

## *Concubinage and Servitude in Late Imperial China.*

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**Figure 1.1 Tenant Revolts in Grand Canal Region**

Years	Impacted Areas	Years	Impacted Areas
1420	Shangdong	1638	Southern Fujian
1447	Zhejiang, Fujian	1640s	Late Ming peasant rebellion
1448	Fujian	1670, 1674	Southern Jiangxi, Fujian, Guangdong
1464	Hunan, Hubei	1688	Jiangxi
1470	Hunan, Hubei	1689-1693	Jiangsu
1509	Hebei, Sichuan, Shanxi, Guizhou, Jiangxi, Fujian	1703	Jiangsu
1572	Guangdong	1714	Jiangsu
1576	Guangdong	1723	Jiangxi
1578-1579	Guangdong	1730	Jiangsu
1622	Shangdong	1741, 1758	Jiangsu
1624	Wujiang (Jiangsu)	1772	Guangxi
1627	Shanxi, Shangdong	1775	Zhejiang
1631	Southern Fujian	1850-1871	The Taiping Rebellion (Jiangnan, Guangxi)

Sources:

Fu Yiling, *Ming Qing fengjian tudi suoyouzhi lungang* (Shanghai, 1991), chap. 5; Hsieh Bao Hua, "Market in Concubines in Jiangnan during Ming-Qing China," *Journal of Family History*, 33, no. 3 (2008), p. 269.

**Figure 2.1 Mourning Relationships between Parents-in-laws, Husband, wife, and Concubines**

Parents-in-law for son's wife	<i>Yili</i> to Song: 2c; Ming-Qing: 2c (main heir's wife) 3rd (other sons' wife)
Parents-in-law for son's concubine	Ming-Qing: None
Wife for parents-in-law	<i>Yili</i> : 1st (father-in-law), 2a (widow mother-in-law) 2b (mother-in-law) Tang-Song: 1st (father-in-law), 2a (mother-in-law) Ming-Qing: 1st (both in-laws)
<i>Ying</i> for parents-in-law	<i>Yili</i> to Qing: 2a (both)
<i>qie</i> for parents-in-law	<i>Yili</i> to Song: 2a (both) Ming-Qing: 2c (both)
Husband for wife	<i>Yili</i> : 2c (parent alive), 2b (parents dead) Tang to Qing: 2b (parent dead/alive)
Husband for concubine	For <i>Ying</i> *--- <i>Yili</i> : 5; Tang to Qing: None; For <i>qie</i> *--- <i>Yili</i> : 5 (bearing a son), None (childless) Tang to Qing: None
Wife for husband	<i>Yili</i> to Qing: 1st
Wife for concubine	<i>Yili</i> to Qing: None
<i>Ying</i> for husband	<i>Yili</i> to Qing: 1 <sup>st</sup>
<i>Ying</i> for wife	<i>Yili</i> to Qing: 2c
<i>qie</i> for husband	<i>Yili</i> to Qing: 1st
<i>qie</i> for wife	<i>Yili</i> to Song: 2c; Ming-Qing: 2b

Sources:

Zhang Lu, *Xiaocilu* (rpt. Taipei, 1960); Xu Qianxue, "Sangfukao," in *Duli tongkao* (in *SKQSZB*);  
Mao Qiling, *Bianding jili tongsubu* (in *SKQSZB*), juan 1, 2.

**Figure 2.2 Mourning Relationships between Children and Father's Concubines**

1st degree mothers for sons	<i>Yili</i> : 2a (the heir); 2c (other sons) Tang to Qing: 2c (for all sons).
2nd degree mothers for sons	<i>Yili</i> : 3rd; Tang to Qing: 2c
3rd degree mothers for sons	none
4th degree mothers for sons	none
Children for 1st degree mothers (having children or none)	<i>Yili</i> : 2a (father dead); 2b (father alive) Tang & Song: 2a (father dead or alive) Ming & Qing: 1st (having children); none (no child) 2b (for deposed or remarried birth mother)
Children for 2nd degree mothers (having children or none)	<i>Yili</i> to Song: 5th (having children); none (no child) Ming & Qing: 2b (having children); none (no child)
Children for 3rd degree mothers	<i>Yili</i> to Qing: 2b
Children to 4th degree mothers	<i>Yili</i> to Qing: 5th

Sources:

Zhang Lu, *Xiaocilu* (rpt. Taipei, 1960); Xu Qianxue, "Sangfukao," in *Duli tongkao* (in *SKQSZB*);  
Mao Qiling, *Bianding jili tongsubu* (in *SKQSZB*), juan 1, 2.

