The Development of Shamanism and Its Social Functions in the Song Dynasty (960-1279): Taking Folktales in Record of the Listener as Major Examples

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SHAMANISM AND ITS SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN THE SONG DYNASTY (960-1279):
TAKING FOLKTALES IN RECORD OF THE LISTENER AS MAJOR EXAMPLES

BY

XIANG WEI

A THESIS
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
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AT SETON HALL UNIVERSITY
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SHAMANISM AND ITS SOCIAL FUNCTIONS IN THE SONG DYNASTY (960-1279): TAKING FOLKTALES IN RECORD OF THE LISTENER AS MAJOR EXAMPLES

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THIS THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ASIAN STUDIES AT SETON HALL UNIVERSITY SOUTH ORANGE, NEW JERSEY.
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the development and the social functions of Shamanism in the Song Dynasty (960-1276). The author focuses on different historical religious stories recorded in classics. In this thesis, folktales in Record of the Listener were major examples to illustrate Shamanism in the Song Dynasty. Moreover, this thesis also cites folktales and records from other primary sources. For instance, History of the Song, Qingming Ji, Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian (A sequel of History as A Mirror) are also important primary sources to research Shamanism in the Song Dynasty. Furthermore, this thesis also focuses on citing views from many secondary sources. Zhong Guo Wu Shu Tong Shi (General History of Shamanism in China) and Song Dai Min Jian Wu Shu Yan Jiu (Research of Shamanism in common-people class in the Song Dynasty) are significant secondary sources in this thesis.

This thesis is discussing five parts. Firstly, this thesis examines the importance and uniqueness of Record of the Listener in Shamanism studies in the Song Dynasty. Secondly, it will examine how did the government manage Shamanism in Song Dynasty? This part will mainly discuss how the government would eliminate the temples of Shamanism. What temples would be encouraged by the government? The third part will examine the education system of Shamanism. Then, the thesis will distinguish the relationship between Buddhism, Taoism, and Shamanism. The last part of this thesis will discuss what the functions of Shamanism in the Song society were.

Key Words: Shamanism, Shaman, Religion, Buddhism, Taoism
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

How did Shamanism develop in the Song Dynasty 宋代 (960-1279) and what could this religion do in the Song society? Some researches elaborate some characteristics of Shamanism, such as Hansen Valerie Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276 and Liu Liming’s 刘黎明 Songdai minjianwushu yanjiu 宋代民间巫术研究 (Research of Shamanism in common-people class in the Song Dynasty). However, these researches do not answer this question completely.

Firstly, In New Dictionary of Chinese Popular Religions 新编中国宗教辞典, Shamanism is a folk belief activity developed based on primitive belief. Among the Manchu-Tungusic, Mongolian and Turkic residents of the Altaic language family in the northeastern areas of China. It has had a great impact on the daily life and social customs of these nationalities. The shaman was once thought to have the ability to control weather, prophecy, dreams, astrology, and travel to heaven or hell. Gao Guopan’s 高国藩 research elaborates what Shamanism is and why the Song Dynasty was an essential time for Shamanism. Shamanism, an ancient religion, originated from the Pre-Qin Period 先秦时期 (21BC-221BC). Shamanism was characterized by the pursuit of dialogue between human and Gods and the belief in the existence of ghosts. In this religion, people believed that different immortals could control nature. For

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instance, mountains were controlled by the Mountain God. The River Gods controlled rivers. Based on these characteristics, Shamanism was used to express people’s wishes for different Gods. Usually, when the country was troubled with dry, war, or starvation, Shamans would pray for rain, peace, or food to gods. Moreover, Shamanism had various magic and ceremonies. Shamans used talismans to perform magic. This method was similar but not identical to Taoist magic. Shamans dressed up red clothes and performed special dances to talk to gods or ghosts during ceremonies.5

Shamanism was a respectable religion before the Song Dynasty. Taibu Shu 太卜署, a government institution, was established in the Sui Dynasty 隋朝 (581-618) and used to control Shamans. That means Shamanism was an official religion in that period.6 In 963, however, the Song government removed Taibu Shu and indicated that Shamanism was no longer an official religion. Until the end of the Song Dynasty, the government had issued many policies to suppress Shamanism.7

However, Liu Liming’s 刘黎明 Songdai minjianwushu yanjiu 宋代民間巫術研究 (Research of Shamanism in Common-people class in the Song Dynasty) indicates that although the Song government suppressed Shamanism, this religion still survived in the Song Dynasty because the Song government had a paradoxical attitude to Shamanism. On the one hand, some temples and Shamans were eliminated by the government. On the other hand, some temples were promoted by the government. These temples received official titles from the government and became well-known around

7 Gao Guopan. P27.
the nation. Thus, in order to clarify the development of Shamanism in the Song Dynasty, the first question should be answered; How did the government manage Shamanism? In other words, what temples would be eliminated? What kind of temples would be encouraged?

Furthermore, *Gloomy Imagination: Research of Shamanism Beliefs in Ancient Chinese Society* 灰暗的想象：中国古代民间社会巫术信仰研究, was another book complete by Liu Liming. In this book, Liu indicates that although the Song government promoted some temples of Shamanism, the spread of Shamanism mainly relied on its unique educational system. Moreover, the education system of Shamanism was different from Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The education system of Shamanism lacked textbooks. Thus, the second question appeared: how Shamans taught students? Whether the education system of Shamanism was stable or not?

Besides, after Liu Liming examined that Shamanism still survived in the Song Dynasty. Another question appeared: since Shamanism still developed and maintained its characteristics, did it play a unique role in the Song society? If it did, what was the social function of this religion? What could the Shamans do in the Song society?

Finally, in the Song Dynasty, are there any books that record Shamanism? The answer is yes. Liu Liming also indicates that there were many primary sources about Shamanism in the Song although they were not official documents.

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Moreover, *Record of the Listener* was the most important book that recorded folktales about Shamanism.\(^{11}\) In Liu’s view, this book was written by a well-known scholar, Hong Ma 洪迈 (1123-1202), in the Song Dynasty. It could reflect the development of Shamanism in that period.\(^{12}\) Thus, we should know how Hong Mai completed this book and why this book was important for Shamanism studies.

This paper utilized various researches on the history of the Song Dynasty, politics, and Shamanism in the Song Dynasty in order to determine the availability of resources and to find out what research had already been done on the subject of Shamanism. In particular, Hansen Valerie current research greatly facilitated this learning about the characteristics of Shamanism in common-people class.\(^{13}\) In Hansen’s research, she indicates that if scholars want to know how religions development in China, they should study different religions as a whole. Moreover, most costumes of religions retained in the common-people class, especially Shamanism.\(^{14}\)

Also, this thesis analyzed many folktales of Shamanism and gathered information on how Shamanism developed and disseminated after 963. *Record of the Listener* 夷坚志, a collection of folktales, was written by Hong Mai 洪迈 (1123-1202) in the Song Dynasty.\(^{15}\) The thesis focused on gathering information from this book. This book collected comprehensive folktales in the Song Dynasty, especially stories about Shamans. Moreover, Hong Mai was a professional writer. His narrative was very logical.

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and evident. Thus, stories about Shamanism in his book were understandable. Although the stories he recorded were not as detailed as the biographies in the official history books, the plot of the story was fully narrated. The different characteristics of Shamanism are included in his book. Firstly, this book recorded different ceremonies of Shamanism such as praying for rain, curing illnesses and talking to ghosts. Secondly, this book recorded how Shamans active in the common-people class and what kind of immortals did they worship.

Two books provide a basis for this research. They were 中国巫术通史 Zhongguo Wushu Tongshi. (General History of Shamanism in China), by Gao Guopan who was a professor at Nanjin University, and 宋代民间巫术研究 Songdai minjianwushu yanjiu (Research of Shamanism in common-people class in the Song Dynasty), by Liu Liming who is a professor at Sichuan University. Firstly, since there is no record of Shamans in official historical biographies, the two authors gather information from folktales. Instead of describing the development of Shamanism in chronological order, they describe the different characteristics of Shamanism in its development process. For example, the characteristics of Shamanism in ceremonies, followers, and temples in the Song Dynasty. In other words, they put bits and pieces of information together and reveal a whole picture of Shamanism. This thesis opted to use a similar approach. In this thesis, some new features of Shamanism are listed, such as its relationship with the government, its education system, and its social functions. These characteristics could reflect what changes had taken place in Shamanism in the Song Dynasty and what ancient customs had been retained.
Furthermore, because of many folktales are written in Chinese, this thesis does many translation works. It is noteworthy that ‘followers’ or ‘clergies’ of Shamanism is difficult to translate. In Chinese, these people were called Shaman 巫 in ancient times. The meaning of this word is a person with magic and could hold ceremonies. Thus, this thesis uses Shamanism’ and ‘Shamans’ to describe them. Since this thesis finds that the meaning of a priest is very similar to the meaning of Shaman 巫, that is a man with religious duties and responsibilities in some non-Christian religions.

This thesis is effectively divided into five parts. The first part introduces the importance and uniqueness of Record of the Listener. The second part examines the management of Shamanism by the government, with an emphasis on events after 963. The third part includes a discussion about different methods of education in Shamanism. The fourth part includes two chapters and focuses on the characteristics of Shamanism after it combined with Buddhism and Taoism. This part also consists of a comparison of the characteristics of different religions. The last part focused on the social functions of Shamanism in Song society. In other words, this part discusses the role of Shamanism in society.

The conclusion is intended to be a cumulative result of the analysis of folktales and other historical records in the Song Dynasty. However, most of the folktales in Record of the Listener were not experienced by Hong Mai. Although the information derived from this book could reflect the characteristics of Shamanism clearly, some details of these folktales may not be realistic.

16 Gao guopan. P7.
17 https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/priest
However, the significance of this research is valid because this thesis deleted some visible fabricated details without affecting the main line of the story. Based on merely gathering more realistic stories from folktales, the development of Shamanism and this religion’s characteristics are evident. Moreover, when this thesis uses these folktales, the thesis compares them with official historical records to prove their authenticity. The thesis verified whether some characters in the story lived in the Song Dynasty or not. Some folktale characters do not have official biographies. The thesis focuses on verifying whether the phenomena in the stories have ever appeared in official records.
CHAPTER 2

THE IMPORTANCE AND PARTICULARITY OF RECORD OF THE LISTENER IN THE SONG DYNASTY

A. Hong Mai and Record of the Listener

Hong Mai 洪迈 (1123-1202), a remarkable writer in the Song Dynasty, was born in Po Yang 鄱阳. He was born in a literary family and his father, Hong Hao 洪皓 (1088-1151), was a well-known government official in the Song Dynasty. Furthermore, his brothers, Hong Shi 洪适 (1117-1184) and Hong Zun 洪遵 (1120-1174) were also erudite Confucian scholars at that time. Hong Mai, Hong Shi, Hong Zun, and their father were called three outstanding writers of the Hong family.18

Record of the Listener was one of Hong’s most crucial books. The Chinese title of this book was 夷坚志 (Yi Jian Zhi). This title was originated from The Works of Lie Zi 列子: “Stories of The Classic of Mountains and Rivers were observed by Dayu, titled by Boyi and recorded after Yijian heard them. 《山海经》为大禹行而见之,伯益知而名之,夷坚闻而志之。”19

Yijian 夷坚 (The year of birth and death is unknown) was a sage at very ancient time.20 It can be seen that Hong Mai claimed to be Yijian, comparing his book to The Classic of Mountains and Rivers.21 Since believing in ghosts and immortals and trying to interact with them was one of the main characteristics of Shamanism, many stories

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20 Lie Zi. P47.
21 The Classic of Mountains and Rivers is a book records ghosts, immortals and monsters in ancient China. It was written by Chu 楚 or Bashu 巴蜀 people in the Warring States Period 战国时期 (475BC-221BC).
about ghosts, gods and monsters are related to Shamans. Therefore, many folktales in *Record of the Listener* were related to Shamanism and Shamans in the Song Dynasty. Hong Mai took a long time to complete *Record of the Listener*. Because his father used to work in the north of China, he spent his childhood in the north. Thus, he could also glean many folktales in the north of China. Although he lived in the Southern Song 南宋 Dynasty (1127-1279), he still could hear stories occurred in the Northern Song 北宋 Dynasty (960-1127). When he returned to Shaoxing 绍兴, he began to write the book. In 1143, Hong Mai began to write the first volume of *Record of the Listener*. Fifty-nine years later (1202), he finally finished this book and published it.\(^{22}\)

This book was originally composed of 420 volumes. However, only fourteen volumes of this book had been preserved.\(^{23}\) Stories in *Record of the Listener* could be divided into the following categories:

1. Immortals of Shamanism
2. Ghosts of Shamanism
3. Exorcism ceremonies held by Shamans
4. Buddhist monks and Taoism priests
5. Romantic stories

Therefore, why this book records so many folktales about Shamanism? Firstly, folktales about ghosts and immortals were prevalent in the Southern Song 南宋 Dynasty (1127-1279). In the Southern Song, emperors appreciated reading stories about ghosts and fairies. *History of Song* recorded this prevalence:

\(^{22}\) Hong Mai. P3-P17.
\(^{23}\) Hong Mai. P2.
“Tales of mystery and the supernatural were originated from the Emperor Renzong’s period. Because the country was peaceful and very leisure, people wanted to read strange stories every day for entertainment.

