

# 宋代墓誌史料の文本分析與實證運用

【國際學術研討會】

## “Concubines” in Song and Yuan Funerary Inscriptions

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## “Concubines” in Song and Yuan Funerary Inscriptions

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Funerary inscriptions (including *muzhiming*, *shendaobei*, etc) are among the most important sources available to scholars who are interested in the history of women and gender in imperial China. Because the genre of funerary inscriptions was highly stylized, and because the inscriptions were meant above all to extol the virtues of the deceased, they must be used with caution. But precisely because the genre was so stylized, funerary inscriptions turn out to be an excellent source for tracing gradual but important shifts in social concerns and values over time.<sup>1</sup> In this paper, I aim specifically to explore what funerary inscriptions can tell us about changing attitudes toward “concubines” (especially *qie* 妾, but also *ce shih* 側室, *ji shi* 姬侍, etc.) in Chinese families in the Song and Yuan periods. As other authors have noted, the term *qie* itself has a long history in China. In its most general sense, and throughout history, it referred to a woman who served a man in his household but was not his legal wife. Yet we should not assume that the social phenomenon referred to by the term *qie* remained static from one period to the next.<sup>2</sup> In particular, several scholars of Chinese family history have suggested that the institution of concubinage in the Song and Yuan period differed from that of later imperial China. Patricia Ebrey has argued that concubines in Song times were more like slaves than like the “secondary wives” we see in late imperial China, and elsewhere she has

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<sup>1</sup> In earlier work, I have shown how funerary inscriptions reveal changing social values between Tang and Song, in that Tang eulogies are more concerned with ancestral achievements and ancestral family position, while Song funerary inscriptions are more concerned with the accomplishments of descendants and affinal connections. See Bossler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, and the State in Sung China (960-1279)* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies Publications, Harvard University Press, 1998), 12-24. More recently, I have begun to explore the emergence of exemplar discourse (especially that concerned with “faithful widows” (*jiefu*)) in funerary inscriptions of the Southern Song. See Bossler, “Faithful wives and heroic martyrs: State, Society and Discourse in the Song and Yuan,” in *Chūgoku shigakkai* 中国史学会, ed., *Chūgoku no rekishi sekai, tōgō no shisutemu to tagenteki hatten 中国の歴史世界、統合のシステムと多元的發展*, (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan University Press, 2002), 507-556, and “Faithful wives and heroic maidens: Politics, Virtue, and Gender in Song China” in *Tang Song Nüxing yu shehui* 唐宋女性與社會 [Tang-Song Women and Society], ed. Deng Xiaonan 鄧小南 (Shanghai: Shanghai ci shu chubanshe, 2003), 751-784.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the early evolution of concubinage and its related terminology, see Wang Shaoxi 王紹璽 *Xiao qie shi* 小妾史, *Zhongguo shehui minsu shi congshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai wen yi chubanshe, 1995) 1-18.

shown that in fact the roles and status of concubines could vary widely even within the Song.<sup>3</sup> Neil Katkov, in a 1997 Ph.D. dissertation, has examined legal codes, mourning rituals, and rules for enfeoffments and other honors, to show that the status of concubines and their children gradually improved between the Tang and the Ming.<sup>4</sup> Katkov suggests that in this period the institution of concubinage was “domesticated,” as the status of concubines became closer to that of legal wives. The current paper examines how the evidence to be found in funerary inscriptions can contribute to this discussion, keeping in mind that the image of concubines to be found in funerary inscriptions is necessarily partial and reflects the attitudes and prejudices of the elite men who wrote them.

In investigating what Song and Yuan funerary inscriptions say about concubines, we find first of all that the general rubric of “concubine” could encompass a variety of different types of women. The term *qie*, for example, more often than not appears as an element in compound terms, such as (in descending order of frequency) *qie ying* 妾媵 (often reversed as *ying qie* 媵妾); *bi qie* 婢妾; *pu qie* 僕妾; *qie yu* 妾御; *ji qie* 姬妾; *shi qie* 侍妾 (or *qie shi* 妾侍); *ji qie* 妓妾; *bi qie* 嬖妾; *qie ni* 妾妮; *qie fu* 妾婦; and *tong qie* 童妾. Because funerary inscriptions were a formal and refined genre of writing, we can be assured that these terms, and the functions they imply, were widely accepted among the elite families who commissioned funerary writings. Some of the most common terms, such as *qie ying* and *qie yu*, veil the nature of the concubine-master relationship in the language of classical ritual. But other terms reveal that in the Song and Yuan the role of the concubine encompassed a continuum of statuses, ranging from something close to servant (*bi qie* 婢妾, *pu qie*, *qie ni*, *tong qie*) to intimate companion and entertainer (*shi qie/qie shi*, *bi qie* 嬖妾, *ji qie* 姬妾 and *ji qie* 妓妾).<sup>5</sup> Song and Yuan inscriptions also frequently employ terms that do not contain the character “*qie*” but are used interchangeably with terms that do. Thus they often refer to men being attended by *ji shi* 姬侍, *ji ying* 姬媵, and *shi'er* 侍兒, and note that they had children born to them by *ci shi* 次室 or *ce shi* 側室. From the perspective of sons, a concubine mother was a *shu mu* 庶母 or, more commonly, a *sheng mu* 生母.

If we look at the distribution of these terms in funerary inscriptions, we find that Song and Yuan authors were measurably more willing to refer to *qie* than were the authors of earlier periods. A search of the “individual collected works” (*bie ji* 別集)

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<sup>3</sup> Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. “Concubines in Song China,” *Journal of Family History* 11(1986): 1-24; *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 217-234.

<sup>4</sup> Katkov, Neil Ennis, *The Domestication of Concubinage in Imperial China* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ebrey, *Inner Quarters*, pp. 217-234.

section of the Siku turns up some 1272 *juan* which contain references to the term “*mu zhi ming*,” of these, 312 *juan* (24.5%) also contain the term “*qie*.” However, the references to *qie* increase steadily over time. Only about 13% of the *juan* containing *mu zhi ming* from Han through Five Dynasties also contain references to *qie*; as compared with about 19% from the Song, about 24% from the Yuan, and about 35% from the Ming.<sup>6</sup> The shift is even more dramatic when we look at terms for concubine-type women that don’t include the word *qie*. For example, the earliest appearance of the term *ce shi* in a funerary inscription is in a *mu zhi ming* composed in mid-Northern Song for a grandnephew of the emperor. The author, Wang Gui, tells us that the subject’s wife Qian had no sons, but that his *ce shi* (whom he does not name) gave birth to a son and daughter.<sup>7</sup> Other terms that relate to the presence of concubines as mothers, such as *di mu* 嫡母, *shu mu* 庶母, *nie zi* 孽子, and *shu di* 庶弟 likewise appear in funerary inscriptions only in the Song and after. By the same token, terms that refer to concubines as intimate companions, though remaining fairly rare in funerary inscriptions, make their earliest appearance in the Song and Yuan.<sup>8</sup>

To be sure, all this may say more about stylistic changes in the genre of funerary inscriptions between Tang and later imperial China than about the increased presence of concubines in Song and Yuan families as compared with earlier periods.<sup>9</sup> In tracing references to concubines across the Song and Yuan, however, we find not only a dramatic increase in such references, but also a significant shift in the way that concubines are characterized.

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<sup>6</sup> The numbers provided here are based on an analysis of sources collected in the electronic edition of the *Wen yuan ge Siku quan shu*. I am well aware that this survey is problematic in several respects: the Siku does not include all sources and includes multiple versions of others; moreover, the numbers below do not represent the total numbers of *mu zhi ming* but only the numbers of *juan* containing *mu zhi ming*. Still, I think the general trend revealed by the numbers is significant. Some 12 *juan* out of 94 from the pre-Song period contain references to *qie*; 51 out of 269 for Northern Song, 61 out of 316 for Southern Song; 42 out of 177 for Jin and Yuan, and 146 out of 416 for Ming. In view of the changes discussed below, the much smaller number of sources from the Yuan as compared with Song is particularly significant.

<sup>7</sup> Wang Gui 王珪 (1019-1085), *Hua yang ji* 華陽集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1093) 53.5b. Of 249 *juan* containing references to *ce shi* in *mu zhi ming* in the *ji* section of the Siku, only four date from the Song and ten from the Yuan, so clearly this term came into increasingly wide use in Ming and Qing.

<sup>8</sup> The term *ji shi* 姬侍 appears in funerary inscriptions in the Siku a total of 16 times: two of the references date from Northern Song, one from Southern Song, and three from Yuan. The term *shi'er* appears only eight times, with six of the references dating from Song-Yuan. The term *shi ji* 侍姬 appears in four references, the earliest two of which date from the Yuan.

<sup>9</sup> The focus of and rhetoric *muzhiming* changed significantly between Tang and Song, and the focus of *surviving* inscriptions changed between Northern and Southern Song, such that Northern Song inscriptions focus more on high-ranking officials and those of Southern Song more on lower-level elites. See Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, 12-34.

One sign that concubinage was, if not actually more common, at least more commonly acknowledged as the Song progressed, can be seen in the fact that terms that did not necessarily imply concubinage in early Song came to do so later. For example, in a sacrificial ode (*ji wen* 祭文) composed for a man who died in 1030, Mu Xiu notes that his subject altogether took four wives (君凡四娶室), whom he distinguishes as *chu shi* 初室 and *ci shi* 次室. He notes that the first wife and two of the *ci shi* were buried in the same tomb but in separate coffins from the subject; only the *ci shi* Li, who had borne a son, shared the subject's coffin.<sup>10</sup> Wang Zao, in two separate inscriptions for men who died in the early twelfth century, uses the term in a similar fashion. In one he notes that both the subject's first wife (*yuan shi* 元室) and his *ci shi* received honorary titles; in another he says that the subject's first wife (*xian shi* 先室) Jiang and his *ci shi* Guo both came from famous families.<sup>11</sup> In neither case does he seem to be talking about concubines. Thus in Song inscriptions the term *ci shi* seems to be used primarily in the sense of "successor wife." By the Yuan, however, the same term was conventionally used to mean "concubine."<sup>12</sup> In the late thirteenth century, for example, Wang Yun noted that the woman Ling treated her husband's *ci shi* well; in the early fourteenth century Chen Lü described how his subject's "mother" née Lu had a son that died. The subject was born of a *ci shi*, and since Lu had no sons she reared the subject as her own.<sup>13</sup> In these cases, where a legal wife was also present, the term *ci shi* could only mean "concubine."

Another sign of the increased acknowledgement of concubines in social life is the proliferation of references to concubines in their roles as men's ancestors, spouses, and especially as the mothers of their descendants. Funerary inscriptions in the Song and Yuan conventionally recorded all critical members of the deceased's family, typically including three generations of patrilineal ancestors (and often their wives), spouses, male descendants, and often the husbands of female descendants. Although concubine mothers were never routinely listed among ancestors in funerary inscriptions, the practice became notably more prevalent in the Southern Song and Yuan than it had been in

<sup>10</sup> Mu Xiu 穆修 (979-1032), *Mu can jun ji* 穆參軍集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1087), xia 15.

<sup>11</sup> Wang Zao 汪藻 (1079-1154), *Fu xi ji* 浮溪集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1128), 26.37b; 27.24b.

<sup>12</sup> The *Han yu da ci dian* glosses the term explicitly as concubine ("qie"), citing a regulation from the *Jin shi* 金史 that permits all official to take two *ci shi*, and commoners to set up concubines (*qie*). It seems possible that Jin terminology influenced the way the term came to be used in the late Song and Yuan.