**Figure 2.3 Applied Penalties for Husband, Wife, and Concubines for Offending Each Other**

Crimes	Offender/to Defender, Penalty	Crimes	Offender/to Defender, Penalty
SCOLDING	Husband/Wife, None Husband/Concubine, None Wife/Husband, S5 Wife/Concubine, None Concubine/Husband, S4 Concubine/Wife, S4 Concubine/Concubine, None	UNREASONABLE BEATING TO DEATH	Husband/Wife, D5 Husband/Concubine, S1 Wife/Husband, D2 Wife/Concubine, D5 Concubine/Husband, D2 Concubine/Wife, D2 Concubine/Concubine, N/A
INJURY	Husband/Wife, none Husband/Concubine, None Wife/Husband, C2 Wife/Concubine, C3 Concubine/Husband, C1 Concubine/Wife, C1 Concubine/Concubine, N/A	KILLING BY ACCIDENT	Husband/Wife, none Husband/Concubine, None Wife/Husband, D1 Wife/Concubine, None Concubine/Husband, D1 Concubine/Wife, S1 Concubine/Concubine, N/A
BEATING TO BONR BROKEN	Husband/Wife, S2 Husband/Concubine, S3 Wife/Husband, S1 Wife/Concubine, S3 Concubine/Husband, S1 Concubine/Wife, S3 Concubine/Concubine, N/A	HOMOCIDE BY MISCHANCE	Husband/Wife, D2 Husband/Concubine, D3 Wife/Husband, D4 Wife/Concubine, D2 Concubine/Husband, D4 Concubine/Wife, D4 Concubine/Concubine, N/A
PREASURE TO DEATH	Husband/Wife, None Husband/Concubine, None Wife/Husband, D2 Wife/Concubine, D3 Concubine/Husband, D2 Concubine/Wife, D2 Concubine/Concubine, N/A	KILLING WITH PREMEDITATION	Husband/Wife, D1 Husband/Concubine, S1 Wife/Husband, D4 Wife/Concubine, D1 Concubine/Husband, D4 Concubine/Wife, D4 Concubine/Concubine, N/A
<p>D1: decapitation/strangulation after assizes; D3: decapitation without appealing;  D2: immediate decapitation; D3: decapitation without appealing; D4: death by slicing;  D5: strangulation with appealing; S1: 100 blows &amp; 3 years-penal servitude;  S2: 80 blows &amp; 2 years-penal servitude; S3: 70 blows &amp; 1/2 year penal servitude;  S4: 80 blows; S5: 40 blows; C1: four-degree more than nonrelative;  C2: three-degree more than nonrelative; C3: two-degree more than nonrelative.  None: under circumstances; N/A: not applied</p>			

Sources:

*Daminglü jijie fuli (ML)*, juan 1, 19, 20, 22, 25; *Daqing lilü huitong xincuan (QC)*, juan, 2, 25, 26, 28.

