number of the empire’s most important elites could have maintained estates along the Yellow and Wei river valleys between the two capital cities.⁴⁵ From anywhere along this corridor, it would have taken no more than five or six days to travel to Luoyang or Chang’an, as opposed to the several months it might have taken from a provincial estate in the south.⁴⁶ On the other hand, those nationally prominent officeholders one encountered residing in the Lower Yangzi region may have sought to tap into burgeoning commercial opportunities available there by the late Tang.

If one considers all officeholding families (not only those with strong traditions of government service), one finds a similar pattern. Table 4 tabulates the percentage of families from four different regions that held one or more nonlocal offices. Epitaphs classified as “local

⁴⁵ Indeed, some individuals buried in Luoyang are known to have died in country villas 別墅 at some distance out of town. Zheng Bao 鄭瑤 (791–856) died at a villa in Zhengzhou, as did Ms. Sun 孫氏 (796–823). In the case of Ms. Lu 盧氏 (818–881), she too died at a villa in Zhengzhou. Because Huang Chao’s rebels were ravaging the capital at the time, she was initially buried there, before being returned to Luoyang for interment at the end of the following year. Finally, according to his spirit path inscription, the ninth-century chief minister Niu Sengru 牛僧孺 (780–848), although buried in Chang’an, passed away in a villa in the vicinity of Luoyang.

⁴⁶ According to the epitaph of a certain Ms. Zheng 鄭氏 (784–833), it took her husband and two daughters six months to transport her coffin from Tanzhou (modern-day Changsha in Hunan) back to Luoyang. It took the husband of Ms. Yu 于氏 (840–871) three and a half months to transport her body back from Hongzhou (modern-day Nanchang in Jiangxi). By contrast, according to Ms. Zheng Zizhang’s 鄭子章 (831–853) epitaph, her body was shipped from Chang’an to the family graveyard in Luoyang in only eleven days.

only” refer either to cases where the only known officeholders among the deceased’s kin served within the province in which the deceased was buried or to cases where, at some point in the family’s history, all family members began to serve locally. In the latter case, as I argue below, the family members had quite likely permanently relocated to the provinces at the moment they began to serve locally.

It is clear from table 4 that opportunities to attain national prominence from a family base in the provinces were limited. To be sure, extra-regional appointments were the norm along the Chang’an–Luoyang corridor, and were common in the Lower Yangzi region and in Northern Zhejiang. As one example, all three sons of Ms. Zhang Qing 張慶 (806–863), who was buried in Hangzhou 杭州, obtained administrative posts in the north, one in Bozhou 亳州 and two in Chenzhou 陳州. By contrast, in most other regions of provincial China, bureaucratic appointments involved assignments predominantly within the home province. Such a pattern is not surprising for the Hebei autonomous provinces of Youzhou, Chengde 成德, and Weibo 魏博, whose bureaucracies were wholly divorced from the Tang empire’s administrative hierarchy. The preponderance of local officeholding in other regions of China implies that provincial elites either could not or chose not to compete with capital elites for positions of national prominence. Some provincial elites who did attain high office relocated their families to the capital, but as I will now argue, such examples were unusual.

A CAPITAL-BASED ELITE SOCIAL NETWORK

How common was it for provincial elites to relocate to the capital? A few examples are identifiable in epitaphs. Chen Junshang 陳君賞 (792–842) was the scion of a prominent military family from northern Hebei that will be discussed in more detail, below. Junshang began his career at his provincial base, but was later rotated to other provinces. Four of his brothers and cousins would also serve as governors of provinces throughout the empire. Undoubtedly, as a result of the prominence of the family, Junshang was buried along with his son in Luoyang; the son of one of his cousins was buried in Chang’an.⁴⁷

Perhaps a more dramatic example of relocation to the capital involves the Zhi 支 family.⁴⁸ Zhi Song 支竦 was the member of a clan

⁴⁷ See the epitaphs of Chen Junshang 陳君賞 (792–842), of his son Chen Yu 陳諭 (814–856), and of his cousin’s son Chen Feng 陳諷 (829–879).

⁴⁸ See the epitaphs of Zhi Guang 支光 (712–772), Zhi Cheng 支成 (757–818), Zhi Xun 支詢 (826–842), Zhi Zigui 支子珪 (834–850), Zhi Zizhang 支子璋 (835–853), Zhi Shuxiang 支

claiming provenance from Langya 琅琊 commandery that had purportedly accompanied the Jin court to the south after the regime was forced out of North China in the fourth century. By the late-eighth century, the family was burying its dead in Jiaxing 嘉興 county (south of Suzhou 蘇州); by the mid-ninth century, burials were conducted somewhat farther north, in the regional economic and political hub of Yangzhou. Then, prior to his death in Luoyang, Zhi Song informed his sons, “I like it here; when I die, this is where you should bury me. 我樂於斯, 死當葬我.” He also commanded his sons to inter him alongside his ancestors. Thus, in the year 856, twenty-four bodies from six generations were transported from both Jiaxing and Yangzhou in the south and reburied alongside Zhi Song in the hills north of the Tang Eastern Capital.⁴⁹ The epitaphs of one of his sons and of the wife of another son confirm that family members were residing in Luoyang’s Xingxiu 行修 ward in the 870s.⁵⁰

But were the Chen and Zhi families typical? Among a random sample of 170 Luoyang epitaphs dating to the period 820 to 880, remarkably few give any hint of recent migration to the capital.⁵¹ In many cases, earlier inscriptions confirm that ancestors were already buried in Luoyang decades earlier.⁵² In most other cases, the very fact that the ancestors served in provincial offices nationwide – indicative of a national prominence rarely encountered in the provinces – strongly suggests that the family in question had resided in the capital for several generations. To be sure, nearly all elite families in Luoyang laid claim (whether fictive or not) to an aristocratic ancestry with a provincial place of origin (denoted by the choronym). In most cases, however, these illustrious clans had relocated earlier in the dynasty or even in the pre-Tang period and were well established in Luoyang by the ninth century.

叔向 (817–853), Zhi Zhijian 支志堅 (812–861), Zhi Ne 支訥 (823–878), Zhi Mo 支謨 (829–879). For a discussion of the Zhi family, see Dong Yanshou 董延壽 and Zhao Zhenhua 趙振華, “Tangdai Zhi Mo ji qi jiazhu muzhi yanjiu” 唐代支謨及其家族墓誌研究, *Luoyang daxue xuebao* 洛陽大學學報 21.1 (2006), pp. 1–10.

⁴⁹ For details regarding the reburial, see specifically the epitaphs of Zhi Cheng 支成 (757–818) and Zhi Shuxiang 支叔向 (817–853).

⁵⁰ See the epitaphs of Zhi Ne 支訥 (823–878) and Ms. Zheng 鄭氏 (d. 871).

⁵¹ For the few other examples of migrants to the capital, see the epitaphs of Zhang Jirong 張季戎 (790–851); Ms. Wu 吳氏 (764–824), mother of the Chengde military governor Wang Chengzong 王承宗; and Yu Congzhou 余從周 (806–851) and his mother Ms. Hong 洪氏 (782–841).

⁵² Such examples abound and will be the subject of future research. For two examples, see the epitaphs of Yang Hangong 楊漢公 (d. 861) and of his father Yang Ning 楊寧 (744–817); and of Li Sui 黎燧 (747–799) and his father Li Gan 黎幹 (716–779).

To explain fully the reasons why provincial elites might have found it difficult to move to the capital by the last decades of the Tang will ultimately require further research. The closely-knit elite social network at the capital – the web of kinship, marriage, friendship, and patronage bonds – undoubtedly contributed to the creation of an environment inhospitable to those without connections to chief ministers and other powerful men. The existence and significance of this extensive network of politically prominent families is readily apparent in Luoyang tomb inscriptions, in which the close bonds tying together patrilineal kinsmen are particularly evident. Individuals were almost invariably buried alongside their agnatic kin (or their husband's kin).⁵³ Moreover, nearly half (103 of 223) of authors and calligraphers of one random sample of Luoyang epitaphs identify themselves explicitly as agnates of the deceased (or of the deceased's husband). These authors included not only sons and brothers, but also uncles, cousins, and nephews, implying that a fairly large number of family members felt an obligation to participate actively in the burial of their kinsman.

Affinal bonds were perhaps of equal significance in elite society of the late-Tang capitals. Marriage ties were carefully cultivated, as attested by marriage alliances that could span several generations. Thus, according to the epitaph of a certain Ms. Li 李氏 (d. 874), her mother, paternal grandmother, and paternal great grandmother were all descendants of the second branch 房 of the northern lineage 祖 of the Xinyang Zheng 滎陽鄭 clan. Other examples include Pei Qian 裴謙 (782–857), Wang Gun 王袞 (781–832), and Cui Shenjing 崔慎經, each of whom married his mother's brother's daughter.⁵⁴ Allusions in epitaphs to the burial process hint at multiple ways in which such affinal ties could be of great practical use. In the aforementioned sample of Luoyang epitaphs, among 143 authors and calligraphers claiming a family relationship to the deceased, 40 (28%) were affines of the deceased – including sons-in-law, fathers-in-law, and the sons of sisters or wives. In addition, affines might organize the burial rituals, as in the case of Ms. Zhang 張氏 (751–824), whose sons had died and whose grandson was but an infant.⁵⁵ In some cases, affines might even provide a spot

⁵³ For a broader treatment of the role that burials and grave worship played in the maintenance of a sense of group affinity among patrilineal descent groups in the Tang and Song, see Patricia Buckley Ebrey, "The Early Stages in the Development of Descent Group Organization," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and James L. Watson, eds., *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China, 1000–1940* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1986), esp. pp. 18–29.

⁵⁴ For information on Cui Shenjing, see the epitaphs of his mother Ms. Li Chun 李春 (778–830) and of his wife Ms. Li Ping 李平 (d. 833). Pei Qian and Wang Gun have their own epitaphs.

⁵⁵ In fact, Ms. Zhang was buried in Luzhou (Hedong Circuit) and so is not an example of a capital elite. Nevertheless, this example demonstrates the usefulness of affines.

in their family cemetery, as in the case of Ms. Zheng Sanqing 鄭三清 (844–852) and her elder sister, both buried alongside their mother’s natal clan.

It is clear that the uses of affinal and agnatic ties went well beyond funerary ritual. The notion of a capital-based elite social network comprising a web of such ties is useful not only for understanding burial culture, but also for understanding how a limited number of prominent families perpetuated their political dominance to the very end of the Tang. Capital-based elites of the late Tang made full use of their social ties in order to control the two most important channels of upward social mobility: civil service examinations and local recruitment by provincial military governments. Although candidates from all prefectures in the empire traveled to Chang’an to participate in the exams, success was largely monopolized by men from the capital or from the adjoining metropolitan prefectures.⁵⁶ Oliver Moore’s recent study demonstrates the degree to which patron-client bonds played a critical role in examination success. Prior to the tests, exam hopefuls circulated writings to potential patrons as well as to the chief examiner. Later, successful graduands personally thanked their patrons in an important and oft-critiqued “ceremony of gratitude,” essentially demonstrating through the performance of this ritual the notion that success resulted from political connections rather than from a Confucian-inspired ideal of impartial selection.⁵⁷ Suspicions regarding the fairness of the examinations were reflected in rumors that the pass lists had been determined beforehand.⁵⁸

Presumably because of the limitations of his primary source, Wang Dingbao’s 王定保 (870–940) *Tang zhiyan* 唐摭言, Moore does not take into account the geographic dichotomy between the capital and the provinces that can explain which families most benefited from political connections.⁵⁹ Clearly, capital elites would have been particularly well

⁵⁶ Oliver Moore, *Rituals of Recruitment in Tang China* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 68–69, 80, 82, 89.