志怪小说起宋仁宗。盖太平盛久，国家闲暇，日欲进一奇怪之事娱之。”

Furthermore, because of the influence of the court, the civilian literati and the common people also liked to read miracle stories about ghosts and immortals. Because the territory of the Southern Song Dynasty was much smaller than that of the Northern Song 北宋 (960-1127) and the Tang Dynasties 唐朝 (618-907), there were fewer geographical restrictions on communication between writers. Therefore, writers had more opportunities to hear stories from different people.

Secondly, although the Southern Song Dynasty had fewer wars than the Northern Song, people also feared wars in this period. Moreover, after the Jing Kang incident 靖康之变 (1125-1127), the government and people were very disgusted with war. The Jing Kang incident occurred in 1127. The Jin Kingdom 金国 (1115-1234) captured the Emperor Huizong 宋徽宗 (1082-1135) and the Emperor Qinzong 宋钦宗 (1100-1156) in Jing Kang incident. Since the Jin Kingdom was a smaller kingdom originally established by minority nationality, the Song government despised this kingdom. However, the Jin’s army defeated the army of the Song and captured two emperors of the Song Dynasty in this war. The Song Dynasty no longer regarded it as the most

24 The Emperor Renzong 宋仁宗(1010-1063).
25 Tuotuo. P1775.
26 Liu Lliming. P5.
outstanding country and began to fear the Jin. Under such circumstances, ancient Chinese writers preferred to avoid discussing political topics and wars. They liked to talk about literature or ghost stories in search of inner peace. This tradition has been spreading in China for thousands of years. For instance, *The History of Song*  宋史 recorded: “When scholars lived in the south of China, avoiding the tendency to talk about secularism has become popular. 文人居南内，避世之风甚矣。”

On the other hand, writers often explained the truth by writing stories about ghosts and gods. Because not all people were qualified to receive Confucian education in the Song, the important way for civilians to receive moral education was ghost stories. These stories could teach people to abide by Confucian moral principles. For instance, a story about filial piety was recorded in *Record of the Listener*:

“Wang Sanshi was a resident lived in Xiaocheng County, Boyang. His parents bought two eaglewood coffins for them to use after they died. Wang Sanshi sold the coffins and bought the coffins of cedar trees. After that, he sold the two cedar coffins and bought other coffins. After his mother died, he wanted to leave the coffin for his use, so he put his mother's body in a pine coffin. Shortly after his mother was buried, he was killed by thunder。

鄱阳孝诚乡民王三十者，初，其父母自买香木棺二具，以备死。王易以信州之杉，已而又货之，别易株板。及母死，则又欲留株板自用，但市松棺敛母。既葬旬日，为雷击死。”

In this story, Wang Sanshi was killed by thunder for not being filial to his parents.

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29 Tuotuo. P3357.
30 Tuotuo. P1178.
31 Wang Zhangwei P343.
32 Hong Mai. P165.
In Chinese tradition, the material used to make the coffin reflected the wealth, status, and respect of the deceased. Thus, children often bought coffins of good materials for their parents to express filial piety. Moreover, among the materials for making coffins, Eaglewood is the best and pine is the worst. Thus, it was unfilial for him to choose a coffin made of bad material for his mother to use. Through this story, people could know the idea of filial piety advocated by Confucianism and apply it in life. At least they learned not to buy cheap things for their parents. Furthermore, the god of thunder was an immortal in Shamanism. In Liu Liming’s research, he indicates the god of thunder was an ancient and important god in Shamanism. Thus, when people could not be filial to their parents, they would be punished by the gods of Shamanism.

As a writer and scholar, Hong Mai wanted to educate people by writing ghost stories. For instance, in the preface of Record of the Listener, Hong Mai indicated: “All recorded stories could not be meaningless.”

Thus, Hong Mai followed this trend and decided to write a book about Shamanism.

B. The Special Features of Record of the Listener

Since folktales of mystery and the supernatural were popular in the Song Dynasty, there were many books about ghost and gods had published in that period. Therefore, Record of the Listener was not the only collection of folktales in the Song Dynasty. However, Record of the Listener was the most prevalent and authoritative book.

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33 Wang Zhangwei, P344.
34 Liu Liming, P35.
35 Hong Mai, P5.
Firstly, *Record of the Listener* became popular because once Hong Mai finished a volume, it could be printed as soon as possible. Although Hong Mai took 60 years to complete this book, people were familiar with its stories before it was finally finished. Printing was very mature in the Song Dynasty, so it was convenient to publish books at that time. In the preface of this book, Hong Mai indicated:

“People thought I liked strange stories. When I completed a volume of the story, I would print it out, although I was thousands of miles away. Therefore, in these five years, I had written as many new stories as before.

人以予好奇尚异也，每得一说，或千里寄声，于是五年间又得卷帙多寡与前编等。”

People could read new stories because the book had been published for decades. Like contemporary serial literature, *Record of the Listener* had attracted readers’ attention for a long time. Furthermore, *Record of the Listener* was not merely printed in one place but was published and sold all over the country. For instance, the preface of *Record of the Listener* recorded the distribution of the place where the book was printed: “The book was printed in Min, Shu, Wu, and Linan. 今镂板于闽，于蜀，于婺，于临安。”

In this record, Min was Fujian 福建 province, Shu 蜀 was Sichuan 四川 province, Wu 婺 was Zhejiang 浙江 province and Linan 临安 was Hang Zhoud 杭州 today. Moreover, even if some people were illiterate in the Song Dynasty, they could know the story in *Record of the Listener*. In Liuliming’s research, he indicated that there were

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36 Hong Mai. P9.
37 Hong Mai. P11.
many storytellers in the teahouses of the Song Dynasty. People could hear different stories in these teahouses. Because this book was very popular at that time, the story in this book also appeared in these teahouses; even the illiterate could know the content of the story. Moreover, *Record of the Listener* was not only prevalent in common-people class but also prevalent in the court. In the Southern Song Dynasty, the emperor Gaozong 宋高宗 (1107-1187) once read this book:

> "Hong Mai was a member of the Imperial Academy. He lived in Poyang and styled himself Jinglu. He wrote 420 volumes of *Record of the Listener* and gave them to the emperor to read. 翰林学士鄱阳洪迈字景卢，作《夷坚志》四百二十卷，尝呈上览。" 39

*Record of the Listener* was an authoritative record of Shamanism because its stories were authentic. Hong Mai indicated his view in the preface of *Record of the Listener*:

> "If I write a book, even if the stories in it are heard, I only record those well-founded stories. 若予是书，耳目相接，皆表表有据依者。" 40

That means although many stories in this book were heard from other people, Hong Mai would examine these stories and selected credible stories to record. At least in the Song Dynasty, this book was not only a novel but also a history book. Especially the stories about Shamans were regarded to be accurate records of Shamanism in the Song Dynasty. For instance, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), a remarkable Neo-Confucianism scholar in the Song, evaluating the credibility of the Shamanism story in

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38 Liu Liming, P484.
39 Tuotuo, P2910.
40 Hong Mai P5.
“People said that hail was formed by lizards. This indication at first seemed unreasonable, but it was reasonable, be. For instance, in *Record of the Listener*, Shaman Liu lived in the western mountain, Longxing state. There were many lizards as big as human arms in the mountains. Liu fed the lizard with pancakes, and the lizards ate them all. One day, he took all the lizards into the temple, and they drank up all the water in the well. When the lizards drank up the water, the sky began to hail.

世间人说雹是蜥蜴做, 初恐无是理, 看来亦有之。按《夷坚志》中载刘巫师, 后居隆兴府西山。山多蜥蜴, 皆如手臂大。与之饼饵, 皆食。一 日, 忽领无限蜥蜴入庵, 井中之水皆为饮尽。饮干, 即吐为雹。”

In this record, Zhu Xi indicated that he believed this story in *Record of the Listener* was true. Moreover, although this phenomenon seemed unscientific nowadays, Zhu’s record reflected what the Shamans had done in the Song. In other words, lizards were important animals in Shamanism, and Shamans often used them to pray for the weather change. Furthermore, Zhu Xi also evaluated that the details in *Record of the Listener* were accurate: “I did not believe in Shamanism. However, stories in *Record of the Listener* really happened. 巫术之流, 予多谓不信也。然夷坚志所载, 其事也真。”

That means, Zhu Xi may do not believe that the magic of Shamanism was effective, but he believed in the stories in *Record of the Listener*. Maybe the magic in the story was ineffective, but the Shamans did connect to the Song society and held religious ceremonies. Moreover, Lu You 陆游(1125-1210), another famous poet in the Song

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42 Zhu Xi. P1067.
Dynasty, evaluated that *Record of the Listener* was a historical biography for Shamans:

“This book can supplement history and let us know the custom of Chu State. 笔堪补史，乃知楚俗。”

In Gao Guopan’s research, the custom of Chu State was another name of Shamanism. Since people in Chu State often held Shamanism ceremony in the Pre-Qin Period, scholars considered that Shamanism was the custom of Chu State.44

Therefore, although the author could not examine whether the magic of Shamanism was effective or not, people could know how this religion developed in the Song Dynasty. *Record of the Listener* was like a biography that recorded various stories of Shamans. This section could examine how they educated their students, how they held ceremonies in the Song Dynasty.

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43 Tuotuo. P2857.
A. Unofficial Shamanism Temples and Shamans

This chapter will examine how the Song government managed Shamanism and its temples. Moreover, the chapter will also elaborate on what kind of priests and temples of Shamanism would be punished.

In the Emperor Taizong 宋太宗 period (939-997), he published a policy to eliminate rituals and Shamans in Zhejiang 浙江 area.

“In the Zhejiang area, some Shamans dressed up in red skirts, held knives, blow horns, and claimed that they could cure diseases. When officials saw them, they should arrest these Shamans. Those who did these things were charged with deceiving people.  
两浙诸州先有衣绯裙,巾单,执刀吹角称治病巫者,吏谨捕之。犯者以造妖惑众置于法。”

It was the first policy published by the government to eliminate Shamanism and Shamans in the south area.

As the Song government strengthened its management of religions, Shamanism became an illegal religion, and the government would eliminate its temples all over the country. For instance, a government official in the Song suggested that all the temples of Shamanism should be eliminated: “Common people believed treacherous Shamans and lecherous ghosts. Therefore, the government should eliminate all the temples of Shamanism. 俗信奸巫,奉淫鬼,境内所祀非旧典者,皆剪治之。”
Besides this record, another event about how the government managed Shamanism was recorded in *Qingming Ji* 清明集:

“Some grave robbers were found in Ningxiang. Thus, they tried their best to establish a temple and pray for God to protect them. This temple was near a river, and the god in this temple was the Emperor Dongshawen. Since they built this unofficial temple, their backs needed to be beaten fifty times with sticks. Moreover, they and their family members would be tattooed on their faces, and then they would join the army of Wugang.

宁乡段七八因劫墓事发, 祈神得免, 竭力为祠, 奉于水滨, 谓之东沙文皇帝。决脊杖五十, 刺配武冈军, 并家口押发。”

*Qingming Ji* 清明集 recorded many crimes in the Song Dynasty. Moreover, this book was completed by different authors such as Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178-1235) and other government officials in the Song Dynasty.

Based on these resources, it was obvious to see that Shamans were infamous for that time. Moreover, the way the government managed Shamanism was to convict these Shamans and founders of Shamanism. Thus, what kind of Shamans would be punished?

Firstly, when Shamans offered harmful drugs to people and made people ill, they would be punished by the government. For instance, the story “Wansui Powder” 万岁丹 was recorded in *Record of the Listener*:

“Cheng Bin was a resident in Huaijin village, Wuyuan County, Huizhou. He made counterfeit drugs in order to make money and regardless of danger. He killed snakes then buried them under the earth, covered the soil with straw mats and irrigated them with water. Over time, mushrooms would grow in this place. He

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48 This event was recorded by Fan Xitang 范西堂 (the year of birth and death is unknown).1987. 清明集 *Qingming Ji* (a collection of court decision). 中华书局 Zhonghua Book Company. P545.
picked some mushrooms from that place and dried them to make medicines. Living people who took these medicines would die immediately.”

徽州婺源县怀金乡民程彬, 邀险牟利, 储药害人。多杀蛇埋地中, 覆之以苫,以水沃灌, 久则蒸出菌蕈, 采而暴干, 复以它入药，始生者以食，人即死。

Chen Bin, the producer of Wansui Dan, was sentenced to death by the government. In Wang Zhangwei’s research, he indicates that Wansui Dan was a kind of Gu. Moreover, only Shamans in the Song could create Gu. Thus, although Chen Bin looked like a villager, in fact, he was a Shaman.