**Figure 3.1 Applied Penalties for Free Commoners, Masters, and Servants for Offending Each Other**

Crimes/Offender	Innocent Victim	Penalties
<b>1. MURDER TO DEATH</b>		
a. Free Commoner	Free Commoner	Chief-offender: decapitation after the assizes; assistant: strangulation after the assizes; audient: 100 blows & life exile 3,000 <i>li</i> .
b. Bondservant/worker-serfs	Master	Death by slicing
c. Master	Bondservant	Strangulation after the assize
d. Master	Worker-serf	Strangulation after the assize
<b>2. ACCIDENTAL KILLING TO DEATH</b>		
a. Free Commoner	Free Commoner	Decapitation after the assizes
b. Bondservant	Master	Death by slicing
c. Worker-serf	Master	Immediate decapitation
d. Master	Bondservant	60 blows & one year penal servitude
e. Master	Worker-serf	100 blows & life exile 2,000 <i>li</i> .
<b>3. FIGHT</b>		
a. Free Commoner	Free Commoner	20 blows
b. Bondservant	Master	Decapitation after the assizes
c. Worker-serf	Master	Strangulation after the assizes
d. Master	Bondservant	None
e. Master	Worker-serf	None
<b>4. ILLICIT SEX</b>		
a. Free Commoner	Free Commoner	80 blows for both parties; 90 blows for married women
b. Bondservant	Master's wife	Immediate decapitation for both parties
c. Master	Bondservant's wife	40 blows; None: both consent
d. Master	Female Bondservant/ worker-serf	None
<b>5. SCOLDING</b>		
a. Free Commoner	Free Commoner	10 blows
b. Bondservant	Master	80 blows & two years' penal servitude
c. Worker-serf	Master	70 blows, 1 & 1/2 years' penal servitude
d. Master	Bondservant	None
e. Master	Worker-serf	None

Source:

*Daminglü jijie fuli (ML)*, juan 1, 19, 20, 22, 25-30; *Daqing lüli huitong xincuan (QC)*, juan 5,10, 25-33; Xue Yunsheng, *Duli cunyi* (Beijing, 1903), juan 43; Jing Junjian, *Qingdai shehui de jianmin dengji* (Zhejiang, 1993), pp. 55-60.

**Figure 3.2: Comparative Penalties for Free Commoners, Masters, and Servants in the Crime of Beating Each Other Without Serious Injury**

Offender	Innocent Victim DR (degree relative)	Penalties	Comparison with the status-equals
1.Free Commoner	Free Commoner	20 floggings	-----
2.Bondservant Master	Master Bondservant	100 blows & 3 years penal servitude None	+13 degree -----
3.Bondservant Master's 2 <sup>nd</sup> DR	Master's 2nd DR Bondservant	strangulation after the assizes None	+18 degrees -----
4.Bondservant Free Commoner	Master's 3rd DR Bondservant of 3rd DR	80 blows & 2 years' penal servitude None	+11 degrees -----
5.Bondservant Free Commoner	Master's 4th DR Bondservant of 4th DR	70 blows & 1.5 years' penal servitude None	+10 degrees -----
6.Bondservant Free Commoner	Master's 5th DR Bondservant of 5th DR	60 blows & 1 year's penal servitude None	+8 degrees -----

Sources:

*Daminglü jijie fuli (ML)*, juan 1, 19, 20, 22, 25-30; *Daqing lüli huitong xincuan (QC)*, juan 5, 10, 25-33; Xue Yunsheng, *Duli cunyi* (Beijing, 1903), juan 43; Jing Junjian, *Qingdai shehui de jianmin dengji* (Zhejiang, 1993), pp. 55-60.