⁵⁷ Moore, *Rituals of Recruitment*, esp. pp. 141–52, 186–90, 204. For more on how the exams were coopted by a “bureaucratized” aristocracy, see Tonami Mamoru 礪波護, “Sōdai shi-taifu no seiritsu” 宋代士大夫の成立, in Ogura Yoshihiko 小倉芳彦, ed., *Chūgoku bunka sōsho* 中國文化叢書 (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1968), vol. 8, pp. 197–201; Watanabe Takashi 渡邊孝, “Chū Tō ki ni okeru ‘monbatsu’ kizoku kanryō no dōkō: Chūō sūyōkanshoku no jinteki kōsei o chūshin 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, in Yanagida Setsuko sensei koki kinen: *Chūgoku no dentō shakai to kazoku* 柳田節子先生古稀記念, 中國の傳統社會と家族 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1993), pp. 21–50.

⁵⁸ Moore, *Rituals of Recruitment*, p. 160.

⁵⁹ Moore does make a distinction between “centre” and “province” (e.g., p. 69), but his interest is really in drawing the distinction between two administrative levels: the central gov-

served by their family and marriage ties. Among a sample of Luoyang epitaphs, one encounters the granddaughter of Cui Yan 崔郾, chief examiner in 827 and 828; both the uncle and the niece of Li Jingrang 李景讓, chief examiner in 840; the nephew of Feng Ao 封敖, chief examiner in 848; and the younger sister of Zheng Hao 鄭顥, chief examiner in 856 and 859.⁶⁰ A broader examination of ninth-century epitaphs from both Luoyang and Chang'an would undoubtedly uncover additional evidence that most if not all ninth-century examiners were members of the capital elite.

A second potential avenue of upward social mobility involved recruitment at the provincial level. After the An Lushan Rebellion, several dozen provinces, headed by a military or civil governor, became a permanent administrative tier situated between prefectures and the central government. Most provinces of significance were headed by a military governor, or *jiedushi* 節度使, who typically held a three-year appointment before receiving a new assignment in another province or at the head of a ministry in the capital. Provincial military governors commonly appointed subordinates to their personal staffs by decree, thus bypassing the formal bureaucratic procedures that otherwise determined government appointments. In an important early article, Tonami Mamoru 礪波護 demonstrated that the provincial military governments hired large numbers of civilian bureaucrats; Tonami theorized that these bureaucrats were hired from the lower strata of society and represented “newly-risen 新興” elites in direct competition with the old aristocracy.⁶¹ In a series of more recent articles, however, Watanabe Takashi 渡邊孝 has shown that the key civilian offices in the provincial governments were dominated by well-connected elites with close ties to the central government; only the military and lower-level civilian positions were available to local families.⁶² Watanabe borrows Bourdieu’s

ernment and the prefectural governments. Thus, metropolitan prefectures are generally treated in this latter category. Since my distinction is geographical, I would take metropolitan vs. non-metropolitan prefectures to constitute a more fundamental dichotomy.

⁶⁰ See, respectively, the epitaphs of Ms. Li Daoyin 李道因 (d. 876), Li Ning 李寧 (774–856), Ms. Li 李氏 (d. 874), Feng Luqing 封魯卿 (807–853), and Ms. Zheng 鄭氏 (827–858). For identification of the chief examiners in question, see Xu Song 徐松, *Dengke jikao buzheng* 登科記考補正, annotated and expanded by Meng Erdong 孟冬冬 (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan chubanshe, 2003) 20, pp. 830, 837; 21, p. 874; 22, pp. 905, 924, 932.

⁶¹ Tonami Mamoru 礪波護, “Chūsei kizokusei no hōkai to hekishōsei” 中世貴族制の崩壊と辟召制, *TSK* 21.3 (1962), esp. pp. 10–20. Note, however, that even civilian administrators of military governments were often depicted as military men, despite the fact that their duties were purely administrative. E.g., when civilian bureaucrats joined the staffs of military governors, they were often said to “discard their brush 投筆”.

⁶² Watanabe Takashi 渡邊孝, “Chūban Tō ni okeru kanjin no bakushokukan nyūshi to sono haikai” 中晚唐における官人の幕職官入仕とその背景, in Matsumoto Hajime 松本肇 and Kawai

notion of nonmonetary capital to explain this phenomenon. Bonds of kinship and patronage – well described by Bourdieu’s concept of social capital – played a particularly critical role, as military governors regularly hired their kinsmen and affines.⁶³

But although I am arguing that there were very few opportunities for upward social mobility in the late Tang, one should not over-emphasize the significance of great clans and the value of associating oneself with a choronym denoting the location where, in the distant past, an aristocratic family of the same surname had once dominated local society. As I have shown elsewhere, prestigious choronyms were in fact ascribed to the majority of individuals mentioned in late-Tang epitaphs, even in the case of non-officeholders living in the provinces.⁶⁴ Although many claims to preeminent pedigrees were undoubtedly fictive, one ought not underestimate the magnitude of the demographic expansion of the old pre-Tang aristocracy over a period of centuries.⁶⁵ But regardless of the validity of the claims, the net effect was that, by the late Tang, prestigious choronyms and descent from distant ancestors of great fame were insufficient to distinguish entrenched capital bureaucrats from a vast swath of society. In some sense, then, if great clan descent had been sufficient to gain political prominence, upward mobility into the capital elite would have been far more common than is suggested by available data.⁶⁶ To be sure, an aristocratic mentality

Kōzō 三合康三, eds., *Chūtō bungaku no shikaku* 中唐文學の視角 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1998), pp. 357–92; Watanabe Takashi, “Tōdai hanchin ni okeru kakyū bakushokukan ni tsuite” 唐代藩鎮における下級幕職官について, *Chūgoku shigaku* 中國史學 11 (2001), pp. 83–107; Watanabe Takashi 渡邊孝, “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,” transl. Jessey J. C. Choo, *TSK* 64.1 (2005), pp. 1–73.

⁶³ A clear and succinct enunciation of the notion of social capital can be found in Pierre Bourdieu, “Le capital social: Notes provisoires,” *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 31.1 (1980), pp. 2–3.

⁶⁴ Tackett, “Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites,” pp. 65–78. These choronyms almost never corresponded to the place of burial of the individuals in question; thus, these provincial non-officeholding elites were not great clan descendants at their place of clan origin.

⁶⁵ Data are not yet available to estimate with any great precision the demographic expansion of the descendants of the pre-Tang aristocracy. Suffice to say that concubinage in China, which not only increased the supply of women available to upper-class men but also recognized children born of concubines as fully legitimate, allowed upper-class males to increase their reproductive capacity at the expense of the lower classes. It is credible that, by the late Tang, great clan descendants had repopulated much of China and that even many of the poorest of the poor were technically-speaking great clan scions.

⁶⁶ Under a system where great clan status did have political significance, even falsified lineages could serve as avenues of upward mobility; see Jennifer Holmgren, “Social Mobility in the Northern Dynasties: A Case Study of the Feng of Northern Yen,” *MS* 35 (1981–83), pp. 19–32. Thus, by the late Tang, whether or not the claims were fictive, tremendous numbers of individuals could have threatened the capital elite’s hold on power if choronyms had been a primary determinant of status.

– a mentality that assumed that culture is inherited, that worthiness runs in the blood – persevered well into the ninth century.⁶⁷ But, to a greater and greater degree, epitaphs tended to pay far more attention to recent officeholding ancestors than to choronyms and other claims to worthy ancestors from centuries past. In fact, under certain circumstances, choronyms seem to have been used as attributes only for non-officeholders, in lieu of the more prestigious bureaucratic title.⁶⁸ In sum, I propose that, by focusing on geographic distinctions (capital vs. provinces) rather than on class (aristocracy vs. commoners, or great clan vs. non-great clan), it is possible to clarify the most important factors bolstering the political oligarchy’s stranglehold on power.⁶⁹ It was precisely the social network of elites concentrated in the urban centers of Luoyang and Chang’an, a tightly-knit web of kinship and marriage ties, that allowed certain families to maintain their grip on political power and co-opt the most important avenues of upward mobility. It is for this reason that families with officeholding patterns of national prominence predominated in the capital, whereas such families were rarely encountered in the provinces.

ELITE MIGRATORY PATHWAYS IN THE PROVINCES

Having established the nature of the preeminent political elite in late-Tang China, it is necessary to identify the officeholders buried in the provinces and establish their relationship to the capital elites. Table

⁶⁷ This mentality is evident in the lengthy genealogical information especially common in Luoyang and Chang’an epitaphs. It was believed that the worthiness of the deceased was demonstrated by uninterrupted officeholding among both paternal and maternal ancestors. Some epitaphs also explicitly discussed the importance of pedigree. For the lengthiest such discussion that I have encountered, a veritable manifesto on the importance for prominent families to only intermarry with other prominent families, see the epitaph of Ms. Liu Neize 柳內則 (749–821), the great-granddaughter of one chief minister and the daughter-in-law of another.

⁶⁸ Although by no means a hard-and-fast rule, there was a tendency among ninth-century epitaphs for epitaph authors and calligraphers and for affines mentioned only briefly, such as sons-in-law, to have a choronym precede their surname only if they held no official position, the title of which would otherwise precede the surname. Presumably, the name of the non-officeholder would have appeared in some sense naked if unmodified by some praiseworthy attribute. E.g., in the case of Bao Chen’s 包陳 (772–828) epitaph, the author has an official title and no choronym, while the calligrapher has a choronym but no official title. In the case of Ge Juyuan’s 蓋巨源 (811–873) epitaph, two sons-in-law have official titles and no choronyms, while the third son-in-law has a choronym but no title. Similarly, among the sons-in-law of Ms. Zheng Xiushi 鄭秀實 (784–856), the only one of four sons-in-law whose surname is not preceded by a choronym is the son-in-law who held the title of prefect of Yizhou.

⁶⁹ Watanabe, e.g., has some difficulty justifying that “non-menfa aristocrats” were not a “newly risen class”; see “Re-Examination of the Recruiting System,” pp. 29–31. The capital-province dichotomy provides a solution to the apparent paradox. E.g., Watanabe brings up the case of Liu Sanfu 劉三復, an apparent native of Runzhou who supposedly rises to prominence after serving Li Deyu faithfully when the latter served as governor of Zhejiang Xi province

5 shows the percentage of provincial officeholding families with one or more local political appointments – that is, appointments within the province of burial. It should be kept in mind that, with the exception of the deceased’s own career, epitaphs generally do not describe all offices held by family members. For example, in the epitaph of Ms. Du Qiong 杜瓊 (767–831), her husband is introduced as Mr. Li, probationary prefect of Jiangzhou, thus indicating – as is quite typical – only the last office he held prior to death or retirement. Elsewhere in the text of the inscription, however, we learn incidentally that Du Qiong first came to Xiangyang 襄陽, site of her burial, after her husband had been appointed to an unnamed office there. Most epitaphs would not include such incidental information and so, in most cases, it would not be known that her husband had once served at her place of subsequent interment. Thus, it should be remembered that the data in table 5 underestimate the number of provincial officeholding families that had a record of serving in local offices.

Not surprisingly, according to table 5, all officeholding families residing in the Hebei autonomous provinces held one or more local appointments since, as discussed earlier, these Hebei regimes had essentially no ties to the Tang bureaucracy. However, even elsewhere in provincial China, officeholding families tended to have a history of serving locally – including over half of such families from the Lower Yangzi/Northern Zhejiang region and over 9 in 10 from other provincial regions. The tendency to reside where one had served can be explained in two different ways. Some provincial elite families may have sought office near their residences. Alternatively, individuals from elsewhere in China were sometimes buried at the place where they held office. It is unfortunately rarely possible to distinguish locals from outsiders unambiguously, but some epitaphs do provide clues.