There was magic called Gu that created by Shamanism. In Gao Guopan’s research, Gu was originated and developed in southeastern China such as Fujian and Guangxi. Usually, Shamans used insects or foods to make the magic valid. Once someone touched these magical insects or food, they would get sick or even die. Gu could control the onset of illness or death. Therefore, the Song government punished this magic powerfully and effectively. Anyone who had been found to carry out this magic would be sentenced to death.

Secondly, when Shamans killed people, they would be punished. Killing people to show worship to ghosts was a prevalent ceremony of Shamanism. In this ceremony, Shamans killed some people and used the corpses to worship the local ghosts. These Shamans believed that the local ghosts could control this world. For instance, a story about this ceremony was recorded in Qingming Ji:

“(Shamans) in many households killed people to show worship to the local ghosts

51 Gao Guopan. P982.
in this village. They often sent their followers to kidnap and sell villagers. If they
had no chance to kill villagers, they would kill their slaves and even their children
to worship the local ghosts. These Shamans cut off the meat and bones of these
people and cooked them. It’s cruel!
Moreover, this phenomenon was prevalent in the south of the Xiang river. These
Shamans would be executed by dismembering the body. Their family members
would be sent to remote areas. The government would confiscate all their properties.
访闻本路所在乡村，多有杀人祭鬼之家，平时分遣徒党，贩卖生口，诱略平民，
或无所得，则用奴仆，或不得已，则用亲生男女充代，臠割烹炮，极备惨酷，
湘阴尤甚。并凌迟处斩，家属断配，家业抄籍充赏。”52

Dismembering the body was the cruelest punishment in ancient China. In variable
forms, it also involved dismemberment by cutting, tearing, pulling, wrenching, or
otherwise removing.53 Moreover, in Liu Liling’s research, the household was one of
the measurement units of Shaman. People often said that there was a household of
Shaman.54

Furthermore, when some institutions of Shamanism had more authorities than local
governments, they would be punished by the government because the social order
would be destroyed. *Xun Zhai Wen Ji* 翁斋文集 55 recorded:

“In these fourteen or fifteen years, there were the wooden frames of the god and
the god’s canes everywhere. Shamans had more powers than the government. Thus,
the government should punish them.

十四五年来，神枷神杖，处处盛行，巫者执权，过于官府。应罪之。”56

52 *Qingming Ji* (The author of this event is unknown). P545-546.
55 *巽斋文集* Xun Zhai Wen Ji was an essay collection wrote by Ouyang Shoudao 欧阳守道 (1208-1272).
Another event about the instability of society caused by Shamanism was recorded in *Qingming Ji*:

“Liu Liangsi had initially been an administrator of a temple. He deceived others that there were immortals in the temple. He broke into the prison and released prisoners and claimed that gods did these things. Liu Liangsi did want to disturb the stability of society. If we did not punish him, he would cheat more people and cause more severe misfortunes. Thus, his backs needed to be beaten twenty times with sticks.

刘良思元庙祝，伪作神降，破狱出囚，妄以神力所致。意在生事。倘不惩戒，疑惑听群。为祸必大。合脊杖二十。”

The administrator of the temple (*Miaozhu 庙祝*) was also a Shaman. Although these administrators sometimes merely cleaned the temple, they also could help people when they troubled with ghosts.

In addition, a local judge Cai Jiuxuan 蔡久轩 (lived in the Southern Song Dynasty) summarized seven characteristics of harmful religion:

1. Offering incense to people but forcing people to buy incense.
2. The leader indicated that he or she was the lord or the master. Attracting many people to worship them.
3. Imitating government institutions
4. Counterfeiting government documents in order to gain more money
5. Preventing sick people from taking medicine
6. Attacking real Buddhist monks.
7. Gathering criminals together.

一. 假作献香, 强人出售

二. 自称尊长, 自号大公, 聚众参拜

三. 布置官属, 无异官府

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57 *Qingming Ji* (The author of this event is unknown). P546.
四．假作御书，诳惑观听，以此欺诈，多取民财

五．疾病不得服药

六．擒打僧徒

七．聚会不法不道徒。”

From these records about how the government punished Shamanism and what kind of Shamans would be punished, this section could find that Shamans were not innocent. They not only built unofficial temples but also killed people, disseminates infections, and disturbed the stability of society. Thus, the author assumes that the government expelled them not only because they belonged to Shamanism, but because they did damage the stability of society.

B. Official Shamanism Temples in the Song

The survival environment of Shamanism was complicated in the Song Dynasty. On the one hand, the government eliminated the harmful part of Shamanism, like what we have discussed in the previous section. On the other hand, the government sometimes had tolerant attitudes to Shamanism. In other words, the government allowed the harmless part of Shamanism to survive in society.

A story called *Fuxi Fei Ci 浮曦妃祠 (A Temple of Concubine Fuxi)* in *Record of the Listener*. This story recorded the transition from Madam to Concubine: “Because Mazu was very efficacious, she was promoted from a madam to a concubine.其灵验如

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59 *Qingming Ji* (The author of this event is Cai Jixuan). P536.
This immortal in *Record of the Listener* was Mazu 妈祖. Worship of Mazu was prevalent in the southeast area, and Taiwan province even exists today and has long and great influences on Chinese Shamanism. The formation of Mazu Goddess was closely related to the government and bureaucrat groups. Originally, Mazu was merely a Shaman named Lin Mo 林默 or Linshi 林氏. She was born in Fujian 福建 province and grew up in an official family. In her youth, people found that she could anticipate auspicious omens when fishers needed to go fishing. Thus, she became a Shaman in this area. After that, she rescued many people when they encountered calamities on the sea. People established a temple to worship her after she died in a shipwreck and they believed that Mazu still could rescue people on the sea because she was a Goddess of the Sea.61

Mazu became an official goddess and obtained titles from the government after she rescued a government official named Lu Yundi 路允迪. The story was recorded in *Li Dai Shen Xian Tong Jian* 历代神仙通鉴. 62

“In the Xuanhe period (1119-1125), Lu Yundi was dispatched to Koryo. Suddenly, his fleet met the wind, and all the other ships sank. A mystical light fell into Lu’s ship’s mast. His ship drifted into two thousand li [one li is equal to 500 meters] and finally anchored in a small island. He asked indigenous people what the temple it was. People answered: ‘She was a virgin born in Putian area. Her father’s name was Linyuan and was a Du Xunjian [an official position to protect local security]. She was born in magic and could anticipate auspicious omens. Thus, she rescued many people on the sea. People established temples to worship her after she died in Mei Zhou.’ Yundi came to the temple to worship Mazu and obtained a blessing from her. When Yundi returned to his country, the emperor granted a title, the Madam Lingying [efficacious], to that goddess.

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60 Hong Mai. V4.P1058.
61 Gao Guopan. P432.
62 Xu Dao 徐道 wrote this book in 1645.
宋宣和中，遣路允迪使高丽，中流风作，诸船皆溺，独路舟有神灯降于樯杪，飘忽二千余里，胶泊一岛。询土民是何神庙，民曰：女贞，莆田人，本朝都巡检林愿之女，生而神灵，能预言人祸福，矢心履救。没后乡人立庙于湄洲之屿。’允迪至庙祭之，遂获安济。奉使回奏，敕授灵应夫人。’

Mazu had been granted many different titles from emperors. In the Xuanhe fifth years 宣和五年 (1123), Mazu was granted a title by the government: Shunji 顺济 (Helping people cross the river or sea smoothly). Decades later, the government granted a title to Mazu: the Madam of Ling Hui Zhao Ying Chong Fu 灵惠昭应崇福夫人 (A madam has supernatural power and lucky) in the Qiandao third years 乾道三年 (1167). In the Zhaoxi third years 昭熙三年 (1192), Mazu was granted as a concubine eventually. Since the Song Dynasty, many emperors in later dynasties sealed Mazu as a concubine.

The government continued to enhance her status because of her effectiveness. Originally, Mazu was merely a Shaman that was worshiped by local people. As a government official discovered her efficacious, she became a national goddess that worshiped by people all the country. More and more people worshiped Mazu. She became a notable official god. Therefore, the prevalence of Mazu was promoted by the government and emperors. Although the government issued policies to suppress local
temples in the Song, it still consolidated and promoted some local temples of Shamanism such as Mazu. In *Unruly God: Divinity and Society in China*, the author summarized four pivotal routes to promote Shamanism: merchants, pilgrims, dramas and literature works. In addition, government officials’ migration was another important way to promote Shamanism. When some officials returned to the court, they would introduce efficacious gods to their emperor. Thus, once the emperor granted a title to a folk god, this god would be popular in China as soon as possible. For instance, since Confucianism became a mainstream thought in society, temples of Shamanism merely built in small areas. In Zhu Haibin’s research, he indicates that Guanyu 关羽 (died in 220AD) was a god of Shamanism after he died. Guanyu temples were only built in the north area in the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127), and people in the south area did not know this god. After the Song government granted titles to this god, Guanyu God became prevalent in both northern and southern area in China. As the government granted titles to Guan Yu, he became a national god and a significant god in Taoism immortal system.

Besides Mazu, Nuo傩 was a traditional ceremony that remained in the Song Dynasty. In Shamanism, Nuo was a significant religious custom which expressed the respect of gods. In the Song Dynasty, Nuo performed in the palace as an official.

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68 titles of folk gods contained Confucianism cultural elements that they imitated official titles in the Zhou Dynasty such as Kings, Lords, and Madams.
69 Zhu Haibin. P23.
70 Liu Liming. P358.
religious ritual. *Reminiscences of the Eastern Capital* 东京梦华录, a prose book wrote by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, recorded the Nuo in the royal palace:

“In the New Year’s Eve, the royal palace held great Nuo ceremony by royal officials. Every actor wore masks, dress up in colorful clothes, took golden spears and dragon flags. Meng Jingchu, an actor in a drama group, was tall and robust. He dressed up as a general in armor. There were another two generals dressed up as door-gods in armors. They went from the palace to Nanxun Gate, and then came to Long Wan. This process was called buried bad lucks.

至除日, 禁中大傩, 并用皇城亲事官。诸班直戴假面, 绣画色衣, 执金枪龙旗。教坊使孟景初身品魁伟, 贯全副金镀铜甲, 装将军。用镇殿将军二人, 亦介胄……自禁中驱崇出南薰门外, 转龙湾, 谓之“埋祟”而罢。”\(^7^1\)

This record indicates that although Nuo was a ceremony of Shamanism, it still could be held in the court. On the one hand, this ceremony was harmless. In this record, it was merely a boisterous ceremony and did not hurt anybody. On the other hand, the ceremony had good implications, such as burying bad luck.

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CHAPTER 4
THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF SHAMANISM IN THE SONG DYNASTY

A. Family Education

Based on research in the previous chapter, although with high pressures, some Shamanism temples had chances to be official temples. However, it was still confused about how Shamanism disseminated in the Song Dynasty. Thus, this chapter discusses the education system of Shamanism in the Song.

Most education of Shamanism was completed by oral teaching. In Hansen’s research, she finds that Shamanism had fewer documents and textbooks than Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism. Shamans had a private education system during their training time. That means there were little schools for the education of Shamanism. For instance, Buddhism and Taoism had their stable temples to recruit and train monks (like Daxiangguo Temple 大相国寺 and Huixian Taoist Temple 会仙道观). Moreover, Confucianism not only had many private schools 私塾, such as Yuelu College 岳麓书院 and Bailudong College 白鹿洞书院 but also had the highest official institution called Guo Zi Jian 国子监. Confucian students studied ancient classical books in here and waited for taking the imperial examination 科举. However, after the Song government removed Taibu Shu, Shamans had disappeared from the official system and became a folk occupation among common people. Although the Song government promoted some temples of Shamanism, the spread of Shamanism mainly relied on its unique educational system. The education of Shamanism became private and mysterious. There were two pivotal routes for people to be a Shaman: Family education,

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72 Hansen. P124.
private teachers.

Family education was a significant part of the Shamanism’s education system in the Song. Sometimes Shamans were trained by their parents or other family members. When they became Shamans adequately, they would also train their successions. In the Record of Listener, a Shaman named Weng Jishi 翁吉师 inherited magic from his ancestors: “Weng Jishi was a Shaman and lived in Chongan county. He served an efficacious god. His family members were all Shamans and earned a living from it.崇安县有巫翁吉师者，事神著验。累世持神力为生。”

Moreover, another story was recorded in Record of Listener:

“Yu Zhongde lived in the southern city, and his son Zhen married to Miss Chen. The Chen’s family were Shamans for many generations. When Miss Chen was not married yet, she always served for a god.

南城士人于仲德,为子斫纳妇陈氏。陈世为巫。女在家时,常许以事神。”

Xianchuang Kuoyizhi 闲窗括异志 (A book written under the window in leisure time that recorded folktales) was written by Lu Yinglong 鲁应龙 (lived in the Song Dynasty). This book also recorded a story about family education of Shamanism:

“The Qiu family were Shamans for many generations and served a god named Master Zou. In the heyday of the family, the Mater Zou was very effective. When someone came to pray, Master Zou would say the prayer whether the things he asked were auspicious or dangerous. Thus, the Qiu family became a wealthy family. Today, the occupation of Shaman was still inherited by the descendants of this family.”
These records show that families with Shamans as an occupation were not uncommon in the Song Dynasty. Parents in these families were teachers, and their children were students. Moreover, the occupation of the Shaman did not affect the marriage of girls. Although a girl was a Shaman, she still could marry common people.

