

唐初の氏族政策と「門閥」勢力 -隋唐政権形成史の研究-

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Clan Policy at the Beginning of Tang and the Great Clans: A Study on the Formation of the Sui and Tang Regimes

Hiroyuki, HORII

Introduction: Existing Studies and Issues Regarding the Formation of Sui-Tang Regimes

The objective of this research is to clarify the nature and the political system of the groups that ruled the Sui-Tang dynasties by examining the clan policies at the beginning of Tang and the trends of the Sui and Tang Chinese (*Han*) *menfa* 門閥 (great clans) during the Southern and Northern Dynasties period and the beginning of Sui and Tang.

The existing studies aiming to clarify the nature of Sui and Tang regimes for the most part were based on the following two perspectives. The first perspective focused on the regime's choice of the ruling system, and whether aristocracy was implemented simultaneously with *luling* 律令 bureaucracy. The second perspective attempted to examine the nature of the regimes by analyzing the constituents of the ruling groups that formed the core of Sui and Tang regimes. The representative theory for the first perspective is that of Naito Konan 内藤湖南, who considered all of the Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties, Sui, and Tang period as the age of aristocracy. Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 incorporated Naito's theory and established the second perspective, the Guanlong 閹隴 clique theory. According to Chen, the core of the Sui and Tang regimes consisted of the Guanlong clique that had its roots in the ruling groups of Western Wei and Northern Zhou that were the predecessors of the respective dynasties, and the clique dominated the core of the regime until the Taizong 太宗 reign during Tang. Chen's theory became the mainstream, having been succeeded by scholars such as Nunome Chofu 布目潮風, Wang Qian 汪錢, Mao Hanguang 毛漢光, and Yoshioka Makoto 吉岡真.

One of the issues considering the previous studies is that there are some unclarities in Chen's theory, particularly regarding which clans exactly were included in the Guanlong clique, or what exactly is meant by his claim that the Guanlong clique dominated the core of the regime. Because of this, scholars took different stances in interpreting Chen's theory, including the concept of the Guanlong clique itself. Therefore, this study avoided using the term "Guanlong clique" except when referring to the previous studies.

The second issue is as follows. Existing studies restored the clans that constitute the core part of the regime and calculated the ratio of the Guanlong clique and the non-Guanlong clans using statistic analysis, and defined the nature of the regime according to the results attained. However, little consideration was given regarding the philosophy and the policy behind formation of the Sui and Tang ruling groups, and how they were reflected in their administrative policies. Therefore in order to examine this point, I would like to focus on their "clan policies."

The clan policies referred to in this study is the policy that decides the class of the families by deciding the line between the ruling class *shi* 士 and the ruled class *shu* 庶 and clarifying which clans specifically consist the *shi*. One of the clan policies at the beginning of Tang was the editing of the *Zhengguanzhizuzhi* 貞觀氏族志 by the second emperor, Taizong (Li Ximin 李世民, reign 626~649). The book stated the rankings among the *shi* clans based on *guanpin* 官品. The ranking is a faithful reflection of the ruling group at the beginning of Tang dynasty. Therefore,

part 1 of this dissertation clarified the process through which the ruling group of Tang was formed by considering the clan policies at the beginning of the dynasty.

The third issue is that there were not enough studies in the field of political history, regarding the Han great clans who were the crucial constituent of the Sui and Tang ruling class. Previous studies had accumulated research on the great clans as a social class. However, they did not consider what role the Han great clans played in the formation process of the Sui and Tang regimes. Thus the second part of this dissertation did case studies on some of the major Han great clans, and discussed the importance of the role the Han great clans played during the formation of the Sui and Tang regimes.

Part 1 The Formation of the Tang Regime and the Development of Clan Policies

Part 1 Chapter 1, clarifies the correspondence between the *guanpin* and the rank of the family's class and the conditions clans had to fulfill in order to be included in the *Zhengguanzhizuzhi*, based on the lineage, office and title, and the ranking of 5 members of the Pei 裴 clan from Hetong 河東, whose names appear in *Peishijiabu* 裴氏家譜 edited by *Pei Tao* and cited in the *Peishi xianggong jiabu zhi bei* 裴氏相公家譜之碑, carved on the eleventh year of Dading 大定 (1171) during the Jin dynasty. The analysis was conducted on the premise that the qualification for the clans included were, obtainment of *guanpin* at least above the fifth pin of Tang dynasty, and are descendants of the *shi* that goes back to the Southern and Northern dynasties. The restored correspondence between the rank of the family and the *guanpin* can be organized as in the below chart, "Correspondence between the rank of the family and the *guanpin* in *Zhengguanzhizuzhi*."

