

The Xiapu Document Mani the Buddha of Light and Buddhist Worship and Repentance Rituals

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The manuscript titled *Moni Guangfo* (Mani the Buddha of Light) discovered in Xiapu, Fujian, is undoubtedly the most important recovered ritual manual of the Religion of Light (*Mingjiao* 明教, i.e., Chinese Manichaeism). Lin Wushu published the entire text of *Mani the Buddha of Light* in traditional Chinese with a postscript in 2014,^[2] while Yang Fuxue and Bao Lang published it in a simplified Chinese edition with emendations and annotations in 2015.^[3] The present authors published an edited version of the text in 2016.^[4] The extant version of *Mani the Buddha of Light* comprises eighty-three pages (the 83rd page is blank), totaling 673 columns (abbr. c. or cc.) of approximately 10,000 characters; the last part of the text is missing. *Mani the Buddha of Light*, with its clear Buddhist coloring, is different from later Xiapu documents both in style and content and it should be considered an early Xiapu document produced under the strong influence of Manichaean documents of the Tang Dynasty (618-907).^[5] The manuscript documents rituals including the invocation of Manichaean deities at ritual services, the praise of these deities, and the confessions of the “Hearers” (lay followers). Although its format is similar to Buddhist worship and repentance rituals, the text sometimes includes specific instructions related to the rituals themselves that are predominantly Manichaean in content. This is a ritual manual for a congregational cult and the basic goal of the collective worship is cooperative advancement expressed through piety and ritual. Such congregational cults followed the established practices of group worship in Central Asian Manichaeism.

The original front cover of this Xiapu manuscript is missing and the manuscript bears a new cover page with the title *Moni Guangfo* 摩尼光佛 (Mani the Buddha of Light) penned by its owner, Master Chen Peisheng 陳培生 (Fig.1).^[6]

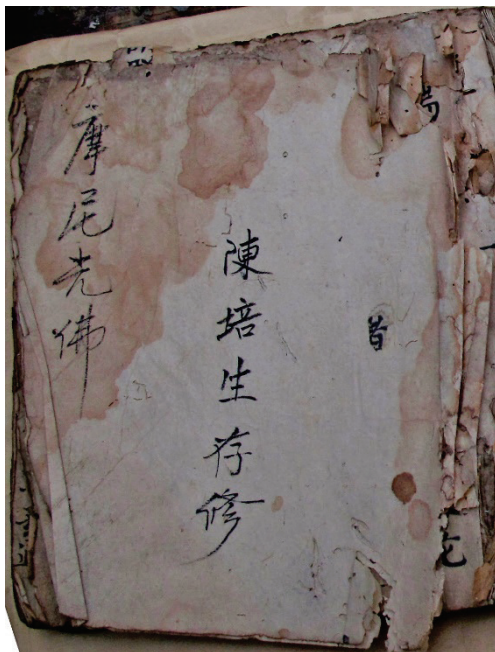


Fig. 1 Front cover of *Mani the Buddha of Light*⁽⁷⁾

I. From the Bema Festival to *A Book of Prayer and Confession*

Mani the Buddha of Light is a manual of collected rituals for Manichaean congregations, which can be traced back to the Bema Festival. The Greek word *bēma* meant “platform” or “throne”, and the festival named for it was dedicated both to the commemoration of the death of Mani and to the glorification of his personality. During the festival, Mani’s descent from the World of Light was symbolized by the adornment of the *bēma* (throne, dais), and so *bēma* became the name of the festival itself.

During the Bema Festival, the community comprising all the Elect and laymen gathered; the main ceremonies included the confession of the Hearers and the Elect, and a quasi-sacramental meal of which the Elect partook. Between or before these rites, the Elect and laymen usually recited canonical texts, sang hymns, and kept vigil; moreover, there were also sermons, classes in catechism, and the narration of parables.

The largest and most intact Manichaean painting found on a torn codex folio (MIK III 4979, verso, Fig.2) depicts a spring festival, referred to as the “Bema Ceremony”, which commemorated Mani’s death and spiritual ascension. Along the two sides of the image are depicted the male Elect arranged in rows. They wear traditional white priestly garments and tall headgear and are seated on their heels facing toward the center of the image. The central area, on the left, is occupied by a

high-ranking church official seated cross-legged on a dais. His head is surrounded by a crescent-shaped halo. On the right, a diagonal row of the Elect hold books in their hands. Along the vertical axis, in the very center, piles of bread and fruit lead our attention upwards to a large multi-layered dais (Gr. *bema*, ‘throne’), which forms the focal point of the composition at the now-missing top of which something important was most likely displayed: a portrait of Mani, or possibly a book or reliquary chest, as seen in other visual records.^[8]



Fig. 2 Bema Scene. Fragment of a Manichaean illuminated codex from Turfan; MIK III 4979 verso^[9]

A Book of Prayer and Confession written in Middle Persian, Parthian, and Sogdian was used in divine services in Central Asia. The extant manuscript can be divided into two parts. The first part is the *Bema Liturgy* which includes: Mani’s *Letter of the Seal* as canonical text; hymns for the beginning of the Bema Ceremony; praises of Narisah-yazd (the Third Messenger), Srōsh-Ahrāy (the Column of Glory), Jesus the Savior, the Messengers, and the Bema; and hymns of the joyful. The second part is *Confessional Text for the Elect* which includes: discussions of the Five Commandments (Truthfulness, Nonviolence, Behavior [in accordance with religion], Purity [of the mouth], and Blessedness [of poverty]), of the Five Gifts (nous, thought, mind, intelligence, and understanding), and of the “closing of the Five Gates” (i.e., eye, ear, nose, hand, and feeling); prayers and hymns, including the four Monday prayers; and “the divine table” for the quasi-sacramental meal.^[10] *A Book of Prayer and Confession* might have been one of the sources for the Chinese text titled *Mani the Buddha of Light*, yet it is obvious that the latter is not a translation of a Middle Iranian work and wears the trappings of Buddhist worship and repentance ritual.

II. Buddhist Worship and Repentance Ritual

Following the introduction of Buddhism to China, especially with the spread of the Mahayana tradition, the popularity of ethical thought, and the promotion of eminent monks, various ritual activities of worship and repentance flourished. Many “Buddha-name sutras” (*Foming Jing* 佛名經) were popular and widespread from the Jin Dynasty (265-420) onwards and these established a firm foundation for the development of worship and repentance rituals. The more extensive *Foming Jing* were confessional texts: they comprised very lengthy invocation of the names of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and even of sacred scriptures, and after each name or group of names there was a confession of sins. For example, the *Foming Jing* “translated” by Bodhiruci contains 11,093 names (T 440).

From the sixth to tenth centuries, Buddhist rules for “confession and pardon” (*chanyi* 懺儀) can be divided into four kinds: (1) sutra recitation and penitential offering (*jingchan* 經懺); (2) worship and repentance ritual documents (*lichan wen* 禮懺文), (3) documents of penitence (*chanhui wen* 懺悔文); and (4) compilations of rituals (*zongji* 總集), for example, *Ji Zhujing Lichan Yi* 集諸經禮懺儀 (Compilation of Worship and Repentance Rituals [Contained in] Various Sutras) compiled by Zhisheng 智昇 in 730 (T 1982).

The prominent example of a *jingchan* text is *Fahua Sanmei Chanyi* 法華三昧懺儀 (Confessional for Realizing the Lotus Samādhi, T 1941) compiled by Zhiyi 智顓 (538-598). In this work, we find five stages of the confession ritual: (1) *chanhui* 懺悔, “repentance”; (2) *quanqing* 勸請, “invocation of the Buddha(s)”; (3) *suixi* 隨喜, “responding with joy” (in observing the good behavior of others); (4) *huixiang* 回向, “transference” (of one’s merit to another); and (5) *fayuan* 發願, “arousal of the vow” (to save all sentient beings).