B. Private Teachers of Shamanism

Although some Shamans studied magic with their family members, they also had private teachers. Usually, these students were called Little Shamans 小巫 or Boys 童子. There were two types of students: boys (who were forced to learn magic) and adult students (learned magic spontaneously). In some places, the local Shamans would force people to send infants to them. Xia Song 夏竦 (985-1051), a remarkable minister in the Song Dynasty, had criticized this phenomenon:

“The place they lived called Shentan and was full of demons’ pictures, flags, drums, and horns. They lured people sent their infants to that place; this behavior would be called Tanliu or Tanbao. When these infants grew up, they would learn magic as students and servants.

所居画魑魅，陈幡帜，鸣击鼓角，谓之神坛。婴孺襁褓，诱令寄育，字曰“坛留”、“坛保”之类，及其稍长，传习妖法，驱为僮隶。”

These children were forced to learn magic by Shamans in their youth, and they did not have opportunities to learn other knowledge. Due to the social environment was
dominated by Confucian culture, we can assume that students of Shamans were born in lower-level families. Although printing technology increased rapidly from the Song, the scarcity of teacher resources still made some children illiterate. If they wanted to support themselves, joining into a Shamanism group was a route for them.79

After a student had mastered specific magic, he would take part in a religious ceremony with his teacher as an assistant. Some Chinese poetry recorded the processes of these ceremonies. In these poems, Shamans and little Shamans always appeared together. For instance, Yang Ji’s 杨济 (1145-?) poetry recorded a ceremony: “The Shaman predicted the auspicious signs with chicken’s bones. The little Shaman sang the Zhuzhi Song, and the voice became intense 大巫卜占云吉, 小巫竹枝歌转激。”80

Moreover, Shen Liao 沈辽 (1032—1085) recorded a ritual in his poetry Le Shen 乐神: “The great Shaman wore baroque clothes and shook big bells. The other boys beat drums and blow horns 大巫庞衣手摇铎, 群儿伐鼓更鸣角。”81

In Shen’s record, a Shaman was dominant in the ceremony, and boys assisted him to increase the atmosphere of mystery. Ceremonies of Shamanism had convoluted processes such as beating drums and ringing bells. Some could not complete merely by one person alone. Therefore, a Shaman and his assistants were common themes in poetry or essays. Moreover, some of these assistants were children themselves. For instance, in Shen Liao’s poetry, the meaning of Quner 群儿 was a group of boys. In

ancient Chinese poetry and essays, Quner was usually referred to as little boys or younger people. In Zhong Bing’s 仲并 (born in 1147AD) poetry, as a gift to his grandchildren, he praised that his grandchild was an outstanding boy among peers 秀出群儿.82

Little Shaman learned magic during their youth age and would be professional Shamans. Adult students, however, learned magic spontaneously and they were not professional Shamans. Adult students had other major occupations and merely interested in magic. A story in Record of the Listener called Fu Xuan Studied Magic 傅选学法:

“When Fu Xuan was a minister in Jiangxi province, he invited Wang Shichen came to Yuzhang in order to learn thunder magic. Although Wang abhorred him so much, he agreed Fu’s invitation because he feared Fu’s cruelty. However, Wang merely taught Fu some fundamental knowledge. Fu became outstanding between peers and friends.

傅选为江西总管时，邀临川王侍晨来豫章，从学雷法。王甚恶其人，然念凶德可畏，不敢不与，但教以大略，在朋辈中以为高妙.”83

Fu forced Wang to become his teacher; the Shaman Wang also acknowledged that Fu was his student. After Shaman Wang knew that Fu planned to murder him, he said:

“You are my student, but you plan to murder me. How can I bear you to succeed in this matter? 彼为我弟子，而谋射羿，岂宜使滋蔓得志哉。”84

Ultimately, Wang punished Fu with making the magic which Fu had learned to

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83 Hong Mai. V2.P832.
84 Hong Mai. V2.P833.
become ineffectively. Thus, adult students were more rebellious than the students who followed the Shamans during their youth age since adult students did not need to follow teachers to hold rituals and could doubt the authenticity of their teachers’ magic. Like Fu Xuan planned to murder his teacher because he found that the magic was ineffective.

The Shamanism’s education system had fewer limitations than other religions. For instance, Taoism priests and Buddhist monks must stay in temples. However, Shamans could stay at home or live in villages to learn magic and hold ceremonies. For instance, the story Taoist Yang described a woman who studied magic at home after she divorced. What needs to be emphasized is that the Tao she learned was the magic of Shamanism, but not the magic of Taoism. In Wang’s research, he indicates that not all the Shamans were called Shamans in folktales. Besides Shaman, Shamans were also called Taoists(道人 Daoren), Masters (法师 Fashi) or Demon Monks (妖僧 Yaoseng). Moreover, even though the names were similar between those Shamans and priests of other religions, whether these people learned magic in regular temples was an important way to distinguish other religious people from shamans. Thus, from the story “Taoist Yang”, the author could know that the woman in this story was a Shaman since she learned magic in her family. Moreover, the author will discuss how to distinguish Shamans and priests of other religions in the latter chapter.

Although the education system of Shamanism was freer than other religions, it’s troubled with the lack of successors. There was a story in Record of the Listener:

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85 Wang Zhangwei. P301.
86 Hong Mai. V1.P173.
“He (the Shaman Linchuan) knew that some ghosts treated him as enemies and would kill him in someday. Thus, he warned his family members: ‘if tomorrow someone visits me, you would tell them I am not here now whatever they are friends or strangers.’

自以与鬼为仇敌，虑其能害己，日戒家人云：‘如外人访我，不以亲疏长少，但悉以不在家先告之。’ 88

This Shaman knew that his family members could not resist of ghosts, and he needed to avoid them. That means this expert of exorcism did not have a successor in his family to inherit his magic. Therefore, the education system of Shamanism was not stable. Even after a Shaman died, his students and ritual mastery would be sold to other Shamans.89 Although the Shamanism education system was fragile and unsystematic, it had existed for thousands of years. Shamanism magic could be continuing in society because it was convenient. As long as the gods of Shamanism could bring people benefits, they would worship on it.90 Therefore, although the renewal of magic was rapid, Shamans were still permanent occupation in the Song Dynasty. Even if some magic lost their successors, the students and practitioners of other new magic would be increased.

88 Hong Mai. V1. P308.
89 Hong Mai. V1. P175.
A. The Development of Buddhism in the Song Dynasty

Buddhism was an exotic religion that originated from India and came to China in the Western Han Dynasty (202BC-8). The major doctrine of Buddhism was that people need to give up their emotions and desires.\(^{91}\) In the Song Dynasty, some Buddhist cultures combined with Shamanism. Thus, folk Buddhist monks were products of the combination of these two religions.\(^{92}\) In Wang Zhangwei’s research, what the author cited in the prior chapter, Shamans had another name Demon Monks 妖僧 in the Song Dynasty. Thus, people used Demon Monks to describe the products of the combination of Shamanism and Buddhism. However, Gao Guopan indicates that demon was a negative word to describe them, and not all the products of the combination of Shamanism and Buddhism were evil. Since most of them were active in common-people class, Gao uses another word to describe it: Folk Buddhism 民间佛教.\(^{93}\) Therefore, the author uses folk Buddhism to describe the combination of Shamanism and Buddhism. Moreover, although Buddhist monks and folk Buddhist monks wore the same clothes, and both of them shave their heads, they belonged to different religions. Buddhist monks belonged to Buddhism. Folk Buddhist monks belonged to Shamanism.\(^{94}\) Therefore, this part will distinguish Buddhist monks and folk Buddhist monks.

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\(^{92}\) Liu Liming. P117.

\(^{93}\) Gao Guopan. P820.

\(^{94}\) Liu Liming. P121.
Firstly, this section needs to clarify the development of Buddhism in the Song Dynasty. Although Buddhism might fall into decay in the Song Dynasty, two significant schools of Buddhism still prevalent in that time. The Zen 禅宗 was prevalent in the south of China and the Pure Land 净土宗 was popular in the north of China. The Zen originated from the Tang Dynasty 唐朝 (618-907) and enriched by Huineng 慧能 (638-713). Huineng, a well-known and outstanding Buddhist monk in China, wrote 六祖坛经 Liuzu Tanjing (Sixth patriarch’s dharma jewel platform sutra) to elaborate his thoughts. Moreover, the Zen in the Song Dynasty inherited Huineng’s thought completely.

In Huineng’s perspective, everyone had chances to be Buddha because nobody’s soul was dirty. For instance, he indicated this view in Liuzu Tanjing: “The self-nature of Buddha is originally clear and pure. Simply use that mind, and you will straightaway accomplish Buddhahood.菩提自性，本来清净，但用此心，直了成佛。”

Another famous poem wrote by Huineng was also recorded in this sutra:

“There is no Buddhist tree at all.
The mirror has no platform
Now there is nothing at all.
How could be dust anymore?

菩提本无树，
明镜亦非台，
本来无一物，

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95 Jiang Weiqiao, P247.
96 Jiang Weiqiao. P249.
From these records, the author could see that the Zen believed that practitioners should keep their pure hearts and souls. Furthermore, the Zen also thought that Buddhist monks should practice meditation quietly: “You are looking at the heart, looking at what is quiet. Do not move. Do not stand up. 看心观静，不动不起。”

Monks of the Zen practiced these principles rigorously. Song Gaoseng Zhuan (Eminent Monks’ Biographies in the Song) was a biographical book of monks. Zan Ning 赞宁 (919-1002) wrote this book and recorded many stories of monks from the late Tang to the Song. A biography of Shi Shouxian 释守贤 could reflect how monks of the Zen practiced:

“Shi Shouxian’s family name was Qiu and born in Yongchun, Quanzhou. He was smart and steady in his youth. Firstly, he swore to follow Jixiang Yuan and became a Buddhist monk, then studied with the Yunmen Zen master Dao Chang and became enlightened. He preached Buddhism in Hengyang. He did not wear silk fabrics, but merely cloth gown and leather pants. Moreover, he did not change his clothes in hot summer days and the coldest days. Xian also did not lie on the mat, but merely sit on a rattan bed and open his eyes during the night.

释守贤，姓丘氏，泉州永春人也。少而聪达渊懿沉厚，誓投吉祥院从师披剪焉，后游学栖云门禅师道场明了心决。趋彼衡阳众推说法。贤不衣缯纩布衣皮裤而已。度伏腊必无更易。胁不着席。唯坐藤床瞑目通宵。"
from the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420) and established by Huiyuan 慧远 (334-416). The Pure Land became one of the most influential Buddhist schools in the Song Dynasty and combined with the Zen at the end of the Song. 101 *The Sutra on Contemplation of Amitayus* 无量寿佛经 was the most significant sutra in the Pure Land. This sutra required monks to repeat Amitabha many times a day. The purpose of this behavior was recorded in *The Sutra on Contemplation of Amitayus*:

“The Buddha said to Ananda and Vaidehi: ‘Listen carefully, listen carefully and ponder deeply. I, the Tathagata, shall discourse on pure karma for the sake of all sentient beings of the future who are afflicted by the enemy, evil passions. It is very good, Vaidehi, that you have willingly asked me about this. Ananda, you must receive and keep the Buddha’s words and widely proclaim them to the multitude of beings.’”

Although the author of this sutra was unknown, monks of the Pure Land believed that as long as they kept repeating Amitabha, they could eliminate people’s evil and suffering. Since its practical and straightforward doctrine, the Pure Land was prevalent in the Song Dynasty. 103

These records showed that both the Zen and the Pure land focused on the major doctrine of Buddhism and monks of these two schools concentrated on how to cultivate their souls and eliminate their evil desires.

102 无量寿经 The Sutra on Contemplation of Amitayus 2015. 中华书局 Zhonghua Book Company. P10
103 Jiang Weiqiao. P260
B. Folk Buddhist Monks in the Song Dynasty

Since folk Buddhist monks and Buddhist monks dressed up similar clothes, moreover, these folk monks were also called Buddhist monks in some folktales. It is not easy to distinguish whether some monks in folktales were real Buddhist monks or not. However, this section could distinguish them in some ways.

Folk Buddhist monks did not focus on the doctrines of Buddhism, such as cultivating souls and cleaning minds, but did focus on how to use spells and talismans.

For instance, a story about folk Buddhism was recorded in Record of the Listener:

Some twenty to thirty li or so south of Yuzhang there is a place called Shengmi Ferry. On the eight-day of the third month in the first year of the Heavenly Way Period (1165), a monk came to cross the river early in the morning. Just as he was about to disembark, he said to the boatman,

“In a short while you will see five yellow-clad people toting cages come by. On no account should you allow them to cross. If they cross, a bizarre calamity will occur.”