Chart 1 Correspondence between the family rank and the *guanpin* in *Zhengguanzhizuzhi*

Deng 等 (rank)	Standards	Clans Included
1 st Rank (youxing 右姓)	The imperial family Maternal relatives of the imperial family <i>zheng yipin</i> 正一品 (<i>sanshi sangong</i> 三師三公) – <i>cong yipin</i> 從一品 (<i>taizi sanshi</i> 太子三師)	The imperial family Li 李 (the imperial family, <i>bazhuguo</i> 八柱國, <i>xungui</i> 勳貴 of <i>Guanlong</i> 關隴 origin) Duqu 独孤 clan (maternal relatives, <i>bazhuguo</i> , <i>xungui</i> of <i>Guanlong</i> origin) Dou 竇 clan (maternal relatives, <i>bazhuguo</i> , <i>xungui</i> of <i>Guanlong</i> origin) Changsun 長孫 clan (maternal relatives, <i>bazhuguo</i> , <i>xungui</i> of <i>Guanlong</i> origin)
2 nd Rank	<i>zheng erpin</i> 正二品 – <i>cong erpin</i> 從二品	
3 rd Rank	<i>zheng sanpin</i> 正三品 – <i>cong sanpin</i> 從三品	Cui Mangan 崔民幹 (Shantong great clan that entered the Guanzhong area, the second <i>fang</i> 房 of the Boling 博陵 Cui clan) Pei Shiju 裴世矩 (Northern Xi lineage, Guanzhong great clans, Xijuan 西眷 Pei clan)
4 th Rank	<i>zheng sipin</i> 正四品 – <i>cong sipin</i> 從四品	Pei Huaijie 裴懷節 (Northern Xi lineage, Guanzhong great clans, Tongjuan 東眷 Pei clan) Pei Shennan 裴神安 (Northern Xi lineage, Guanzhong great clans, the second <i>fang</i> of the Zhongjuan 中眷 Pei clan) Pei Shiqing 裴世清 (Guanzhong great clans, the third <i>fang</i> of the Zhongjuan Pei clan)
5 th Rank	<i>zheng sipin wupin shang</i> 正五品上 – <i>cong wupin xia</i> 從五品下	
6 th Rank		
7 th Rank		
8 th Rank		
9 th Rank		

Based on chart 1, the chapter compared the family rank of 5 members of the Hetong 河東 Pei clan and Cui Mingan, discovering that there is no evidence that the so called Guanlong clique was favored, except for the maternal relatives. In addition, the use of *guanpin* as the standard for deciding the rank of the family was clearly influenced by the principle of valuing *xiancai* 賢才 (wisdom and talent), descending from the anti-great clans stance since the Southern and the Northern dynasties. Based on this principle, Taizong considered the clans on the same level, disregarding whether they were of the Guanlong lineage or not and aspiring to establish a political system that overemphasizes neither.

Chapter 2 considers the development in Taizong and Gaozong 高宗's clan policies, based on the historical backgrounds of how enormous imperial tombs with *peizang* 陪葬 (accompaniment burial). *Peizong* is to bury the subordinates close to the tomb of their lord, and Taizong had given orders when he was still living, that the meritorious retainers that played a great role in the founding of the dynasty, be buried alongside his own tomb, Zhaoling 昭陵. Gaozong (reign 649-683) also succeeded this policy. The objective of the policy was to consider the level of rewards the meritorious retainers should receive according to their achievement, and to honor them. The retainers that were chosen matched with Taizong's ideal of the *shidafu* 士大夫 (scholar-official) in a merit-based system, and they were ranked highly also in the *Zhengguanzhizuzhi*, above the 3rd rank. However, this new ranking of the clans based on Tang's official *guanpin* was not accepted by the bureaucrats even after the completion of Gaozong's *Xingshilu* 姓氏錄, that revises the *Zhengguanzhizuzhi*, and the old values since the Southern and the Northern dynasties period regarding the great clans, which saw the Han Chinese great clans from Shantong 山東 as the highest ranking, could not be eliminated. Taizong and Gaozong hoped to enroot the clan rankings established by Tang deep into the society, by honoring the *shidafu* that earned their fame due to merit through burying them alongside the Zhaoling.

Chapter 3 examined the formative processes of the Taizong regime, focusing especially on lords of the Northern Xi (Shantong) lineage. The lords of Northern Xi lineage were the descendants of the surviving retainers of the Northern Xi regime that fought against Northern Zhou 北周, and were in rivalry with the clans with Guanlong (Northern Zhou) lineage. This meant that they were given a cold treatment in the Sui dynasty politics. The Northern xi lords formed a political group, and contributed actively to seizure of the regime by Li Shimin 李世民 (Taizong). As the result, in the established Taizong regime, a new ruling group was formed that was fitting for the newly unified dynasty, which overcame the rivalry between the Guanlong and the Shantong clans that dated back to the opposition between Northern Zhou and Xi.

Part 2 Formation of the Sui and Tang Regimes and the Great Clans

The second part conducted case studies of the two major great Han clans, and discussed the role of the Han great clans in the formation of the Sui and Tang regimes.