The texts of the worship and repentance rituals were used by both monks and the laity for the six periods of the day allocated to worship, but we only know the names of the authors of a few of them. Most are preserved as anonymous Dunhuang manuscripts. Some manuscripts focused on ceremonies of worship of Buddha(s), such as *Fashen Li* 法身禮 (Ceremony of the Dharma-body [of the Buddha]), *Jiangsheng Li* 降生禮 (Ceremony of the Descent [of the Buddha]), *Wangsheng Lizan Ji* 往生禮讚偈 (Laudatory Gāthās for Rebirth in the Śukhāvati) by Shandao 善導 dated to 662, and *Shi'er Guang[Fo] Li* 十二光[佛]禮 (Ceremony of the Twelve [Buddhas of] Light). Others focused on the worship of Buddhist teachings, such as *Jingang Wuli* 金剛五禮 (Five Ceremonies of the Diamond [Prajñāpāramitā Sutra]), and *Fahua Qi Liwen* 法華七禮文 (Seven Ceremonies of the Lotus [Sutra]). Yet others were focused on worship of the *sangha*, the community of monks and

nuns, such as [*Mile*] *Shangsheng Li* [彌勒]上生禮 (Ceremony of [Maitreya's] Ascent) and *Guanyin li* 觀音禮 (Ceremony of Avalokiteśvara).^[11]

Ennin (793-864), one of the eminent Japanese monks who visited China in the ninth century, has left a description of these activities of worship and repentance. In his account he recorded the rituals of Koreans in Dengzhou, Shandong, in 839, and described how about forty men and women, monks and laymen, gathered together in the cloister listening to lectures during the daytime and worshipping, repenting, and listening to scriptures following the order of worship at night. “The lecturing, worshipping, and repentances are all done in accordance with the customs of Korea. The worship and repentance at dusk and before dawn are in the Chinese manner, but all the rest are in the Korean language”.^[12]

III. Manichaeism under the Cloak of Buddhism

As early as the eighth century, the Manichaean congregational cult may have already worn the trappings of Buddhist worship and repentance rituals. *Moni guangfo jiaofa yi li* 摩尼光佛教法儀略 (*Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light*, abbr. *Compendium*) written in 731 informs us that one of the five halls that comprised the Manichaean monastery was “a hall for worship and repentance” (*lichen-tang* 禮懺堂),^[13] revealing that the Manichaeans already named the hall used for these gatherings after the Buddhist term for “worship and repentance”.

The original title of the Xiapu manuscript which we call here *Mani the Buddha of Light* may indeed have been *Moni Guangfo [Li]* 摩尼光佛[禮] ([Ceremony of] Mani the Buddha of Light), and we can regard the manuscript as a compilation of the worship and repentance rituals of Manichaeism because of the consistent reiteration of homogeneous stages in the ritual.

We can find some traces of the relationship between Manichaeism and Buddhist repentance rituals in a memorial, called the “Wenzhou Memorial” by Western scholars, submitted to the throne on the fourth day of the eleventh month of the second year of the Xuanhe reign period (26 November 1120). The titles of scriptures and the images of the followers of the Religion of Light in this memorial include *Guangda Chan* 廣大懺 (The Grand Confessional).^[14] This may have been a Manichaean ritual manual named in the style of a Buddhist confessional ritual.

Most Buddhist worship and repentance rituals comprised the Twelve Stages, three of which have nothing to do with *Moni Guangfo*, namely remembrance of the [name of the] Buddha (*nianfo* 念佛), purity while abiding in the world (*chu shijie fan* 處世界梵), and verses of impermanence (*wuchang jie* 無常偈).

The text titled *Liushi Jisong* 六時偈頌 (Gāthās in Praise of the Six Periods [of Worship]) was written to coordinate with the quotidian six periods of worship and repentance (*liushi lichan* 六時禮懺). The full day was divided by Buddhists into three daytime periods, comprising dawn (*yinchao* 寅朝), noon (*wushi* 午時), and dusk (*huanghun* 黃昏), as well as three nighttime periods, comprising the first watch of the night (*chuye* 初夜), midnight (*zhongye* 中夜), and the latter part of the evening (*houye* 後夜). In contrast, the Manichaean Elect performed four or seven daily prayers (*qishi lichan* 七時禮懺). *Mani the Buddha of Light* (c.443) also praises the monks who perform seven periods of worship and repentance, and mentions the second (*di'er shi* 第二時), third, and fourth periods (*disan shi* 第三時, *disi shi* 第四時). There should also have been a first period (*diyi shi* 第一時) before the second period. The relationship between the Manichaean four daily periods, the Buddhist six periods, and the Manichaean seven daily prayers is a topic that should be studied by future scholars. Therefore we will not discuss them in detail here, but focus instead on the other eight stages: 1, *qingfo* 請佛 inviting Buddha(s); 2, *zanfo* 讚佛 praising Buddha(s); 3, *lifo* 禮佛 worshipping Buddha(s); 4, *wuhui* 五悔, the five kinds of repentance; 5, *san guiyi* 三皈依, venerating the Triratna; 6, *shuoji fayuan* 說偈發願, explaining in verse and making a vow to save all beings; 7, *fanzhou* 梵咒, mantras; and 8, (*zhong*)*he* (眾)和, (the Hearers) joining in the singing or chanting.^[15]

IV. *qingfo* 請佛 Inviting Buddha(s)

A ritual acquires significance only when the Buddha[s] accept[s] the invitation and descend[s] to the altar. So inviting Buddhas appears in all rituals. The priest and the laity were required to kneel and worship, holding flowers in their hands and singing *gathas*. Almost all the invited “Buddhas” are Manichaean deities.

Related to *qingfo* were the practices of *jingtān* 淨壇 (“purification of the altar”, outlined in cc.248-255) and *kaitān* 開壇 (“preparation of the altar”, outlined in cc. 403-419). These aspects of the ritual may have been created under the influence of Esoteric Buddhism. Chinese Manichaeans would have denoted the traditional *bēma* “altar” using the Chinese term *zhāitán* 齋壇 before Manichaeism spread from Luoyang to Mongolia around 762, and as a result Turkish Manichaean texts render the equivalent of *bēma* as *čaidan*,^[16] undoubtedly derived from the Chinese *zhāitán* 齋壇.^[17] In Sogdian texts the term appears to be *c'yδ'n* or *j'yd'ny* which means “of the Bema”,^[18] but we have no evidence that *tān* 壇 “altar” still related to the *bēma* in *Mani the Buddha of Light*.

Also related to *qingfo* was the practice of *da zanxiang* 大讚香 (“incense offering of great praise”, see cc. 460-481). In addition there are other rituals embodying the extension of praise through the offering of incense in this collection (see cc. 67-85, 445-459). Clearly, the Manichaeans attached importance to incense offering. The prominent poet and scholar-official Lu You provides details of the popularity of reverence for incense within the Religion of Light in Fujian in a memorial of 1162: “Since they burn frankincense (*ruxiang* 乳香), frankincense has risen in price”.^[19]

Here I would like to discuss the ritual of “inviting Heavenly Kings”, outlined in columns 98-116 of *Mani the Buddha of Light* in greater detail. The priest first praises the Heavenly Kings, as follows:

Praising the Heavenly Kings (*Zan Tianwang* 讚天王) (cc. 98-116)

As for the King of the Ten Heavens, his foreign (Iranian) name is Asamansha 阿薩漫沙 (*?a-sat-muan ša* < Pth **'sm'n š'h*=King of Heaven). This is why the Taoists call him the Jade Sovereign Great Emperor of the Vast Heavens. He dwells in the Seventh Firmament, resides in a great palace, and controls the good and bad events throughout the Ten Firmaments. In this firmament, there is a jewel-mirror with twelve faces: the upper face observes the *nirvāṇa*[-land], the lower face reflects the netherworld, and the ten (remaining) faces inspect the rebellions of the various demons and similar events of change in the Ten Firmaments. The Four Heavenly Kings control the Four Continents: the Heavenly King Raphael governs northern Uttarakuru, Heavenly King Michael rules [eastern Pūrvavideha, Heavenly King Gabriel rules] southern Jambudvīpa, and Heavenly King Sarial controls western Aparagodānīya. If the four heavenly, great, luminous spirits notice the evil demons of the various firmaments launch evil plans to stir the saints of the celestial and earthly spheres, they immediately exhibit their great majestic powers to restrain them [i.e., the demons] and make them surrender; they quickly pacify them, swiftly effecting their surrender.^[20]

Then the priest invites the Heavenly Kings:

[We are] whole-heartedly pious, join our palms in sincere reverence, and venerate [the Heavenly Kings]. [The Heavenly Kings] descend to this platform of enlightenment, bestow protection on the men and women with merit in the lower realm, increase their fortune, protect them from all evil, enhance their happiness, and prolong their longevity.^[21]

In conclusion, the priest invites various spirits:

[We] offered incense of light and made offerings of whatever nourishes, [the fragrance of incense] forms a cloud towering to the million worlds around.

The various spirits in all space and realms, [and] the hosts of envoys of light, who protect the countries and families,

Ride this cloud of incense to join the assembly at the sermon, relieving the distress of the flocks of light and making them happy.