To be sure, there is good evidence that some provincial officeholders indeed served where the family had resided perhaps already for several generations. Yang Yi 楊翼 (d.821), for example, was “reg-

(based in Runzhou). Watanabe notes that an epitaph of Liu’s kinswoman survives, providing evidence that Liu was already serving in the bureaucracy prior to Li’s arrival in Runzhou. What is more important is that Liu’s kinswoman was buried in Luoyang, as was a distant cousin of her’s. From another epitaph, we also know that her fourth-generation ancestor and his wife were buried in the vicinity of Chang’an. Whether or not Liu Sanfu was the scion of a pre-Tang great clan is beside the point; what greatly aided him in his government career was his descent from an entrenched capital-based family. See the epitaphs of the kinswoman, Ms. Liu Yuan 劉媛 (794–818); of Liu Congyi 劉從義 (719–805), a man descended from Liu Yuan’s fifth-generation ancestor; of Liu Yuan’s fourth-generation ancestor Liu Yingdao 劉應道 (613–680); and of Liu Yingdao’s wife, the imperial clanswoman Ms. Li Wanshun 李婉順 (622–661).

istered 賈” in the prefecture where he served as a military commander and where his son would serve as vice-governor. In the case of Yuan Shengjin 元昇進 (770–845), his ancestral place of origin as identified in his epitaph, as well as his place of burial, was Qianyuan 淇源 county in Longzhou 隴州, where both he and his father served in the military.⁷⁰ The fact that many families served for multiple generations in the same province suggests that, even when the place of origin of the first family member to serve there is unknown, subsequent generations were evidently able to secure offices locally. For example, Wang Shiyong 王時邕 (799–845), as well as his father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and father-in-law, all served in prefectures under the control of the Youzhou military governor. In the case of Ms. Lan 蘭氏 (803–856), her husband, father-in-law, and grandfather-in-law had all served locally in northern Qianzhong 黔中 province (near modern-day Chongqing 重慶).⁷¹ These families presumably made use of their local prestige to obtain local government employment.

One particularly interesting case involves the family of the aforementioned Chen Junshang.⁷² Junshang’s father Chen Chu 陳楚 (763–823) was military governor of Yiwu 義武, a province containing the two prefectures Dingzhou 定州 and Yizhou 易州, before receiving in 822 an assignment in Mengzhou 孟州, just north of Luoyang. Although he and his son and grandson would be buried in Luoyang, there is no doubt that the family had once resided in Yiwu. Junshang himself served there prior to 822 and, after a rebellion broke out in 838, was reappointed there, presumably in the hope that his ties to the provincial military would enhance his effectiveness at quelling the revolt.⁷³ Moreover, Chen Chu’s father had been prefect of Yizhou. (His grandfather, on the other hand, had served in Pingzhou 平州 in the far northeast, quite

⁷⁰ For two other similar examples, see the epitaphs of Xie Shou 謝壽 (768–842) and Sun Shaou 孫少矩 (813–864).

⁷¹ For similar examples, see the epitaphs of Ms. Shi 史氏 (821–847) and Jing Shi 靖寔 (827–858) from Yiwu Province; Zhou Shaocheng 周少成 (774–844) and Cheng Junxin 成君信 (812–878) from Qingzhou; Wang Gongshu 王公淑 (780–848), Dong Tangzhi 董唐之 (804–858), Wang Gongsheng 王公晟 (802–870), Sun Ying 孫英 (776–837) [and the spirit path inscription of his grandson Sun Shilin 孫士林 (806–884)], and Le Bangsui 樂邦穗 (814–874) from Youzhou; Wang Yuankui 王元達 (812–854), military governor of Chengde Province, and his daughter Ms. Wang (840–868); Ji Ping 紀平 (773–846) from Xuzhou 徐州; Zhu Shan 朱瞻 (809–865) from Chenzhou; and Liang Chun 梁春 (823–833) from Hedong.

⁷² For more on this family, besides the epitaphs of Chen Junshang (792–842) and of his son Chen Yu 陳諭 (814–856), see also *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975; hereafter, *JTS*) 141, p. 3862; *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975; hereafter, *XTS*) 148, p. 4772; and Yu Xianhao 郁賢皓, *Tang cishi kao quanbian* 唐刺史考全編 (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2000), vol. 3, pp. 1557–59.

⁷³ Chen was successful in quashing the rebellion. His epitaph boasts that he slaughtered a good 700 rebels.

likely under An Lushan, making the Chen's one of many ninth-century northern families emerging from the power structure of An Lushan's rebel regime.)⁷⁴ What is even more interesting is that the Chen family was connected by marriage to other powerful families from Yiwu. The father of his first wife had served in Dingzhou. His maternal uncle was Zhang Maozhao 張茂昭 (762–811), who together with his father had governed Yiwu as a family dynasty for nearly thirty years, from 782 until 810. Epitaphs confirm that Zhang's kinsmen would continue to both reside and hold office in Yiwu until the 880s.⁷⁵ Finally, Chen Chu was himself the brother-in-law of Zhang Yingjie 張英竭, another nephew of Zhang Maozhao. One of Yingjie's sons also served in Yiwu (another one accompanied Chen Chu to Mengzhou), as did two of his grandsons, one of whom himself married the granddaughter of a former prefect of Yizhou. In this case, it appears that a local elite social network had developed in many ways reminiscent of the elite social network at the capital, a network that very likely helped powerful local families maintain their prominence over several generations.

However, despite the presence of entrenched politically prominent local elites, a substantial number of officeholding elites buried in the provinces were probably not natives of the places where they were interred. Instead, they came to these places specifically to serve in office and were later buried there. For example, Wang Congzheng 王從政 (761–830), who did not himself hold office, was buried in Jingzhou 涇州, at the seat of the provincial government where his father had served. His grandfather, however, had served in Guozhou 虢州 in the

⁷⁴ A number of post-rebellion governors in Hebei were former comrades-in-arm of An Lushan; see C. A. Peterson, "Court and Province in Mid- and Late T'ang," in Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3 (New York: Cambridge U.P., 1979), p. 484. Prominent ninth-century descendants of the rebel power structure as attested by excavated epitaphs include Zhang Da 張達 (811–883), whose grandfather served An before submitting to the Tang throne (and later becoming governor of Yiwu province); Cheng Shiyong 程士庸 (804–881), whose fourth-generation ancestor had served An; Linghu Huaibin 令狐懷斌 (834–858), whose fourth-generation ancestor had served An's successor Shi Siming 史思明; and Daxi Ge 達奚革 (795–866), whose great uncle was executed for collaborating with the rebel regime.

⁷⁵ For more on the Zhang family, besides the inscription for Zhang Maozhao (himself buried in Chang'an, where he died two months after submitting to the court), see the epitaphs of his nephews Zhang Youming 張佑明 (788–840) and Zhang Da 張達 (811–883), both buried in Yizhou; his grand-nephew Zhang Liang 張亮 (788–847), buried in Mengzhou; and Zhang Liang's nephew Zhang Feng 張鋒 (808–848), buried in Dingzhou with his wife Ms. Shi 史氏 (821–847). See also *JIS* 141, pp. 3854–62; Yu, *Tang cishi kao quanbian*, vol. 3, pp. 1555–56, 1571. Note that Zhang Feng's inscription spells Yingjie's name "英竭" and Zhang Liang's inscription spells it "英傑." According to one of two pronunciations given in *Guangyun*, the character "竭" was homonymous to the character "傑" already by medieval times; see Yu Naiyong 余迺永, collator, *Xinjiao huzhu Song ben guangyun* 新校互註宋本廣韻 (Hong Kong: Chinese U.P., 1993), p. 497. On the basis of the names of children in a number of husband-wife epitaph pairs, it is clear that names in ninth-century China could be quite fluid.

Chang'an–Luoyang Corridor and had been buried not far away from there, in the vicinity of Luoyang. In the case of Wang Yurui 王玉銳 (d. 860), we know his father was buried in Fenzhou 汾州, where he seems to have served in the military. Yurui himself was buried farther east in Luzhou 潞州, where, certainly not by coincidence, he had served as a military commander. Yurui's grandfather served in yet another locale, in westernmost Hedong, though it is not known where the grandfather was buried. Finally, consider Lun Boyan 論博言 (805–865), fifth generation descendant of the powerful seventh-century Tibetan minister mGar Khri-'bring. Numerous members of the mGar clan served the Tang as generals and military governors, and most members of the family were probably buried in Chang'an.⁷⁶ For reasons that are not entirely clear, Boyan went to Youzhou to serve the independent regime there. It was there also that he was buried.⁷⁷

Generally speaking, epitaphs do not explicitly state that the deceased came from elsewhere. Nevertheless, patterns of individual officeholding often provide strong circumstantial evidence. Feng Song 封松 (794–858), for example, was rotated to provincial appointments in Qingzhou 青州 (Henan) and in Zezhou 澤州, Cizhou 磁州, and Xingzhou 邢州 (all in Zhaoyi 昭義 province on the Hedong-Hebei border), before finally serving as county magistrate in Changyang 昌陽 county, Laizhou 萊州 (on the Shandong peninsula), where he was buried. Given his government service elsewhere, it is exceedingly improbable that he had family roots in Changyang county prior to his appointment there. Similarly, Qiu Zhicheng 仇志誠 (775–839) began his career in the Chinese heartland, serving as a military officer first in the military government based in Xuzhou 徐州, then in an army based probably in Chang'an. In 823, he accompanied his commander, the new military governor of Zhenwu 振武, to the boonies along the northern bend of the Yellow River. Qiu died there thirteen years later, and there he was buried, albeit “temporarily 權厝.” Similar examples are commonly encountered among provincial epitaphs.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ For more on this Tibetan family, see Lin Bao 林寶, *Tuanhe xingzuan* 元和姓纂, collated Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), 9, pp. 1280–82; Yu, *Tang cishi kao quanbian*, vol. 1, pp. 213, 259, 270, 362; vol. 2, pp. 892, 1202, 1338. Besides Boyan's own epitaph, see also the stele for his fourth-generation ancestor Lun Gongren 論弓仁 (664–723) and the spirit-path inscription for his great-uncle Lun Weixian 論惟賢 (d. 809), both buried in Chang'an.

⁷⁷ Lun Boyan was buried at a place called Xin'an 新安, 30 *li* west of the Youdu county seat, precisely where his father-in-law Liu Xi 劉驥 (785–829) was buried. Quite plausibly, the importance of Lun's affinal ties (reflected in the proximity of the family graves) were due to the fact that it seems no kinsmen accompanied him to Youzhou.

⁷⁸ See, e.g., the epitaphs of Zheng Zhonglian 鄭仲連 (765–826) and Liu Zizheng 劉自政

When only an officeholder's last appointment is indicated in his epitaph – not uncommon in the ninth century – patterns of ancestral officeholding instead may provide circumstantial evidence that the family was not native to the place in question. Mr. Cao 曹公 (808–873), who was buried in Shuofang 朔方 county (Xiazhou 夏州), served in the Xiazhou military government along with his son. His grandfather, on the other hand, had been a vice-governor in southwestern Hedong. Similarly, consider Liu Xi 劉駱 (785–829), father-in-law of the Tibetan Lun Boyan. Whereas he served his entire career in Youzhou, where he was buried, his great-grandfather had served in Huainan, and his father and grandfather had served in the autonomous province of Chengde. It is unlikely that the Cao and Liu clans had family roots in Xiazhou and Youzhou, respectively, if although they served locally, a previous generation had served elsewhere. Given the insularity of the bureaucracies of the autonomous Hebei provinces, it is especially unlikely that the Liu family had longstanding roots in Youzhou. Both families had probably relocated in conjunction with service to the local government. As it turns out, the Cao and Liu families were not unusual. Of about 300 provincial epitaphs dating to the period 820 to 890, approximately one-third provide similar circumstantial evidence that the deceased individual was an outsider (on the basis of either individual or family patterns of officeholding).