Chapters 1 through 3 took up the Shantong great clan of Cui Mingan who was considered the representative of the older great clans. Cui Mingan was the descendant of the second *fang* of the Boling Cui clan. Whereas the typical Shantong great clans were descendants of Northern Xi, his family was an atypical Shantong great clan known as the *ruguan menfa* 入關門閥 (a great clan that entered the Guanzhong area), who served the Western Wei and the Northern Zhou regimes. Most scholars considered that the *ruguan menfa* lost the geographical backbone when their relationship with the family and relatives in Shantong was severed, and became parasitic bureaucrats that relied only on stipends provided by the state, and did not see them as an effective political power. Contrary to such views, the author analyzed the newly discovered "Boling Cuishi muzhi 博陵崔氏墓誌 (epitaph of the Boling Cui clan)," and revealed how the Cui clan started to bury their deceased in their Shantong homeland, and revived the clan's solidarity

that had been divided between Guanzhong and Shantong areas, by forming a joint clan tomb with their relatives with Northern Xi origin. Additionally, the Cui clan had already formed partnership with other Shantong great clans through marriage during the Northern Wei period, and reunited with the Shantong great clans of Northern Xi lineage after the reunification of the Huabei area. On the other hand, the Cui clan that entered the Guanzhong area had also intensified ties with the Guanlong *xungui* 勳貴. Because of such conditions, the Boling Cui clan that entered the Guanlong area possessed attributes both of the Shantong great clan and the Guanlong clan, and was listed in the first edition of *Zhengguanzhizuzhi* as the first rank great clan, as a dignified representative of the Shantong great clan. Therefore, the mainstream understanding that the Boling Cui clan became parasite bureaucrats upon entering Guanzhong needs to be readjusted.

In chapters 4 and 5, the author examined the case of the Yuegongfang 越公房 Yang 楊 clan, who were a typical Guanzhong Han Chinese great clan and the main line of the Hongnong Yan clan. Chapter 4 analyzed the backbone of the Yuegongfang Yang clan as a great clan, by examining 49 Yuegongfang Yan clan epitaphs. As the result, it became clear that the Yuegongfang Yan clan owned enormous manors and clan tombs in their homelands in Huayin 華陰, and influenced many main line members and countrymen. In addition, the Yuegongfang Yang clan established their grounds in bureaucracy using such regional foundation to their advantage, was considered the relative of the Sui imperial family, and were appointed to positions related to *zhengqing* 正卿, *xiaoqing* 小卿, and *taizi zongwei* 宗衛 of the *zongzhengsi* 宗正寺 (court of the imperial clan). *Zongwei* is a troop that forms part of the imperial prince's guard consisting mainly of the Sui imperial family members, which bore the foundation of the Sui imperial family's military power. The fact that members of the Yuegongfang Yang clan were appointed as guardsmen in the *zongwei* thus meant that their power had penetrated deep into the foundation of the Sui imperial house. This allowed the head of the family, Yansu 楊素 to have great influence during the succession conflicts among the Sui imperial family, and came into great power after assisting Jinwang 晉王 Yangguan 楊廣 (Yangdi 煬帝) take hold of the regime.

Chapter 5 discussed the case of Yangjun 楊鈞 who was the patriarch of the Yuegongfang. By examined both at his epitaph (buried September 30th on the first year of Jianyi 建義, CE 528) and other historical records, the chapter looked into his personality and pointed out that the Yuegongfang Yang clan traditionally valued both scholarship and martial prowess, revealing that such values contributed to maintaining the Yang clan as part of the great clan bureaucrats.

Conclusion The Formation of the Sui and Tang Regimes, Aristocracy, and the Great Clans

Two points can be made based on the findings of this study. The first is that the typical understanding since ChenYinke that the Tang regime was dominated exclusively by Guanlong clans do not stand. The second point is that the Tang regime is structured with aristocracy at the core, and that we can confirm again that discussion of aristocracy is crucial in considering the nature of Sui and Tang regimes. However, recent academic trends tend to consider the Sui and Tang regimes as extension of the Xianbei 鮮卑 origin states, and focus only on how the Northern Asian nomadic elements influenced the nature of the regimes, leaving the subject of aristocracy out of the discussion. In Sui dynasty, the imperial Yang family claimed to be the Han great clan, the Hongnong Yangs, and incorporated the political power of the Yuegongfang Yangs who were the origin of the clan. This can be seen as an evidence of the contemporary historical background where the newly risen emperor with the northern clan background was pressured to enforce his political foundation in ruling over the Han great clans. On the other hand, Kawai Yasushi 川合安 and Sato Masaru 佐藤賢 has pointed out how the “nomadic elements” in Northern Wei Xiaowendi 孝文帝's *xinzu xianding* (detailed determination of families and clans) that was the precedent of the clan policies in Sui and Tang, which supported

aristocracy during both dynasties. The attributes of the Sui and Tang aristocracy becomes clear only through considering how the nomadic elements and the Chinese elements since Wei and Jin interacted with each other, and furthering studies on this point will be the future aim of this research.