First [we] rely on the wonderful mantras of our Buddha to uplift the spirits and welcome the superior nobilities.^[22]

“The King of the Ten Heavens” can be identified as the second son of the Living Spirit, i.e., the King of Honor (Latin: *Rex honoris*). The priest also invites him as the last deity among the Nine Deities (or groups of deities): “The precious radiant heavenly lord, the Jade Sovereign Venerable Buddha. His jewel-mirror with twelve faces is bright and the Jade Sovereign in concealment lives in the Seventh Firmament” (cc. 196-198).^[23]

The Seventh Firmament is depicted in *Diagram of Universe*, a large Chinese-style painting on silk which was probably produced during the period from the late Yuan to the early Ming, i.e., from the late fourteenth to the early fifteenth century, by a painter from Zhejiang or Fujian. In this work (see below) scholars of Manichaeism can readily discern the Ten Firmaments supported by forty angels. In the Seventh Firmament, to the left, the King of Honor sits on a throne flanked by his eight soldierly angels, all facing towards the center, while Mani and his attendants directly face the deity. The right side depicts the King of Honor sitting cross-legged on a lotus throne with his magic mirror with twelve faces, observed by Mani, who once again faces the deity.^[24] (Fig. 3) “The magic mirror with twelve faces” can be identified as “the jewel-mirror with twelve faces” in *Mani the Buddha of Light*.

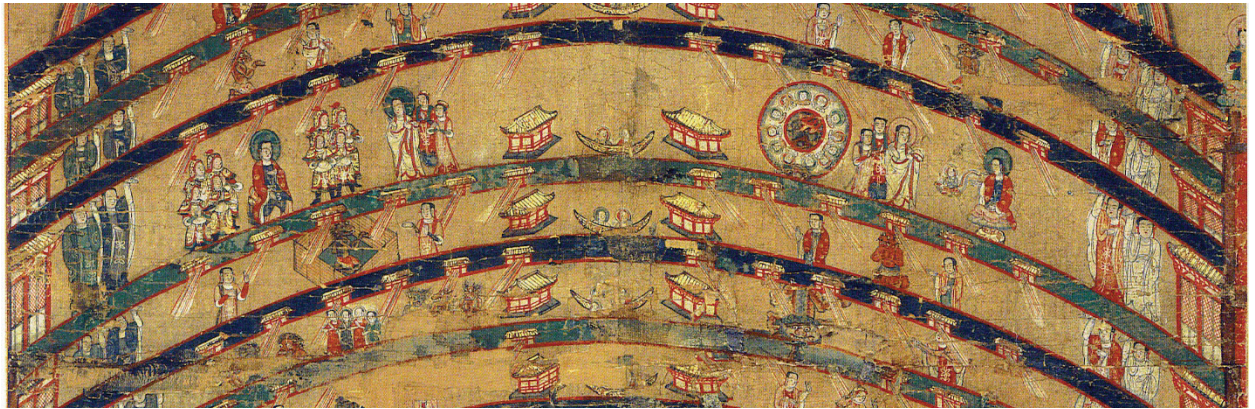


Fig. 3 The Seventh Firmament in the *Diagram of Universe*^[25]

Yoshida Yutaka has analyzed Buddhist influence on Manichaeism in the Far East. According to Buddhist scripture, Trayatrimśat's capital is situated on the summit of Mount Sumeru, where Indra (*Dishitian* 帝釋天) rules over his thirty-two devas who reside on the thirty-two peaks of Sumeru, eight in each of the four directions. Indra's capital is called Sudarśana 殊勝, City of Joyful Vistas 喜見城.^[26] In the *Diagram of Universe*, the golden structure on the top of Mount Sumeru can be identified as the City of Joyful Vistas (also called the City of Skillful Manifestation 善見城). The central figure, flanked by two attendants, enthroned in the City of Joyful Vistas should be *Dishitian* 帝釋天 (Indra). The thirty-two gates symbolize the thirty-two cities of the devas.^[27] (Fig. 4)

We believe that it is possible to identify *Dishitian* 帝釋天 (Indra) as the King of the Ten Heavens. The Taoists accused people of mistakenly identifying *Di* 帝, the Jade Sovereign Great Emperor, as *Dishi* 帝釋 (Indra),^[28] in Buddhist cosmology the Jade Sovereign was indeed identified as Indra, and the followers of the Religion of Light identified the King of the Ten Heavens as the Jade Sovereign Great Emperor of the Vast Heavens; therefore, this chief deity depicted residing in the large palace on the summit of Mount Sumeru can be identified as the King of the Ten Heavens (*Rex honoris*) in the minds of the Manichaeans.



Fig. 4 Mount Sumeru with the Four Continents in the *Diagram of Universe*^[29]

According to the Buddhist sutras, all four Heavenly Kings serve Indra, the lord of the devas of Trayatrimśat. On the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth days of each lunar month, the Heavenly Kings go to inspect the state of virtue and morality in the world of men. Then they report their findings to Indra.^[30] Non-Chinese fragments of the *Book of Giants* also mention the relationship between *Rex honoris* and the four Archangels. Uyghur fragment U217/R4-5 records:

And Rex Honoris (t[ä]ñri hanı=Khan of the Heavens) then said to the four (tört) angels (freštilarka): “O, angels (frešti [])...”^[31]

The four Archangels may be identified as the four Heavenly Kings mentioned in the Chinese text *Zan Tianwang* 讚天王 (Praising the Heavenly Kings).

The scholars Yoshida and Gábor Kósa both argued that in the *Diagram of Universe* one can also see soldiers on the Eighth Earth. Although this section of the painting is slightly damaged, one can discern four men in full armor. They are found in front of Mount Sumeru. The number four does suggest a connection with the four Archangels: Raphael, Gabriel, Michael, and Israel. (Fig. 5)

In *Painting of the Birth of Mani*, we can also see two groups of four angels or soldiers congratulating the birth.^[32] (Fig. 6)



Fig. 5 The four armored archangels before Mount Sumeru in the *Diagram of Universe*^[33]

Among the Six Heavens of the Realm of Desire (*Liuyutian* 六欲天), the lowest one is the Heaven of the Four Heavenly Kings (*Siwangtian* 四王天) which is described as being half-way up Mount Sumeru, and the second is Trayatrimśat (*Daolitian* 忉利天) which is described as being at the summit of Mount Sumeru. Trayatrimśat was also translated into Chinese as *Sanshisan-tian* 三十三天 (Heaven of the Thirty-three [Gods]). *Dazhidu Lun* 大智度論 (Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom) records:

Mount Sumeru rises 84,000 *yojanas* (*youxun* 由旬) above sea level and there is the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods above it. Beside Mount Sumeru, there is Mount Yugaṃdhara (*Youjiantuoluo* 由犍陀羅) which rises 42,000 *yojanas* above sea level. There are four hills on this mountain; one city is on each of the four hills and in each city one of the Four Heavenly Kings lives.^[34]

This is helpful support for the identification of the four armored warriors with the four archangels by the scholars Yoshida and Koša. From the perspective of Buddhist form, the lower mountain in front of Sumeru should be Mount Yugaṃdhara, and the Four Heavenly Kings should be Vaiśravaṇa who governs northern Uttarakuru, Dhṛtarāṣṭra who rules eastern Pūrvavideha, Virūḍhaka rules southern Jambudvīpa, and Virūpākṣa who controls western Aparagodānīya. However, from the perspective of Manichaean content, the Four Heavenly Kings should be Luofuyi 嚧縛逸 (**luo-b'iwak-ĭět*< Parthian (Pa)/Middle Persian (MP) *rwp'yl*) or Raphael, Miheyi 彌訶逸 (*mjiġ-xâ-ĭět*<Pa/MP *myh'yl*) or Michael, Ye[fu]luoyi 業[縛]囉逸 (*ngiṽp-[b'iwak-]lâ-ĭět*< Pa/MP *gbr'yl*) or Gabriel, and Saluoyi 娑囉逸 (*sâ-lâ-ĭět*<Pa *sr'yl*) or Səra'el—the Four Archangels.

V. *zanfo* 讚佛 Praising Buddha(s)

“Praising Buddha(s)” (also rendered in Chinese as *tanfo* 嘆佛) refers to the recitation by the priest and the laity of *gathas* or prose in praise of the various merits of the Tathāgata.