<sup>13</sup> Chen Lü 陳旅 (1287-1342), *An ya tang ji* 安雅堂集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1213), 11.12b; Wang Yun 王恽 (1227-1304), *Qiu jian ji* 秋澗集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1200), 52.13-15b. An ambiguous use of the term occurs in Hu Zhiyu 胡祇遹 (1227-1295) *Zi shan da quan ji* 紫山大全集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1196), 18.27.

Northern Song. Only three Northern Song inscriptions for people not in the imperial family list concubine mothers among the subjects' ancestors.<sup>14</sup> It is perhaps significant that two of the three involve families at the very top of the early Song political hierarchy: one is for the son of a high-ranking military official, and one is for the son of a grand councilor. The third (which is also the latest) is something of a special case, for while it involves a subject of no particular political distinction, the inscription is devoted to celebrating the subject's filial efforts to find the birth mother he never knew as a child.<sup>15</sup>

In Southern Song and Yuan, references to concubines among a subject's ancestors became slightly more common: six inscriptions with such references survive from the Southern Song, and (from a much smaller source base) seven from the Yuan. The majority of these citations continue to involve high-ranking political families: between the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries, Sun Di, Lou Yue, and Liu Kezhuang all recorded concubine mothers in inscriptions for men of prominent families. In the same era, in an inscription for an imperial clan member, Zhou Bida not only distinguished the subject's "mother" and birth mother, but noted that the subject's grandfather was the son of the great-grandfather's concubine. Still, Sun Di also listed a concubine mother among

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<sup>14</sup> The Northern Song imperial family was exceptional in this regard, for where close imperial relatives were concerned it seems to have been accepted practice even in Northern Song to list first the subject's official mother (and usually her title) and then his or her birth mother (*suo sheng mu*). We see this formula in more than half a dozen inscriptions composed by Fan Zuyu for members of the imperial family, as well as in two inscriptions by Murong Yanfeng (Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098), Fan Tai shi ji 范太史集, 45.3; 45.4b; 46.3b; 46.5; 48.9b; 49.10; 51.1; and 50.3 (mentions a *di mu* and an *yu mu* 育母); Murong Yanfeng 慕容彦逢 (1067-1117), Chi wen tang ji 摛文堂集, (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1123), 14.4b; 14.13b. Presumably, the particular attention to birth mothers in inscriptions for imperial kinsmen was related to the palace's interest in tracking the precise descent of imperial relatives, and perhaps also reflects concerns about ritual mourning that were at the center of several Northern Song court debates. But that so many imperial kinsmen had sheng mu was undoubtedly also a reflection of the fact that their fathers had so many concubines. Fan Zuyu describes one prince as expelling several tens of *shi qie* after his mother died (Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098), Fan Tai shi ji 范太史集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1100), 51.2. In an inscription for a woman married into imperial family, Fan describes her household as full of concubines (*ying qie man qian* 媵妾滿前) (Ibid., 48.4a). John Chaffee, in his study of the Song Imperial Clan, remarks the huge numbers of servants and concubines employed by clan members in the Northern Song. See Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven, A History of the Imperial Clan of Sung China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press, 1999), 33, 58. It should be noted here that Fan Zuyu, who wrote numerous inscriptions for members of the imperial family, refers to birth mothers far more often than any other northern Song writer. Fan refers to birth mothers in ten such inscriptions; only two other Northern Song do so more than once: Xie Yi, writing slightly later, mentions two; Murong Yanfeng (also writing of imperial kinsmen), three.

<sup>15</sup> Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098), Fan Tai shi ji 范太史集, 43.5b; Wang Anli 王安禮 (1034-1095), Wang Wei gong ji 王魏公集, (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1100) 7.3b; Ge Shengzhong 葛勝仲 (1072-1144), Dan yang ji 丹陽集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1127), 13.17b-19b. This last may in fact date from early Southern Song: while the subject died in 1124, the date of the inscription itself is unknown.

the ancestors of a man of more modest background.<sup>16</sup> In the mid-thirteenth century Yao Mian listed a concubine mother in an inscription for his own (politically obscure) father, and in the very late thirteenth century Huang Zhongyuan listed a concubine mother of a similarly undistinguished subject.<sup>17</sup> Finally, while Zhao Mengfu, Huang Jin, and Chen Lü listed concubine mothers in inscriptions for politically prominent men of the fourteenth century, Huang also provided the same information in an inscription for a man of more modest background, as did Hu Han and Yin Kui.<sup>18</sup>

A few Song and Yuan authors also began to mention concubines when listing the spouses of their subjects. I have found only one case of this practice among Song inscriptions: writing in the mid-eleventh century, Wang Gui noted that an imperial nephew had taken a wife surnamed Qian. After observing that Qian had no sons, Wang adds that the subject's concubine (*qi ce shi* 其側室), whom he does not bother to name, bore a son and a daughter.<sup>19</sup> This sort of diction does not appear again until the Yuan, and even then we find it in only four inscriptions. The first dates from the late thirteenth century, when we see an inscription in which the subject's spouses are listed as "Lady Feng, and concubine née Liu" (*xian jun Feng shi, ci shi Liu shi* 縣君馮氏 次室劉氏).<sup>20</sup> While it is possible that in the above case *ci shi* means "successor wife" rather than concubine, an inscription for a non-Han military official who died in 1299 is unambiguous: we are told that the subject had two main wives (*zheng shi* 正室), a successor wife (*ji shi* 繼室), and three concubines (*ce shi* 側室). The eulogist provides surnames of all the women, as well as the names of their respective sons.<sup>21</sup> Another inscription written in the same period describes a northern man of Han descent who

<sup>16</sup> Sun Di 孫覲 (1081-1169), Hong qing ju shi ji 鴻慶居士集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1135), 34.11b, 37.2; Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137-1213), Gong kui ji 攻媿集 (Cong shu ji cheng edition, Shanghai: 1935) 103.1457; Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269), Hou cun ji 後村集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1180), 37.4, 40.5b (this last is for the author's nephew, who died in 1244); Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), Wen zhong ji 文忠集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vols. 1147-1149), 71.13.

<sup>17</sup> Yao Mian 姚勉 (1216-1262), Xue po ji 雪坡集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1184), 49.1b; Huang Zhongyuan 黃仲元 (1231-1312) Si ru ji 四如集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1188), 4.20.

<sup>18</sup> Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322), Song xue zhai ji 松雪齋集 (WYG vol. 1196), wai ji 22; Huang Jin 黃潛 (1277-1357), Huang wen xian gong ji (Cong shu ji cheng edition) 8a.327-328; 9a.399-400; Chen Lü 陳旅 (1287-1342), An ya tang ji 安雅堂集, 11.12b; Hu Han 胡翰 (1307-1381), Hu Zhongzi ji 胡仲子集 (WYG vol. 1229), 9.14; Yin Kui 殷奎 (1331-1376), Qiang zhai ji 強齋集, (WYG vol. 1232) 4.2.

<sup>19</sup> Wang Gui 王珪, Hua yang ji 華陽集, 53.5b. This is the earliest use of the term *ce shi* in Song and Yuan funerary inscriptions.

<sup>20</sup> Hu Zhiyu 胡祗遹 (1227-1295), Zi shan da quan ji 紫山大全集, 18.27.

<sup>21</sup> Cheng Jufu 程鉅夫 (1249-1318), Xue lou ji 雪樓集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1202), 17.15. This example suggests that the marriage system of the steppe peoples, in which a man could have multiple wives of essentially equal status, may have influenced Han ideas about the status of concubines in the household in this period.



served the Mongols during the conquest. In listing the subject's "ladies" (*fu ren* 夫人), this inscription mentions one woman, describes her distinguished ancestry, and then notes that she died nineteen years before the subject. It then lists a second woman and again notes her distinguished ancestry. Finally, it lists two other women, merely noting that the first came from the same hamlet as the subject and the other came from the city of Yidu (益都). The relative statuses of all these women are left ambiguous, as is their relationship to the subject's six sons, but it appears that the latter two were concubines.<sup>22</sup> In a final case, concerning a subject who died in 1315, we are told simply and directly that the subject first married Sun, who died; he then married a second woman named Sun, and had as well a *ce shi* surnamed Ji, who also died. The subject was buried together with both Sun and Ji.<sup>23</sup>

Admittedly, the very small number of these cases reveals that mentioning concubines as spouses never became a widely-accepted practice in funerary inscription writing of the Song and Yuan. Moreover, as some of the above examples suggest, interest in concubines as spouses was often closely related to their success in producing descendants. And indeed, it is precisely with regard to concubines producing descendants that we see the most dramatic shift in the rhetoric of Song and Yuan funerary inscriptions.

By Song times it had become conventional for funerary inscriptions to list the sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, and often the sons-in-law and grandsons-in-law of the subject.<sup>24</sup> Before the very late Song, however (with the single exception of the inscription by Wang Gui cited above), these lists virtually never distinguished descendants by maternity. Rather, inscriptions typically listed a man's wife and, where applicable, successor wives, and then listed the descendants who, by implication, all "belonged" to the legal wife, as per law and custom.<sup>25</sup>

It should be emphasized here that many Song inscriptions acknowledged the existence of concubines as mothers in other ways, as we shall see further below. Even in Northern Song, funerary inscriptions were occasionally commissioned for concubine mothers, and a few Northern Song authors told stories of filial sons who went to great

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<sup>22</sup> Xiao Jiu 蕭 XX (1241-1318), *Qin zhai ji* 勤齋集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1206), 3.22b.

<sup>23</sup> Tong Shu 同恕 (1254-1331), *Ju an ji* 槩菴集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1206) 8.9b.

<sup>24</sup> See Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, 17.

<sup>25</sup> In a very few cases, Song inscription authors distinguish between the children of the first and later legal wives.

lengths to find birth mothers who had left them behind.<sup>26</sup> Still, it is only in late Southern Song that inscription writers begin to dwell on the presence of more than one mother in the family, and to describe the impact thereof in the lives of Song families. Writing in the late twelfth century, Lou Yue praises a son for assiduously seeking an inscription for his *di mu* 嫡母, and suggests that his filial action demonstrates his legal mother's impartiality (lit., "cuckoo-like virtue" (*shi jiu zhi de* 鳴鳩之德)).<sup>27</sup> While never quite mentioning the concubine, Lou alerts to the fact that the son was not born of his legal mother. Wei Liaoweng tells us more directly that Guo Shuyi 郭叔誼 (d. 1233), born of a concubine née Shi, became heir to his childless uncle. Wei also relates that when the son of Yang Lingui 楊令圭 (d. 1233) and his wife Du died young, the new heir was appointed by order of a birth mother, née Deng. Liu Kezhuang mentions that his nephew (d. 1244) had a wife who bore a daughter, a successor wife who bore a son, and also daughter born of a concubine (*shu sheng* 庶生). Likewise, in an inscription he wrote for his own wife, Liu lists several children and then adds that there were also a young boy and girl who were *shu sheng* 庶生.<sup>28</sup> Yang Wanli expresses similar concern about the maternity of descendants when he observes that his affine Li Gai 李槩 (d. 1200) was married three times, but that the children were all born of the first two wives. Liu Tsai mentions that Li Renhou 李仁厚, dead in 1230 at the untimely age of 28 *sui*, was survived by a four-year-old son whom Liu specifies was the child of an unnamed concubine (*pang ce shi* 旁側室).<sup>29</sup>

As the Song dynasty gave way to the Yuan, this attention to the maternity of descendants increased. In an inscription for Zhao Liang 趙諒 (d. 1287), Ren Shilin lists Zhao's wife's surname and the names and titles of her three sons. He observes that the eight daughters all married into famous families, then remarks that the second was born of a concubine (*ce shi*) née Niu. In like manner, writing of the eminent Yuan official Gao Kegong 高克恭 (d. 1310), Deng Wenyuan lists Gao's first wife with her children, a

<sup>26</sup> For men who sought out their concubine mothers after they became adults, see Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098), *Fan Tai shi ji* 范太史集, 52.15b; Ge Shengzhong 葛勝仲 (1072-1144), *Dan yang ji* 丹陽集 13.17b; and Wei Liao-weng, 魏了翁 (1178-1237), *He shan ji* 鶴山集 79.20b.