**Figure 4.1 Commercial Taxes from Qing Major Customs Bureaus per Annum**

	Fixed Taxes (1737-)	Reserved Funds (1706-) <i>Shuijaoyin</i>	Surplus (1799-)
Huaian (Jiangsu)	186,255	15,384	110,000
Xuye (Jiangsu)	168,709	22,442	230,000 (235,000)
Jiujiang (Jiangxi)	153,889	18,392	367,000 (347,800)
Wuhu (Anhui)	138,496	18,423	73,000
Bexin (Zhejiang)	107,669	15,384	65,000
Chongwenmen (Beijing)	94,483	7,692	212,789
Zuoyi (Beijing)	10,000 (8)	6,145	18,000
Yuoyi (Beijing)	10,000 (5)	6,216	7,321
Fengyang (Anhui)	79,839	10,320	17,000 (15,000)
Kuiguan (Sichuan)	73,740	N/A	110,000
Minhai (Fujian)	66,549	7,000	113,000
Yuehai (Guangdong)	56,531	N/A	10,000 (850,000, Guangxu)
Wuzhou (Guangxi)	54,631	N/A	7,500
Donghai (Shandong)*	50,000	N/A	20,000
Taiping (Guangdong)	46,829	5,846	75,500
Yangzhou (Jiangsu)	44,884	7,692	71,000 (68,000)
Gangan (Jiangxi)	41,124	5,346	38,000
Tianjin (Zhili)	40,464	7,692	20,000
Xunzhou (Guangxi)	38,606	N/A	5,200 (6,000)
Xixin (Jiangsu)	33,648	7,692	33,000 (29,000)
Wuchang (Hubei)	33,000	N/A	12,000
Shanhaiguan (Zhili)	32,200	N/A	49,487 (80,000)
Zhejiang (Zhejiang)	32,158	3,750	44,000 (39,000)
Linqing (Shandong)	29,684	7,692	11,000
Jianghai (Jiangsu)	21,480	2,500	42,000 (120,000)
Beihai (Zhili)*	20,000	N/A	2,000
Zhangjiako (Zhili)	20,000	N/A	40,561
Dajianlu (Sichuan)	20,000	N/A	1,341
Shahuko (Shanxi)	16,919	3,358	15,414
Kuihua (Shanxi)	15,000	N/A	1,600
Zuoliangting (Hebei)	6,339	N/A	6,000
Maowuanko	N/A	N/A	2,200
Total Average	2,006,618	178,966	1,830,913
Approximate Total Income Of Reigns: Shunzhi: 1,000,000; Kangxi: 2,000,000; Yongzheng: 3,000,000; Qianlong: 45,000-8,000,000			

Sources: *Qinding daqing huidian shili (HDL)*, juan 237, pp. 800-801; *Qinding daqing huidian (QHD)*, juan 20-23; Qi Meiqin, *Qingdai queguan zhidu yanjiu* (Neimonggu, 2004), pp. 245, 254-255, 258, 443-448. The taxes from major customs bureaus in Zhili providence (1841 to 1848) were summarized by Wang Qingyun, *Shiqu yuji* (Beijing, 1985), pp. 271-276.

**Figure 4.2 Salt-taxes from Changlu and Lianghuai Administrations to the Board of Revenue (1821-50)**

	Changlu Administration	Lianghuai Administration
Administration Areas	Zhili, Hernan	Jiangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Anhui, Jiangsu, Henan
No. of Salt Certificates	1,026,046	1,395,050 (South) 296,983 (North)
Salt-Taxes (Silver Taels)	0.466-0.5114 (Every 300 <i>jin</i> )	0.834-1.172 (Every 400 <i>jin</i> )
Total Taxes (Board of Revenue)	13,000+ Silver Taels	95,888+ Silver Taels
The Price of Salt (one <i>jin</i> )	2 <i>wen</i> 5 <i>hao</i> to 14 <i>wen</i>	0.17 to 0.3 Silver taels
Taxes on Salt-Certificates (Board of Revenue)	647,373 Silver Taels	3,355,327 Silver Taels
		Distributed share to--- 227,600 for textiles. 50,000 for copper ( <i>Neiwufu</i> ) 350,000 for River Construction
1840 (Actual Taxes)	502,553 Silver Taels	2,120,948 Silver Taels
1842 (Actual Taxes)	502,553 Silver Taels	2,135,654 Silver Taels
1845 (Actual Taxes)	502,553 Silver Taels	2,120,948 Silver Taels
1849 (Actual Taxes)	502,553 Silver Taels	2,120,948 Silver Taels
Annual Local Taxes	1,591 Silver Taels	350,000 Silver Taels

Sources:

Wang Qingyun, *Shiqu yuji* (Beijing, 1985), juan 5, pp. 236-237; Qi Meiqin, *Qingdai neiwufu* (Beijing, 1998, Appendix one).