The most interesting example of “praising Buddhas” appears in cc. 292-312 which praises Mani’s birth:

Praise of the Descent (*Xiasheng Zan* 下生讚)

When Mani Buddha descended, he was incarnated in Sulin (=Suristān). The pomegranates’ branches brought auspiciousness. The chief gardener ascended the vermilion steps leading up to the palace hall and reported the unusual phenomenon to the throne. *Ashijian* ordered the chief gardener to pick them, put them on a plate, and politely offer them up. Maryam (*Moyan* 末艷) was delighted to eat them and her lovely face expressed great pleasure. The sage admonished her to rest in another palace. By the time ten full months had transpired, the flower was born; the lovely *baby emerged from her chest. Golden lotus blossoms sprang up from the earth and nectar fell from the sky. The Buddhas of the Ten Directions were all pleased. The Demon Kings of the Three Poisons bemoaned their afflictions. The lofty precious manifestation was beyond anything in this mortal world and was revered by the court ladies. All entreated the Crown Prince to return to the palace; he had renounced the secular world at the age of four, attained enlightenment at the age of thirteen, and inflicted defeat on the [doctrine of the] Water-washing [Baptists]. The holy *yanmo* (<Pth. *ymg* [*yamag*] twin) subsequently guided [him] to observe the Three Epochs—past, present and future. All things were understood and various phenomena were unobstructed. [He] gradually advanced to *Bosi*

(Persia), *Bolu*, and other countries. Nāgas and the Eight Groups all respected his virtue. Everyone offered praise: “This is indeed a unique moment!” [His] prestige influenced Persian King *Shapur to comprehend the *principles. The whole world followed him. The new monks and teachers followed [Mani] Buddha’s travels as he first transformed to having long eyebrows. My Buddha [Mani] preached and retained all teachings in the assembly of all human beings and celestials. [People] retained the Buddha’s teaching about the fundamentals of the Two Principles and erased old sins through the Three Epochs. Of years, five [times] nine [i.e., 450 years] had passed, and the Teaching spread to the Eastern Land. Long live the present emperor. Peaceful kingdoms of the Earth were all converted. Everyone sought and obtained good fortune and everyone upheld safety and security. May almsgivers of the Ten Directions live long and prosper!^[35]

The *Compendium* written in 731 only tells us that Mani was born in the country of Sulin at the royal palace of Emperor Badi by his wife Manyan 滿艷 (Maryam). Having sprung into existence from His mother’s chest, He surpassed His age and excelled everyone.^[36] Based on this core scene, the text of “Praise of the Descent” added a dozen scenes to the story of Mani’s birth under the influence of the story of Sākyamuni’s birth. At the same time, Manichaeans composed *Painting of the Birth of Mani* which now is in the Kyūshū National Museum in Japan (Fig. 6).^[37] It depicts approximately nine scenes outlined in “Praise of the Descent”.^[38]

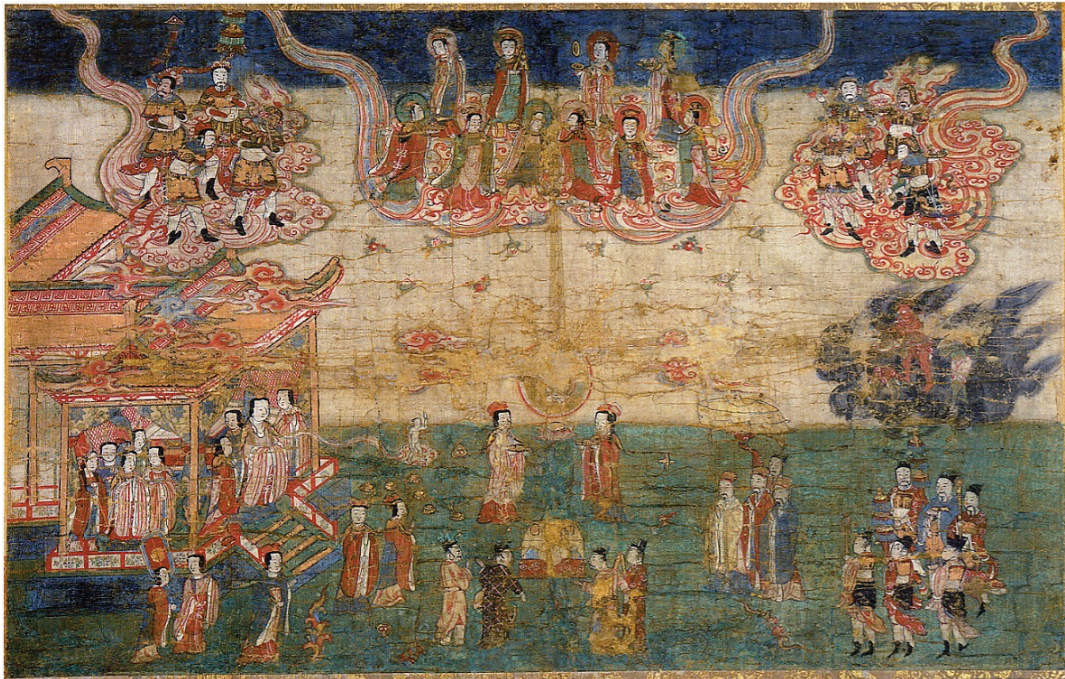


Fig. 6 *Painting of the Birth of Mani* 日本九州國立博物館 (Kyūshū National Museum, Japan)^[39]

VI. *lifo* 禮佛 Worshipping Buddha(s)

Worshipping Buddha(s) is the most important part of the ritual. It usually entailed three steps: first, the priest bows to the Buddhas and invokes their names. Before their names, such words or formulations as “*namah*” (*nanmo* 南無), “pay homage to” (*jingli* 敬禮), and “whole-heartedly taking refuge in the Buddha” (*zhixin guiming li* 至心歸命禮) are usually invoked. The priest then recites *gathas* in praise of Buddhas, and finally the laity join in the singing or chanting.

Worshipping Buddhas in *Mani the Buddha of Light* follows the same procedure. Of course, most of “Buddhas” are now Manichaean deities, prophets, or saints.

For example, the priest worships the four prophets: Nārāyaṇa, Zoroaster, Śākyamuni, and Jesus (cc.516-540). He praises the second [Buddha] Zoroaster who descended to Persia to save the Pure Wind Nature and converted Wishtasp (*Yuduoxi* 鬱多習 *ʒjuət-ta-ziəp* <Pa *wyšt'sp*). Because there were images of celestials, the demons fled to Babylon (*Bopi* 波毘 *pua-b'ji* <Pth./MP *b'byl*) where they were destroyed by the irradiation of Divine Light.¹⁴⁰¹

The worship of the Five Buddhas (cc.597-630) provides us with another example:

Great Holy One—Moni [摩尼 *mua-ni*=Mani] the Buddha of Light

{[Hearers] joining in the chanting} We wish to open the great merciful door of Wisdom, [Mani,] Mani, Buddha of Light

[He] left his holy traces in *Sulin* (Surisān) and was called Mani, his manifestations in the Three Bodies—the Body of Truth, the Body of Mutual Enjoyment and the Created Body—are wonderful and mysterious.

[His] auspices nine-fold surpassed the secular matters, eight forms of fearlessness displayed supernatural power.

[He] renounced the secular life and gave up the throne when he was four years old; he attained enlightenment and spoke the truth when he was thirteen years old.

All those who responded to him were saved, myriad souls looked up to him and all trusted in him absolutely.

[We] supplicate:

World-honored one of compassion and relief--Mani the Buddha of Light, seek [our] voices and save and convey [us] to deliverance.

[We] humbly request:

[The souls of] the dead escape from suffering, are reborn in the heavenly realm, see the Buddha, hear the scriptures, and roam freely.

[May they enjoy] ultimate bliss and happiness and immeasurable life, on lotus seats free and easy forever.^[41]

Great holy one—*Naluoyan* (那羅延 *na-la-ien*=*Nārāyaṇa) Buddha

{[Hearers] joining in the chanting} We wish to open the great merciful door of compassion (love),

{[Hearers] joining in the chanting} *Naluo*, *Naluoyan*, *Nārāyaṇa Buddha.

*Nārāyaṇa in the beginning saved *sentient beings, successful salvation is worth ten ritual worship's statements of praise.

[His] teaching established in a deserted and ignorant age followed the correct path, the *rishi was pristine and guided the primitive people.

[It] transmitted for eight generations and was thus long-standing and well-established; fifty-seven thousand laws are right and true.

The merits of fourteen true words do not vanish, the majestic bronze pillar is better than the new one.

[We] supplicate:

Primordial World-honored One—*Nārāyaṇa Buddha,^[42]

Great Holy One—*Suluzhi* (蘇路支 *suo-luo-tei* < Pth. *zrhwšt* [*zarhušt*], Zoroaster) Buddha

{[Hearers] joining in the chanting} We wish to open the great merciful door of faith,

{[Hearers] joining in the chanting} [*Sulu*, *Suluzhi*, *Zoroaster] Buddha.

The Second Lord *Zoroaster was true body, condemned evil demons to the wheel of karma [zodiac].

Three thousand galaxies enhanced [his] greatness, the twelve gates showed [his] mighty divine powers.

The turtle-nosed snake was rebuked and left, the king's mind was awakened, and [his] resurrection after death was eulogized all around the country.