<sup>27</sup> Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137-1213), *Gong kui ji* 攻媿集, 108.1532. The allusion is to a song in the *Book of Odes* and suggests to the equal treatment of all sons, including those not her own, by the legal wife. Lou implies that the stepson's anxiety to have his mother properly commemorated is testament to her impartial treatment of him.

<sup>28</sup> Wei Liao-weng, 魏了翁 (1178-1237), *He shan ji* 鶴山集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vols. 1172-1173) 83.9b; 84.16; Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269), *Hou cun ji* 後村集, 40.5b; *Hou cun da quan ji* (Si bu cong kan edition) 148.16b-17b.

<sup>29</sup> Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127-1206), *Cheng zhai ji* 誠齋集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1160-1161), 132.2b; Liu Zai 劉宰 (1166-1234), *Man tang ji* 慢塘集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1170), 31.16.

second wife with hers, and finally concludes, “the son of the concubine...is still young.”<sup>30</sup> In an inscription composed in 1326, Wu Cheng matter-of-factly reveals that when a son and son-in-law of Huang Zhangyuan 黃長元 died, two concubine’s sons (*nie zi* 孽子) and Huang’s second grandson were appointed to serve as their heirs.<sup>31</sup>

The pattern continues: I have mentioned above the inscription by Cheng Jufu for a Mongol official, which categorizes the official’s descendants by maternity. In another inscription, this time for a Han man who refused to serve the Mongols, Cheng likewise notes that although the subject’s wife died childless, there were three sons born of a woman surnamed Hu.<sup>32</sup> Tong Shu tells us that Jiao Rong 焦榮 (d. 1317)’s four sons were born of his virtuous wife Du, but that his daughter was the child of his *ce shi* Wu. Elsewhere Tong Shu reports that the wife née Wang of Guo Haode 郭好德 (d. 1321) was the daughter of Guo’s maternal uncle, and his *ce shi* was a woman surnamed Liang; he then tells us that of Guo’s four children, the two elder daughters were already married; the only boy (just one year old) and youngest girl were born of Liang.<sup>33</sup> In describing the descendants of Zhang Tian (d. 1307), Yu Ji distinguishes between the children born to Zhang’s first wife, those born by his successor wife (*ji shi*), and those born to his *ce shi*.<sup>34</sup> As the fourteenth century progressed, it seems to have become more or less routine to note the maternal origins of descendants. Such references appear in multiple inscriptions by numerous Yuan authors, including Li Cun, Su Tianjue, Gong Shitai, Xie Yingfang, Zhao Fang, and Yang Weizhen.<sup>35</sup> The practice continued as the Yuan gave way to the Ming, as seen in inscriptions by Song Lian, Lin Bi, Bei Qiong, Su Boheng, Wang Xing, Yin Kui, Wu Sidao, and so on.<sup>36</sup> In short, by about the mid-Yuan Chinese authors had

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<sup>30</sup> Ren Shilin 任士林 (1253-1309), Song xiang ji 松鄉集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1196) 3.15b; Deng Wenyuan 鄧文原 (1259-1328), Ba xi ji 巴西集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1195) xia.22. The ellipsis represents a lacunae in the original text.

<sup>31</sup> Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333), Wu wen zheng ji 吳文正集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1197), 84.10.

<sup>32</sup> Cheng Jufu 程鉅夫 (1249-1318), Xue lou ji 雪樓集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1202), 17.15; 19.7-7b. Cheng says nothing about Hu’s status, nor does he tell us who gave birth to the subject’s five daughters.

<sup>33</sup> Tong Shu 同恕 (1254-1331), Ju an ji 槩菴集, 7.15b; 8.9b.

<sup>34</sup> Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348), Dao yuan xue gu lu 道園學古錄 (Guo xue ji ben cong shu edition, Taipei: Shangwu yin shu guan, 1968) 18.307-308.

<sup>35</sup> Li Cun 李存 (1281-1354), Si an ji 俟菴集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1213), 25.6b-8a; 25.19b-20; Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 (1294-1352), Zi xi wen gao 滋溪文稿 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1214), 11.7-7b, 13.14b; Gong Shitai 貢師泰 (1298-1362), Wan zhai ji 玩齋集, (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1215), 10.54; 10.55-55b; Xie Yingfang 謝應芳 (1296-1392) Gui chao gao 龜巢稿 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1218), 13.5; Zhao Fang 趙沔 (1319-1369), Dong shan cun gao 東山存稿 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1221), 7.57; Yang Weizhen 楊維禎 (1296-1370), Dong wei zi ji 東維子集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1221), 24.6.

<sup>36</sup> Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), Wen xian ji 文憲集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1223), 22.50; Song Lian quan ji 宋濂全集 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang gu ji chu ban she, 1999), 10.303; Lin Bi 林弼 (ca. 1324-1381), Lin Dengzhou ji 林登州集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1227) 19.12 ;19.5; Bei Qiong 貝瓊, Qing jiang

come to find it appropriate, even “natural,” that funerary inscriptions—understood to be the official record of an individual’s life for all posterity—would acknowledge the role of concubine mothers in producing descendants. Their frank acknowledgement of concubine mothers stands in striking contrast to Lou Yue’s tentative reference a century or so earlier, and in even more striking contrast to the virtual silence regarding descendants’ maternity in inscriptions from the Northern Song.

The late Song and Yuan concern with maternity of descendants was associated with greater concern about concubine mothers more generally. Not only did funerary inscriptions of the late Song and Yuan increasingly acknowledge concubines’ presence, they also began to pay greater attention to how concubines were treated. Increasingly, treating a concubine mother well became a standard element in accounts of virtuous behavior.

I have found only one Northern Song reference praising a man for serving his concubine mother: Fan Zuyu noted that an imperial clan member served both his *di mu* and his *suo sheng* without contravening ritual. A somewhat more elaborate reference survives from the early Southern Song: Sun Di praised Zhu Zong 朱宗(d. 1140) for never leaving the side of his *suo sheng mu* throughout his career and retirement, noting that she was utterly bereft when he predeceased her.<sup>37</sup> As the Southern Song progressed, however, references to men serving their concubine mothers with “utmost respect” or “filiality” or “great care” become nearly conventional.<sup>38</sup> Zhang Shi describes how, on reaching middle age, Zhang Zhuo 張棖 (1092-1165) led his wife and children to serve his *suo sheng mu*, bending over backward to please her (*qu jin qi yi* 曲盡其意). Chen Su 陳宿 (1173-1242) similarly first served his *di mu* with utmost filiality, and after her death served his *suo sheng mu* in her place.<sup>39</sup> There are numerous examples of the same sort of

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wen ji 清江詩集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1228) 21.10-12; Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (1314-1376), Su ping zhong wen ji 蘇平仲文集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1228), 12.7, 13.10b, 13.13, 13.37b, 14.10; Wang Xing 王行 (1331-1395) Ban xuan ji 半軒集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1231), 9.7b; Yin Kui 殷奎(1331-1376), Qiang zhai ji 強齋集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1232), 4.6, 4.20, 4.20b, 4.24; Wu Sdao 烏斯道 (14<sup>th</sup> century), Chun cao zhai ji 春草齋集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1232), 5.8—and others could be cited. There is every evidence that this practice continued to be common throughout the later imperial era.

<sup>37</sup> Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098), Fan Tai shi ji 范太史集, 47.8; Sun Di 孫覿 (1081-1169), Hong qing ju shi ji 鴻慶居士集, 33.5.

<sup>38</sup> Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), Wen zhong ji 文忠集, 32.15; Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210), Wei nan wen ji 渭南文集, in Lu Fangweng quan ji 陸放翁全集 (Xianggang guang zhi shu ju, Hong Kong, n.d), 36.225; Wei Liao-weng, 魏了翁 (1178-1237), He shan ji 鶴山集, 84.11b.

<sup>39</sup> Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133-1180), Nan xuan ji 南軒集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1167), 39.5b; Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269), Hou cun ji 後村集, 39.6b.

rhetoric from the Yuan.<sup>40</sup> By the fourteenth century we also begin to see for the first time men praised for serving concubine mothers who are not their own mothers. When Sun Huishu's 孫會叔 (d. 1303) successor mother died, he served the mother of his *shu di* as if she had been his own birth mother.<sup>41</sup> Both Zhang Keyong 張克用 (d. 1374) and Huang Jue 黃玠 (1300-1370) 卓 were praised for responding to *shu mu* who were cruel to them by redoubling their efforts to be filial.<sup>42</sup>

We see a similar development in inscription rhetoric regarding filial daughters-in-law. A late Song inscription by Huang Tingjian for his aunt (d. 1098) is quite explicit about the new standard:

When Madame (d. 1093) married my uncle, she was too late to serve his parents (i.e., they had already died). She served my uncle's birth mother Li with the ritual for serving a mother-in-law, completely loving and completely respectful...The custom in Fenning was that birth mothers always waited on their sons and their sons' wives. When people heard of Madame's deportment, they were delighted and admiring.<sup>43</sup>

In other words, Huang's account suggests that in Northern Song, at least in some parts of the country, concubines were expected to wait on others in the household, even their own children. He remarks on the charming novelty of the notion that a concubine who had borne a child was entitled to have her sons and daughters-in-law wait upon her.

I have seen only one other Northern Song inscription describing a woman serving her husband's concubine mother,<sup>44</sup> but such references become quite common in the very late Southern Song and Yuan. Liu Kezhuang tells us that since her husband's legal parents had died, Madame Zhao served her husband's birth mother with great care; Wen Tianxiang describes how at age 76 Madame Luo was still serving her husband's birth

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<sup>40</sup> Liu Yueshen 劉岳申 (1260-after 1346), Shen zhai ji 申齋集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1204), 9.4b; Jie Xisi 揭傒斯 (1274-1344) Wen an ji 文安集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1208) 13.2b; Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (1314-1376), Su ping zhong wen ji 蘇平仲文集, 13.10b. See also Huang Jin 黃潛 (1277-1357), Huang wen xian gong ji 9a.377 where a man whose concubine mother died shortly after his birth is obsessed with the idea of seeing to her reburial.

<sup>41</sup> Cheng Duanxue 程端學 (1278-1334), Ji zhai ji 積齋集, (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1212) 5.12b.

<sup>42</sup> Ling Yunhan 凌雲翰 (14<sup>th</sup> cent), Zhe Xuanji 柘軒集 (5 j.), Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1227 4.37b; Xie Su 謝肅 (fl. 1367-1375), Mi an ji 密菴集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1228) 8.16-19b.

<sup>43</sup> Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), Huang Tingjian quan ji 黃庭堅全集, ed. by Liu Lin 劉琳 et. al. (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2001), wai ji 22.1394.