Taking a brush, he wrote three characters. They looked like magic symbols but were not and the boatman could not make them out. The monk handed into him.

“Should you be unable to refuse, show them this,” he said.

And with that he left. The boatman did not truly believe yet thought to himself how uncanny it all was.

Noon came and there were five people dressed in yellow. Looking like expressed messengers, each carried two bamboo cages. They came up to broad the ferry. The boatman did not allow them abroad, and so they all cursed him angrily, stopping short of actually attacking him. For a long time, it couldn’t be resolved, so the boatman took out the written characters and showed them. As soon as the five saw the characters, they turned back in disarray and, in the twinkling of an eye, all trace of them was lost. They left all ten cages on the bank. These he opened and inside were five hundred tiny coffins. The boatman burnt the coffins and circulated the magic symbols; every household in Yuzhang drew them and made them offerings.

That year, there was much pestilence in Jiangsu and Zhejiang; this district was the only one unaffected. Those who knew the story said that the five were pestilence demons.
These three characters were neither Chinese characters nor Buddhist Sanskrit, and they were similar to a language used by priests and Taoists when they painted a talisman.

Talisman (Fulu) was a special incantation character from Taoism and Shamanism. The words from this story were similar to the words from these two pictures. These words were all composed of a part of Chinese characters but could not be found in the Chinese dictionary.105

Moreover, the words in this story also different from the words in Taoist talisman. For instance, Taoist Priests wrote Taoism immortal’s name on a talisman. Like the Lord Lao 太上老君. However, the words in the story did not include any immortals of Taoism. Thus, the monk of this story was not a Buddhist monk but a Shaman.

Another story about demon monks was recorded in Record of the Listener:

“Yuan Hun, a little Buddhist monk in Puguang temple in the east of Wu city, was the son of the Wang family that lived in the neighboring village. He begged and drank in the street, just wandering around. He was totally a demon monk. He was seriously ill at the age of twenty-five.

武城之东普光寺行童元晖，近村王氏子。为街坊化士，嗜酒不检，一意狎游，
This record describes a demon monk who violates the basic principles of Buddhism. He drank recklessly and begged in the street. He finally got sick. This man was called demon monk. Based on Wang Zhangwei’s research, what this chapter has mentioned before, demon monk was another name of the Folk Buddhist monk. Therefore, this kind of Buddhist monk also belonged to folk Buddhism.

106 Hong Mai. P665.
CHAPTER 6.

TAOISM AND FOLK TAOISM IN THE SONG

A. The Philosophical Taoism and Religious Taoism

This part needs to elaborate on two different Taoism. the Taoism of Zhuang Zhou (369BC-286BC) and the Taoism of Huang and Lao 黄老.\(^{107}\) If this section wants to comprehend what is Taoism, this part should first research some distinctions between them. People usually call them with distinctive words in order to distinguish them. Taoism of Huang and Lao is known as a religion. This part will use Religious Taoism 道教 to describe it. The Taoism of Zhuang Zhou, however, is known as Philosophical Taoism 道家 and this part will use this word to describe it.\(^{108}\) Philosophical Taoism is not a religion with religious ceremonies, immortals and temples, but is a philosophical school that like Confucianism.

Various Schools of Thought [百家争鸣] was a particular phenomenon during the Pre-Qin Period that many scholars discussed their thoughts and compared their thoughts with other scholars. In the Han Dynasty, such disputations were ended by the Emperor Wu 汉武帝 (156BC-87BC) with established Confucianism as only dominate the school.\(^{109}\) Based on this policy, the author assumes that as scholars reduced their focuses on Philosophical Taoism, there were fewer discussions in Philosophical Taoism and fewer scholars tended to clarify its thought. As the essence of Philosophical Taoism

\(^{107}\) Huang and Lao were two representatives of Taoism religion. Usually, Huang is the yellow Emperor 黄帝 (2717BC-2599BC) and Lao is Lao Zi 老子 (571BC-?)

\(^{108}\) The Jiao in Chinese means a kind of religion. The Jia in Chinese means a kind of philosophical school.

became confused gradually, people sometimes could not make a clear distinction between Philosophical Taoism and Religious Taoism because they were too similar ostensibly. Like what we have discussed in the last paragraph; Philosophical Taoism is a philosophical school in the Pre-Qin Period. The interesting thing is the two founders of Philosophical Taoism, Lao Zi 老子 (571BC-?) and Zhuang Zhou had never claimed that they were Philosophical Taoism in their articles. Therefore, the question is when and who grant a title to this school? 班固 Ban Gu (32BC-92BC), a remarkable historian in the Han Dynasty, used Philosophical Taoism to call this school in Han Shu 汉书: “Philosophical Taoism was derived from historiographer that recorded failures, successes, calamities and good lucks in ancient time and today. 道家者流，盖出于史官，记成败存亡祸福古今之道。”

Based on this record, we can assume that people use Philosophical Taoism to call this school as early as the Han Dynasty.

Religious Taoism is a religion that established in the Eastern Han Dynasty 东汉 (25-220). The word Religious Taoism also emerged at this time. Zhang Daoling’s 张道陵 (34-156) book Laozi Xiangerzhu 老子想尔注 mentioned Religious Taoism firstly: “The real Tao has disappeared; the evil texts have appeared. What people called Religious Taoism is invalid in this world. 真道藏，邪文出，世间常伪技称'道教'，皆为大伪不可用。”

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Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi were two philosophers and had not established any religion. Although Liu Xie 刘勰 (465-520) indicated that “(The Religious Taoism) was established by Laozi; has recorded immortals, was inherited by Zhang Ling.道教，述神仙，下袭张陵。” Religious Taoism merely used Laozi’s prestige to propagate its religious doctrines. Philosophical Taoism and Religious Taoism not only had different provenance, but they also had different thoughts.

Firstly, they had a distinctive principle. The major characteristic of Philosophical Taoism is all the masters wanted to become immortals by exercised their bodies and cultivated their spirits. If Religious Taoism obviates this desire, it will lose its religious principle. Although Religious Taoism had great contributions to Chinese medicine, to be immortals was the final aim for the whole Taoist monks. However, scholars of Philosophical Taoism pointed out the life should be quiet and inaction. People could not change their life or fate.

Secondly, Philosophical Taoism and Religious Taoism differed greatly in the evaluation of Confucianism. In Philosophical Taoism’s view, Confucianism thought that focused on social hierarchy and education was opposite to Philosophical Taoism’s thought of quiet and inaction. The book Daode Jing 道德经 recorded this opposition: “When the best sage has abandoned his wisdom, people receive a hundredfold benefit绝圣弃智, 民利百倍。” Confucianism claimed that people should learn knowledge

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114 Xu Dishan. P35
115 Xu Dishan P43.
and wisdom; Philosophical Taoism encouraged people to abandon wisdom. Religious Taoism, however, endorsed Confucianism thought. For instance, *Classic of the Great Peace* 太平经 was a significant sutra in Religious Taoism that completed by Yu Ji 于吉(?-200) in the Han Dynasty. This book recorded Religious Taoism’s positive attitude to Confucianism:

“In the law of heaven, Emperors, ministers, and common people are homogeneous. They have the same fate, good luck, and calamities. In medieval times, this hierarchy had disappeared.

"故天之法，常使君臣民都同，命同，吉凶同。一职一事失正，即为大凶矣。

中古以来，多失治这纲纪。"118

Based on this record, it is obvious to see Philosophical Taoism emphasized hierarchy[纲纪] of Confucianism thought. Moreover, this sentence emphasized that the emperor should work with the people. Lao Zi opposed this point. In Philosophical Taoism’s opinion, common people could not contact their emperor and were different from their emperor.120

Finally, Philosophical Taoism and Religious Taoism differed greatly in their political view. In Philosophical Taoism’s perspective, a small country with few people could be called an impeccable political organization. For instance, *Daode Jing* recorded

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117 Learning knowledge is one of the most important thought in Confucianism. For instance, there is a record in the first page of *Analects*: Isn’t it a happy thing if you review what you have learned on time? [D.C.Lau. 1979. *The Analects*. Penguin Classics. P114].


119 Hierarchy [纲纪] is another major thought in Confucianism. In Confucius scholars’ view, keeping stable social order is compulsory for them.

120 Xu Dishan. P62.
this opinion:

“Let there be a small country with a small population, Where the supply of goods are tenfold or hundredfold, more than they can use. Let the people value their lives and not migrate far. Though there be boats and carriages, none be there to ride them. Though there be armor and weapons, no occasion to display them. Let the people again tie ropes for reckoning, let them enjoy their food, beautify their clothing, be satisfied with their homes, delight in their customs. The neighboring settlements overlook one another. So that they can hear the barking of dogs and crowing of cocks of their neighbors, and the people till the end of their days shall never have been outside their country.

小国寡民。使有什伯之器而不用，使民重死而不远徙。虽有舟舆，无所乘之，虽有甲兵，无所陈之。使民复结绳而用之。甘其食，美其服，安其居，乐其俗。邻国相望，鸡犬之声相闻，民至老死，不相往来。”

However, Religious Taoism emphasized that the person should help each other rather than isolate each other. The classic of the Great Peace 太平经 recorded this opinion:

“A wise man should help a foolish man. If you bully him, this will be your first crime. A strong man should help a feeble man. If you bully him, this will be your second crime. A younger man should help an older man. If you bully him, this will be your third crime.

然智者当养愚者，反欺之，一逆也。力强当养力弱者，反欺之，二逆也。后生者当养老者，反欺之，三逆也。”

B. Characteristics of Taoism

This part will point out two manifest characteristics of Religious Taoism: Zhaijiao 121

122 Wang Ping P695.
斋醮 (a particular religious ceremony of Taoism) and alchemy 炼丹 (a method of making drugs in Taoism). Moreover, this part will use Taoism to call Religious Taoism in the rest of this chapter.

Shamanism was not the only religion that recorded in Record of the Listener and stories of Taoism were also recorded in that book. For instance, a story described a man met an unusual Taoism priest in a deep mountain and received a book:

“After he took a bath, he walked in a small path and a Taoist whose age was eighty- or ninety-years old steps toward him. The Taoist said: ‘I had been practiced energy for 200 years and treating illnesses was easy for me.’

浴毕散步小径，有老道人来，年八九十矣。道人曰：‘吾行气二百年，治病差易耳。’

Ultimately, the priest promised that he would give the man a book that he edited thirty-three years ago. Moreover, the priest gave the man an effective medicine to cure his illness after decades. \(^{124}\)

The author of this thesis could not detect the real identity of this Taoist. In folk stories, the author rarely recorded identities and background of Taoist Priests. These priests often appeared suddenly in a story, and no one knew where they would go. Moreover, stories of Taoism in Record of the Listener did not record the characteristics of this religion in detail, so the author could not know the difference between this religion and Shamanism.

Although there were various religions in the Song Dynasty and their religious

\(^{123}\) Hong Mai. P167.

\(^{124}\) Hong Mai. V1.P22-23.
activities were often confused, there was still a particular religious ceremony in Taoism: Zhaijiao.¹²⁵ In Zhaijiao ceremony, Taoist Priests wore exquisite robes, held various kinds of magic instruments, sang old songs and marched at a peculiar pace. This peculiar pace was also a unique behavior in Taoism.¹²⁶ Usually, people called this pace Yubu 禹步 because it was believed to be created by Xia Yu 夏禹 (a mysterious emperor live in the 3rd millennium BC).¹²⁷

The purpose of this ceremony is to pray for others. In 1001, Emperor Zhenzong’s son was ill. In order to pray for the prince’s quick recovery, the Emperor held a great Zhaijiao in the court. This Zhaijiao was recorded in Xu Zizhitongjian Chang Bian 续资治通鉴长编: “Xuanyou, The Left Admiral and the Lord of Xinguo, is filial and smart. He is ill and we should hold Zhaijiao ceremony to pray for him. 左卫上将军，信国公玄佑孝恪敏悟。及被病……设斋醮祈禳。”¹²⁸

Moreover, this section can assume that Zhaijiao of Taoism was prevalent in the Song because even the emperor would believe it. When common people faced some troubles and problems, they would invite Taoist Priests to hold a Zhaijiao. Record of the Listener recorded a story about Zhaijiao in common-people class:

“Wei Daobi’s wife, Ms. Zhao, died of illness on 16th of October, Shaoxing Twenty-first year. Hu Changwen, her son-in-law, invited Master Huang to hold a Jiuyou Jiao. 魏道弼夫人赵氏，绍兴二十一年十月十六日以病亡。至四月七日，女婿胡长
Jiuyou Jiao was a particular Taoism Zhaijiao. Its purpose was to appease souls and pray that they could be immortals as early as possible.\textsuperscript{130}

All these records have a common feature, that is, these ceremonies were presided over by Taoist Priests. Therefore, Zhaijiao is an evident and unique characteristic of Taoism. However, it took much money to hold a Jiao and only the wealthy family could afford it. For instance, there was an event recorded in Record of the Listener: “There is a Taoist Priest Wu in Huating. Only rich people invite him to hold a Jiao in their home.亭邬道士，唯豪民邀诣其家启醮。”\textsuperscript{131}

Thus, this record shows that not all the people could invite a Taoist Priest to hold a Jiao except for some rich people. There was another way, however, to allow indigent people invited a Taoist Priest to hold Zhaijiao ceremonies. When some village people faced troubles and needed to hold a Zhaijiao with a Taoist Priest, they would pool their money together. There is a record in Record of the Listener:

“In the first of Chunxi year (1174), Ningyuan County of Dao state, a villager Xiao Chunli with a retired official Ouyang Xuan and other people took fund-raising from their town to invite a Huanglu Jiao in Jiuyi temple.