[His] body was extinguished within sixty years, but the tradition of his school remained pure and true for three hundred years.

[We] supplicate:

World-Honored One of Instruction—*Zoroaster Buddha.....^[43]

Great Holy One—*Shijiawen* (釋迦文 *ɕiɛk-kja-m̄iəʊn* < Pth. *š'qmn* [*šāqman*], *Śākyamuni) Buddha

{[Hearers] joining in the chanting} We wish to open the great merciful door of perfection,

{[Hearers] joining in the chanting} [*Śākya, *Śākyamuni] Buddha.

*Śākya was born in a royal palace in *Tianzhu* (天竺 *t'ien-tiuk* < Sanskrit *Īndu*, India), and at that instant knew that life with four basic forms of suffering—birth, old age, sickness and disease, and death—are empty.

For nineteen years in the City of Spring [he] looked for the throne; he waited to succeed in the Snow Mountains for six years.

Fire, wind, earth, and water are known [by him] as the original elements of human body, the whole earth with mountains and rivers showed [his] holy merits.

[*Śākyamuni] predicted the name [of the Future Buddha] and the throne given away [by the king], we now have met the latter true school.

[We] supplicate:

The Greatly Enlightened World-Honored One—*Śākyamuni Buddha,
.....^[44]

Great Holy One—*Yishu* (夷數 *i-siu*, *Jesus) Buddha of Harmony

{[Hearers] joining in the chanting} We wish to open the great merciful door of patience,

{[Hearers] joining in the chanting} [*Jesus, *Jesus Harmony Buddha]

*Jesus resurrected, his sanctification and supernatural abilities were immeasurable.

The white dove flew here to show the auspicious sign, the scenery manifested in this common place.

After living in this world for sixty years [he] returned to extinction, for about three hundred years [his] teaching was expounded and preached.

[He] predicted that the child of light would welcome the latter sage who is willing to arrange the ferry (i.e. religion) for us.

[We] supplicate:

World-Honored One of Life—*Jesus the Buddha of Harmony ...^[45]

Szuzsanna Gulácsi has demonstrated that the four gods on the right side of the central assembly in the New Aeon of the *Diagram of Universe* represent the Primary Prophets. Zoroaster can be identified because he is holding a green *barsom* branch at the upper left and Śākyamuni can be identified by his *ushnisha* at the upper right (Fig. 7). She believes that Jesus is at the lower right and Mani at the lower left.^[46] According to the Xiapu manuscripts, however, the god at the lower left can be identified as Nārāyaṇa and the god at the lower right can be identified as Jesus.



Fig. 7 The Four Great Venerable Buddhas^[47]

VII. *wuhui* 五悔 Five Kinds of Repentance

The Buddhist Five Kinds of Repentance are the five steps in a penitential service: (1) the confession of past sins and forbidding them for the future (*chanhui* 懺悔); (2) the appeal to the universal Buddhas to keep the Wheel of the Law turning (*quanqing* 勸請); (3) rejoicing over the goodness in one's self and others (*suixi* 隨喜); (4) the offering of all one's goodness to all the living and to the Buddha Way (*huixiang* 迴向, Sk. *parīṇāma*); and (5) the resolve or vows (*fayuan* 發願).

In *Mani the Buddha of Light*, the confession is much simpler. In lieu of the Hearers, the priest delivers a confessional text which does not mention any specific misdeed but includes every "sin" committed by human beings in the past, present, and future. This confessional text (cc. 265-271) is largely a copy of the text titled "This Gāthā is a Penitential Prayer of *Niyusha*" (你逾沙, i.e., MP. *niyōśāg*: hearers) in the *Xiabu Zan* 下部讚 (abbr. *Hymnscroll*) (H. 410-414), despite several mistakes and some variant Chinese characters.

Penitential Mysterious Prayer (*Chanhui Xuanwen* 懺悔玄文)

I now repent whatever were my physical, verbal, and mental activities; my craving, aversion, and ignorance; or had I encouraged the ‘robbers’ to poison my heart, or not restrain my sense organs; or had I doubted the eternal-living Three Treasures and the Two Great Lights; or had I injured the Body of *Lushena*, as well as the Five Light-sons; had I begot a feeling of resentment and neglect of the Priest-teachers, our fathers and mothers, and against the wise intimates, and had I accused and blamed them; or had I imperfectly observed the seven kinds of almsgivings, the Ten Commandments, and the Three Seals, the Gates of Teaching—I wish my sins may disappear!¹⁴⁸¹

Such sins as doubting the Two Great Lights (Sun and Moon), injuring the Body of *Lushena* (the Column of Glory) as well as the Five Light-sons (Ether, Wind, Light, Water and Fire), imperfectly observing the seven kinds of almsgivings, the Ten Commandments (the moral code of Hearers) and the Three Seals (the seals of the mouth, hands, and bosom) can only be understood from a Manichaean perspective.

In *Mani the Buddha of Light*, the concept of *huixiang* 迴向 is similar to that in Buddhism and some sections of the text end with *huixiang*. Regarding *huixiang*, only a few words betray the Manichaean content, such as New Light(-world) [*xin ming(jie)* 新明(界)] (cc. 648, 651, 653, 655, 657).

VIII. *san guiyi* 三皈依 Venerating the Triratna

Buddhist veneration of the Triratna (also called *sangui* 三歸) signifies the three surrenders to the Three Treasures (*sanbao* 三寶), i.e. the Buddha (*fo* 佛), the Dharma (the teaching, *fa* 法), and the Saṅgha (*seng* 僧). Obeisance (*henan* 和南) usually follows veneration of the Triratna.

The following passage is an example of Venerating the Triratna in *Mani the Buddha of Light* (cc.426-444):

Venerating Buddha. *Sahuanmoluo* Holy Lord. [He] lives out of this world and is always secure. [His] lofty spiritual marks are like precious jewels. The true essence of all phenomena always exists and lacks any marks of arising or cessation. One trillion sages always look up at [him]. Looking up at [him], they wish [that he] sends down authoritative power to give divine protection. The light is of a single determined nature

and has nothing to do with sunrise and sunset. This is the place of peace and happiness for the true essence, universally wishing that the light-souls of the Three Realms (Earth, Atmosphere, and Heaven) become enlightened quickly and return together to the Great Light.^[49]

Venerating the Teaching. Jesus first established the natural wonderful Truth which is most precious, serving as the ferry (i.e., religion) for the myriad worlds as numerous as the grains of sand of the Ganges. The Two Principles and Three Epochs—subtle connotation is extensively and publicly stated. The enlightened light-souls escape from the mundane world. Escaping from the mundane world, [the light-souls] come back to the holy body of the absolute reality which will continue in the future to turn the Wheel of Dharma. Ten kinds of the Extraordinary are always refreshing. Politely wishing that tonight the beneficence would be offered on behalf of the souls of the deceased persons, our merit would be sincerely transferred to them, and the causes of Buddhahood would be cultivated and realized.^[50]

Venerating the Saṅgha (*arhats*, true men, and sages). The returned light-souls have descended from the Ten Firmaments. [They] drive the light-ship to wander far in the sea of tortures, seek priceless treasures for the Dharma assembly, and save countless true good persons who are responsive to the Light. Good persons who are responsive to the Light perfectly observe the Five Commandments and Three Seals. Marvelous teaching is most profound and extensively preached among the multitude of light. Seven prayers daily are performed with the most zealous inclination. The true teaching transmits and continues for ten thousand years.^[51]

We felt certain that *Sahuanmoluo* 薩緩默羅 (*sat yuan mək lâ*) is the highest god of Manichaeism—the Father of Greatness, but could not determine the Iranian deity’s name. Yoshida Yutaka pointed out in an email to us that *Sahuan* 薩緩, representing a pronunciation similar to “sarwan”, must be the transcription of *zurwan*.

Zurvān (“Time”) is known as a god in Avestan texts. The interpretation of the Father of Greatness as Zurvan already occurs in Mani’s Middle Persian work *Šābuhragān* (*Zurwān*).^[52] The identification of the Father of Greatness as Zurvan is also found in Manichaean Parthian (*zrw’βγγγ*) and Sogdian texts (*zrw’βγγγ*, *’zrw’βγγγ*).^[53]

The uppermost unit of the *Diagram of Universe* is the Realm of Light (Fig. 8). The central motif of this section of the painting is the Father of Greatness and his assembly which includes the Twelve Aeons and two additional attendants.^[54]



Fig. 8 The Realm of Light in the *Diagram of Universe*^[55]

IX. *shuoji fayuan* 說偈發願 Explaining in Verse and Making a Vow to Save All Beings

The Buddhist ritual of *shuoji fayuan* actually has double functions as *fayuan* and *huixiang*, and the *fayuan* (“vow”) gives rise to the intention to save all sentient beings.