Above, I argued that there was tremendous pressure among elites to bury family members together in one cemetery. Why, then, were some individuals who died away from home not brought back for burial? To be sure, in some cases, burial away from the ancestral graveyard was not conceived of as permanent. Frequently, epitaphs excavated in the provinces specify explicitly that the deceased was buried temporarily. Such is the case for the epitaph of Ms. Jiang 姜氏 (766–838). As Ms. Jiang was the daughter of an imperial princess, it is indeed very unlikely that her husband's family resided permanently in Ezhou 鄂州 (modern-day Wuhan 武漢), where she was buried.⁷⁹ In fact, it was not uncommon for capital elites to be initially buried in the provinces. Many Luoyang

(782–851), as well as the spirit path inscription of Li Guangyan 李光顏 (762–826). In the case of Liu Zizheng, his father had accompanied a military governor to Jingzhou 涇州, where both father and son were buried.

⁷⁹ For a few of many such examples, see the epitaphs of Liu Yi 劉逸 (776–834), Zhang Xun 張巽 (782–825), and Ms. Wang Wan 王琬 (742–819). Ms. Jiang's very brief inscription does not record her ancestry beyond her father. Her father has biographies in the dynastic histories, permitting the identification of her forebears back to her seventh-generation ancestors (see *JTS* 7, p. 2337, and *XTS* 12, p. 3794). In the early seventh century, her family was still based at the place of clan origin (Qinzhou), as confirmed by the epitaph of her fifth-generation

epitaphs indicate that the deceased was first buried elsewhere before being brought back to the capital, sometimes decades later.⁸⁰ In other words, the discovery in the provinces of epitaphs for individuals interred away from their ancestral cemeteries may simply imply that the family never had the resources to return the body home.

Usually, however, the relocation of the family was quite deliberate, probably even in many of the cases when the burial was said to be temporary. Lu Gongbi 盧公弼 (788–866), whose epitaph was discovered in Yangzhou, was probably a first-generation immigrant from the capital. His ancestors held office nationally and two nephews served in very high-ranking ministerial positions.⁸¹ When Lu Gongbi died, his survivors evoked a common excuse to justify the interment of their kinsman far from the ancestral cemetery: “his family was poor and the road was long, together impeding the return home for burial 家貧路遠, 猶阻歸祔.” This claim was less than forthcoming; the Lu family was anything but poor. Although Lu Gongbi did not himself hold a government office – he “did not care for fame 不好名,” as explained by his eulogist – he instead “secured his livelihood by enlisting in the salt business, repeatedly taking charge of money and grain [i.e. financial matters] 籍以鹺務寄食, 亦重綰錢穀.” His business was successful, allowing him to purchase a villa in Changzhou 常州, a city on the Grand Canal about one hundred kilometers from Yangzhou. After his death, his heirs had the resources to return his body from Changzhou to Yangzhou for burial and were able to commission one of the largest ninth-century epitaphs yet discovered in the Lower Yangzi region.⁸² The Lu family would surely have had the resources to return their kinsman to the ancestral

ancestor Jiang Mo 姜謩 (558–627). Her family likely relocated to the capital shortly thereafter. Her aunt married Yuan Guangcheng 源光乘 (670–746), who was buried in Luoyang in 747. Finally, her father married an imperial princess, confirming his close ties to the political elite at the center. Ms. Jiang’s husband, Liu Yuanzhi 劉元質, is listed in a ninth-century national genealogy dating to the Yuanhe era; see Lin Bao 林寶, *Yuanhe xingzuan* 5, pp. 678–79. Although I have not encountered epigraphic evidence confirming the Liu family’s place of residence, the fact that Yuanzhi’s great uncle served in Chang’an makes it very likely that the family belonged to the national political elite based in the capital.

⁸⁰ For a few of many examples, see the epitaphs of Lu Chu 盧初 (732–775), buried initially in Chuzhou before being brought back to Luoyang 50 years later; Ms. Wang 王氏 (d. 814), buried first in Runzhou before her return to the capital 15 years later; and Wang Zhengyan 王正言 (755–818), interred at the time of his death in Yongzhou 永州 before his reburial in Luoyang 16 years later. In some cases, both the epitaph for the original burial and a new epitaph for the reburial survive; see the epitaphs of Lu Hong 盧宏 (795–857).

⁸¹ Note also that the verse *ming* at the end of Lu Gongbi’s epitaph implies that the “mounds” of the Lu family cemetery were in one of the capital cities: “In the old grounds of the Sui capital, the mounds were like dragons 隋都故地, 崗阜如龍.”

⁸² Tackett, “Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites,” 154.

graveyard for burial, but presumably decided that their future lay in commerce rather than in political office.

In some cases, individuals from officeholding families based in Chang'an or Luoyang were unsuccessful in finding employment in the capital, in what must have been a fiercely competitive environment. Despite the advantages capital-based elites had in securing office due especially to their political connections, they presumably had too many offspring to guarantee a political career for all children.⁸³ Consider the case of Liu Mi 劉密 (762–831), buried in Xiangzhou 襄州 (Shannan Dong province) but almost certainly a scion of the capital-based elite. His ancestors held offices of national prominence; his great-grandfather had earned a *jinsi* 進士 degree and his father had earned a *mingjing* 明經 degree; and his family was related by marriage to the imperial clan. Liu Mi was less successful. After three years at the Imperial University, he failed the *xiaolian* 孝廉 exam, whereupon he “bundled up his books and traveled east 束書東游.” He presented himself to the governor of Shannan Dong province and, impressing him with his talent, entered the services of the provincial government there, where he served for thirty years. He was buried in Xiangzhou, with no indication that the burial was deemed to be temporary.⁸⁴

Whether an officeholder went to the provinces on an assignment in the regular bureaucracy or in search of employment through informal channels, political power provided opportunities to accumulate property and other resources – through legitimate or through corrupt means – at the place of office.⁸⁵ Yao Zhongran 姚仲然 (761–837), whose place of origin is unknown, was appointed to a post in Jianchang 建昌 county, Hongzhou 洪州. After retirement, he went to the neighboring prefecture of Xinzhou 信州, where he “bought a mountain and determined [according to geomantic principles] a place of residence 買山卜

⁸³ The size of capital elite families awaits further study. For some examples of families with many offspring, see the epitaphs of Li Ji 李濟 (776–825), buried in Chang'an, who had nine sons and six daughters; Meng Sui 孟璉 (794–860), buried in Luoyang, who was one of nine brothers; and Pei Xuan 裴誼 (763–829), who was one of at least six brothers.

⁸⁴ See also the epitaph of Hua Fengyu 華封輿 (788–846), whose family cemetery was in Fuli 符離 county (Suzhou 宿州). He and his elder brother both failed to pass the civil service exams on three separate occasions, whereupon his brother bypassed regular bureaucratic assignment procedures by seeking employment with the Youzhou military governor. Fengyu, who had been serving in Qingzhou, followed his brother to Youzhou shortly thereafter, where he had a successful career, culminating in an appointment as vice-envoy to the Two Barbarian States. The family showed no signs of wanting to return home to the south: Fengyu was buried in the vicinity of Youzhou and at least one of his sons served the Youzhou governor.

⁸⁵ For examples taken from traditional literary and historical sources, see Sudō Yoshiyuki 周藤吉之, *Chūgoku tochi seido shi kenkyū* 中國土地制度史研究 (Tokyo: Tokyo daikaku shuppankai, 1954), pp. 12–34.

居。” It was in Xinzhou that he was also buried, one year after his death. Many other officeholders did not await retirement to obtain property. When Zheng Lu’s 鄭魯 (768–824) two brothers died and responsibility fell on him to raise his nephews as well as his own sons, he relocated to Jiangling 江陵, the provincial capital of Jingnan 荆南 province (based along the middle reaches of the Yangzi River), to cultivate several hundred *mu* of land that his brother had acquired while serving in the military government there. According to his epitaph, it would have been too difficult to raise all the boys in the capital. Although both he and his son Zheng Gun 鄭緄 (796–820) would be buried in Luoyang, their epitaphs reveal that the family owned a private residence in Jiangling, as well as a villa in the county seat’s eastern suburbs.

The Zheng family is unusual in discussing so explicitly land and economic resources. In other epitaphs, incidental evidence is sometimes suggestive. Like Zheng Lu’s brother, Yang Sui 楊隨 (d.821) also served the Jingnan military government. When he died in a private residence in Jiangling, he was initially interred near a country villa outside of town. Only a year and a half later did his younger brother finally bring him back to Huazhou 華州 in the Chang’an–Luoyang Corridor for reburial alongside his ancestors.⁸⁶ Although his family was based in the vicinity of the capital, Yang had evidently acquired property in Jingnan, where he had served in office. Numerous Luoyang epitaphs reveal a similar pattern. After Wang Fu’s 王甫 (751–811) term of office as sheriff 尉 of Wujin 武進 county, Changzhou prefecture came to an end, he stayed on there for several years, eventually dying in a private residence in the very same county. In this case, Wang Fu was returned to Luoyang for burial.⁸⁷ Perhaps more telling is the case of Pei Hong 裴宏 (818–872), who died in a private residence in Lingbao 靈寶 county (Shanzhou 陝州), before being returned to Luoyang for burial. This was not the site of his very last office, but rather where he had served as sheriff earlier in his career. Such circumstances once again suggest that he had acquired property and a residence while serving there, and had later retired there.⁸⁸ In all of these cases, although the deceased was returned to Luoyang for burial, it is conceivable that some descendants stayed behind to manage the new property, where they may then have been buried in tombs as of yet undiscovered.

⁸⁶ For another example, see the epitaph of Pei Qian 裴謙 (782–857), who died at a private residence where his son was serving in office, before being returned to Luoyang for burial.

⁸⁷ For a similar example, see the epitaph of Ms. Hong 洪氏 (782–841), who, although buried in Luoyang, died in Suzhou, where her husband had once served in office.

⁸⁸ For a nearly identical case, see the epitaph of Gao Zongyi 高宗彝 (798–869).

Finally, consider Wang Xiuben 王修本 (d. 837) and his wife Ms. Wei 韋氏 (802–857), both descendants of families based in the capital.⁸⁹ Wang himself did not serve in office, but his father had served in the provincial government in Runzhou 潤州. The family had apparently taken advantage of this opportunity to acquire property across the river in Yangzhou, where Wang would die in a “private residence.” His wish, however, was to return his branch of the family to the capital. On his deathbed, he instructed his wife, “Sell our residence and bring me back to Luoyang. Open and relocate [to Luoyang as well] the seven tombs of my grandfather, father, uncles, and sisters. 鬻其第, 將我歸于洛師, 啓遷我祖父伯仲女兄女弟凡七穴.” Selling the residence would, to be sure, have raised funds for the reburials; simultaneously, it would have served the function of divesting the family of property that would have been difficult to manage from the distant capital, where Wang and Wei were indeed interred.

On the basis of table 5, I have argued that a majority of officeholding elite families in provincial China held or had held office at their place of burial. In some cases, locally entrenched families used their influence to secure a local appointment. But in other cases, families from elsewhere resettled at their places of office as a deliberate strategic move. Political power inevitably provided these families with opportunities to accumulate local resources through legal and extra-legal means. The difficulties of controlling the newly acquired estates in locations remote from the family’s place of origin provided a strong incentive to remain there at the end of the term of office. Government service, then, was an important driving force not only for the redistribution of property, but also for the relocation of elite populations.