**Figure 5.1 Campaigns to Recruit and Release Ming Serving-Women**

Reign Titles	Recruitment	Release	Reign Titles	Recruitment	Release
Hongwu	1368	1368*	Chenghua	N/A	1464
	1372	1388		N/A	1479
	1381	N/A		N/A	1487
	1383	N/A	Hongzhi	N/A	1488
	1387	N/A	Zhengde	1517	1505
	1388	N/A		1518	1521
	1389	N/A		1519	N/A
	1391	N/A	Jiajing	1530	1525
	1393	N/A		1536	1529
1397	N/A	1540		N/A	
Jianwen	1398	N/A		1547	N/A
Yongle	1402	1418		1552-53	N/A
	1404	N/A		1555	N/A
Hongxi	N/A	N/A	1563-64	N/A	
Xuande	1427	N/A	Longqing	1569	1567
	1433	1435	Wanli	1583	1573
Zhengtong,	1437	1441	1591	N/A	
Tianshun	1459	N/A	Taichang	1620-21	N/A
Jingtai	1451	N/A	Tianqi	N/A	N/A
*In the year 1368, many Yuan palace women were released			Chongzhen	1644	N/A

Sources:

*Mingshilu (MSL)*; Ch'iu Chung-lin, "The Selection and Discharging of Royal Palace Maidservants in the Ming Dynasty," *Historical Inquiry*, 50 (2012), pp. 86-88; Hsieh Bao Hua, "From Charwoman to Empress Dowager: Serving-Women in the Ming Palace," *Ming Studies*, 42 (1999), pp. 36-37.

**Figure 5.2 Advancement of Ming Serving-Women to Imperial Senior Consorts**

Reign	Titles	Total Numbers of Consorts	Numbers of Serving Women Promoted	Ratio %
Hongwu		37	15	40
Jianwen		N/A	N/A	N/A
Yongle		22	11	50
Hongxi		12	9	75
Xuande		17	13	76
Zhengtong, Tianshun		15	12	80
Jingtai		4+	N/A	N/A
Chenghua		25	20	80
Hongzhi		6	1	10
Zhengde		9	4	44
Jiajing		67	49	73
Longqing		24	20	83
Wanli		18	6	33
Taichang		10	8	80
Tiaqi		10	7	70
Chongzhen		7	4	56
Total		283	179	63

**Figure 5.3 Ming Serving-Women Promoted to Imperial Consorts**

	Lifetime	Postmortem	Ratio/Total Senior Consorts (Living)
Grand Empress Dowager	0	0	0/5
Empress Dowager	1	2	1/14
Empress	0	0	0/20
<i>Huangguifei</i>	2	0	2/8
<i>Guifei</i>	0	1	1/18

Sources of 5.2 and 5.3:

*Mingshilu (MSL)*, *Mingshi (MS)*, juan 113-114; Hsieh Bao Hua, "From Charwoman to Empress Dowager: Serving-Women in the Ming Palace," *Ming Studies*, 42 (1999), pp. 47, 49.

**Figure 7.1 Recruitments of Major Consorts for Ming Emperors or Crown Princes**

Reigning Emperor (R) Crown Princes (P)	Year	Reigning Emperor (R) Crown Princes (P)	Year
Hongxi (P)	1383	Zhengde (R)	1506
Jianwen (P)	1395	Jiajing (R)	1522
Xuande (P)	1417	Longqing (P)	1552, 1558
Zhengtong (R)	1441	Wanli (R)	1578
Jingtai (P)	1444	Taichang (P)	1598
Chenghua (P)	1457	Tianqi (R)	1621
Hongzhi (P)	1486	Chongzhen (P)	1626

Seven empresses, not from recruitment system, were married or promoted from concubines; they were excluded in the Table. Née Ma of Hongwu and née Xu of Yongle were married through the arrangement of their parents. Née Sun of Xuande, née Hang of Jingdi, née Zhang and née Fang of Jiajing, and née Wang of Hongzhi were all promoted empresses; they were originally recruited as secondary or minor concubines.

Sources:

*Mingshi (MS)*, juan 113 & 114; Hsieh Bao Hua, “Empress’ Grove: Ritual and Life in the Ming Palace,” *Research on Women in Modern Chinese History*, 11 (2003), p. 113;  
Ch’iu Chung-lin, “Mingdai linxuan houfei jiqi guizhi,” *Mingdai yanjiu*, 11 (2008), pp. 34-37.