<sup>44</sup> Zhao Dingchen 趙鼎臣 (b. 1070), Zhu yin ji shi ji 竹隱畸士集 19.5b. This inscription is not dated, but had to have been compiled after the turn of the twelfth century, as the sister was younger than Zhao Dingchen (b. 1070) and died at the age of thirty-three. I discuss this inscription further below.

mother, who in 1273 was 100 sui.<sup>45</sup> Wu Cheng praised several of his subjects for treating their husband's birth mothers as they treated their mothers-in-law, and numerous other Yuan authors employed similar rhetoric.<sup>46</sup> This increase in references to both men and women serving concubine mothers suggests that concubinage was becoming more common, or at least that moralists felt it was important to acknowledge concubines in their capacity *as mothers*. In addition, references to men serving concubine mothers who were not their birth mothers suggest that by Yuan times concubine mothers (particularly in the absence of a main wife) were regarded as worthy of the full respect accorded a female head of household—or that the men who wrote funerary inscriptions thought they should be.

The increased concern about concubine mothers in late Song and Yuan inscriptions was associated as well with increased concern about the children of concubine mothers. Just as inscription writers began to laud men and women who treated concubine mothers well, so too did they begin to tell stories of men who were generous to their half-brothers and women who were loving to their stepsons. An early reference to treatment of half-brothers appears in an inscription composed in 1170 by Zhou Bida. Here we are told simply that even though the subject's father died, his *shu di* and his various younger sisters were all married at the proper time.<sup>47</sup> Without dwelling on the subject, Zhou wishes us to understand that the subject endowed his half-brothers and sisters with sufficient resources that they could make proper marriages. A reference by Ye Shi is similarly laconic, mentioning simply that his subject reared his half-brothers with friendliness and love.<sup>48</sup> Yuan writers, however, are more descriptive. Liu Yueshen not only tells us that Xiao Rui 蕭瑞 (d. 1331) married off his half-brothers and half-sisters (*shu di mei*) uniformly; he adds that Xiao divided his property equally with his two half-brothers, and credits him with the fact that the two were able to live out their lives in comfort. Tang Ju 唐聚 (d. 1292), having married uxori locally into the Zhang family,

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<sup>45</sup> Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269), Hou cun ji 後村集, Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236-1282), Wen shan ji 文山集 (WYG v. 1184) 16.21b-23.

<sup>46</sup> Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333), Wu wen zheng ji 吳文正集, 78.8b; 82.4b. See also Gong Shitai 貢師泰 (1298-1362), Wan zhai ji 玩齋集, 10.54; Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (1314-1376), Su ping zhong wen ji 蘇平仲文集 14.27; and Gao Qi 高啓 (1336-1374), Fu zao ji 晝藻集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1230), 5.29. It is noteworthy here that more references to men serving their birth mothers survive from the Southern Song than from the Yuan, while the reverse is true of references to women serving their husbands' birth mothers. Since the numbers are small, this may simply reflect the idiosyncracies of source survival, but it may also suggest that the responsibilities for upholding family morality were shifting increasingly onto women.

<sup>47</sup> Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), Wen zhong ji 文忠集, 32.3. The only earlier Song inscription reference to *shu di* concerns a legal case adjudicated by the subject of the inscription, as described below.

<sup>48</sup> Yeh Shi 葉適 (1150-1223), Ye Shi ji 葉適集 (Peking: Zhonghua shu ju, 1961), 23.449.

purchased a concubine for his sonless 60-year-old father-in-law. The boy produced by the concubine was only eight-months old when Tang's father-in-law died; Tang reared the child (his wife's half-brother), saw to his marriage, and returned all of the Zhang property to him. Gong Shitai explains that Deng Deming 鄧德明(d. 1358) was originally the middle son of a family surnamed Xiong; his mother's sister "served" a childless man surnamed Deng, and he was adopted as their son. Evidently other children were born later, because Deng is credited with instructing his two *shu di* and, when they married, returning all the Deng family land to them. Song Lian, writing of Huang Yi 黃己 (d. 1358), observes that even though Huang's *shu di* was adopted out to be heir of a distant uncle, Huang feared that the brother would be poor, and divided his own land in half to share with him. Su Boheng notes that Xu Biyou 徐必友(d. 1354) treated his *shu di* benevolently, going so far as to arrange for a new wife when the brother's first wife died, and building him a new house because his was old and broken-down.<sup>49</sup>

In similar fashion, references to wives rearing the children of concubines as their own, without prejudice, also proliferate over the course of the Song and Yuan. The idea that women should treat their stepchildren well was an old one, but in most Song funerary inscriptions, the stepchild is described as the child of a prior *wife*. Only one Northern Song funerary inscription refers explicitly to a woman rearing the children of concubines: Huang Tingjian tells us that the woman Jin (d. 1095) treated her husband's *ji qie* like sisters-in-law, and reared the various sons (*zhu zi* 諸子) as if they were her own.<sup>50</sup> Such references become more common in Southern Song: Liu Yizhi reports that the woman Fu (d. 1118) treated *qie yu* with graciousness and their *shu* sons like *di* sons. Sun Di relates that an empress on a visit home was impressed by her sister-in-law (d. 1139), who embraced the children of concubines in the same manner as she embraced her own. Lü Zuqian praises the woman Guo (d. 1170) for regarding her own children like the children of concubines (*qie ying suo chu*), and rearing all of them in the same manner, and so forth.<sup>51</sup> By Yuan times, to praise a woman for rearing concubines' children as her own

<sup>49</sup> Liu Yueshen 劉岳申 (1260-after 1346), Shen zhai ji 申齋集, 11.19; Hu Zhiyu 胡祗遹 (1227-1295), Zi shan da quan ji 紫山大全集, 18.16b; Gong Shitai 貢師泰 (1298-1362), Wan zhai ji 玩齋集, 10.37b; Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), Wen xian ji 文憲集, 19.72; Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (1314-1376), Su ping zhong wen ji 蘇平仲文集 13.10b.

<sup>50</sup> Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105), Huang Tingjian quan ji 黃庭堅全集, ed. by Liu Lin 劉琳 et al. (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2001), wai ji 22.1395.

<sup>51</sup> Liu Yizhi 劉一止 (1079-1160), Tiao xi ji 苕溪集, 51.13; Sun Di 孫覿 (1081-1169), Hong qing ju shi ji 鴻慶居士集, 40.2b; Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137-1181), Lü Donglai ji 呂東來集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1150), 10.12b. For similar Southern Song references, see Huang Gan 黃榦 (1152-1221), Mian zhai ji 勉齋集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1168), 38.48b; Yao Mian 姚勉 (1216-1262) 雪坡集, 50.8, 50.14. See

had become utterly conventional in inscription writing: indeed, one even begins to see references to concubine mothers loving the sons of the wife as much as they love their own sons!<sup>52</sup>

In sum, beginning in the late Song and continuing into the Yuan—in references to men serving their concubine mothers and taking care of their half-brothers, to women serving their concubine mothers-in-law and rearing the children of their husbands' concubines—inscription writers increasingly focused on the presence of concubine mothers in the family. It is tempting to treat this as evidence that concubines and their children were becoming more fully integrated into Chinese family life, as Katkov has suggested. At the very least, I think it is fair to say that increasing numbers of elite writers felt that, ideally, concubines and their children *should* be well-integrated into family life. Yet if we read inscription sources carefully, we see considerable evidence that the presence of concubines in Song and Yuan families was highly problematic. In fact, I would suggest that the concern of inscription writers to praise and promote what they considered “proper” relations with concubines in the family reflected an awareness that all too often concubines represented a considerable disruption to both family and society.

Certainly, in some ways this had always been (and always would be) the case. The introduction of a concubine was an obvious threat to the harmony of the inner quarters, as the fictional literature of later imperial China was so vividly to demonstrate. In Song and Yuan funerary inscriptions the problems depicted in later fiction are hinted at only obliquely, as when we are assured in inscription after inscription that the virtuous subject was never jealous of her husband's concubines, or even that she made a point of selecting and presenting concubines to him.<sup>53</sup> Still, the evidence of tension is there: a

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also Lin Guangchao 林光朝 (1114-1178), *Ai xuan ji* 艾軒集 (Wen yuan ge ed., vol. 1142), 9.21b-22 for description of a woman nurturing a blind daughter born to a concubine.

<sup>52</sup> Wang Yishan 王義山 (1214-1287) *Jia cun lei gao* 稼村類稿 29.12; Shu Yuexiang 舒岳(嶽)祥 (1236-after 1297), *Lang feng ji* 閩風集 (Wen yuan ge, vol. 1187)12.12; Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333), *Wu wen zheng ji* 吳文正集82.4b; Wang Yun 王惲 (1227-1304), *Qiu jian ji* 秋澗集52.13; Huang Jin 黃潛 (1277-1357), *Huang wen xian gong ji*, 8a.327-328; Chen Lü 陳旅 (1287-1342), *An ya tang ji* 安雅堂集 11.12b; Dai Liang 戴良 (1317-1383), *Jiu ling shan fang ji* 九靈山房集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1219), 14.19b; Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (1314-1376), *Su ping zhong wen ji* 蘇平仲文集 14.13b. For concubine mothers loving wives' sons, see Cheng Duanli 程端禮 (1271-1345), *Wei zhai ji* 畏齋集, 6.21b; Cheng Duanxue 程端學 (1278-1334), *Ji zhai ji* 積齋集, 5.12b.

<sup>53</sup> Such references are too numerous to cite exhaustively, but for some examples see Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098), *Fan Tai shi ji* 范太史集, 48.4a; Sun Di 孫覿 (1081-1169), *Hong qing ju shi ji* 鴻慶居士集 37.14, 40.2b; Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086), *Wang Wen gong wen ji* 王文公文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1974), 99.1012; Yuan Xie 袁燮 (1144-1224), *Xie zhai ji* 絜齋集 (Cong shu



woman who never beat concubines or servants deserved to be singled out for praise, as did a young girl who rescued concubines from her mother's beatings.<sup>54</sup> One husband observes casually that as his wife aged she became less severe, such that for over ten years she refrained from beating the concubines and servants.<sup>55</sup> The tensions created by the presence of concubines were even more explicitly acknowledged by an author who admitted that, when confronted with concubines (*qie yu* (妾御), many women were simply beside themselves (迫於不得已). Another author indicates a mother's love for her only daughter by noting that she wanted the daughter to marry someone who did not have concubines (*ji qie* 姬妾).<sup>56</sup> We might even see the common practice of taking concubines on official tours of duty—while wives remained at home—as at least partly inspired by the desire to mitigate, however temporarily, the friction inherent in the day-to-day interactions of wives and concubines. To be sure, the practice undoubtedly solved certain practical problems inherent in the peripatetic lives of Song literati: the concubine could attend to her husband's personal and household needs away from home, while his wife could take care of the elders and young ones left behind.<sup>57</sup> But when Lady Liu helped pack and prepare for her husband's trip with his beloved concubine “without a sour look,” she may well have been looking forward to being free of her young rival's presence.<sup>58</sup>

The tensions between wives and concubines presented problems for others in the inner quarters as well. Particularly where concubines had borne sons, the presence of two mothers meant divided attention and divided loyalties. We see oblique reference to this when men are praised for serving both their legal mothers and their birth mothers without contravening ritual.<sup>59</sup> Daughters-in-law who found themselves serving two mothers-in-law had a particularly delicate path to tread. In the late Northern Song Zhao Dingchen described in detail how his youngest sister carefully negotiated her complicated

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ji cheng edition Shanghai: Shangwuyinshuguan) 17.279-281; 21.347; Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137-1213), Gong kui ji 攻媿集, 105.1485.

<sup>54</sup> Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137-1213), Gong kui ji 攻媿集, 100.1403 (100.12b); Hong Gua 洪适 (1117-1184), Banzhou wen ji 盤州文集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1158), 77.9-10.