Where did these incoming elites come from? What were the primary routes of migration? With the exception of epitaphs from Luoyang and Chang’an, most sets of inscriptions for multiple family members are discovered in groups of tombs excavated together. It is exceedingly rare to have surviving inscriptions for kinsmen buried in two very different parts of the country. Sometimes, however, we have the good fortune of

⁸⁹ Wang’s ancestors were buried in Luoyang, as implied in his wife’s epitaph (see below). Moreover, the epitaphs of a woman who is apparently her great-great-grandmother (on the basis of place of burial and the name of her son) as well as a man who would then be his great-great-grandfather have both been discovered in Luoyang; see the epitaphs of Ms. Li 李氏 (646–722) and Wang Xuanqi 王玄起 (649–696). Ms. Wei was almost certainly also from a Chang’an-based family. Her grandfather appears in the genealogy of chief ministers in the *Xin Tang shu* (see *XTS* 74 上, p. 3089), implying the national prominence of the family. One cousin, Ms. Wei Yiren 韋懿仁 (d. 807), was buried in the vicinity of Chang’an. In addition, her great-aunt Ms. Wei 韋氏 (734–781) was the wife of the seventh son of Emperor Suzong (cf. *JTS* 116, p. 3388).

encountering just such a situation. On the basis of this and other evidence, it appears that two elite migratory patterns predominated: the outward migration of capital-based elites choosing to resettle at their places of office, and the migration in the tow of a military governor or army reassigned from one province to another.

One example of migration from the capital involves the Yan family. Yan Youming 顏幼明 (785–866) was buried in Changshu 常熟 county, in the Lower Yangzi macroregional periphery. Although neither he nor his father served in office, the three previous generations of patrilineal ancestors display a pattern of government service typical of capital elites, with service in disparate parts of the empire. His grandfather served in Quanzhou 泉州 on the southeast coast; his great-grandfather served in Songzhou 宋州 in central Henan; and his fourth-generation ancestor was prefect first of Fuzhou 涪州 in the Sichuan Basin and then of Hezhou 和州 in the Lower Yangzi region. Based on ancestral officeholding alone, one would suspect that the Yans came from the capital. Indeed, in this case, the fortuitous discovery near Luoyang of the epitaph of the fourth-generation ancestor, Yan Moudao 顏謀道 (642–721), who died at a private residence in the Xingyi 興藝 ward of the Eastern Capital, confirms beyond any doubt that the family had once resided there.

Another example involves Wang Lian 王鍊 (778–840). Wang's ancestors also served in office in all corners of the empire. He, himself, served first in Hongzhou (Jiangnan Xi province), before ending his career in Wuzhou 婺州 (Zhejiang Dong 浙江東 province). Although he was buried in the provinces, the pattern of family officeholding again implies that the family came from the capital. In this case, however, no family member listed in the epitaph is known to have been buried in Chang'an or Luoyang. However, Wang Lian's grandfather, Wang Yicong 王擇從, is listed in the genealogical table of chief ministers in *Xin Tang shu*, providing the historian with the names of many family members not mentioned in the epitaph.⁹⁰ As it turns out, inscriptions for Yicong's nephew and two of his brothers confirm that there was a family graveyard in the vicinity of Chang'an.⁹¹ Although it is not clear why a branch of the Yan family ended up in Changshu, Wang Lian was buried in Yuezhou 越州, seat of Zhejiang Dong province, for clear

⁹⁰ *XTS* 72 中, p. 2653.

⁹¹ See the texts of the spirit-path inscriptions for Wang Ding 王定 (d. 784), Wang Yicong 王易從 (667–726), and Wang Jingcong 王敬從 (679–740), preserved in the early-Song literary collection *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華.

reasons: it was in that province that he had held his last bureaucratic appointment.

Family relocation from the capital to the site of a government post was apparently not unusual. Despite the statistical improbability of having epitaphs proving family connections to the capital, there are several examples similar to those just mentioned. In all such cases, ancestors of the individuals in question show officeholding patterns characteristic of the capital elite.⁹² As such, it is almost certain that some of the other known provincial elites with nationally prominent ancestries were also descendants of Luoyang- or Chang'an-based families, despite the fact that no epitaphs have yet been discovered to confirm the link. Consider Zheng Gongchu 鄭恭楚 (798–853), who was buried in Xuchang county 須昌縣 (Yunzhou 鄆州), seat of the Tianping Army 天平軍. His great-grandfather served as prefect of Weizhou 衛州 in southern Hebei; his grandfather was county magistrate further north in Zhaoyi province. Although the place of office of Gongchu's father is unknown, both Gongchu and one of his sons served the Tianping Army; a second son served in Qizhou 齊州, then in Tianping territory. It is quite plausible

⁹² For other examples, see the epitaphs of Wei Shu 韋署 (748–821), Zhang Zun 張遵 (770–827), Ms. Neng Quchen 能去塵 (768–830), Yang Lin 楊鱗 (d. 821), and Linghu Huaibin 令狐懷斌 (834–858). In the case of Wei Shu, his final two offices were in Yangzhou, where he was buried. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather held offices at the national level, and his grandfather (and numerous earlier ancestors) are included in the *Xin Tang shu* table of chief ministers, further confirming the prominence of his family (see *XTS* 74A, p. 3084). The epitaph of his great-grandfather's younger brother Wei Jingyu 韋敬興 (626–646) has been found, confirming that the family once buried its dead at Chang'an, specifically in Honggu 洪固 township, Wannian 萬年 county. Wei Shu's spouse Ms. Zheng 鄭氏 (777–834) also came from a Chang'an family. Her brother Zheng Shaofang 鄭紹方 (768–809), according to his own epitaph, was buried next to his father in Wannian county, before both father and son were relocated five years later to the ancestral graveyard in the vicinity of Luoyang. In the case of Zhang Zun, he was buried in the mountains just north of Lingbao 靈寶 county (Shanzhou), where he had served as Assistant Magistrate. Epitaphs for his grandfather Zhang Qushe 張去奢 (688–747); great-uncle Zhang Quyi 張去逸 (693–748); second-cousin Zhang Hu 張怙 (756–818); and Zhang Hu's mother Ms. Li 李氏 (729–786), Princess Supreme of Tan, have been found in the vicinity of Chang'an. Zhang Qushe is incidentally known to have had a mansion in Chang'an; see Xu Song 徐松, *Tang liangjing chengfang kao* 唐兩京城坊考, collated and expanded by Zhang Mu 張穆 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985) 4, p. 94. In the case of Neng Quchen, she was buried in the prefecture where her son had previously served as assistant magistrate. Her ancestry was nationally prominent and the epitaph of her cousin Neng Zheng 能政 (760–823) confirms that her natal family was indeed based in Luoyang. As for Yang Lin, he was buried in Youzhou where he had served his entire career. His ancestors, however, had held central government offices as well as provincial appointments in disparate parts of the empire, suggestive of the capital elite. As it turns out, his niece Ms. Yang 楊氏 (781–812), who was buried in her natal family's cemetery, was interred in Luoyang. Finally, Linghu Huaibin 令狐懷斌 (834–858) was buried in Weibo. From the epitaph of his cousin twice removed Linghu Mei 令狐梅 (793–854), buried in Luoyang, we know he had a nationally prominent ancestry going back to the pre-Tang period.

that he was the scion of a capital-based family, though no evidence is yet available.⁹³

But not all instances of elite relocation to the provinces involved capital-based families of national prominence. The aforementioned case of Qiu Zhicheng provides an example of a second migratory pathway, whereby the subordinates of military governors followed their commanders from one provincial appointment to the next, sometimes reestablishing family roots at the new place. An excellent example involves the family of Yang Xiaozhi 楊孝直 (751–835). Both his grandfather and great-grandfather served in the Lulong Army 盧龍軍 based in Youzhou. His father served in Chengde province, where Xiaozhi, himself, began his career, as prefect of Shenzhou 深州 and then Jizhou 冀州. Given the autonomy of these Hebei provinces, it is almost certain that the family resided where family members had served in office, first in Youzhou, then in Chengde. Indeed, Xiaozhi's deceased wife was buried in Chengde; and at the time of his own death, one son was still based there and so could not attend his funeral. However, when Chengde's military governor Wang Chengyuan 王承元 submitted to the Tang court in 820, Xiaozhi and his son Yang Shan 楊贍 (789–826) accompanied Wang to his new office as governor of Yicheng 義成 province, based

⁹³ See, e.g., the epitaphs of Zhang Shaohua 張少華 (770–834), Ying Zongben 應宗本 (805–861), Liu Xi 劉驩 (785–829), Gao Luyu 高露寓 (768–833), and Ms. Hou 侯氏 (832–855) (paying particular attention to her husband's family). In the case of Daxi Ge 達奚革 (795–866), his fifth-, fourth-, and third-generation ancestors together display an officeholding pattern typical of the capital elite; in addition, both his great grandfather and his grand uncle had earned *jìnshì* degrees, again typical of the capital elite; his grandfather, however, was buried, certainly not by coincidence, in a county in Bianzhou where he had served in office. See also the epitaphs of Ms. Liu Neize 柳內則 (749–821), Zheng Zhun 鄭準 (768–830), and Yin Biao 殷彪 (749–825). Liu Neize was buried away from her ancestral graveyard (ostensibly because the timing was deemed inauspicious) in Shouzhou, in Huainan Province, where her husband was serving in office. Her patrilineal ancestry was prominent and links up to the *Xin Tang shu* genealogical table of chief ministers (see *XTS* 73A, p. 2842). Her maternal great-grandfather was a chief minister, as was her husband's father. Although it is known that her maternal grandfather's grand-niece was buried in her natal family's cemetery in Luoyang (see the epitaph of Ms. Zhang Rongcheng 張容成 [783–801]), I have not yet encountered epitaphs belonging either to her own natal family or to her husband's family to confirm the home base of these families, though it more than likely was either Chang'an or Luoyang. As for Zheng Zhun, he was buried in Changzhou, across Lake Tai from Suzhou, where he passed away and probably served in office (given that he died in a government residence). His burial is described as "temporary 權," but his place of family origin is unknown. Given the prominence of his ancestry and the fact that his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather all appear in the *Xin Tang shu* table of chief ministers (see *XTS* 75A, p. 3287), it is very likely that he was descended from the capital elite. Finally, Yin Biao was buried in Runzhou (modern-day Zhenjiang) next to his father, who had indeed served in the military government based there. His grandfather and great grandfather displayed a pattern of service typical of the national elite. His epitaph states that his first of two wives was "neither buried with her husband nor returned to the graveyard in Luoyang 未合祔及不從洛陽大[塋]." If his first wife was from a Luoyang family, it is more than likely that he too came from a family once based in the capital.

east of Luoyang in Huazhou.⁹⁴ While there, Xiaozhi encountered Niu Yuanji 牛元冀, an old comrade-in-arms from Chengde, then in transit through Huazhou to assume the governorship of Shannan Dong, a province centered around Xiangzhou further south. Xiaozhi accompanied Niu to Xiangzhou, where he is said to have “moved his family 移家.” His son Shan, on the other hand, did not accompany him there. Shan remained in the retinue of Wang Chengyuan, following Wang to a new post as governor of Fengxiang 鳳翔 province, situated west of Chang’an. It was here that Shan died prematurely in 826. Both men were interred at their places of death, Xiaozhi in Xiangzhou and Shan in Fengxiang. Several similar examples of men relocating with their commanders can be culled from other epitaphs, including those of Liu Yi 劉逸 (776–834), Zhang Liang 張亮 (788–847) and his nephew Zhang Feng 張鋒 (808–848), Liu Zizheng 劉自政 (782–851), and Wang Nixiu 王逆修 (773–823).⁹⁵

Ninth-century Chinese were well aware that government service constituted a plausible mechanism to account for permanent family relocation. Epitaphs almost universally ascribe an aristocratic great-clan ancestry to the deceased, and often provide an explanation of why the family graveyard was almost invariably hundreds of miles from the place of origin of the great clan in question. Frequently, they recount that an anonymous ancestor in the past had moved to the new location to serve in office.⁹⁶ Whether or not many such claims were deliber-

⁹⁴ For Wang Chengyuan’s career, see Michael T. Dalby, “Court Politics in Late T’ang Times,” in Twitchett, ed., *Cambridge History* 3, p. 637; Yu, *Tang cishi kao quanbian*, vol. 1, pp. 166, 216–17; vol. 2, pp. 796–97, 1085.