In *Mani the Buddha of Light*, the concept of *fayuan* is similar to that of Buddhism. Only a few words have Manichaean coloring, e.g. “the sainthood of great light and eternal happiness” (*daming changle shengguo* 大明常樂聖果) (cc. 83-84).

Here is an example of *huixiang* which is an invocation for light-souls to return to the New Light-world (New Aeon, Fig. 9) (cc.646-658):

The fragrant wind blows the bells which are tinkling, countless celestial beings chant the Buddha’s name and sutras. Only in the precious realm is there ultimate bliss, so it would be better [for the light-souls] to call each other and come back to the Light as soon as possible.

The New Light-world is nearly finished, [the light-souls] should call each other and come back. [You] should not be fond of the human world which is not the place to live in peace. The light-souls should be saved from the suffering and quickly leap over the sea of eternal happiness. [.....]

In the realm of treasure of the New Light-world there are jade palaces and golden gardens. One should not be fond of the human world..... The *councilor on the throne of seven treasures bestows sons who defeat the host of demons for you.

The New Light[-world] has already commenced and bestows Buddhas of one country to you. [You] should not be fond of the human world.....One country is equal to one thousand cities and one city is equal to a myriad of villages.

In the palaces of treasures of the New Light[-world] immeasurable lives are born miraculously. [You] should not be fond of the human world..... Singing and chanting do not stop all day long.

The New Light[-world] is the best place to roam, enlightenment is attained forever on the [lotus-]blossom dais. [You] should not be fond of the human world..... When long life has less pleasure, life is limitless.^[56]

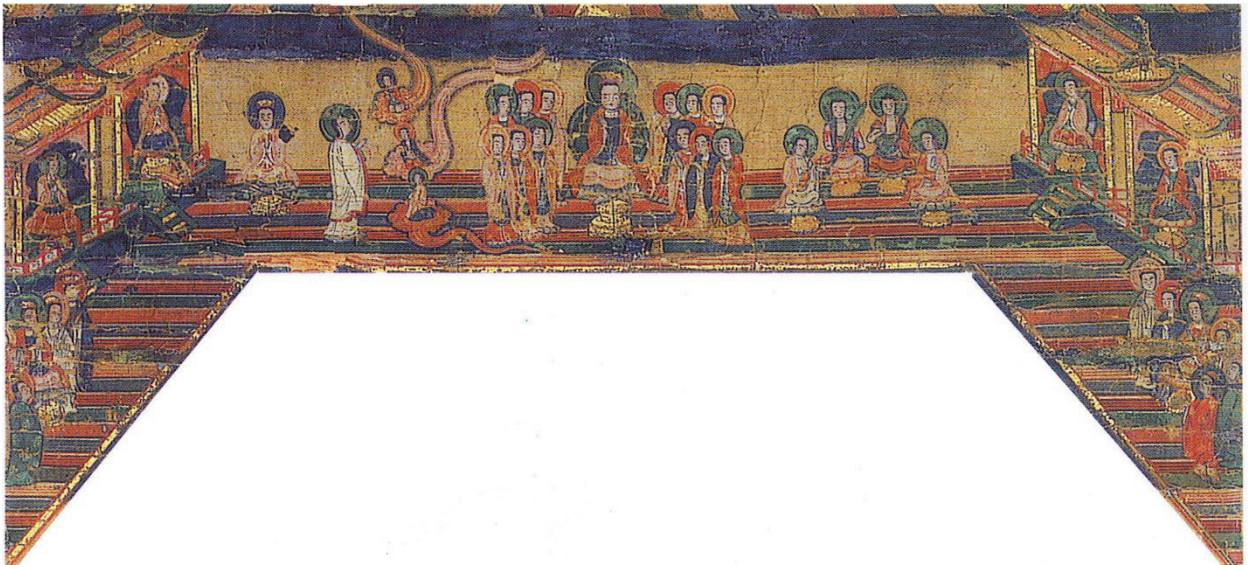


Fig. 9 The New Aeon in the *Diagram of Universe*^[57]

X. *fanzhou* 梵咒 Mantra

The mantra, recited, muttered or sung in a ritual as a general name for the verses, formulas or sequence of words in prose, is believed to have religious, magical or spiritual efficiency. In Chinese Buddhism, Sanskrit mantras were transcribed in Chinese characters. Usually the mantra was not translated because the sounds of the Sanskrit words themselves were thought to incorporate the essence of Buddhism.

There are many transcriptions in *Mani the Buddha of Light*. In addition to names, terms, and phrases scattered throughout the manuscript, there are thirteen whole blocks of transcription (77 cc. = 936 characters).^[58] While similar to transcriptions from Sanskrit in indigenous Buddhist ritual and penance texts, they are in fact transcriptions from Middle Iranian according to what has already

been deciphered. There is more than one Chinese transcription for some Middle Iranian words in the Xiapu documents, even in one hymn of a single manuscript. This phenomenon shows that Middle Iranian prayers and confessional texts were recited by a foreign Manichaean Elect such as Master *Hulu* (Uighur: *ulug*) *fashi* 呼祿法師 (great priest, active around the middle of the ninth century) in congregational cults in southern China and recorded in transcription by Chinese disciples who were not versed in Middle Iranian languages. Alternatively, a foreign Elect could have brought various Chinese transcriptions of mantras to southern China. These Chinese transcriptions of mantras were included in *Mani the Buddha of Light* without emendations made by the Elect who were versed in both Middle Iranian and Chinese. Mistakes were continually added in the process of copying such transcriptions again and again by transcribers who were wholly unfamiliar with Middle Iranian and it becomes extremely difficult for modern scholars to decipher the extant transcriptions.

Yoshida Yutaka found that a hymn titled *Tianwangzan* 天王讚 can be identified as a Middle Persian text found in document M19^[59] and he sent his English article to us. Reproduced here, this is a good example of the use of a mantra:

Tianwangzan 天王讚 “Praise of the Heavenly Kings” (cc. 331-337)

(i)

奧和 弗里悉德健那

ʔau ʔua p̄iʊət l̄ji s̄jēt tək g'j̄ən na

'w frystg'n

ō frēstagān

To the Angels.

(ii)

渾湛 [奧] 嚙縛逸 彌訶逸 罰悉勒去

ʔuən tǎm [ʔau] luo b'j̄iwak j̄ēt mj̄j̄e xa j̄ēt b'j̄iwət s̄jēt lək k'j̄wo

wynd'm 'w rwf'yl myh'yl wzrg

wendām ō rufaēl mīhaēl wuzurg

We praise Rufael, Michael the Great,

(iii)

喋[縛]囉逸 娑囉逸
 ŋjəp [b'jwak] la jět sa la jět
 gbr'yl sr'yl
 gabraēl sraēl
 Gabriel, Sarael

(iv)

嗚特 唯悉伴那 弗里悉德健那
 ʔuət d'ək jwi sjet b'uon na pjuət lji sjet tək g'jən na
 'wd wisp'n frystg'n
 ud wispān frēstagān
 and all the Angels.

(v)

俱滿 阿囉馱緩 你喻沙健那
 kju mucn ʔa la d'a yuon ni ju ʂa g'jən na
 kwm'n 'rd'w'n nywš'g'n
 kumān ardāwān niyōšāgān
 May they give us, the Elect and Hearers,

(vi)

訶[降玄] (玄去) 陣 俱[滿] (年) 特 囉弥洗
 xa [kɔŋ muɑ](muɑ k'jwo) d'jěn kju [mucn](nien) d'ək la mjie sjeŋ
 h'm'g dyn qwnynd r'myšn
 hāmāg dēn kunēnd rāmišn
 the whole Church, peace

(vii)

烏<思>滿那<哩> 忽特 波引 吓特 沙地
 ʔuo <si> mucn na <lji> xuət d'ək puɑ jěn pju d'ək ʂa d'i
 'wm'n xwd p'ynd pd š'dyḥ
 umān xwad pāyēnd pad šādīh
 and protect ourselves with joy

(viii)

阿和 遮伊但

ʔa ɣua tʂja ʔji d'an

'w j'yd'n

ō jǎydān

for ever.

[We should note the following corruptions in the above Chinese text:

(a) Loss of 奧 in verse (ii); (b) Loss of 縛 in verse (iii); (c) In verse (vi) 降 and 庑 (=麼) are misplaced. Possibly 降 is an error for some character such as 去, cf. 罰悉勒去 for “wzrg”; (d) In verse (vi) 滿 is an error for a character like 難 (*nân) or 年 (*nien) influenced by 俱滿 of verse (v); (e) In verse (vii) neither 思 nor 哩 is wanted. The reason for this miscopying is hard to see; (f) The last word of M19, *q'myšn*, is also not wanted.