<sup>55</sup> Yuan Xie 袁燮 (1144-1224), Xie zhai ji 梨齋集 21.357.

<sup>56</sup> Zhao Dingchen 趙鼎臣 (b. 1070), Zhu yin ji shi ji 竹隱畸士集, 19.3b-4; Li Zhaoqi 李昭玘 (11th-12th century), Le jing ji 樂靜集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1122), 30.1-1b.

<sup>57</sup> For an example of this practice, see Zheng Xia 鄭俠 (1041-1119) Xi tang ji 西堂集 (Wen yuan ge Siku quan shu edition, vol. 1117), 4.16b-17. The practice of taking concubines on tours of duty is amply attested in *biji* and other sources.

<sup>58</sup> Deng Wenyuan 鄧文原 (1259-1328), Ba xi ji 巴西集, xia.14a.

<sup>59</sup> Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098), Fan Tai shi ji 范太史集 47.8. Cf. also Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), Wen zhong ji 文忠集, 32.15; Jie Xisi (1274-1344) 揭傒斯, Wen an ji 文安集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1208) 13.2b; Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (1314-1376), Su ping zhong wen ji 蘇平仲文集, 13.10b.

role as daughter-in-law to both her husband's terrifyingly severe legal mother and his concubine birth mother, attending the legal mother morning and evening with great respect while treating the birth mother solicitously in private. Nearly two centuries later, Su Boheng admired a Madame Wang (d. 1371) for exhibiting the same sensitivity.<sup>60</sup>

Implicit in these accounts are the personal power struggles that could ensue as a wife strove to maintain her authority in the household against the threat that any woman "favored" by her husband could represent. Theoretically, of course, authority within the inner quarters rested in the hands of the legal wife. But because a wife's authority was always derived from that of her husband, she could maintain her position in the inner quarters only if she had his unequivocal support. A husband's emotional attachment to his concubine was a potential threat to that support, and thus to a wife's power in the household. Irrespective of a woman's own attachment to or affections for her husband—even if she had no particular feelings for him—she had reason to be concerned how his relationship with a concubine might affect her position in the household.

Song and Yuan inscription writers were also aware that an over-indulged concubine could be a threat not only to harmony in the inner quarters, but to the fortunes of the family as a whole. In the mid-eleventh century, in a case that (as several inscriptions attest) became the scandal of the capital, the grand councilor Chen Zhizhong lost his position when his concubine Zhang beat a slave girl to death. Chen's fellow officials later explicitly castigated him for not regulating his household affairs, and for letting his wife be degraded while fierce concubines went uncontrolled.<sup>61</sup> In a similar if less dramatic case, the elder brother of Jiang Zhizhong (d. ca. 1051) had so lost sight of propriety that he set up his concubine as his main wife; when he died, his household descended into chaos. Jiang's mother ordered the concubine expelled, but she responded by bringing suit against the family. The suit went badly for the Jiangs, and ultimately Zhizhong was forced to accept blame and endure a demotion rather than expose his mother to the humiliation of having to face charges in court.<sup>62</sup> A century later Pan Haogu (d. 1170) avoided this sort of disaster by expelling a concubine who had served him for nearly thirty years when she presumed on her favored position and become arrogant and

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<sup>60</sup> Zhao Dingchen 趙鼎臣 (b. 1070), *Zhu yin ji shi ji* 竹隱畸士集, 19.5b-7b; Su Boheng 蘇伯衡 (1314-1376), *Su ping zhong wen ji* 蘇平仲文集, 14.27.

<sup>61</sup> Liu Zhi 劉摯 (1030-1097), *Zhong su ji* 忠肅集, (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1099), 11.19b; Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), *Dong po quan ji* 東坡全集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1107), 88.4b. For the official account and remarks by other officials, see *Song shi* 285.9604.

<sup>62</sup> Shen Gou 沈遘 (1028-1067), *Xi xi ji* 西溪集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1097), 10.20a. "Zhizhong" is Jiang's cognomen; his name is not mentioned in this inscription.

jealous.<sup>63</sup> An imperial kinsmen of the very late Song lacked Pan's prudence, with the result that his concubine was convicted of murdering his legal wife.<sup>64</sup>

Clearly, concubines could cause serious problems for family and society. But if, as the data I have just presented suggests, these sorts of problems were perennially associated with concubinage, why would funerary inscription writers suddenly be more concerned about them in the Southern Song and Yuan? Unquestionably, the changing rhetoric of funerary inscriptions was intimately tied to the development of Neo-Confucian ideology over the course of this period, not least because funerary inscriptions were one medium by which Neo-Confucian thinkers publicized their values. But it is also important to recognize that the ideological content of Neo-Confucianism was itself in part a response to the new social configurations created by economic growth and political innovations of the early Northern Song.

One important element in these new social configurations was the transformation of concubinage by the presence of a flourishing market economy and the concomitant commoditization of serving women as items of luxury consumption.<sup>65</sup> Though numbers are difficult to come by, the existing evidence suggests that as the Song economy grew and the Song elite expanded, more families were able to afford to employ concubines. The development of urban entertainments helped promote the popularity of entertainer- or courtesan-concubines—already a mark of elite status in the Tang—as luxury commodities and symbols of success.

As concubinage became common among families of relatively marginal economic status, social problems that seem to have been irrelevant in the context of high-ranking families began to emerge. While the wealthiest and most powerful Northern Song families may have employed dozens of concubines as entertainers and handmaids,<sup>66</sup> for families of more tenuous elite status the prospect that daughters might be reduced to concubinage was a constant threat. By early Southern Song, even imperial lineage could not guarantee that a woman would not find herself a concubine: in 1130 the official Ye Fen 葉份 (1076-1147) was accused of purchasing a woman of the imperial family (*gong*

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<sup>63</sup> Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137-1181), *Lü Donglai ji* 呂東來集, 10.8.

<sup>64</sup> Liu Yueshen 劉岳申 (1260-after 1346), *Shen zhai ji* 申齋集, 10.1b. Unfortunately, the inscription provides no further details of this case. Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven*, gives several examples of imperial kinsmen getting into trouble over their concubines.

<sup>65</sup> I have discussed these developments more fully in "Shifting Identities: Courtesans and Literati in Song China." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 62:1 (June 2002).

<sup>66</sup> This is evident especially in inscriptions for members of the imperial family. See Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098), *Fan Tai shi ji* 范太史集, 46.11, 48.4, 51.2. See also Chaffee, 33, 58.

*nü* 公女) as a concubine.<sup>67</sup> In the late twelfth century, when officials serving in outlying areas such as Lingnan died in office, wives and daughters left with no means of support were sometimes forced to sell themselves as servants or concubines (*bi qie*), leading a local official to establish a system to provide funds to marry such women properly.<sup>68</sup> In this context, keeping female relatives out of concubinage became a source of pride, and coming to the aid of indigent young women of official background an act of signal virtue.<sup>69</sup>

In similar fashion, as concubinage spread, the presence of concubines' sons seems to have created problems that had not existed among high-ranking families at the capital. Assuring the succession was of central concern to all descent lines, and indeed was theoretically the very *raison d'être* of concubinage. In this context, theoretically all sons were highly desired. And indeed among wealthy and high-ranking families, distinctions between *di* and *shu* sons seem not to have been an issue. *Shu* brothers are mentioned in only one Northern Song funerary inscription, and then in the context of a legal case handled by the subject in the course of his official career.<sup>70</sup> We know that many high-ranking officials were themselves the children of concubines, and this fact had no noticable bearing on their careers or prospects, presumably because in such wealthy and powerful families there were ample resources to go around.<sup>71</sup> Among less well-off

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<sup>67</sup> Ye Fen was ultimately exonerated, but only because the culprit turned out to be a different man of the same surname. See Li Mixun 李彌遜 (1089-1153), *Yun xi ji* 筠溪集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1130), 24.1-2. A more detailed account of this affair, which explains that Ye Fen was mistaken for someone else, appears in Xiong Ke 熊克, *Zhong xing xiao ji* 中興小記 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol 313), 8.25b. Both sources indicate that Ye suffered a demotion in any case.

<sup>68</sup> Han Yuanji 韓元吉 (b. 1118), *Nan jian jia yi gao* 南澗甲乙稿 (Cong shu ji cheng edition), 22.446.

<sup>69</sup> I think that the ubiquitous references in Song and Yuan eulogies to individuals marrying off indigent girls in their lineage must be understood in this context. It is possible that in this regard the Song situation differed somewhat from earlier periods: Liu Kai remarks without embarrassment that a cousin of his was a concubine (Liu Kai 柳開 (948-1001), *He dong ji* 河東集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1085) 14.5b), but further research is necessary to verify whether concubinage among upper class women was more acceptable in earlier eras. Note that no Song or Yuan inscription ever acknowledges that a descendant of the subject was married as a concubine, though we know that this could happen to young women of elite families (as, for examples, the concubines of Liu Kezhuang and Dai Liang: Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269), *Hou cun da quan ji* (Si bu cong kan edition) 161.10 (cf. also Ebrey, *Inner Quarters*, 226); Dai Liang 戴良 (1317-1383), *Jiu ling shan fang ji* 九靈山房集 14.14b. Zhou Bida describes how Peng Hanlao 彭漢老 (d. 1200) rescued a young woman of official background from her position as concubine to a local military official (Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), *Wen zhong ji* 73.9).

<sup>70</sup> Li Gou 李覲 (1009-1059), *Li Gou ji* 李覲集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981) 30.351. Northern Song sources focus overwhelmingly on high-ranking or powerful families at the capital.

<sup>71</sup> Funerary inscriptions for high-ranking officials do not generally indicate directly that they or their sons were born to concubines, but from references to serving birth mothers and similar oblique mentions we know that many successful officials were the children of concubines.

families where the patrimony was more limited, however, the status of concubines' sons became problematic, as many Southern Song and Yuan inscriptions attest.

Even in families of modest means, when a concubine's son was the sole heir his legitimacy was probably assured, though the evidence suggests that his legitimacy had to be formally established. Yao Mian's wife died within a month of giving birth to their first daughter, and the child died within the following year. When some time thereafter his concubine gave birth to a son, Yao reported the birth in the family temple and formally legitimized the child (*li er di zhi* 立而嫡之). But when other heirs existed (or arrived on the scene), the situation changed. Yao Mian himself found it extraordinary that his second wife (a younger sister of the first), volunteered to give up her first born son to be heir to Yao Mian's older brother and rear the concubine's son as her own instead.<sup>72</sup> More typical, it seems, was the attitude of four Wang family brothers, who, when their father took a concubine late in life, worried that she would become pregnant and their already small patrimony have to be split still further.<sup>73</sup>

The rhetoric of funerary inscriptions suggests that the moral ideal in Song and Yuan was that sons, regardless of maternity, should be treated equally; yet the same funerary inscriptions reveal that in many families the sons of concubines did not receive equal treatment with their half-brothers. Some time in the mid-twelfth century the concubine of Zhou Bizheng (d. 1205)'s elder brother was expelled, and the child she had borne drifted into the neighboring prefecture. Though Bizheng is credited with retrieving the lad and providing him with property, the house he built for his nephew was not in the Zhous' home county of Luling but in a neighboring county, suggesting that the nephew was still not considered to be a full-fledged member of the family. A lawsuit described by Zhen Dexiu reveals a similar inequality. The suit involved a landlord who sued his tenant for nonpayment of rent. Both sides were ordered to appear in court, at which point the judge noticed a resemblance between them. After a secret investigation, the judge discovered that the tenant was actually the landlord's half-brother (*shu di* 庶弟). The judge's resolution of the case reiterated the principle of equal treatment for all sons: the tenant was ordered to return to his original occupation and the property was split evenly between the two half-brothers. But it is also apparent that, absent the intervention of the court, the rights of concubines' sons could be easily abrogated.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Yao Mian 姚勉 (1216-1262) *Xue po ji* 雪坡集, 50.9b.