⁹⁵ The case of Liu Yi is quite similar. He, too, joined the retinue of Wang Chengyuan, serving him in both Yicheng and Fengxiang, and subsequently following him once more, this time to Pinglu (in modern-day Shandong), where he died in 834, one year after Wang. He was buried in Qingzhou, the seat of Pinglu Province. In the case of Zhang Liang, he was from a family based in Yiwu, where both his father and grandfather served in office and where his nephew Zhang Feng was buried. Zhang Liang, however, served in Heyang province just north of Luoyang, where he was buried. Although not explicitly stated in the epitaph, we know from other sources that Zhang Liang’s maternal uncle Chen Chu, Yiwu governor until 822, was reassigned to a governorship in Heyang that same year. Undoubtedly, Zhang Liang accompanied him. (See the discussion, above, on Chen Junshang’s family). As for Liu Zizheng, we know that it was his father who moved the family to Jingzhou, in this case in the tow of Zhu Zhongliang 朱忠亮 (for confirmation of Zhu’s identity, see Yu, *Tang cishi kao quanbian*, vol. 1, p. 283). Finally, there is the example of Wang Nixiu. His father and grandfather had served in southwestern Hebei. He himself began his career in Taiyuan, seat of the Hedong military government. In the ninth month of 796, from Taiyuan, he accompanied Li Jinglue 李景略 to Fengzhou in the far north, where he would die nearly 30 years later and where he would be interred.

⁹⁶ For a few examples of many such claims, see the epitaphs of Ms. Yang 楊氏 (765–825), Li Yong 李用 (770–830), Zhang Cheng 張誠 (770–844), Guo Quanfeng 郭全豐 (815–868), and Niu Yanzong 牛延宗 (834–877).

ately contrived, Chinese of the ninth century clearly believed that officeholding was a mechanism to account for long-distance migration. Here, I have sought to provide evidence to support just such a model of migration. In the regions away from the Chang'an–Luoyang Corridor, most officeholding families held one or more offices within their province of residence. In some cases, entrenched local families used their local prestige to obtain office in the provincial government. But in other cases, outsiders were assigned to provincial posts and subsequently relocated their families there, taking advantage of their political influence to accumulate local resources. Probably the two most prominent migratory pathways involved capital elites moving to the sites of provincial appointments (either appointments made through formal bureaucratic assignment procedures or appointments made informally by provincial governors); and military government staff members who accompanied their commander from one province to another.

CONCLUSION

In the present study, I have sought to demonstrate how excavated tomb epitaphs in conjunction with a careful consideration of geography can lead to a new understanding of Tang society. First, I have proposed that great-clan descent was not the primary defining characteristic of the oligarchy dominating late-Tang politics. The geometric expansion of the great clans over a period of several hundred years following the fall of the Han dynasty resulted in vast numbers of individuals in all corners of the empire who could claim descent from this pre-Tang aristocracy – although some no doubt fabricated such claims. A much more circumscribed political elite consisted of the network of families – some subbranches of the old great clans and some not – based in the capital and tied together through bonds of marriage, friendship, and patronage. The social capital commanded by these families allowed them to co-opt the primary channels of upward mobility, notably the civil service examinations and the informal recruitment practices of the provincial governments. By taking advantage of their connections with chief ministers, civil service examiners, and the powerful men dispatched to the provinces for three-year stints as military governors, entrenched elites in the capital succeeded not only in monopolizing positions in central government ministries, but also in dominating provincial posts all across the territory under Tang control.

Second, it is now possible to produce a model describing elite circulation in the late Tang, a model conflating social and geographic mo-

bility. Two of the most important pathways of elite migration consisted of the relocation of military governors from one province to another, with their personal retinues in tow; and the decision by capital-based elites to resettle at their places of office. In both cases, officeholders were able to use their ties to the state to establish roots and accrue land and other economic resources at the new place of residence. The relatively significant presence of these outsiders among provincial epitaphs suggests that their arrival must partly have been at the expense of native elites. Elsewhere, I have hypothesized that a similar process operating over a period of centuries may explain the disappearance of pre-Tang great clans from their places of clan origin in the provinces.⁹⁷ Although provincial elites could secure local office, especially – as demonstrated by Watanabe Takashi – in the lower tier of military government administrations, the difficulty they faced in gaining national political prominence meant that capital elites who chose to relocate away from Chang’an and Luoyang generally experienced a decline in political prestige. Why, then, would they choose to relocate? Presumably, less successful or less well-connected descendants of the prolific political oligarchy in the capital could not compete with their peers. Outward migration from the capital constituted the downward mobility experienced by the excess offspring of the capital elite. Of course, no models are without exceptions. There were isolated cases of inward migration to the capital that deserve to be explored in more depth in the future.

A third major discovery of this study is the prevalence of non-officeholding families among the economic elites in certain regions of the provinces, especially in the southeast and in a zone spanning southern Hebei and southeastern Hedong. Some of these families with no ties to the state were as wealthy as local officeholders. Moreover, the texts of some of their epitaphs hint at a provincial mentality that was not entirely in agreement with the hegemonic value system that overshadows traditional Tang literary and historical records. In particular, the accrual of commercial and landed resources was apparently at times deemed as prestigious as government office. Thus, the notion that local government service was evidence of a “newly risen” class may not be entirely correct. Powerful local families that converted their local

⁹⁷ A systematic study of choronym-surname combinations encountered in provincial epitaphs (excavated in Hebei and Jiangsu Provinces) reveals that, with the notable exception of the southeastern macroregional periphery, descendants of the old great clans no longer existed as elites at their sites of clan origin; see Tackett, “Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites,” pp. 78–86, 216–17.

prestige into government offices were more likely experiencing lateral rather than upward social mobility. Moreover, it is quite possible that officeholding was envisioned as only one component of a more comprehensive approach intended to ensure the long-term survival of the family. The many examples of families with “weak” officeholding traditions were quite possibly families that chose to complement government service with landholding and commerce as part of a broad strategy of diversification.

Finally, the enormous prestige and influence of the late-Tang state is readily apparent. Despite the unexpected significance of non-officeholding elites, traditions of government service – whether “weak” or “strong” – were still the norm among elite families, especially in the capital. Moreover, the ability of outsiders holding upper-tier provincial offices to displace native elites implies a close link between socio-economic status and officeholding in many regions of China. Elsewhere, I have shown that the prestige of the state and the capital’s overarching significance as the center of upper-class culture were phenomena not only evident in the autonomous provinces of late-Tang Hebei but also among the multiple coexisting regimes that ruled the Chinese ecumene during the period of disunity between the Tang and the Song.⁹⁸ The enduring prestige of the state even after the An Lushan Rebellion, which is supposed to have permanently reduced the influence of the Tang government, and even after the political turmoil of the tenth century, is quite remarkable and makes the shift to a localist strategy in the twelfth century, as described by Robert Hymes, appear all the more revolutionary.⁹⁹

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>JTS</i>	<i>Jiu Tangshu</i> 舊唐書
<i>XTS</i>	<i>Xin Tangshu</i> 新唐書

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 181–211.

⁹⁹ See Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*.

Appendix: List of Tomb Epitaphs Cited in Text (Alphabetical by Surname)

NAME	DATES	REFERENCES
Bai 白 (Ms.)	840-858	<i>WW</i> 1998.12: 84-86; <i>QTBWY</i> , vol. 7: 134-135
Bao Chen 包陳	772-828	TMH: 2102
Bu Cui 卜璿	757-822	TMH: 2060-2070
Cao 曹 (Mr.)	808-873	<i>QTBWY</i> , vol. 8: 219-220
Chen Feng 陳諷	829-879	TMHX: 1141-1142
Chen Junshang 陳君賞	792-842	<i>Luoyang xin chutu muzhi shilu</i> : 199-210
Chen Yu 陳諭	814-856	TMH: 2355; <i>QTZZ</i> : 1138
Chen Zhi 陳直	796-864	GZSH, 21: 14a-15a
Cheng Junxin 成君信	812-878	GZSH, 23: 10b-11b
Cheng Shiyong 程士庸	804-881	<i>QTBWXB</i> , 15: 10409-10410
Cui Bo 崔譚	711-781	<i>QTBWY</i> , vol. 8: 90-91
Cui E 崔鏗	804-822	<i>QTBWY</i> , vol. 8: 146
Cui Feng 崔逢	750-823	<i>QTBWY</i> , vol. 8: 134
Cui Hongzai 崔弘載	d.798	<i>QTBWY</i> , vol. 9: 396
Cui 崔 (Ms.)	793-843	<i>KG</i> 1996.12: 17-18; <i>QTBWY</i> , vol. 8: 166-167
Cui Shu 崔銖	801-820	<i>QTBWY</i> , vol. 8: 145
Cui Yanwen 崔彥溫	816-858	TMH: 2363-2364
Cui Yuanfu 崔元夫	782-839	<i>QTBWY</i> , vol. 8: 160-161
Daxi Ge 達奚革	795-866	TMH: 2427-2428
Deng 鄧 (Ms.)	832-863	<i>Heluo chungku</i> 2001.3: 36-40
Dong Weijing 董惟靖	796-852	TMH: 2300-2301
Dong Tangzhi 董唐之	804-858	<i>WW</i> 1992.9: 74-77; TMHX: 1022-1023
Du Qiong 杜瓊 (Ms.)	767-831	TMH: 2132
Fan 范 (Ms.)	821-875	TMHX: 1119
Fei Fu 費俯	856-877	<i>Tangdai muzhi</i> : 129
Feng Luqing 封魯卿	807-853	<i>QTBWY</i> vol. 8: 187-188
Feng Song 封松	794-858	Shandong Laiyang Museum (unpublished)
Gao Luyu 高露寓	768-833	TMH: 2143-2144
Gao Zongyi 高宗彝	798-869	<i>Luoyang xinhua muzhi</i> , pl. 117
Ge Juyuan 蓋巨源	811-873	<i>Wenbo</i> 2006.4: 94-96
Guo Quanfeng 郭全豐	815-868	<i>Shanyou zhongmu yiwen</i> , 下: 34b-35b
Han Jian 韓堅	763-851	Hebei, pl. 116
Hong 洪 (Ms.)	782-841	TMHX: 943-944
Hou 侯 (Ms.)	832-855	<i>KG</i> 1980.6: 595
Hua Fengyu 華封輿	788-846	Beijing, pl. 29
Huangfu Hui 皇甫煒	813-865	<i>Luoyang xinhua muzhi</i> , pl. 112
Ji Ping 紀平	773-846	<i>WW</i> 1995.10: 87; <i>Shufa congkan</i> 1998.3: 45