**Figure 7.2 Approximate Size of the Ming and Qing Imperial Harems**

Ming Emperors	Consorts	Qing Emperors	Consorts
Hongwu	37	Tianming	16*
Jianwen	N/A	Tiancong, Chongde	15*
Yongle	22	Shunzhi	19
Hongxi	12	Kangxi	40
Xuande	17	Yongzheng	9
Zhengtong, Tianshun	15	Qianlong	29
Jingtai	4+	Jiaqing	15
Chenghua	25	Daoguang	20
Hongzhi	6	Xianfeng	16
Zhengde	9	Tongzhi	5
Jiajing	67	Guangxu	3
Longqing	24		156 Total
Wanli	18	The consorts of Tianming, Tiancong, And Chongde are not included in total	
Taichang	10		
Tianqi	10		
Chongzhen	7		
	283 Total		

Sources:

*Mingshi (MS)*, juan 113, 114; *Daqing yudie (AYD)*; Zhang Ertian. *Qing leichao houfei zhuangao erjuan*; *Qingshigao (QSG)*, juan 214; Tang Bangzhi, comp. *Qing huangshi sipu* (Shanghai, 1923); Dong Xun and Hou Jiuxuan, *Qingong houfei* (Beijing, 1993), preface, pp. 1-4; Hsieh Bao Hua, "From Charwoman to Empress Dowager: Serving-Women in the Ming Palace," *Ming Studies*, 42 (1999), pp. 45-49; Chen Huaxin, *Zhongguo lidai houfei daguan* (Shenzhen, 2000), pp. 401-511.

**Figure 7.3 Ming and Qing Imperial Concubines Promoted to Senior Consorts**

Ming Harem 16 Emperors	Lifetime	Postmortem	Promoted from Concubine Ratio/Consort-Numbers (Lifetime)
Empress Dowager	14	5	7/14
Married Empress	15	2	N/A
Promoted Empress	5	0	5/20
Deposed Empress	4*	0	1/4/20
<i>Huangguifei</i>	8	0	8/283
<i>Guifei</i>	18	1	18/283 (total consorts)
*The birth mother née Wu of Jingtai upheld her title as empress dowager until his dethronement; née Chen, the married empress of Jiajing, retained her title before her death, yet her funeral was degraded to secondary concubine; née Liu, the surviving senior consort of the late Wanli, was honored as acting empress dowager during the reign of Tianqi. Jiajing's birth mother, although was entitled as empress dowager, was not included in the imperial harem.			
Qing Harem (in Beijing) 9 Emperors	Lifetime	Postmortem	Promoted from Concubine Ratio/Consort-Numbers (Lifetime)
Empress Dowager	9	5	7/9
Married Empress	8*	0	N/A
Promoted Empress	7	1*	7/15
Deposed Empress	2*	0	1/2/15
<i>Huangguifei</i>	23	1	23/156
<i>Guifei</i>	32	0	32/156 (total consorts)
*Née Niohuru, promoted empress of Qianglong, was deposed without an official edict; another née Niohuru of Kangxi's promoted empress was entitled for only one year before her death; née Donggo of Shunzhi was entitled as empress during her funeral ceremony; née Tunggiya, promoted empress of Kangxi, was entitled as empress one day before her death; née Hitara, married empress of Jiaqing, retained her empress title for barely a year before her death. N/A indicates none of concubines were married; 1/4/20 applies two concubine-promoted empresses were deposed in the four deposed empresses and among twenty empresses in total; 1/2/15 applies that one concubine-promoted empress was deposed in the two deposed empresses and among fifteen empresses in total.			

Sources

*Mingshi (MS)*, juan 113, 114; *Daqing yudie (AYD)*; Zhang Ertian. *Qing leichao houfei zhuangao erjuan; Qingshigao (QSG)*, juan 214; Tang Bangzhi, comp. *Qing huangshi sipu* (Shanghai, 1923); Dong Xun and Hou Jiuxuan, *Qingong houfei* (Beijing, 1993), preface, pp. 1-4; Hsieh Bao Hua, "From Charwoman to Empress Dowager: Serving-Women in the Ming Palace," *Ming Studies*, 42 (1999), pp. 45-49; Chen Huaxin, *Zhongguo lidai houfei daguan* (Shenzhen, 2000), pp. 401-511.