<sup>73</sup> Wang Yishan 王義山 (1214-1287) *Jia cun lei gao* 稼村類稿 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. v. 1193), 29.13b.

<sup>74</sup> Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178-1235), *Xi shan ji* 西山集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1174), 42.26. See also the earlier case described by Li Gou, in which a man, by bribing the clerks, managed to treat his *shu di*

The evidence from funerary inscriptions also suggests that the sons of concubines were far more likely than their legitimate brothers to be adopted out of the family. Chen Liang recounts his own efforts to retrieve a “lost” half-brother (d. 1187) who had been borne to his father’s maid and adopted out to a family surnamed Zhang when barely four months old.<sup>75</sup> More commonly, concubines’ sons were given up to other descent lines within the family. Guo Shuyi 郭叔誼 (d. 1233) was his father’s second son, born to a concubine; he was “selected” to be the heir of his father’s younger brother, who had no sons of his own.<sup>76</sup> The younger half-brother (*shu di*) of Huang Yi 黃己 (d. 1358) was likewise sent out to be heir to a distant uncle.<sup>77</sup> One of the most striking aspects of the treatment of of concubines’ sons, however, is that they are often described as becoming heirs (usually posthumous) to their own half-brothers. When the eldest son of Yang Lingui (d. 1233) died, a concubine Deng ordered that her own son become his heir. Liu Keshi 劉可仕 (d. 1287) was the son of a concubine and later became the heir of his “legitimate” older brother (嫡兄), though this arrangement was later contested by another concubine’s son (*shu di*). I have already noted that two *nie zi* of Huang Zhangyuan 黃長元 (along with one of Huang’s grandsons) were appointed to be heirs to Huang’s deceased son and son-in-law.<sup>78</sup>

These references intimate, first of all, that concubines’ sons were often *not* treated as automatic coparceners in their fathers’ estates: had they been entitled to an equal share of their fathers’ estates, there would have been no need formally to designate them as heirs to their brothers. Doing so, however, provided a practical, simultaneous solution to a number of problems: It ensured that the deceased son would have descendants and not become a hungry ghost, while preventing the government from confiscating the property of the defunct descent line; it provided an inheritance for the concubines’ sons, without having them directly compete with sons of wives; it kept the descent line property in the hands of natural sons of the father, obviating the need to adopt from another line. In addition, the tendency to have concubines’ sons serve as the “sons” of their half-brothers

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“as a person of another surname,” until a lecture by an upright official caused him to change his ways (Li Gou 李覲 (1009-1059), Li Gou ji 李覲集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981) 30.351. Patricia Ebrey has also noted the vulnerability of concubines’ children. See *Inner Quarters*, 230.

<sup>75</sup> Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210), Wei nan wen ji 渭南文集 (in Lu Fangweng quan ji 陸放翁全集 (Hong Kong: Xianggang guang zhi shu ju, n.d.), 38.238; Chen Liang 陳亮 (1143-1194), Chen Liang ji 陳亮集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 28.414-415.

<sup>76</sup> Wei Liao-weng 魏了翁 (1178-1237), He shan ji 鶴山集, 83.9b.

<sup>77</sup> Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), Wen xian ji 文憲集, 19.72.

<sup>78</sup> Wei Liao-weng, 魏了翁 (1178-1237), He shan ji 鶴山集, 84.16; Liu Zhenweng 劉辰翁 (1232-1297), Xu xi ji 須溪集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1186) 7.19-20; Wu Cheng 吳澄, Wu wen zheng ji 吳文正集, 84.10.

was undoubtedly encouraged by the simple fact that concubines's sons were often the same age as the *children* of those half-brothers. Men of middle age commonly took as concubines girls in their late teens, and when such men died their adult sons (and daughters-in-law) frequently found themselves in the position of rearing their half-siblings. Thus when a posthumous child was born shortly after her father-in-law's death, the woman Zhou insisted that she would rear the child (her husband's half-brother) as her own, saying: "He is the same *qi* 氣 as my husband; I will love him like my own *son*, and then the whole family will regard him as no different from my *sons*" (emphasis added).<sup>79</sup>

Unfortunately for Song and Yuan families, the practical logic of making concubines' sons the heirs of their brothers was undermined by the fact that doing so directly contravened ritual rules about generational hierarchy, as some were clearly aware. Huang Dongzhi (d. 1336) explained to Yu Ji that as a young man, concerned about his lack of sons, he had appointed his half-brother (*yi mu di*) to serve as his son. Later he had become uncomfortable with this arrangement and dared not continue it. When in old age he still had no sons of his own, he adopted the half-brother's youngest son to be his heir. In response to Huang's request for his opinion of this arrangement, Yu Ji observed, "Knowing that [your actions] contravened ritual is what made you uncomfortable. But being able in that situation fearlessly to reverse yourself, was that not also the Dao of the gentleman? (知禮之所不可，心之所未安。而能不憚於自返焉，不亦君子之道乎).<sup>80</sup> Yu Ji manifestly did not approve of taking brothers as one's heirs, and praises Huang for reversing his decision to do so. Other families seem to have been at pains to disguise their ritual lapse through manipulation of naming patterns: thus the *nie zi* of Huang Zhangyuan were given names that matched the generational naming pattern *not* of Huang's other sons, but of his grandsons. Similarly, Li Dun's 李敦 (d. 1333) *shu di*—whom Li is given credit for rearing with great care—shares the naming pattern of Li's son.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333), Wu wen zheng ji 吳文正集, 80.10. Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269), Hou cun ji 後村集, 38.24 describes another woman who reared her husband's *shu di*. On men rearing their half-brothers, see Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), Wen zhong ji 文忠集 33.3; Yeh Shi 葉適 (1150-1223), Shui xin ji 水心集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1164), 23.11; and Hu Zhiyu 胡祇遹 (1227-1295), Zi shan da quan ji 紫山大全集, 18.16b. In some cases, we are told that virtuous wives regarded the concubines themselves as their own children. See Liu Yizhi 劉一止 (1079-1160), Tiao xi ji 苕溪集 (Wen yuan ge edition., vol. 1132), 50.8; Zhao Dingchen 趙鼎臣 (b. 1070), Zhu yin ji shi ji 竹隱畸士集, 19.13b.

<sup>80</sup> Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348), Dao yuan xue gu lu 道園學古錄, 43.736-737.

<sup>81</sup> Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333), Wu wen zheng ji 吳文正集, 84.10; Zheng Yuanyou 鄭元祐 (1292-1364), Qiao Wu ji 喬吳集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1216), 12.15.

If the expansion of concubinage in lower levels of society created new sorts of conflicts and tensions within families, the commoditization of women as luxury items also created conflict in society at large. Zhou Bida, for example, describes the unfortunate consequences that ensued when a local intendent was charged with stealing the beloved concubine (*ai qie* 愛妾) of another bureaucrat. The official Gao Kui 高夔 (1138-1198) was sent to investigate, but a senior official intervened to protect the perpetrator, and Gao ended up demoted for his efforts.<sup>82</sup> Concubines had the potential to undermine good government in other ways as well. Zhen Dexiu relates that an official embezzled two thousand strings of cash from the official coffers, using it for bribes but also going so far as to purchase a concubine. Elsewhere, decrying the evils of the “harmonious purchase” system of government requisition, Zhen notes that it became standard practice for flatterers to present the powerful with wives and concubines.<sup>83</sup>

Neo-Confucian concern with family relationships can, I think, be seen as in part a response to these problems. Stressing the concubine’s role as mother helped to regularize her status in the family: and we see such efforts, as Katkov has noted, in Zhu Xi’s reconfiguration of mourning rituals so that a concubine mother received the same mourning as a legal mother.<sup>84</sup> I think the rhetoric of funerary inscriptions stressing service to concubine mothers and fairness to half-brothers should be understood in the same light. Such rhetoric integrated concubines into the developing model of Neo-Confucian family relations. At the same time, to the extent that Neo-Confucians were also concerned with moral self-cultivation and control of desire, funerary inscriptions which stressed the maternal aspects of concubines also helped to erode their image as objects of desire.<sup>85</sup> In fact, by the late Song and Yuan, some authors were touting the virtue of *not* having concubines at all.

Very few Northern Song inscriptions praise men for not keeping concubines, and when they do, they suggest that such behavior is a sign of frugality. Thus Fan Zuyu notes that although an imperial prince was wealthy and noble, he didn’t keep musicians and courtesan-concubines (*sheng yue ji qie* 聲樂妓妾). Another author mentions that even after becoming an official, Zhang Yuxi 掌禹錫 (d. 1066) ran his household in the same manner as when he’d been a commoner: he had no concubines (*ying qie*) and waited upon himself at table, refusing to change even when others made fun of him for his

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<sup>82</sup> Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), *Wen zhong ji* 文忠集, 65.9; 76.5.

<sup>83</sup> Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178-1235), *Xi shan ji* 西山集, 42.16; 43.35.

<sup>84</sup> Katkov, *Domestication*, pp. 101-103.

<sup>85</sup> Katkov, p. 102, similarly suggests that the integration of concubines into the family helped divest them of “unsavory associations with licentiousness and disorder.”



abstemiousness.<sup>86</sup> In late Southern Song, such references become more common; moreover, the absence of concubines in a man's household is increasingly portrayed as a sign of his attention to Confucian ritual and self-cultivation. In the early thirteenth century, Yuan Xie was startled that his friend Jiang Ruhui 蔣如晦—though reared in an eminent family and certainly not used to living like a poor scholar—was serving in office with only his son to attend him, and no one to manage the cooking or clothing. Pan explained,

“My wife did not come because she was afraid of the distance. Accordingly, she once selected a serving maid (*bi*) to attend me in her stead. But my understanding is that anciently, when the wife wasn't present, the *qie yu* did not dare to spend the night. This is written in the ritual classics. For this reason I didn't bring her with me.”

Yuan tells us that on hearing this speech he sighed in admiration:

For a woman to be without jealousy, for a man to be without desire: since ancient times this has been difficult. Now milord's wife has chosen a concubine (*qie ying*) to serve him—clearly she is without jealous behavior. Milord himself is calm and self-composed, untroubled by desire, austere like an ascetic of the wilderness. They can be called a true husband and wife: how far beyond vulgar custom they are!<sup>87</sup>

Yuan Xie's admiration for men who regulated their relationships with ritual is echoed by Liu Zai, who praises Lu Jun 陸垓 (1155-1216) for observing that “ritual begins with care in the relationship between husband and wife.” Liu adds that throughout Lu's entire life he didn't approach even his own concubines.<sup>88</sup> This theme becomes even more prominent in Yuan inscriptions. Zheng Song 鄭松 (d. 1307) was indifferent to the desires of food and sex (*yin shi nan nü* 飲食男女), and from the time he was young did not keep *bi qie*. After his wife died young, Jin Hongdao 金宏道 (d. 1365) screened off a small room and, keeping no *ji shi* by his side, spent his days with his books and his evenings

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<sup>86</sup> Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098), *Fan Tai shi ji* 范太史集 46.11; see also *ibid.*, 50.8. Su Sung 蘇頌 (1020-1101), *Su Weigong wen ji* 蘇魏公文集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1092), 56.13.