淳熙元年，道州宁远县民萧淳礼与故吏欧阳暄等数人，共率邑里钱，就九嶷观建黄箓醮。”\textsuperscript{132}

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\textsuperscript{129} Hong Mai. V2.P121.
\textsuperscript{130} Gloomy Imagination: Research of Shamanism Beliefs in Ancient Chinese Society. V2 P94
\textsuperscript{131} Hong Mai. V3.P55.
\textsuperscript{132} Hong Mai. V4.P223
Therefore, it’s obvious to see how expensive a Zhaijiao ceremony was. Moreover, some evidence show that it may take a long time for Taoist Priests to hold a Zhaijiao. *Record of the Listener* recorded a lengthy Zhaijiao:

“Fourteen Taoist Priests with yellow crowns were found in other towns. These Taoist Priests should come to Guanqing Zhai and take a shower. They chanted the Sutra sincerely within two months. When the Jiao started, it would take seven days.

遍访它郡邑黄冠有道行者十四员，到观清斋沐浴，课送经文，两月之间，备极诚恳，及入醮筵，七日七夜始罢。”

Besides Zhaijiao, alchemy was another major characteristic of Taoism. In ancient China, pursuing immortality was the ultimate goal of Taoist Priests. In order to realize this aspiration, Taoist Priests spared no effort in the search for a panacea. Therefore, alchemy was created by Taoist Priests and its products, the Dan medicine 丹药, had great influences in ancient society. In Taoist Priests’ perspective, taking Dan medicine was of great benefit to human health. For instance, Wu Zeng 吴曾 (1119-1162) praised the Dan medicine in *Zhenglei Bencao* 证类本草: “Once cinnabar burned by firing, it would become a yellow silver. This product could be heavy, could be thin, could be an immortal, and could be a spirit. 丹砂伏火，化为黄银，能重能轻，能神能灵。”

In his view, cinnabar (as a major raw material of the Dan medicine) had unparalleled
efficacy. Moreover, other raw materials of Dan medicine, such as Xionghuang 雄黄 and Cihuang 雌黄, had a stronger ability in killing ghost and illness.\textsuperscript{136} The Dan medicine was not only prevalent in Taoism but also be accessed in government officials in the Song. \textit{Fangshi Yinyangdan} 方士阴阳丹 (A Yin-Yang Dan medicine invented by a Taoist Priest) was a story in \textit{Record of the Listener}:

In the Xuanhe year, Cai Lugong lived in the capital. A Taoist Priest gave him two Yin-Yang Dan medicines. These Yin-Yang Dan medicines were red and as big as clay pills.

宣和中,蔡鲁公闲居京师,有方士持阴阳丹一两许,如弹子大,色正红,献之\textsuperscript{137}

Cai Lugong, the most powerful Prime Minister in the Song, was another name for Cai Jing 蔡京 (1074-1126).\textsuperscript{138} This record shows that Taoist Priests also gave Dan medicine to officials. In the Song Dynasty, wealthy people often invited Taoists to refine the Dan medicine for them to increase their lifespan. In History of the Song, there was another government official invited a Taoist Priest to refine the Dan medicine:

“When Kou Zhun was an official of Huaihe River Transportation, he invited a Taoist Priest to refine the Dan medicine for him. The Taoist Priests broke through more than 120 feet of bamboos and put the container of the Dan medicine on these bamboos.

寇准少尝为淮漕,有方士为治丹砂,用竹百二十尺而通其节,以器盛丹置其
In the end of Zhenghe 政和 year (1117), Wang Cheng (The year of birth and death is unknown) became a Supervisor of the court 殿中监. The Emperor Huizong 宋徽宗 (1082-1135) invited some Taoist Priests to refine the Dan medicine, but he dared not eat the medicine. Thus, Emperor Huizong asked Wang Cheng to take Dan medicine at first. However, after Wang Cheng took a Dan, he felt hot in his chest and even smoke coming out of his mouth. Soon after, he died, and his body was put in a coffin. Amazingly, his body was still burning, even the coffin was lit, and a fire was set in the palace. From this event, the author could know that even the emperor wanted to take Dan medicine, not to mention the common people.

In the Song Dynasty, scholars also invited Taoist Priests to refine the Dan medicine and believed that this medicine could make them live longer. A story was recorded in The Record of the Listener:

“Scholar Yang lived in Yuzhang County and was relatively wealthy. He was particularly fond of alchemy. As long as Taoist Priests came here, he would surely receive these people.

豫章杨秀才，家稍丰赡，有丹灶黄白之癖。凡以术至此，必行接纳。”

It is worth noting that although scholar Yang was merely a scholar, he was a relatively wealthy man. Based on these records, the author could see that both Zhaijiao

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139 Tuotuo. V2 P139.
140 Tuotuo V.2 P245
141 Hong Mai. V4.P120
and alchemy (two major characteristics of Taoism) needed much money to support them.

C. Characteristics of Folk Taoism

Taoism had a close relationship with Shamanism. Firstly, because the integration of Taoism and Shamanism in common-people class, some Shamans had learned Taoism knowledge and combined the Taoism knowledge with Shamanism’s principles. Secondly, some common people had learned so-called Taoism spells. These spells were very different from the real Taoism spell, and these spells were originated from Shamanism.142 Thirdly, it’s not easy for us to distinguish them because their founder was not only a Taoist Priest but also a Shaman. Furthermore, since Gao Guopan uses Folk Taoism 民间道教 to describe the products of combination of Taoism and Shamanism in the Song143, the thesis will follow Gao’s indication.

Zhang Lu 张鲁(?-216), the pioneer of Taoism in the southwest area, was born in a Shamanism family that his mother was a Shaman.144 Therefore, some original Taoism magic and spells were based on the magic of Shamanism. For instance, Taoists learned magic and talisman form priests and combined them with the knowledge of Yin Yang 阴阳 and five elements 五行.145 In the other side, it was difficult for people to distinguish the immortal group of Shamanism and Taoism because they had similar deities’ system. Taoism had a whole immortal group that was headed by the Jade

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142 Xu Dishan. P90.
143 Gao Guopan. P823.
Emperor and assisted by secondary gods such as the Lord Lao Zi. Moreover, the immortal group was composed of many smaller deities that had different responsibilities. For instance, the earth god 土地 and the dragon god 龙王 were grassroots level gods in this group. Duties of the earth god were to protect human and families, and the dragon god was to control rain and sky clear. The immortal group of Shamanism was similar to Taoism and even had the same gods. Both of them took the worship of the dragon god and prayed to dragon god for rain in drought years.146 Also, some Shamans in the Song dressed up as a professional Taoist Priest, but they were not. For instance, Story “Master Wang” 王法师 described a Shaman dressed up as a Taoist Priest:

“The master Wang lived in Linan and pursued Tianxin magic. When he took rituals for his hosts, he wore Taoist hat and Taoist clothes. However, he was not a Taoist Priest.

临安涌金门里王法师者，平日奉行天心法，为主人行章醮，戴星冠，披法衣，而非道士也。”147

Although Taoist Priests and Shamans were often confused, we can still distinguish them. Compared with the expensive Zhaijiao and the Dan medicine, folk Taoism had cheaper ways to cast spells. For instance, Talismans were the most common and effective spells in the folk Taoism. Usually, folk Taoism priests asked patients to drink talisman’s water to cure illness until patients recovered. Moreover, these talismans were
cheap. There was a story to show how a folk Taoism priest drew talismans and cured patients in *Record of the Listener*:

Liu Daochang was a soldier in Yuchang county. He only knew a few characters and often made troubles in the street after drinking. One day, he committed a crime and was beaten by the government. He dared not see his peers and dared not go home because he was ashamed. Thus, he went straight to Tengwang Ge to sleep, and he dreamed of a Taoist Priest. This Taoist Priest put a book in his sleeve and said to Liu: ‘This was a recipe to help patients. You could not show it to others, even your father and brother.’ When he woke up, he found that the book in his hand and felt that he was full of wisdom. Looking at words in this book, they were talismans and incantations.

Moreover, the talismans in this book were different from normal Taoist talismans. When Liu cured people, he often asked patients to drink talisman’s water or eat incense. The way he used was straightforward and could help needy families.

As the thesis has discussed in the previous part, Liu was a folk Taoist Priest and had learned some so-called Taoism spells. He was indeed a folk Taoist Priest because he used very different talismans from Taoist talismans. Moreover, unlike the rich men, members of the royal family and government officials who often appear in the records of Zhaijiao or alchemy, this folk spell was used to help the poor people. In this record, because of his cheap and straightforward treatment, many poor people could invite him

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\(^{148}\) Xu Dishan. P27  
\(^{149}\) Hong Mai. V3.P334
when they were ill. However, it did not seem credible that he had learned medicine from a Taoist Priest in his dream. The author assumes that maybe Liu Daochang had learned medical knowledge by himself. In order to convince others of his medical skills, he concocted a process of learning medical knowledge.

In the other side, some folk Taoist Priests were government officials before they learned spells. These priests could also be called folk Taoists priests because the spells they learned were not real Taoism spells.

Chen Jue 陈桷 (1091-1154) was a folk Taoist Priest who used to be a government official. During his life, he liked Taoism from an early age. Since he was excluded by Qin Hui 秦桧 (1090-1155), a powerful minister in the Song, he gave up being an official and began to learn Taoism. The story of his study of Taoist spells was recorded in Record of the Listener:

“He learned to eat air to exercise his soul and used talismans to cure illness. When he woke up, he would never drink or eat meat again. Moreover, he learned the Rite of the Celestial Heart.

因教以服气炼真，飞符治疾之法。陈既寤，绝不茹荤饮酒，习天心正法。”

The Rite of the Celestial Heart was a Taoist school established by Rao Dongtian 饶洞天 (the year of birth and death is unknown) in the Northern Song Dynasty. This Taoist school focused on exorcising ghosts and curing diseases with talismans. However, based on Daofa Huiyuan 道法会元 (Corpus of Rites of the Dao), an authoritative

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Taoist history book, the author could find that the Celestial Heart had never been a legitimate Taoist school. An evaluation was recorded in this book: “The Rite of the Celestial Heart was not a legitimate Taoist school but was a demonic magic. 天心教者，邪术也，非道之正统。”153

In Edward L. Davis’s research, he indicates that Shamanism’s spells would be called demonic magic in Taoist books.154 Therefore, the author could say that Chen Jue was not a real Taoist Priest but was a folk Taoist Priest. His original identity was a government official, not a Taoist Priest. Furthermore, the Rite of the Celestial belonged to Shamanism.

154 Davis, Edward L. P37.
CHAPTER 7
SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SHAMANISM IN THE SONG DYNASTY

A. Curing Diseases

From the previous chapter, we have elaborated that although combining with Taoism and Buddhism, Shamanism still retained its particular characteristics. This chapter examines the social functions of Shamanism in the Song society. In other words, we should know what Shamanism could do in society.

Since the Song government concentrated on the development of medical field, Shamans were always played the role of doctors in society.\(^{155}\) When people suffered from bizarre diseases, Shamans would become the most important doctors to cure diseases. Therefore, Shamans were often becoming doctors in the Song Dynasty.

In James George Frazer’s (1854-1941) research, Shamans were not only pioneers of physicians and surgeons but also ancestors of scientists and inventors. Thus, ancient Chinese Shamans also had a close relationship with doctors. Although the Shaman and doctor became two independent occupations after the Zhou, inviting a Shaman to cure illness was still an important way for people when they were troubled with illness.\(^{156}\)

The story *The Great Mercy Shaman in Fuzhou* 福州大悲巫 was recorded in *Record of the Listener*:

“There was a Shaman in Fuzhou which could use Huiji incantation to hold rituals and cure Gu for people effectively. Thus, his nickname was the Great Mercy. A virgin of a common people families suddenly became pregnant. Her parents asked her the reason but had no answer. They invited the Shaman to treat their daughter. When the Shaman came to their family, he saw a small boy staggered into the door and danced for a long time, then jumped into the pool in front of the house. This

\(^{155}\) Wang Zhangwei. P560.

\(^{156}\) Gao Guopan. P1225.
small boy was the son of a wealthy neighbor, and he did not reappear until the dusk. The next day, another small boy did the same behavior. These two families’ father attacked the Shaman together and wanted to arrest him to the government. The Shaman said: ‘wait for me a few seconds and let me complete my magic. Your sons would appear without any injury.’