Jiang 姜 (Ms.)	766-838	TMH: 2183
Jiang Mo 姜謩	558-627	TMH: 26-27
Jing Juanzhi 敬捐之 (Ms.)	783-840	QFWBY, vol. 8: 161
Jing Shi 靖寔	827-858	Hebei, pl.123
Lai Zuoben 來佐本	d.873	GZSH, 22: 13a-13b
Lan 蘭 (Ms.)	803-856	Chongqing, pl.5
Le Bangsui 樂邦穗	827-877	Peking University Library (unpublished)
Li 李 (Ms.)	646-722	TMH: 1279-1280
Li 李 (Ms.)	729-786	TMH: 1845-1846
Li 李 (Ms.)	753-828	Shaanxi, pl.143
Li 李 (Ms.)	788-843	QFWBY, vol. 8: 167-168
Li 李 (Ms.)	833-844	QFWBY, vol. 8: 171
Li 李 (Ms.)	d.874	QFWBY, vol. 8: 221-222
Li Bugong 李布公	d.885	(<i>Guangxu Shanxi tongzhi</i> , 93: 20a-20b)
Li Chun 李春 (Ms.)	778-830	<i>Luoyang xinhua muzhi</i> , pls. 100, 105
Li Cun 李存	817-845	KG 1984.10: 908-914; TMHX: 959
Li Daoyin 李道因 (Ms.)	d.876	<i>Tangdai muzhi</i> : 133-134
Li Duanyou 李端友	811-853	QFWBY, vol. 8: 188
Li Gan 黎幹	716-779	TMH: 1861-1862
Li Guangyan 李光顏	762-826	QFWBB: 890-892
Li He 李郃	798-842	QFWBY, vol. 8: 165-166
Li Ji 李濟	776-825	TMHX: 871-872
Li Mo 李謨	836-867	QFWBY, vol. 8: 209-210
Li Ning 李寧	774-856	QFWBY, vol. 6: 172
Li Ping 李平 (Ms.)	d.833	TMH: 2179
Li Sui 黎燧	747-799	TMH: 2173
Li Wanshun 李婉順 (Ms.)	622-661	TMHX: 121-122
Li Xuanli 李懸黎 (Ms.)	859-871	TMH: 2454-2455
Li Ye 李燁	826-860	TMH: 2390-2391
Li Yong 李用	770-830	TMHX: 1051-1052
Li Yu 李郁	791-842	KG 1996.12: 16-18; QFWBY, vol. 7: 119-120
Liang Chun 梁春	823-833	TMH: 2141
Linghu Huaibin 令狐懷斌	834-858	TMHX: 1020
Linghu Mei 令狐梅	793-854	<i>Luoyang xinhua muzhi</i> , pl.110
Liu Congyi 劉從乂	719-805	QFWBY, vol. 8: 111
Liu Hao 劉皓	775-820	<i>Tangdai muzhi</i> : 112
Liu Hui 劉惠	772-848	Hebei, pl.118
Liu Mi 劉密	762-831	TMH: 2131
Liu Neize 柳內則 (Ms.)	749-821	QFWBY, vol. 8: 128-129
Liu Xi 劉駱	785-829	QFWBY, vol. 7: 102-104
Liu Yi 劉逸	776-834	TMH: 2147-2148

Liu Yingdao 劉應道	613-680	TMHX: 250-252
Liu Yuan 劉媛 (Ms.)	794-818	TMH: 2034
Liu Zhirou 劉致柔 (Ms.)	788-849	TMH: 2303-2304; QTZZ: 1119
Liu Zizheng 劉自政	782-851	<i>Kaogu yu wenwu</i> 1983.5: 26-31
Lu 盧 (Ms.)	769-834	QTWBY, vol. 8: 121-122
Lu 盧 (Ms.)	818-881	QTWBY, vol. 8: 228-229
Lu Chu 盧初	732-775	TMH: 2112; QTZZ: 1039
Lu Chuyue 盧處約	780-834	QTWBY, vol. 8: 154-155
Lu Gongbi 盧公弼	788-866	TMH: 2423-2424
Lu Hong 盧宏	795-857	TMH: 2358-2359, 2380; QTZZ: 1142
Lu Jifang 盧季方	782-848	QTWBY, vol. 8: 176-177
Lu Pan 盧槃	d.879	QTWBY, vol. 8: 206-207
Lu Ti 盧侗	727-790	TMH: 2052
Lu Zhizong 盧知宗	816-874	TMH: 2465-2466
Lu Zixian 盧子獻	842-869	QTWBY, vol. 8: 212-213
Lun Boyan 論博言	805-865	<i>Beijing shi Shijingshan qu lidai beizhi xuan</i> : 36
Lun Gongren 論弓仁	664-723	<i>Zhang Yangong ji</i> , 19: 26b-30a
Lun Weixian 論惟賢	d.809	WYYH, 909: 3b-5b
Luo Qian 駱潛	848-884	TMH: 2515-2516
Ma Gongliang 馬公亮	804-875	Henan (1), pl.179
Meng Sui 孟璩	794-860	QTWBY, vol. 8: 198
Miao Hongben 苗弘本	797-855	TMH: 2321-2322; QTZZ: 1128
Neng Quchen 能去塵 (Ms.)	768-830	QTWBB: 815
Neng Zheng 能政	760-823	TMH: 2075-2076; QTZZ: 1023
Niu Sengru 牛僧孺	780-848	<i>Dumu quanji</i> , 7: 72-75
Niu Yanzong 牛延宗	834-877	<i>Shanyou zhongmu yuwen</i> , 下: 33b-34b
Pei 裴氏 (Ms.)	792-821	Henan (1), pl.149
Pei Gao 裴誥	801-850	QTWBY, vol. 8: 181
Pei Hong 裴宏	818-872	<i>Luoyang xinhua muzhi</i> , pl.119
Pei Qian 裴謙	782-857	QTWBY, vol. 8: 193-194
Pei Xuan 裴誼	763-829	TMH: 2113-2114; QTZZ: 1040
Qiu Zhicheng 仇志誠	775-839	TMHX: 938-939
Shi 史 (Ms.)	821-847	TMH: 2255-2256
Song 宋 (Ms.)	759-819	TMH: 2053
Sun 孫 (Ms.)	796-823	<i>Mang Luo zhongmu yuwen sibian</i> , 6: 15a-15b
Sun Jian 孫簡	776-857	TMHX: 876-878
Sun Shaoju 孫少矩	813-864	<i>WW</i> 1988.4: 66-70
Sun Shilin 孫士林	806-884	QTWBB: 2329-2330
Sun Sui 孫綏	798-878	<i>KG</i> 1995.2: 141-142; TMHX: 1133-1134
Sun Ying 孫英	776-837	Beijing, pl. 33
Tang Hong 唐洪	817-871	QTWBY, 9: 418-419

Tang Qiong 唐瓊		QFWBY, 9: 418
Wang 王 (Ms.)	d.814	TMH: 2125
Wang 王 (Ms.)	840-868	<i>Jingji zhongmu yiwén</i> , 下: 14a-16b
Wang Congzheng 王從政	761-830	TMH: 2169-2170
Wang Ding 王定	d.784	WYYH, 894: 1a-4a
Wang Fu 王甫	751-811	QFWBY, vol. 8: 147-148
Wang Gongsheng 王公晟	802-870	GZSH, 22: 9a-10b
Wang Gongshu 王公淑	780-848	Beijing, pl.26
Wang Gun 王袞	781-832	TMH: 2134-2135
Wang Jingcong 王敬從	679-740	WYYH, 902: 7b-9b
Wang Jingzhong 王敬仲	759-826	TMH: 2092; QTZZ: 1029
Wang Lian 王鍊	778-840	TMH: 2208-2209
Wang Nixiu 王逆修	773-823	QFWBY, vol. 7: 97-98
Wang Shiyong 王時邕	799-845	Beijing, pl. 27
Wang Wan 王琬 (Ms.)	742-819	<i>Anhui sheng zhi</i> , vol. 57: 126
Wang Wenjin 王文進	d.886	<i>Shanyou zhongmu yiwén</i> , 下: 38b-39b
Wang Xiuben 王修本	d.837	TMH: 2175; QTZZ: 1066
Wang Xuanqi 王玄起	649-696	TMH: 1278-1279
Wang Yicong 王易從	667-726	WYYH, 926: 1a-4a
Wang Yu 王玉	769-841	TMHX: 1026
Wang Yuankui 王元達	812-854	Hebei, pl. 117; <i>Kaogu yu wenwu</i> 1983.1: 46-51
Wang Yurui 王玉銳	d.860	TMHX: 1029
Wang Zhengyan 王正言	755-818	<i>Luoyang xinhua muzhi</i> , pl.102
Wei 韋 (Ms.)	734-781	TMH: 1828
Wei 韋 (Ms.)	802-857	TMH: 2363
Wei 衛 (Ms.)	844-886	KG 1964.6: 321-322; TMH: 2517
Wei Jinghong 衛景弘	812-855	QFWBY, vol. 8: 191-192
Wei Jingyu 韋敬輿	626-646	TMHX: 39
Wei Shu 韋署	748-821	TMH: 2060-2061
Wei Yiren 韋懿仁 (Ms.)	d.807	TMH: 1962
Wu 吳 (Ms.)	764-824	<i>Luoyang xinhua muzhi</i> , pl.96
Xiang 向 (Mr.)	754-827	TMH: 2100-2101
Xiang Qun 向群	787-846	QFWBY, vol. 8: 175-176
Xiao Zheng 蕭徵	758-824	QFWBY, vol. 8: 138-139
Xie Shou 謝壽	768-842	TMH: 2228
Xu 徐 (Ms.)	812-845	<i>Huaxia kaogu</i> 1995.1: 25-31
Xu 許 (Mr.)	d.867	<i>Wenwu chungkuo</i> 2003.4: 65-68
Xu Pan 徐盼 (Ms.)	807-829	TMH: 2114
Xue Zan 薛贊	762-840	TMH: 2203-2204
Yan Moudao 顏謀道	642-721	TMH: 1239
Yan Youming 顏幼明	785-866	Jiangsu, pl. 23

Yang 楊 (Ms.)	781-812	TMH: 1988
Yang 楊 (Ms.)	765-825	Hebei, pl. 107
Yang Hangong 楊漢公	d.861	TMHX: 1036-1039
Yang Jian 楊劔	833-879	<i>Xuanhua chutu gudai muzhi lu</i> : 6-7, 9-10
Yang Lin 楊鱗	d.821	Beijing, pl. 22
Yang Ning 楊寧	744-817	TMH: 2023-2024
Yang Shan 楊瞻	789-826	TMH: 2091-2092
Yang Sui 楊隨	d.821	QFWBY, <i>Qian Tang zhuan ji</i> : 338
Yang Xiaozhi 楊孝直	751-835	TMH: 2160-2161
Yang Yi 楊翼	d.821	QFWBY, vol. 8: 131
Yang Yu 楊宇	807-851	TMH: 2294-2295; QTZZ: 1115
Yao Zhongran 姚仲然	761-837	QFWBY vol. 7: 115
Yin Biao 殷彪	749-825	KG 1985.2: 141; QTWBB: 801-802
Ying Zongben 應宗本	805-861	TMH: 2415
Yu 于 (Ms.)	840-871	QFWBY, vol. 9: 419-421
Yu Congzhou 余從周	806-851	TMH: 2295-2296
Yuan Guangcheng 源光乘	670-746	TMH: 1604-1606
Yuan Shengjin 元昇進	770-845	TMHX: 959-960
Zhang 張 (Ms.)	751-824	TMH: 2086-2087
Zhang 張 (Ms.)	795-855	Hebei, pl. 119
Zhang Cheng 張誠	770-844	TMHX: 1106
Zhang Da 張達	811-883	Hebei, pl. 137
Zhang Feng 張鋒	808-848	TMH: 2270-2271
Zhang Gongzuo 張公佐	802-846	TMH: 2262
Zhang Hu 張怙	756-818	TMH: 2035-2036
Zhang Jinmo 張進莫	777-826	<i>Wenwu chungku</i> 2007.2: 40-47
Zhang Jirong 張季戎	790-851	TMH: 2292-2293; QTZZ: 1114
Zhang Liang 張亮	788-847	TMH: 2256-2257
Zhang Maozhao 張茂昭	762-811	QFWXB, vol. 9: 5932-5933
Zhang Mian 張免	816-879	TMHX: 1147
Zhang Qing 張慶 (Ms.)	806-863	GZSH, 23: 5b-7b
Zhang Qushe 張去奢	688-747	TMH: 1608-1609
Zhang Quyi 張去逸	693-748	TMH: 1620-1621
Zhang Rongcheng 張容成 (Ms.)	783-801	TMH: 1919
Zhang Shaohua 張少華	770-834	Hebei, pl. 110
Zhang Xin 張信	782-850	TMH: 2282-2283; QTZZ: 1111
Zhang Xiucheng 張秀誠	744-828	Henan (1), pl. 419
Zhang Xun 張巽	782-825	TMH: 2088-2089
Zhang Youming 張佑明	788-840	QFWBY, vol. 7: 414-415
Zhang Zun 張遵	770-827	QFWBB: 808-809
Zhao Cong 趙琮	d.875	GZSH, 23: 8a-9a