<sup>87</sup> Yuan Xie 袁燮 (1144-1224), *Xie zhai ji* 絜齋集, 21.347. Other Southern Song references praising men for not keeping concubines include Liu Yizhi 劉一止 (1079-1160) *Tiao xi ji* 苕溪集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1132), 49.22b; Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137-1213), *Gong kui ji* 攻媿集, 105.1485; Yuan Xie 袁燮 (1144-1224), *Xie zhai ji* 絜齋集 (Cong shu ji cheng edition) 17.279-281; Wei Liao-weng, 魏了翁 (1178-1237), *He shan ji* 鶴山集, 73.25b; Wu Yong 吳泳, *He lin ji* 鶴林集, (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1176), 35.20; and Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269), *Hou cun ji* 後村集, 37.15b.

<sup>88</sup> Liu Zai 劉宰 (1166-1234), *Man tang ji* 慢塘集, 28.25b.

instructing his sons. Chen Lin 陳麟 (d. 1368) had few desires; his apartments had no *ji shi*, his storehouses no surplus wealth.<sup>89</sup>

I do not think we should assume that keeping concubines for pleasure had ceased in the Yuan: on the contrary, late Yuan inscriptions indicate that entertainer-concubines were still regarded as among the *sine qua non* of a luxurious life. Thus Li Qi, listing the kinds of pleasures that all men would like to enjoy, includes fancy clothing, horses, hunting, keeping courtesans and concubines (*zhu ji qie* 貯妓妾), and music and dancing; Wang Yi's list of the good things people want includes lots of carriages and horses, lots of jewels, beef and lamb to eat, and *ji shi* 姬侍 lined up in one's rooms.<sup>90</sup> At the same time, both Li Qi and Wang Yi were at pains to demonstrate that their subjects were *not* interested in these sorts of crude pleasures. In other words, among men who considered themselves truly cultivated, taking concubines for pleasure was no longer a sign of status but of inferior behavior. This did not stop men from taking young concubines for pleasure: like Su Shi and Zhou Bida before him, Dai Liang described with some affection the teenaged girl (d. 1365) who brightened his middle age.<sup>91</sup> But he characterized their relationship in rather different terms than his Song predecessors had used. Dai Liang refers to his concubine by her surname, not by the sort of elegant poetic given names Su Shi and Zhou Bida use to describe their concubines, and he emphasizes their “marriage” where Su Shi and Zhou Bida speak of being “served.”

Ultimately, it is difficult to know how much the shifting rhetoric of funerary inscriptions reflected actual behavior,<sup>92</sup> but it does seem to have reflected (and perhaps

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<sup>89</sup> Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333), Wu wen zheng ji 吳文正集 74.4b; Dai Liang 戴良 (1317-1383), Jiu ling shan fang ji 九靈山房集 14.7; 23.8b. See also Cheng Duanli 程端禮 (1271-1345), Wei zhai ji 畏齋集, (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1199), 6.15; Li Qi 李祁 (1299-137?), Yun yang ji 雲陽集, 8.28b-29. For a Yuan reference in which absence of concubines is characterized as a sign of frugality, see Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348), Dao yuan xue gu lu 道園學古錄 43.735.

<sup>90</sup> Li Qi 李祁 (1299-137?), Yun yang ji 雲陽集 (10 j.) (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1219) 8.28b-29; Wang Yi 王禕 (1322-1373) Wang Zhong wen ji 王忠文集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1226) 23.6b. See also an inscription for a woman née Hong (d. 1370), which describes all the *other* little girls in the family liked to out to watch the female entertainers 女妓 perform, and a reference to more than a hundred *qie ying* that an early Ming prince kept in his youth (Fang Xiaoru 方孝孺 (1357-1402) Xun zhi zhai ji 遜志齋集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1235), 22.85; 22.16b).

<sup>91</sup> Su Shi was also about twenty-five years older than his concubine Zhaoyun (d. 1096), who was only about ten (eleven *sui*) when she entered his service. Zhou Bida was forty-four when he purchased his seventeen-year-old concubine Yunxiang (d. 1173); Dai Liang at forty-eight took in a nineteen year old (Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204), Wen zhong ji 文忠集, 36.20; Dai Liang 戴良 (1317-1383), Jiu ling shan fang ji 九靈山房集, 14.14b.

<sup>92</sup> Here the total absence in Yuan funerary inscriptions of men seeking out birth mothers is intriguing. Although other sources (such as a dramatic biography of a “filial son” who undergoes great trials while searching for his concubine mother (see Hu Changru's (1249-1323) biography of “filial son Chen” in Yuan wen lei (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1367) 69.11-15) reveal that it was still common in early Yuan

also to have helped spread) new social attitudes. It does appear that, between the Song and Yuan, the possession of entertainer concubines was becoming gradually less acceptable and the status of concubines who became mothers was gradually improving.<sup>93</sup> But even if the “domesticated” view of concubinage promoted by funerary inscriptions reflected wider social practices,<sup>94</sup> funerary inscriptions also show us how limited that domestication was. Partly this was due to the contradictions created in the attempt to treat concubines as wives. First, by valorizing women who produced sons over those who did not, the improvement in the status of concubines subtly undermined the status of wives, who no longer got “credit” for sons they did not bear themselves.<sup>95</sup> This development was likely only to increase jealousy toward concubines—a woman whose status was closer to that of the wife was far more threatening than one who was clearly relegated to the position of servant and whose sons were not her own. Second, paradoxically, the new emphasis on maternity served to underscore the distinctions between wives’ and concubines’ sons, undermining the rhetoric of equality.

The most fundamental contradiction, however, was that from the standpoint of the Chinese family, the real advantage of concubinage was precisely that concubines were *not* wives: concubinage was a useful institution because concubines afforded the family a level of flexibility that wives did not. As funerary inscriptions show, unlike wives, concubines (and their progeny) could be incorporated into the family or expelled from it, as circumstances dictated.<sup>96</sup> For this reason, the domestication of concubinage could never be more than partial. The more profound effect of the domesticating rhetoric of funerary inscriptions was to provide moral justification for an institution that helped make the perpetuation of lineages possible.

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for concubines to bear children then leave the family, it is possible this practice became less common, or at least less socially acceptable, over the course of the dynasty. Other Yuan inscriptions that describe expelled concubines (usually in the context of legal cases) describe women who were expelled while still pregnant, not after the birth of their sons. See Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 (1294-1352), *Zi xi wen gao* 滋溪文稿 12.4; Ma Zuchang 馬祖常 (1279-1338), *Shi tian wen ji* 石田文集 (Wen yuan ge edition, vol. 1206), 12.3; Liu Yueshen 劉岳申 (1260-after 1346), *Shen zhai ji* 申齋集, 8.16.

<sup>93</sup> Several inscriptions show concubine mothers acting as defacto heads of the family once their husbands were deceased.

<sup>94</sup> Evidence from the late Ming suggests that such effects were not permanent in any case.

<sup>95</sup> Put another way, the status of women who were mothers and bore heirs for the descent group seems to have been improving at the expense of women who did not bear sons.

<sup>96</sup> Here it is telling that, while inscription writers praised men who took care of their own concubine mothers and men who reared their half-siblings, they are mostly silent about what happens to a father’s concubines after his death. A late Southern Song inscription describes a man who took in his cousin’s seventy-year old birth mother and allowed her to eat with his family, but this is described as an extraordinary act of charity, one most people would find difficult (*ren yi wei nan* 人以爲難), not a standard moral obligation (Liu Zai 劉宰 (1166-1234), *Man tang ji* 慢塘集 31.32b).

## 宋元墓誌中的「妾」

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對於研究中華帝國時期【傳統中國】婦女史及性別史的學者來說，墓誌（包括墓誌銘、神道碑等）可謂彌足重要的材料。然而，由於墓誌書寫的高度制式，以及充斥著對逝者的溢美之詞，學者們在使用這類資料時必須倍加小心。但是，制式書寫所隱含的文本構成要素的穩定性，在追索漸進而重要的社會關懷，以及價值變遷時，卻反而使得墓誌成為極佳的材料。本文主要探討墓誌所反映宋元時期中國家庭對「妾」（特別是妾，也包括側室、姬侍等）的看法之改變。一些研究中國家庭史的學者已指出，宋元時期的納妾制度有別於帝國晚期。在 Ebrey 的討論中，帝國晚期妾的身分更接近於法定的妻子。Neil Katkov 的博士論文則考察了律文、喪儀和封贈儀典，顯現妾和其所生子女的地位從唐代到明代逐漸獲得提升。Katkov 同時認為，這段時期，妾的制度越來越融入家庭生活（domesticated），使得她們的地位得以更接近法定妻子。本文致力於如何將墓誌中得來的證據匯入此問題的討論，但不能忽略的是，墓誌中妾的形象反映了身為男性菁英的墓誌作者的看法及偏見，因此必然不等於「妾」的全貌。

考察宋元墓誌所談及的「妾」，可以發現這個字眼有多種組合，指涉多種角色的女性，如：妾媵（媵妾）、婢妾、僕妾、妾御、姬妾、侍妾（妾侍）、妓妾、嬖妾、妾妮、妾婦和童妾。這些辭彙被使用於墓誌這種正式的（formal）、推敲琢磨過的書寫文類，似乎暗示這些女性及她們具有的這些功能（the functions）在那些請託作誌的菁英家庭中是被廣泛接受的。如此多樣的用詞，顯現她們在生活中可能扮演的不同角色。如：婢妾、僕妾、妾妮、童妾接近奴僕（servant）；侍妾（妾侍）、嬖妾、姬妾和妓妾則提醒了她們可能是男性的伴侶（companion）或表演者的身分。宋元墓誌也常見一些措詞並未直接使用「妾」這個字，但實際上卻可與這個字互換使用，如：在服侍男性的情境中出現的姬侍、姬媵、侍兒；生育過小孩的

次室或側室；而對於兒子來說，一個妾身分的母親是「庶母」，或者更一般的說法是「生母」。

我們發現宋元墓誌的作者要較前代更樂於提及「妾」。從電子版四庫全書中的文人別集可以檢索出 1272 卷與墓誌銘相關的材料，其中有 312 卷（24.5%）包含「妾」這個字。漢代到五代只有 13% 的墓誌銘有「妾」字；宋佔 19%；元佔 24%；至明代則是 35%。若我們將考慮的範圍擴及不以「妾」稱之的「妾」（concubine-type women），這樣的轉變趨勢顯得更加戲劇性。例如：最早使用「側室」的墓誌銘出現於北宋中葉。其他墓誌銘中圍繞母子關係的用詞，如嫡母、庶母、孽子、庶弟，只出現在宋代以後。暗示妾做為男性伴侶的用詞（如：姬侍、侍姬），雖然罕見於墓誌，但最早可見於宋元。這一趨勢也許顯現唐代和明代之間墓誌書寫風格的變化，但或許也在妾的特質上有具意義的轉變。

這種轉變的一項指標是，某一些辭彙在宋代早期不必然用來指「妾」做為小老婆這樣的角色，到了宋代較晚的時候才用以指稱小老婆這樣的角色、關係。例如：穆修（973-1032）為 1030 年過世的一個人所作的祭文提到「君凡四娶室」。穆修以「初室」和「次室」兩個詞區別這四位夫人。墓主和他的一位初室和兩位次室合葬在同一座墓，但不同的棺柩中。只有生了一個兒子的次室李氏得以與墓主共眠於一口棺柩中。汪藻（1079-1154）的兩篇墓誌則分別提到墓主的「元室」和「次室」皆得到贈封，以及「先室」和「次室」皆出身著名的家族。看起來，這些「次室」指的似乎是「繼室」而非「妾」。但到了元代，同樣的詞在使用的習慣上就意指為「妾」。十三世紀晚期，王惲（1227-1304）提到婦人凌氏（Ling）能夠善待其夫的「次室」。十四世紀早期，陳旅描述了他的嫡母如何待「次室」所生子如己出。在這樣的例子中，法定妻子尚在人世，因此「次室」這個詞只能指「妾」。