XI. (*zhong*)he (眾) 和: (Hearers) Joining in the Singing or Chanting

In Buddhist rituals, most verses and prose passages were recited by priests, but the laity joined in singing or chanting some simple, but important verses (choruses). For example, “(We) wish that we with all sentient beings will come back to the ocean of thusness”.^[60] (*Ceremony of Dharma-body*) “(We) wish that we with all sentient beings will be born in paradise”.^[61] (*Ceremony of Twelve [Buddhas of] Light*)

In *Mani the Buddha of Light*, the hearers also join in singing simple verses. For example, they join in singing repeatedly: “We wish that the deceased spirit would ride the Buddhas’ majestic brilliance, and bear witness to the community of bodhisattvas!”^[62] (cc. 497, 500, 503, 505, 509) And: “The light-souls should be saved from the suffering and quickly leap over the sea of eternal happiness.” (cc. 650, 651, 653, 658)

XII. The Vitality of Ritual

The extant manuscript of *Mani the Buddha of Light* was copied no earlier than the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), but as a collection it was possibly compiled during the same period that the painting of the *Diagram of Universe* was completed, i.e. in the period from the late fourteenth to the early fifteenth century. Just as the *Diagram of Universe* copied elements of Mani’s *Ārdhang* with some modification, many parts of the original texts in *Mani the Buddha of Light* should have come into

being in the period from the Late Tang to the early Northern Song (840-1100). Because the original was copied repeatedly and each transcriber might have added something to the text, we cannot deny its antiquity simply because of some later content.

Some scholars believe that the original was compiled during Qing Dynasty, but this is almost impossible, because the local priests already knew little about Manichaeism in the period from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. *Mani the Buddha of Light* and Manichaean Chinese texts from Dunhuang have a lot in common, despite being very different. *Mani the Buddha of Light* is not a copy of some Manichaean document of the Tang Dynasty (618-907). Its compiler used some Manichaean documents, at least two of which (*Hymnscroll* and *Compendium*) are extant as Dunhuang documents, as main contents and adopted Buddhist worship and repentance ritual texts as form to compile a new collection of rituals for the Religion of Light. We may call this composition as “Manichaean wine in Buddhist bottles”. We doubt that the local priests still had such materials and abilities in the period from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. It would have been almost impossible for local priests to have orally inherited Manichaean Middle Iranian verses and prose after one thousand years and be able to transcribe them into Chinese during recent centuries.

If we recognize the hypothesis that many sections of the texts in *Mani the Buddha of Light* were written in the period from roughly the ninth to the eleventh century, how could the text have been handed down from generation to generation? The answer must lie in the strong vitality of the ritual. Most followers of the Religion of Light were illiterate people, but they attended rituals, looked at and observed paintings, listened to ritual texts recited by the priests, and joined in singing and chanting. Various rituals were held annually, monthly, or weekly, even daily.

We have some historical records describing rituals of the Religion of Light. The “Wenzhou Memorial” of 1120 describes the followers of the Religion of Light:

Each year, in the first (lunar) month, and on the day of *mi* (密 *mjät*<Pth. *myhr* ‘Sunday’) in their calendar, they assemble together the Attendants (*shizhe* 侍者=male elect), the Hearers (*tingzhe* 聽者=male auditors), the Paternal Aunts (*gupo* 姑婆=female elect), the Sisters who donate monastic food (*zhaijie* 齋姐=female auditors) and others who erect the sacred space (*daochang* 道場) and incite the common folk, both male and female. They assemble at night and disperse at dawn.^[63]

Lu You 陸遊 (1125-1210) left this description in his memorial mentioned earlier:

There are even official-scholars and the sons of educated families among their ranks and they will openly say, “Today I am attending the vegetarian feast of the Religion of Light (*Mingjiao zhai* 明教齋)”. I have chided them by saying, “These are ‘demon [worshippers]’; why should [someone of your standing] keep such company?” They replied: “This is not the case. The ‘demon [worshippers]’ do not segregate men and women, but the followers of the Religion of Light do not permit men and women to come into contact with each other. If a [male] follower of the Religion of Light is presented with food prepared by a woman, he will not eat it”. I sometimes manage to procure the scriptures of the Religion of Light for perusal. Their contents are boastful and have nothing of value, precisely what one would expect to find in the works of common and vulgar people who practice magic and sorcery.^[64]

The scriptures of the Religion of Light possibly included ritual manuals which were used in the vegetarian feast. Congregational cults continued and ritual manuals of the Religion of Light were handed down generation after generation until the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1911), so today we are fortunate to have the opportunity to study a copy of one of these collections of ancient ritual manuals of the Religion of Light—*Mani the Buddha of Light*.

NOTES

- ^[1] We are grateful to Yutaka Yoshida, Gábor Kósa, and Joanna Wang for comments that helped us rethink some points. We are satisfied to simply cite Yoshida’s comments in this paper and will write another article to introduce and discuss Yoshida’s research on Middle Iranian texts and words in Chinese transcription, which will include our these comments.
- ^[2] Lin Wushu 林悟殊, “*Mani guangfo shiwen bing ba*” 《摩尼光佛》釋文并跋 (*Mani the Buddha of Light and postscript*), in *Monijiao Huahua Bushuo* 摩尼教華化補說 (Supplement for the Study on the Sinicization of Manichaeism), Lanzhou Daxue Chubanshe, 2014, pp.457-492.
- ^[3] Yang Fuxue 楊富學 and Bao Lang 包朗, “Xiapu Monijiao xin wenxian *Mani guangfo jiaozhu*” 霞浦摩尼教新文獻《摩尼光佛》校注 (Xiapu Manichaeism new document *Mani the Buddha of Light* with emendation and annotation), *Hanshan Si Foxue* 寒山寺佛學 (The Buddhism of Hanshan Temple), v.10 (2015), pp.74-115. The number of columns follows Yang Fuxue’s computation.
- ^[4] Wang Chuan 汪娟 and Ma Xiaohe 馬小鶴, “Xiapu wenshu *Mani Guangfo kece de yiwen fuyuan*” 霞浦文書《摩尼光佛》科冊的儀文復原 (Restored Text of Xiapu Manuscript *Mani the Buddha of Light*), *Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學 (=Studies on Dun-huang), v.32 (2016), pp.1-43.

- ^[5] 82 pages, 665 columns, 8372 characters of *Mani the Buddha of Light* are extant according to Lin Wushu's calculation.
- ^[6] Yang Fuxue and Bao Lang, "Xiapu Manichaeen new document *Mani the Buddha of Light* with emendation and annotation", p.74-75.
- ^[7] Yang Fuxue, Bao Lang, "Xiapu Manichaeen new document *Mani the Buddha of Light* with emendation and annotation", p.74.
- ^[8] A. V. Le Coq, *Die manichäische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1923, p.54; H-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaeen Art and Calligraphy*, Leiden, 1982, p.16; Zs. Gulácsi, *Manichaeen Art in Berlin Collections: A Comprehensive Catalogue*, Turnhout, 2001, p.74.
- ^[9] Zs. Gulácsi, "Manichean Art", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2008, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/manichean-art> (accessed on 30 April 2017).
- ^[10] Henning, W. B., *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, Berlin, 1937; Klimkeit, H.-J., *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*, New York, 1993, pp.133-144.
- ^[11] Wang Chuan, *Tang Song Guyi Fojiao Chanyi Yanjiu* 唐宋古逸佛教懺儀研究 (Research on Rediscovered Buddhist Confessional Rituals from the Tang and Song Dynasties), Wenjin Chubanshe, 2008, pp.6, 21-60, 139-224, 259-304; Wang Chuan, *Dunhuang Lichanwen Yanjiu* 敦煌禮懺文研究 (Study on worship and repentance rituals from Dunhuang), Taipei, 1998, pp.33, 75-114, 201-288; L. Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*, London, 1957, #6207 (p.195), #6270 Prayer to accompany recitation of the Vajra-cchedikā sutra, #6254 Kuan Yin ritual: prayers based on *Kuan yin ching*, i.e., *Miao fa lien hua ching*, p'in 25.(p.196).
- ^[12] *Ru Tang Qiufa Xunli Xingji Jiaozhu* 入唐求法巡禮行記校註, Huashan Wenyi Chubanshe, 1992, p.190; Ennin, *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*, translated from the Chinese by Edwin O. Reischauer, New York, Ronald Press, Co., 1955, p.151.
- ^[13] *Moni Guangfo Jiaofa Yili* 摩尼光佛教法儀略 (Compendium of the Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light); Édouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine", *JA*, sér. 11, I, 1913, pp.106, 109.
- ^[14] *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (Compiled Manuscripts of Important Documents of the Song; compiled by Xu Song 徐松 (1781-1848) et al., edited by Liu Lin 劉琳 et al.), fasc. 165, xingfa, 2.78-79, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2014, v.14, p.8325; Mou Runsun 牟潤孫, "Songdai zhi Monijiao" 宋代之摩尼教 (Manichaeism of the Song Dynasty), *Furen Xuezhì* 輔仁學誌 (Fu jen Sinological Journal) 1938, p.134; Forte, A., "Deux études sur le manichéisme chinois", *TP* 59 (1973), 220-53; Lieu, S. N. C., *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1992, pp.276-7.
- ^[15] Cf. Wang Chuan, *Dunhuang Lichanwen Yanjiu* 敦煌禮懺文研究 (Study on worship and repentance rituals from Dunhuang), pp.313-353.
- ^[16] W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, APAW, 1936, Berlin, 1937, p.9.
- ^[17] F. W. K. Müller, "Uigurica II", *APAW*, 1910, p.93; Jes P. Asmussen, Niels Haislund tr., *X'āstvānīft: Studies in Manichaeism*, Copenhagen: Prostant apud Munksgaard, 1965, p.226ff.