There were many people watched around the pool. A short time later, people heard thousands of people shouting in the pool, and all of them circumvent the pool. These two small boys emerged from the pool, and one boy tied a big carp with a rope. Another small hit the carp. When they landed, the carp died. These two small boys were as calm as usual and did not know what had happened. The Shaman put some bottles on the girl’s stomach and broke these bottles with a stick. When these bottles were breaking, the girl was not pregnant. The Shaman had examined the truth that a carp made of these troubles.

福州有巫，能持秽迹咒行法，为人治祟蛊甚验，俗呼为大悲。里民家处女忽怀孕，父母诘其故，初不知所以然。召巫考治之，才至，即有小儿盘辟入门，舞跃良久，径投舍前池中。此儿乃比邻富家子也，迨暮不复出。明日，别一儿又如是，两家之父相聚诟击巫，欲执以送官。巫曰：“少缓我，容我尽术，汝子自出矣，无伤也。”观者踵至，四绕池边以待，移时，闻若千万人声起于池，众皆辟易。两儿自水中出，一以绳缚大鲤，一从后棰之。曳登岸，鲤已死，两儿扬扬如平常，略无所知觉。巫命累瓶甓于女腹上，举杖悉碎之，已而暴下，孕即失去，乃验鲤为祟云。

The story shows that when people suffered from strange diseases, they would instead invite Shamans than doctors. Moreover, Shamans were not only prevalent among the common-people class but also popular in bureaucratic class. For instance, the story Jiu Sheng Qi Gui 九圣奇鬼 was recorded in Record of the Listener:

“Xue Jixuan styled himself Shilong. He was the son of Prime Minister Huiyan. In the second year of Longxing, his neighbor Ms. Shen’s mother, was sick. He sent his son and two nephews to visit her and invited a Shaman to cure her and exorcised ghosts.

薛季宣,字士隆,左司郎中徽言之子也。隆兴二年秋，比邻沈氏母病。宣遣子沄，与何氏二甥问之，其家方命巫沈安之治鬼。”158

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157 Hong Mai P482
158 Hong Mai P364
The development of medicine was matured in the Song Dynasty. For instance, at the beginning of the Song Dynasty, the Emperor Taizu 宋太祖 (927-976) ordered the local government to print and publish medicine books.\textsuperscript{159} Thus, why people still believed that Shamans could treat illnesses rather doctors? On the one hand, the Song Dynasty was full of plagues. Although the government offered medicines to cure sick people, it could not cure the plague completely.\textsuperscript{160} Thus, when plagues were out of control, the government had to pray to the gods.\textsuperscript{161} On the other hand, collecting herbs to make medicinal powders to prevent plagues was a traditional custom in common-people class. For instance, the Biwen Powder 辟瘟丹 was a medicine that invented by common people to cure plagues.\textsuperscript{162} Thus, this custom was difficult to change in the Song Dynasty. Although the custom of making powders belonged to Shamanism, people were willing to believe in their customs. Furthermore, since the failure of the government and doctors to cure diseases effectively, people had to find another way to cure plagues. Based on this reason, some people did not believe doctors but did believe Shamans. Therefore, Shamans became prevalent, especially when people had a bizarre disease.\textsuperscript{163}

Explanations of the cause of disease by Shamans were more comprehensible than explanations by doctors. Usually, it was hard for people to comprehend professional

\textsuperscript{159}田建平 Tian Jianping. 2017. 宋代出版史 Publishing History in the Song Dynasty. 人民出版社 People Press.V1.P120
\textsuperscript{160}Tuotuo V.5 P89
\textsuperscript{161}中华书局 Zhonghua Book Company. 2009. 中研院历史语言研究所集刊论文类编 (An thesis collection wrote by the institution of history and language in Academia Sinica). P139–143
\textsuperscript{162}吴自牧 Wu Zimu. 2015. 夢粱錄新校注 (The title of this article collection is A Golden Millet Dream and the book was a new revised version) 巴蜀书社 Bashu Publishing House , P175
\textsuperscript{163}王振海 Wang Zhangwei. P443.
medical terminology. However, Shamans often blamed diseases on ghosts or gods. For instance:

“Several days ago, a girl got married and returned to her mother’s home. When she washed clothes beside the well, she felt difficult to breathe. She came to her husband’s home weakly. Her family members invited a Shaman to cure her. The Shaman said that the girl disturbed the ghost of the female corpse in the well. Thus, the Shaman used magic to paint four people that dressed up purple clothes on paper. After that, the Shaman took a lantern and cut a piece of red paper to make clothes and poured wine and cooked food to sacrifice the ghost. Late in the night, the woman recovered.

数日前，外间民女嫁人，归母家，至井上浣衣，忽闷绝不省。舁归婿家，唤巫者治之，曰犯井中伏尸女伤鬼。其法用纸画紫衣四人，持烛笼，剪乾红纸作背子一领，具酒饭烧祭之。闻昨夕事毕，三更后，女病良愈。”

Shamans were always invited to cure people that were troubled by ghosts and demons. During the Song Dynasty, when people felt uncomfortable, they would invite a Shaman to check the house and family members. Once the Shaman detected ghosts living in the house or attached to family members, they would perform an effective exorcism. A story about exorcism was recorded in Record of the Listener: “They had heard that the Reverend Huangfu was adept at exorcising spirits, so they went to visit him and asked him to take a look at Master Wu with them. 闻皇甫法师善治鬼，走谒之，邀同视吴生。”

In this record, the author could know that the Reverend Huangfu could against ghosts. Moreover, in Edward L. Davis’s research, Master or Reverend (Fashi 法师) was a unique name for Shamans since Taoism Priest never called themselves Master or

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164 Hong Mai. V4. P 1712
165 Alister D. Inglis translation. P31
Reverend. Although the author could not know people’s thoughts in the Song very deeply and clearly, criticizing people’s belief in Shamans with fiction and superstition was unreasonable. Some resources in books may be fictional, but it could reflect the phenomenon of people’s belief in Shamans at that time. In the era of plagues outbreak, Shamans had become an important part of the medical system.

B. Praying for Rain

In primitive times, people could not recognize and change the natural environment. Therefore, they believed that a god controlled the natural environment. In order to contact with this god, people created different magic (fashu). Some magic even remained in the Song Dynasty and belonged to Shamanism. Moreover, the oldest magic of Shamanism was praying for rain. In the Song society, Shamans still played a significant role in praying for rain. This part will clarify how these Shamans hold ceremonies in praying for rain.

Firstly, using fire to pray for rain was one of the most common rituals for Shamans in the Song Dynasty. A story about a Shaman used fire to pray for rain was recorded in Record of the Listener:

“Zhang Huiji lived in Yugan County, Rao state. He used to be a ruffian and one of the five most ferocious people in the county. Because people in the village chased him, he hid in a mountain and rested in there. In that mountain, he met a woman that sat in a bamboo sedan chair. Zhang Huiji did not wear clothes but used several pieces of cloth to cover his body. The woman was surprised at his handsome face and his weird clothes. The woman bowed to him and talked with him: ‘This was

166 Edward L Davis. P10.
167 Liu Liming. P70.
what you did not know.’ She gave him a volume of the book. After he came back, he could discuss everything in the world. He abandoned his wife and children and traveled around the country. When he passed Yihuang county, Fu state, his crazy behavior was known far and wide. Because of the severe drought in that year, villagers decided to sacrifice lizards to pray for rain. He took out his visiting card to show that he could pray for rain. Moreover, he indicated that it must be a raining day at noon tomorrow. If it does not rain by the noon of tomorrow, he will burn his body to apologize to villagers. He quickly sat on the firewood pile. In the noon of the next day, the sun was very strong. Many people came to see him. However, when the fire lit his beard, the sky began to rain.

惠吉张氏，饶州余干人。少亡赖，为县五伯，因追胥村社，少休山麓，遇妇人乘竹舆，无所服，唯用布匹蔽体。讶其韶秀而结束诡异，揖而询之。曰：‘非汝所知也。’取一卷书授之。张归，即能谈人意间事，弃妻子，出游，过抚州宜黄县，行止佯狂，人无知者。时大旱，县人做土龙祷雨，张投牒请自祈雨，约明日午必雨，不尔，愿焚躯以谢。即坐积薪上。及明，烈日滋炽，万众族观，至炬以须。如期，果大雨。”

This story recorded a Shaman burnt his body to pray for rain. Furthermore, the story also recorded another way of praying for rain: sacrificing lizards to pray for rain. It was also an important way of praying for rain in the Song society, and the latter part of this section will discuss it.

Using fire to pray for rain has a long history in China. In ancient time, people put human or animals on firewood pile in order to pray for rain. This ceremony had been recorded in many bones or tortoise shells. In Shamanism’s ritual, when the drought lasted for a long time, human or animals were burnt to pray for rain. In this story, using

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169 In that time, people recorded events or spells in bones or tortoise shells.
fire to pray for rain, an old Shamanism’s ceremony, was remained in the Song society.

Besides Huiji’s story, another story was recorded in Record of the Listener:

“There was a dreadful drought in the summer of the fifth year of the Period of Continued Ascendancy (1135). The court had prayed at shrines and temples to receive the Efficacious Guanyin and accompany her to the Charitable Dharma Temple. There he orchestrated a ceremony. Yet, after a full twenty-one days, there was still no response. By that time, half of the sixth month had elapsed. The mendicant monk, Fahui, silently prayed before the Bodhisattva, promising to burn his right eye if he could receive an answer. He then took up an iron pellet which he casts into the fire. He tempered it until red hot then set it into his eye. After he used it to light incense. No sooner had the smoke from the incense begun to rise when drifting clouds covered the sky. Buckets of rain cascaded down, inundating the whole area.

绍兴五年夏大旱，朝廷遍祷山川祠庙，不应。遣临安守往上天竺迎灵感观音于法惠寺，建道场，满三七日，又弗应，时六月过半矣。苦行头陀法慧者，默祈于佛，乞焚右目以施，即取铁弹投诸火，锻令通红，置眼中，然香其上。香焰才起，行云满空，大雨倾注，阖境沾足。”170

Although the author could not find out more details of Fahui in other historical books, the process of how he prayed for rain was recorded in this story. Moreover, Huiji, in his ceremony, merely burnt his beard. Fahui’s ceremony, however, was so cruel. In order to pray for rain, he burnt his eyes directly. Furthermore, although the author could not deny that Fahui was a Buddhist monk, the way of using fire to pray for rain was still originated from Shamanism in China. History of the Song also evaluated this method of praying for rain: “Today, there are many Buddhist monks use fire to pray for rain. This method was not originated from Buddhism but Shamanism. 今有僧者以火

170 Record of the Listener: P174 Alister D. Inglis Translation.
Secondly, using lizards to pray for rain was also important and the most influential way. This way appeared in Huiji Yishu and this part will elaborate on the characteristics of this ceremony and its impact on Song society. Using lizards to pray for rain had a long history like using fire to pray for rain. In Song Zhaolin’s research, there are pottery painted with frogs and lizards in Yangshao Cultural Site in the Yellow River basin. Moreover, some bronzes in the Pre-Qin Period that painted with lizards have also been found in Guangxi Province recently. Pottery and bronzes are both important props in the rain prayer ceremony in very ancient time. Thus, using lizards to pray for rain was an archaic religious ceremony in China. Moreover, this ceremony remained in Shamanism in the Song Dynasty. The processes of this ceremony also were recorded in *History of the Song*:

“...The summer of 1068 was arid. Thus, people use lizards to pray for rain. They captured more than a dozen lizards and put these lizards into a pot; then they use some leaves to soak these lizards. Moreover, they picked out twenty-eight boys between the ages of ten and thirteen. The boys were divided into two groups and dressed in green clothes. Their hands and faces were decorated with green ornaments. The boys took willows and sprinkled water as they walked around the pot. They said: ‘Lizards, lizards! You can make clouds and fog. When it rains cats and dogs, we will let you back. ...”

熙宁十四年，以夏旱，内出蜥蜴求雨法。捕捉蜥蜴数十纳甕中，渍以杂木叶。
择童男十三岁下，十岁上者二十八人，分两番，衣青衣，以青饰面及手足。
人持柳枝沾水散洒，昼夜环绕。诵咒曰：‘蜥蜴蜥蜴，兴云吐雾。雨令滂沱，
This ceremony may be slightly different from the original lizard ceremony because it was influenced by Buddhist culture. For instance, using a willow branch to sprinkle water was the behavior of the Buddhist Guanyin Bodhisattva. Besides using real lizards to pray for rain, some ceremonies replaced real lizards with wooden lizards. For instance, another ceremony was recorded in *Xu Bowuzhi* 续博物志:

“The way of using lizards to pray for rain should make a wood lizard firstly. Little boys would dance with green clothes and hold the bamboo in their hands. They would sing: ‘Lizards, lizards! You can make clouds and fog. When it rains cats and dogs, we will let you back.’