另一項妾在生活中更加受到承認的指標是，她們開始以男性的祖先、配偶，特別是母親的身分出現。宋元的墓誌習慣上會記載墓主家中主要的成員，基本上包括三代祖先（時常也包括他們的妻子）、配偶、男性子孫、女性子孫的丈夫。雖然庶母在墓誌中未曾以常態被列於祖先當中，但在南宋及元代，妾作為母親被列入三代祖先的現象已較北宋時流行。北宋只見三個非皇室的例子，其中又有兩例來自宋初的高官家庭，最後一例則是特例。南宋和元的例子較多，南宋有六例，元有七例。周必大（1126-1204）在一篇宗室的墓誌當中不只區分出嫡母和生母，還注意

到墓主的祖父是妾所生。其他如孫觀、樓鑰、姚勉、黃潛、趙孟頫...等也都曾在墓誌中記述過這樣的事。

妾做為配偶的身分也偶然出現在墓誌中。宋代墓誌裡我只在王珪《華陽集》中發現一個十一世紀中葉的例子，他提到墓主「其側室」生一子一女。<sup>97</sup>接下來便是元代四例。其中一例出自程鉅夫為一個逝世於 1229 年的非漢族將領所作的墓誌，我們在這篇墓誌中可見到墓主有兩位正室、一位繼室和三位側室。<sup>98</sup>顯然，妾做為配偶的身分在宋元墓誌的書寫中未曾被廣泛接受。進一步說來，這些為數不多的例子會顯現妾做為配偶的角色，往往是因為她們成功地為丈夫留下後嗣。

在宋代墓誌中已有習慣列出墓主的子孫，時常也列出女婿或孫女婿。然而在晚宋之前，並沒有區分這些子孫的生母是誰。基本上，墓誌僅記載正室和繼室，然後列出子孫，如此，似乎暗示這些子孫無論在法律上或習俗上都「屬於」法定的妻子。

緊接著，我們看看宋代墓誌如何承認妾做為母親的存在。為一位做為母親的妾 (concubine mothers) 作墓誌銘，在北宋仍不常見。有些作者會提到孝子如何千辛萬苦地尋找遺棄孩子的生母，但看不出這些母親是否是妾。到了晚宋，撰誌者開始詳細陳述在一個家庭中有好幾位育有子女的母親，並且也描述宋代家庭生活中由此而生的衝擊 (impact)。十二世紀晚期，樓鑰 (1137-1213) 在一位嫡母的墓誌中盛讚一個兒子勤勉不懈地尋母，而這位孝子的行動其實間接表露出這位嫡母的「鵲鳩之德」。樓鑰的行文之間並未直接提及「妾」，但這樣的書寫似乎提醒我們這個孝子可能不是嫡母所生。南宋的這個例子隱約、間接地說到妾的母親角色。這樣的例子至晚宋才增多。元代則有十七個例子。進入十四世紀，似乎慣例上或多或少會注意到子嗣的母系血統。這樣的注意出現於不少元代墓誌作者的書寫當中，包括李存、蘇天爵、貢師泰、謝應芳、趙汭和楊維禎。這種趨勢向明代延續。簡而言之，宋元之際，對妾的母性的關注有所「升溫」，墓誌作者越來越突出妾傳宗接代的母親角色。

宋代晚期和元代，墓誌也開始對於妾如何被對待投注更大的關切。越來越可見到，善待庶母成為評量個人品德的一項標準要素。在子嗣侍奉庶母這方面，北宋

<sup>97</sup> 這篇墓誌是宋元墓誌最早使用「側室」一詞之例。

<sup>98</sup> 這個例子的情況可能與北方游牧民族的婚俗有關。草原上的男子可同數擁有數個地位相當的妻子，這或許影響了漢族家庭中妾的地位的觀念。

我只找到唯一一例，南宋一例，元代六例。其中，張克用（d. 1374）和黃珪（1330-1370）兩人甚至是因為，能夠加倍地孝敬殘酷無情對待他們的庶母，而受到讚譽。我們也能在墓誌對於孝順的媳婦的描述上見到相似的發展。黃庭堅（1045-1105）為其逝於元符元年（1098）的孀孀所作的〈叔母章夫人墓誌銘〉，對這種新的德行標準有相當清晰的陳述：

夫人歸不及舅姑，事叔父之所生母李氏如姑禮，盡愛盡敬。……分寧之俗，所生母皆服役於其子婦，聞夫人之風，乃欣慕焉。

換句話說，黃庭堅的敘述讓人聯想到，北宋的時候，至少在帝國的某些地區，妾被期待去侍奉家中的其他人，甚至是她們的親生子。

我只看過另一篇北宋墓誌描述一位婦女侍奉丈夫的庶母，但到了晚宋和元代，這樣的陳述就變得較為普遍。關於男性和女性侍奉庶母的記述同時增加，暗示納妾愈加普遍，或者至少是有道之士（moralist）感到，承認妾身為母親的地位是重要的。另外，提及男子侍奉不是其生母的庶母，顯示到了元代，庶母也被認為是值得尊敬的女主人——至少是那些男性撰誌者這麼認為。

宋元墓誌對於庶母持續增加的關注也與對庶子的關注成正相關。墓誌作者開始去述說男性慷慨寬厚對待他們的異母兄弟以及婦女疼愛非其親生之子（stepsons）的故事。最早提及與異母兄弟相處情形的墓誌是乾道六年（1170）周必大所作。在這篇墓誌中，我們被告知，即使墓主的父親逝世了，他的庶弟和妹妹們還是都在適婚年齡得以順利成家。無疑地，周必大是想讓大家了解墓主給予了庶弟和妹妹們充分的資助。元代的文本有更加細緻的敘述，劉岳申（1260-after 1346）不只告訴我們蕭瑞（d. 1331）為其庶弟妹成家，還進一步說到蕭瑞將其財產均分給他兩個庶弟，使他們能在分家後有不錯的家境。

正室撫育妾所生的孩子無私如己出，這類例子同樣也在宋元之間出現並且增多。應該善待“stepchild”的想法自古就有，但在大多數的宋代墓誌中“stepchild”仍指前妻之子。北宋只有一篇墓誌說到一位婦人照顧妾生的孩子。南宋時增至三例。至元代，稱讚女性視庶子如己出已成為墓誌寫作上的習慣，可以找到八例，其中之一甚至開始提到庶母對嫡子的疼愛與對自己的孩子是不分軒輊的。簡言之，自南宋並延續至元代，墓誌的作者提及家中的妾時，著重於描寫男性如何侍奉庶母，照顧異母兄弟；女性如何奉養庶婆母，撫養庶出的孩子。這似乎證明妾及其子女正

在融入中國家庭生活中。我認爲，至少可以說，爲數漸增的墓誌作者在理想上認爲妾和庶子們「應該」更融入家庭生活，而墓誌作者用心良苦地去贊揚與促進他們理想中家人與妾「適當」的關係，這正反映了妾對家庭及社會的衝擊。

正如明清文學作品中所揭示的，妾是對家庭內部和諧構成威脅的人物。但在宋元墓誌中，明清小說所描繪的那些問題往往只是隱晦的暗示性的。但仍可見到這種緊張性存在的證據。例如：從不曾凌虐妾或奴僕的女性被認爲應受到表彰，就有一位阻止其母欺虐妾的年輕姑娘得到士大夫的讚譽。我們也可以看到，有一位母親讓唯一的女兒嫁給沒有姬妾的人，藉以表現她對女兒的愛。這樣的緊張性來自於，妾的存在得到更加明確地承認。

此外，當妾也生下兒子時，就出現了兩個母親的問題。同時有兩個母親意指注意力將被分散，忠誠也被割裂。有些人因爲能夠不違禮地同時侍奉嫡母和生母而受到讚美。媳婦也發現她們必須同時侍奉兩位婆婆，而在彼此之間產生頗爲微妙的對待關係。北宋的趙鼎臣就描述他的小妹曾面對這樣的處境。

這些陳述暗示，做爲妻子的努力對抗任何一個新受丈夫寵愛的女子，以維持她在家中的權威。理論上，閨門內（the inner quarter）的權威仍然掌握於正室手中，但因爲妻子在家中的權威總是來自於丈夫，所以如果丈夫將感情投注於妾身上，對正室在家中的權力自然是潛在的威脅。即使不考慮正室與丈夫之間的感情，她也必須擔心她與妾的關係可能會影響她在家中的地位。宋元墓誌的作者的確也注意到寵妾不只對家內의和諧構成威脅，也影響整個家庭的興衰榮辱。

顯然地，妾會引起家庭和社會一連串的問題。既然如此，那麼爲什麼在南宋及元代墓誌的作者突然對妾表現更大的關注？毫無疑問，墓誌體例的變化與此一時期理學的發展密不可分。需要指出的是，理學內容本身也是對北宋早期經濟發展及政治變革而引發的新社會結構的反應。

這一新的社會結構引起了納妾的變化。隨著宋代經濟的增長及文人的擴張，越來越多的家庭有能力納妾。隨之而來的是，以往在高層家庭中不甚顯著的社會問題開始引起關注。富裕及有權勢的家庭擁有足夠的資源分配給子女。如許多南宋及元代墓誌所證明，那些並不富足的家庭，遺產有限，因而庶出子的身分往往引發事端。在宋末及元代的墓誌中，庶子離開家，過繼給外人或他房的例子很多。更有一些家庭將庶弟立爲嫡兄之後。雖然這樣做顯然否定了禮儀上的行輩原則，但的確有



不少家庭借用這個方法來解決無後的問題，甚至依照孫子的行輩名，為庶子命名。最後，宋元把妾當作奢侈品享用的趨勢引發了社會上和政治上的問題，例如用妾行賄和受賄。

理學對於家庭關係的關懷可視為對上述問題的回應。強調妾作為母親角色有助於讓妾在家庭中的地位合理化。如學者指出，在朱熹重建的喪禮中，庶母享有和嫡母一樣的祭祀。我認為，應該從這一角度去理解墓誌在體例上如何強調侍奉庶母及善待庶兄弟。這樣的文章體例將妾融入變化中的理學家庭關係模式。與此同時，理學也關注道德修養及「滅欲」，墓誌強調妾具有母性的一面，有助於調整她們作為欲望對象的形象。有的墓誌甚至開始讚美不納妾為道德高尚的行為。

很難說清楚墓誌體例的變化究竟反映了多少實際情形，但是它的確反映了新的社會態度。顯然，宋元之際，對於因娛樂目的而納妾的行為，人們逐漸不接受，但妾的母性地位則日漸提升。可是，即使墓誌所推崇的納妾「家庭化」的觀點反映了廣泛的社會實踐，墓誌仍然讓我們看到這一家庭化的侷限性。首先，這是以傳宗接代作為衡量女性的一個標準，無疑地這動搖了沒有產子的妻子的家庭地位。其次，對母性的強調凸顯了嫡出與庶出兒子的區別，有礙於平等。

本文最後指出，從中國家庭的角度出發，納妾的好處在於妾賦予家庭更大的靈活度。如墓誌所反映，妾可以被融入家庭，也可以被逐出門外。正因此，納妾的家庭化顯得較偏面。也許，墓誌的家庭化文體的深遠影響，是為支援著家族繁衍的制度提供了道德評判。