Zheng 鄭 (Ms.)	784-833	TMH: 2149-2150
Zheng 鄭 (Ms.)	777-834	TMH: 2154
Zheng 鄭 (Ms.)	808-864	QTBWY, vol. 8: 208-209
Zheng 鄭 (Ms.)	827-858	<i>Luoyang xinhua muzhi</i> , pl. 111
Zheng 鄭 (Ms.)	d.871	TMH: 2476-2477
Zheng Bao 鄭瑤	791-856	TMH: 2356-2357
Zheng Benrou 鄭本柔	792-823	QTBWY, vol. 8: 132-133
Zheng Gongchu 鄭恭楚	798-853	TMHX: 997
Zheng Gun 鄭緄	796-820	TMH: 2046-2047
Zheng Lu 鄭魯	768-824	TMH: 2558-2559
Zheng Sanqing 鄭三清	844-852	TMHX: 992
Zheng Shaofang 鄭紹方	768-809	TMHX: 815-816
Zheng Xiushi 鄭秀實 (Ms.)	784-856	TMH: 2348
Zheng Zhonglian 鄭仲連	765-826	TMH: 2092-2093
Zheng Zhun 鄭準	768-830	TMH: 2115-2116
Zheng Zizhang 鄭子章	831-853	TMH: 2312-2313
Zhi Cheng 支成	757-818	TMH: 2337-2338; QTZZ: 1133
Zhi Guang 支光	712-772	TMH: 2336; QTZZ: 1132
Zhi Mo 支謨	829-879	<i>Luoyang daxue xuebao</i> 21.1 (2006): 1-10
Zhi Ne 支訥	823-878	TMH: 2496
Zhi Shuxiang 支叔向	817-853	<i>Mang Luo zhongmu yiwen xubian</i> , 下: 10a-11b
Zhi Xun 支詢	826-842	TMH: 2339
Zhi Zhijian 支志堅 (Ms.)	812-861	TMH: 2393; QTZZ: 1158
Zhi Zigui 支子珪 (Ms.)	834-850	<i>Tangdai muzhi</i> : 121-122
Zhi Zizhang 支子璋 (Ms.)	835-853	TMH pp. 2339-2340
Zhou Shaocheng 周少成	774-844	<i>Qingzhou bowuguan</i> : 219-221
Zhu Shan 朱瞻	809-865	Henan (2), pl. 106
Zuo Zheng 左政	784-855	<i>Wenwu shijie</i> 2005.5: 39-41

Alphabetical List of Titles Cited in Appendix

Abbreviations, where used, are given in left column

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Table 1. Places of Death of 430 Elites Buried in Luoyang, 820–880

	PRIVATE RESIDENCE	GOVERNMENT RESIDENCE	OTHER	UNSPEC'D	TOTAL	%
Luoyang	110	4	9	76	199	46
Meng/ Zheng	9	1	2	3	15	3
Chang'an	20	2	5	27	54	13
Office/ Travel	7	63	17	27	114	27
Other	21	0	4	23	48	11
TOTAL					430	100

This tabulates the places of death of 430 individuals buried in Luoyang between the years 820 and 880. All Luoyang epitaphs dating to this period and for which the place of death is clearly stated are included from the following sources: Zhou Shaoliang and Zhao Chao, eds., *Tangdai muzhi huibian*; idem, *Tangdai muzhi huibian xuji*; Wu Gang, ed., *Quan Tang wen buyi*, vols. 1-9 (for the preceding citations, see note 4). “Luoyang” in this case refers to all the counties contained in Henan prefecture 河南府; “Meng/Zheng” refers to Mengzhou 孟州 and Zhengzhou 鄭州, two prefectures in the very close vicinity of Luoyang; “Chang’an” refers to all the counties contained in Jingzhao 京兆 prefecture; “office/travel” is used for cases where the deceased died while serving as a bureaucrat in the provinces, while traveling, or while accompanying a close officeholding relative. “Private residence” refers to residences (usually 第) described in the epitaph as “private 私” or to “villas” (usually 別墅 or 別業); “government residences” (官舍, 郡宅, etc.) are state-owned residences available to officeholders; “other” includes inns, temples, and rented properties; “unspecified” refers to cases where the geographic place of death is identified but the type of residence is not specified.

Table 2. Transgenerational Officeholding Traditions of Families Represented in 790 Ninth-Century Tomb Epitaphs

BURIAL PLACE	TRANS-GEN'L. OFFICEHOLDING TRADITION					
	STRONG		WEAK		NONE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Metropolitan Luoyang	211	84	34	14	5	2
Provincial North China	132	38	123	35	92	27
Youzhou	32	65	17	35	—	—
So. Hebei/Hedong	27	23	34	29	55	47
Guannei	23	52	18	41	3	7
South China	36	19	56	29	101	52
Jiangnan Dong	9	9	18	18	71	72
Yangzhou	8	15	21	40	23	44
Other	19	44	17	40	7	16
TOTALS	379	48	213	27	198	25

This table includes epitaphs dating to the period 820 to 880 in the case of Luoyang and 820 to 890 in the case of other regions of China. The additional decade in the latter case is useful for expanding the sample size, especially in the case of Hebei and Hedong, where the Huang Chao Rebellion had no noticeable effect on the rate of epitaph production until the 890s (whereas, in Luoyang, the total number of epitaphs produced per year plummeted after the year 880). The table tabulates all epitaphs from provincial North China and from South China included in the comprehensive database described in note 4; in the case of Luoyang, a random sample of 250 inscriptions was used. Metropolitan Luoyang is defined as the counties of Henan 河南 and Luoyang 洛陽, as well as the peripheral counties of Goushi 緱氏, Heqing 河清, Shou'an 壽安, Yanshi 偃師, Yique 伊闕, and Yingyang 潁陽. Provincial North China refers to the regions north of the Huai River and the Qinling Mountains, excluding the counties in the immediate vicinity of Luoyang and Chang'an. Note that Youzhou, Southern Hebei/Hedong, and Guannei represent only a portion of provincial North China. A "strong" officeholding tradition indicates that the family of the deceased held office for at least three of four generations (including the deceased's generation as well as two older generations and one younger generation). A "weak" officeholding tradition indicates that at least one affinal or agnatic kin held office, but that the family did not hold office for more than two generations. No officeholding tradition indicates that neither the deceased nor any named affinal or agnatic kin held an official title. Vague references to serving the state without mentioning a specific bureaucratic title are generally not considered evidence of officeholding. Tribute scholars 鄉貢進士 are also not considered officeholders for the purposes of this table.

*Table 3. Office-Holding Families in Ninth-Century Provincial China:
Nationally Prominent versus Others (based on tomb epitaph count)*

BURIAL PLACE	NATIONALLY PROMINENT		OTHERS		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Chang'an-Luoyang Corridor	20	37	34	63	54	100
Lower Yangzi / Northern Zhejiang	5	9	48	91	53	100
Other Regions	2	1	230	99	232	100

This table takes into account all provincial epitaphs included in the comprehensive database described in note 4. Nationally-prominent officeholding families are defined as families with officeholders in three out of four generations (taking into account the deceased or deceased's spouse, as well as two older generations and one younger generation) and whose provincial bureaucratic appointments are exclusively outside the military province of burial. For a list of military provinces with their subordinate prefectures that is more or less accurate for most of the 9th century, see *JTS* 38, pp. 1389-93. Provincial China refers to all regions excluding the counties in the immediate vicinity of Luoyang and Chang'an. The Chang'an-Luoyang Corridor refers to the prefectures of Henan 河南, Ruzhou 汝州, Mengzhou 孟州, Zhengzhou 鄭州, Huaizhou 懷州, Jingzhao 京兆, Fengxiang 鳳翔, Huazhou 華州, Shanzhou 陝州, and Guozhou 虢州, but excluding the counties in the immediate vicinity of the capital cities. The Lower Yangzi / Northern Zhejiang region refers to the prefectures of Hezhou 和州, Yangzhou 揚州, Runzhou 潤州, Changzhou 常州, Huzhou 湖州, Suzhou 蘇州, Hangzhou 杭州, Yuezhou 越州, and Mingzhou 明州. Officeholding families are counted on the basis of individual tomb epitaphs that make reference to at least one officeholder among agnatic and affinal kin.

Table 4. Provincial Officeholding Families Serving Exclusively Locally (based on tomb epitaph count)

PLACE OF BURIAL	GOVERNMENT SERVICE OF FAMILIES					
	<u>LOCAL ONLY</u>		<u>PARTLY NONLOCAL</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Chang'an-Luoyang Corridor	10	23	34	77	44	100
Lower Yangzi / Northern Zhejiang	20	48	22	52	42	100
Hebei Autonomous Provinces	75	97	2	3	77	100
Other Regions	109	76	35	24	144	100

This figure takes into account all provincial epitaphs included in the comprehensive database described in note 4. Provincial China refers to all regions excluding the counties in the immediate vicinity of Luoyang and Chang'an. The Chang'an-Luoyang Corridor and the Lower Yangzi / Northern Zhejiang regions are defined in the notes to table 3. Officeholding families are counted on the basis of individual tomb epitaphs that make reference to at least one officeholder among agnatic and affinal kin and for whom the places of office are known (hence some officeholding families included in table 3 are not included in table 4). Families with "local only" appointments are defined as families all of whose offices consist of provincial appointments within the military province of burial (or who began to serve exclusively locally at some point in the past). Families with "partly non-local" government service consist of families who held one or more central government appointments or provincial appointments outside of the military province of burial even after if it is clear the family was based in the provinces.

Table 5. Provincial Officeholding Families Serving Exclusively Nonlocally (based on tomb epitaph count)

PLACE OF BURIAL	GOVERNMENT SERVICE OF FAMILIES					
	<u>ONLY NONLOCAL</u>		<u>PARTLY LOCAL</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Chang'an-Luoyang Corridor	29	66	15	34	44	100
Lower Yangzi / Northern Zhejiang	19	45	23	55	42	100
Hebei Auton. Prov's.	—	—	77	100	77	100
Other Regions	13	9	131	91	144	100

This figure takes into account all provincial epitaphs included in the comprehensive database described in note 4. Provincial China refers to all regions excluding the counties in the immediate vicinity of Luoyang and Chang'an. The Chang'an-Luoyang Corridor and the Lower Yangzi / Northern Zhejiang regions are defined in the notes to table 3. Officeholding families are counted on the basis of individual tomb epitaphs that make reference to at least one officeholder among agnatic and affinal kin and for whom the places of office are known (hence some officeholding families included in table 3 are not included in table 5). "Only Nonlocal" refers to epitaphs for which there is no evidence that any family member held office within the military province of burial. "Partly local" government service refers to epitaphs that indicate that at least one affine or agnate served locally.