蜥蜴祈雨法，作木蜥蜴，小童操青竹，衣青衣以舞。歌曰：‘蜥蜴蜥蜴，吞云吐雾，雨令滂沱，令汝归去。’

In this record, boys in this ceremony held the bamboo in their hands and walked around a wood lizard. Although these processes differed from the prior record, both of them were the ceremony of using lizards to pray for rain.

Why people used lizards to pray for rain in the Song? Since lizards are amphibious animals. Sometimes lizards live in water, sometimes on land. Especially before it rains, lizards appear on land. Therefore, ancient people might believe that when lizards appeared, it would be a raining day.
Furthermore, the way of using lizards to pray for rain was also one of the most influential ways of Praying for rain in the Song Dynasty. This ceremony was not only active in common-people class, such as villagers, would hold this ceremony in Huiji’s story, but also was recognized by the government. In 999, the ceremony of using lizards to pray for rain became an official legitimacy ritual of praying for rain. Before this time, the ceremony was held only in common-people class. Moreover, after the ceremony became an official ritual, the ceremony of using lizards to pray for rain was held by the government until the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Therefore, this ceremony could be called the most influential ceremony from Shamanism.

Finally, besides using fire and lizards to pray for rain, two ancient and well-known ceremonies, there was a peculiar ceremony of praying for rain. Using water to pray for rain had rare records in books. This ceremony was recorded only in folktales and was unique to the Song Dynasty. Thus, the author assumes that the ceremony of using water to pray for rain was originated by Shamanism in the Song Dynasty and had disappeared after the Song Dynasty. Moreover, this ceremony, unlike the way of using fire and using lizards to pray for rain, did not have to burn someone’s body or use unique incantation. The ceremony of using water to pray for rain only needed water. Thus, this ceremony was safer and simpler. This ceremony was recorded in Record of the listener:

“The capital was sweltering, and it had not rained for months. The Reverend Lin took a basin of water and began to chant incantations for many times. After that, a cloud as big as a fan appeared in the sky, then it became as big as an umbrella.

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Thunder and rain came from the earth and sky. The thunderstorm lasted four hours.

In this story, the Reverend Lin summoned the rain with his incantation and a basin of water. Moreover, based on the different names of Shamans in the prior chapter, the author could say that Reverend was Shaman. Another story Zhou Goushi also discussed the ceremony of using water to pray for rain. This story was recorded in Record of the Listener:

“Zhou Goushi, a Shaman in a village, lived in Chongyang village, Yue state and mastered simple magic. Since he liked to eat dogs, he received a Nickname: The Master of Dog (Goushi). He focused on the magic of praying for rain. His magic was: at dusk, he came to a cave and found the water source. He used some money and chickens and ducks to sacrifice the water source. After that, he pierced the paper money with bamboo and then put the bamboo into the water. The magic would be called: piercing water. When someone asked him for help because of the drought, Zhou would ask that person to write down his name and the number of fields he owned. A few days later, it must be a rainy day.

Therefore, Shamans played an important role when in the country suffered drought. Although the author could not know whether their ceremonies were effective or not, inviting a Shaman to pray for rain was usually was a common phenomenon at that time.
C. Protecting Women in Parturition Process

Besides curing patients and praying for rain, Shamans also could protect women when they brought their children into the world. Moreover, this function of Shamanism is seldom discussed by other researchers. Thus, this part will discuss this function of Shamanism.

In the Song Dynasty, parturition was one of the most dangerous things for pregnant women. Thus, when women had troubled in parturition, their husbands or other family members would invite a Shaman to protect them. Thus, there were different ways to protect pregnant women in Shamanism.

Firstly, in order to ensure infants could come to this world safely, Shamans would let pregnant women eat rabbit brains. This way was firstly recorded in Record of the Listener:

“Putting a rabbit’s brain in January or February on a piece of tissue paper. Putting another a sheet of paper on the brain and beating these two pieces of paper thirty or fifty times. When a woman had trouble in the parturition process, the Shaman would make a talisman with these two pieces of paper. The Shaman would draw two words on the talisman: ‘heaven’ and ‘birth.’ When a pregnant woman ate this talisman with vinegar soup, it would be advantageous.

取腊月兔脑髓, 涂于一张薄纸上, 更用一张合拓, 捶三五十下。每遇难生, 有巫医者书符子, 画‘天生’两字, 以醋汤下, 极效。”

Moreover, the same way was recorded in a medical book Boji Fang (Comprehensive and Effective Prescriptions). This book was completed by Wang Gun

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183 Hong Mai. V4 P 545.
Wang Gun (the year of birth and death is unknown) in 1047. Many prescriptions from Shamanism were collected in this book.\textsuperscript{184} The record of using a rabbit’s brain to protect women in parturition process was a little different from the record in \textit{Record of the Listener}:

“Putting a rabbit’s brain in January or February on a piece of tissue paper. Making a talisman with this paper and writing ‘birth’ on it. When the pregnant woman felt that the fetus moved frequently, she could eat the talisman with boiled lilac wine.

用腊月兔头一个, 摊于纸上, 均剪作符子, 于上面书‘生’字一个, 觉阵频动时, 煎丁香酒调下。”\textsuperscript{185}

From these records, the author could see that people in the Song Dynasty believed that Shamanism talismans and prescriptions could take benefit to pregnant women and protect them. Moreover, Shamans used rabbit brains to make talismans, perhaps because rabbits are very fertile animals. Since one of the most important characteristics of Shamanism is to imitate animals, Shamans believed that what kind of animal people ate, these people would have the characteristics of that animal.\textsuperscript{186} Thus, the author speculates that because rabbits could have many children, people choose to eat rabbits to ensure that the parturition of pregnant women could be smooth.

Sometimes, Shamans would use talismans to protect pregnant women directly. However, these talismans were different from the talismans which used in praying for

\textsuperscript{184} Wang Zhangwei. P285.
\textsuperscript{186} Gao Guopan. V1. P49. The author translation.
rain. Shamans merely draw one or two words on paper or other materials. Moreover, both of these words related to birth. For instance, a prescription was recorded in Boji Fang:

“I am dividing a peach kernel into two pieces. Writing ‘can’ in one piece of the peach kernel. Writing ‘come out’ in another piece of the peach kernel. After that, putting these two pieces of peach kernels together. Pregnant women would have a baby after eating this peach kernel.

取桃仁分破，书一片作‘可’字，一片作‘出’字，依前还合，令母吞之即产。”

In Chinese characters, the word come out (Chu 出) relates to the word birth. That means the infants could leave the womb and appear in the world. Moreover, the word can (Ke 可) means possible. Thus, the meaning of this talisman was: the infants could leave the mother’s body and had the opportunity to come to this world. It was not only a talisman but also a blessing to the baby.

In addition, scissors, coins, and bronze mirrors could also be used to protect pregnant women. These common household goods were considered magical goods by Shamans. For instance, when a pregnant woman faced trouble in parturition, the Shaman would ask her to hold a bronze mirror in her hand. Moreover, the way of burning a scissor or a coin and soaking it in into cold water also had magic. When a pregnant woman drank this water, she would not feel pains during the parturition process.

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189 Xia Zhengnong. P6451.
190 Wang Gun. P75-76.
Although these methods of protecting pregnant women were unscientific and even absurd today, they were prevalent in the Song Dynasty. The author could not know whether pregnant women protected by these methods had a successful parturition process or not. However, these methods were considered effective in *Record of the Listener* and *Boji Fang*. 
CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSION

Although the Song government firstly removed the legitimate identity of Shamanism, this ancient religion still survived in the Song Dynasty. Record of the Listener was the most important primary source that recorded many folktales about Shamanism and Shamans in the Song Dynasty. Therefore, this book could reflect the survival of Shamanism. Moreover, although there were many other collections of folktales in the Song Dynasty, Record of the Listener was the most special in the study of Shamanism. On the one hand, since this book was completed by Hong Mai over the course of nearly 60 years and each volume of this book could be printed as soon as possible after the author finished it, Record of the Listener became famous all over the country.

On the other hand, because of the prevalence of Record of the Listener, many people had chances to read it and evaluate it. Furthermore, folktales in this book were rated as credible. Therefore, the author could know the real Shamanism in the Song Dynasty from this book.

The survival environment of Shamanism was complicated. There are two reasons for this complex environment. On the one hand, the author could not deny that the Song government published a series of policies to eliminate Shamanism. However, the government did not eliminate all the temples and local worship of Shamanism because the government focused on eliminating the harmful part of Shamanism. From many primary resources and secondary resources, the author could find that all the priests punished by the government were culpable. In other words, they not only established
unofficial temples but also killed people, made harmful drugs, and disturbed stability of society. The government punished them because they were harmful, not entirely because they belonged to Shamanism.

On the other hand, the government did not punish harmless part of Shamanism and even praised some influential immortals in Shamanism. For instance, Mazu was a typical immortal of Shamanism and had positive influences. Since Mazu’s positive influences on some areas, the government did not criticize it but grant official titles to Mazu. Furthermore, the government also absorbed some traditional customs from Shamanism. For instance, Nuo was merely a traditional performance of Shamanism and it was innocuous. Thus, the Song court performed this ceremony. Therefore, the author could see that the harmless part of Shamanism still survived in the Song Dynasty and had chances to develop. Furthermore, the government also played a role in spreading Shamanism by granted titles to some immortals.

Besides spreading by the government, Shamanism also had its particular education system. The education of Shamanism was still very secret and simple. Firstly, some Shamans taught their children in the family. In other words, in a Shaman family, parents were teachers and children were students. Thus, Shamanism merely developed in a family. Secondly, although some Shamans recruited students, the development of Shamanism was not stable. Many Shamans faced the risk of no successors. Therefore, the development of Shamanism was minimal and unstable.

Furthermore, since the combination of Buddhism, Taoism, and Shamanism, the characteristics of Shamanism were confused during its development process. Folk
Buddhist monks and folk Taoism priests were products of this combination. If we want to know whether the Shamanism still retained its characteristics or not, we should distinguish these three different religions. Firstly, although Buddhist monks and folk Buddhist monks dressed up similar clothes, they had a different focus point. Buddhist monks, like the Zen and the Pure Land, focused on how to remove evil emotions and desires. Folk Buddhist monks, however, focused on drawing talismans to exorcism. Secondly, there were two different Taoism in ancient China: Philosophical Taoism and Religious Taoism. What we will discuss in this part is Religious Taoism. Thus, we should know that Philosophical Taoism was merely a philosophical school and Religious Taoism was a religion. Although Taoism priests and folk Taoism priests had similar talismans and magic, we still could distinguish them. The ceremony of Taoism was cumbersome and only rich people could invite Taoism priests to hold a ceremony. However, the ceremony of folk Taoism priests was cheaper and simple. Even low-income family could invite a folk Taoism priest. From these comparisons, the author could see that although there was a combination of Buddhism, Taoism, and Shamanism, we still could know the characteristics of Shamanism. In other words, Shamanism still retained its characteristics during its development process. Based on this point, the author could solve another question: What social functions did Shamanism have? That means, what could Shamanism do if it still kept its characteristics in the Song society? From many primary sources and secondary sources, the author could know that there were three functions of Shamanism in the Song society: curing patients, praying for rain and protecting women in parturition process. In the first function, the author could
know that when people were troubled with strange diseases, they would invite a Shaman to cure them. Thus, although some therapeutic methods were absurd, Shamanism still enriched Chinese medical history. In the second function, the author could know two ancient ceremonies of praying for rain and one new ceremony of praying for rain in the Song.

Moreover, these three ceremonies of praying for rain were significant in the Song society. Other researchers rarely discussed the last function. This thesis revealed how Shamans used talismans and other materials to protect pregnant women. These were three significant functions of popular in the Song society.

Therefore, this thesis revealed how Shamanism developed in the Song Dynasty. Shamanism survived and developed in a complex environment. Under this environment, the dissemination of Shamanism was unstable and secret. Moreover, Shamanism combined with the other two important religions during its development process. Shamanism, however, retained its characteristics and still plays an important role in social life in the Song Dynasty.
Glossary

Demon Monks (妖僧)- term used to describe another name of Shaman

Dragon God (龙王)- term used to describe a god of dragon

Earth God (土地)- term used to describe a god of earth or clay

Gu (蛊)- term used to describe a magic of Shamanism

Imperial Examination (科举)- term used to describe a national examination which held by the government

Madam of Ling Hui Zhao Ying Chong Fu (灵惠昭应崇福夫人)- term used to describe a madam has supernatural power and lucky

Mazu (妈祖)- term used to describe a Shaman and a god in Shamanism

Nuo (傩)- term used to describe a religious performance of Shamanism

Shaman (巫)- term used to describe Chinese local missionary

Shunji (顺济) - Helping people cross the river or sea smoothly

Supervisor of the court (殿中监)- a official in the court

Taibu Shu (太卜署)- term used to describe a government institution which controlled astrology and divination

The Zen (禅宗)- term used to describe a school of Buddhism

The Pure Land (净土宗)- term used to describe a school of Buddhism

Yao (妖)- demon

Yinci (淫祠)- term used to describe unofficial temples
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