- ^[18] W. B. Henning, “The Manichaean fasts”, *JRAS* 1945, p.155; N. Sims-Williams, “The Sogdian fragments of Leningrad”, *BSOAS* 44 (1981), pp.236-7.
- ^[19] *Weinan Wenji Jiaozhu* 渭南文集校注 (Critical Edition of *Literary Collection from South of the Wei*), in Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 ed., *Lu You Quanji Jiaozhu* 陸遊全集校注 (Critical edition of Complete Works of Lu You), Hangzhou: Zhejiang Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2011, v.9, p.125; Chavannes and Pelliot, “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine”, *JA*, sér. 11, I, 1913, pp.351-2 (Texte XLVIII).
- ^[20] 十天王者，梵名阿薩漫沙也。是故道教稱為昊天玉皇大帝，住在第七天中，處在大殿，管於十天善惡之事。此天內有十二面寶鏡，上面觀於涅槃[國土]，下面照於陰司地府，十面鑒於十天諸魔(=魔)背叛等事化。四天王管四天下：嚧縛逸天王管北鬱壇界，彌訶逸天王[統御東弗婆提，業縛囉逸天王管]南閻浮提，娑囉逸天王掌握西瞿耶尼。四大大神明，若見諸天惡魔起奸計，搔擾天空地界諸聖，應時展大威神，折挫調伏，速令安定，急使調伏。Ma Xiaohu, “Monijiao shi tianwang kao: Fujian Xiapu wenshu yanjiu” 摩尼教十天王考—福建霞浦文書研究 (The King of Ten Heavens in Manichaeism: Study of the documents from Xiapu, Fujian), *Xiyu Wenshi* 西域文史 (Literature and History of the Western Regions), 2010.5, pp.119-130. I first proposed that Asamansha 阿薩漫沙 < Sogdian *sm'n xšyð*, but Yoshida Yutaka suggested that it should be a Chinese transcription of the hitherto unattested Parthian form *'sm'n š'h*. Cf. Fig. 10. English translation is based on Kósa, Gábor, “The Book of Giants tradition in the Chinese Manichaica”, in M. Goff *et al* ed., *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016, pp.151-152.
- ^[21] 一心虔恭，合掌皈依。同降道場，加彼(被)下界、福德男女，長福消災，增延福壽。
- ^[22] 已獻明香伸供養，雲臺繚繞遍大千。遍空遍界諸靈聰，護國護家明使眾，乘此香雲臨法會，阿(苛)除樵悴悅明群。先憑我佛妙真言，安慰靈祇迎上聖。
- ^[23] 寶光天主玉皇尊佛。唯願寶鏡明明十二面，玉皇隱隱七重天。
- ^[24] Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豐 and Furukawa Shōichi 古川攝一 ed., *Chūgoku Kōnan Manikyō Kaiga Kenkyū* 中国江南マニ教絵画研究 (Studies of the Chinese Manichaean Paintings of South Chinese Origin Preserved in Japan), Kyōto: Rinsen Shoten, 2015, Plates 6-8, pp.101-102; Gulácsi, Zs., *Mani's Pictures: The Didactic Images of the Manichaean from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uygur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*, Brill, 2016, Figs 6/25, 6/41, pp.405-408, 457-460; Kósa, Gábor, “Who is the King of Honour and What Does He Do? Gleanings from the New Chinese Manichaean Sources”, in Turfanforschung Team ed., *Zur lichten Heimat: Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017, pp.259–272.
- ^[25] Cf. Yoshida and Furukawa, *Studies of the Chinese Manichaean Paintings of South Chinese Origin Preserved in Japan*, Plate 6.
- ^[26] W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London, 1937, p.60.
- ^[27] Yoshida and Furukawa, *Studies of the Chinese Manichaean Paintings of South Chinese Origin Preserved in Japan*, Plate 9, pp.108-109; Yoshida, Y., “Picture Version of Mani's ‘Book of Giants’”. Paper delivered at the 22nd Meeting of the American Oriental Society, 17 March 2012, Boston, [pp.9-10]; Kósa, “The Book of Giants

- Tradition in the Chinese Manichaica”, p.173. Gulácsi and BeDuhn believe that the central figure enthroned in a golden structure at the top of Mount Sumeru is unidentified and they offer alternative interpretations for this figure. See: Gulácsi, Zsuzsanna, and Jason BeDuhn, “Picturing Mani’s Cosmology: An Analysis of Doctrinal Iconography on a Manichaean Hanging Scroll from 13th /14th-century Southern China”, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 25 (2011), pp.91 and 101, n.169.
- ^[28] *Gaoshang Yuhuang Benxing Jing Jizhu* 高上玉皇本行經集註 (Collected Scripture on the Deeds of the Jade Sovereign Variorum), v.1. *Daozang* 道藏 (Taoist Canon), Wenwu Chubanshe, Shanghai Shudian, and Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, 1987, v.34, pp.632.
- ^[29] Kósa, “The *Book of Giants* Tradition in the Chinese Manichaica”, p.182, Plate 2.
- ^[30] *Chang Ahan Jing* 長阿含經 (Dīrgha Āgama), v.20. *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō Tripitka), Tōkyō : Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924-1932, (T.), v.1, pp.131-137.
- ^[31] Wilkens, Jens, “Neue Fragmentse aus Manis Gigantenbuch”, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 150 (2000), p.161; Kósa, “The *Book of Giants* Tradition in the Chinese Manichaica”, p.161.
- ^[32] Yoshida, “Picture Version of Mani’s *Book of Giants*”, pp.8-10; Kósa, “The *Book of Giants* Tradition in the Chinese Manichaica”, pp.161-163, 168-169. Gulácsi observes that there is a group of five soldiers, in golden armor amid the mountains dividing the two lower continents; on the highest peak, a haloed figure sits majestically. The scenario may reflect the story of Chasro the Blessed. See: Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures*, pp.470 (Fig. 6/44), 474-475.
- ^[33] Kósa, “The *Book of Giants* Tradition in the Chinese Manichaica”, p.183, Fig. 2a.
- ^[34] *Dazhidu Lun* 大智度論 (The Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise), v.9. T. v.25, p.123.
- ^[35] 《下生讚》：摩尼佛，下生時，托蔭於蘇隣。石榴樹，枝呈瑞，園官詣丹墀，表奏希奇。阿師健氏，命宮官，摘捧盤，殷懃奉獻。末艷氏喜食，花顏喜歡，神人誠責“別宮安”。十月滿，將花誕出；詣嬌培，湧化胷間。地湧金蓮，{捧}天洒甘露。十方諸佛盡歡忻，三毒(魔)王悲煩惱。巍巍寶相，凡間難比。嬪妃仰止，咸迎太子歸宮裏。年四歲出家，十三成道，便破水洗。於今閻默聖，引觀三際初、中、後，事皆通知，般般無凝(礙)。漸次前行，薄(波)斯、波魯諸國，龍天八部咸仰德，人人讚：“難曹(遭)想”。威感波斯說(沙)勃王悟里(理)，四維上中下，皆從皈依。沙密(彌)、闍黎隨佛遊，先化長眉。我佛說法，人天會裏總持。持佛說二宗大義，三際消舊罪。五九數滿，法流東土。上祝當今皇帝千秋萬萬歲，海清萬國盡皈依。各求福利，各保平安。惟願十方施主，增崇福壽永綿綿！Yoshida’s comment: “波斯說勃： While I cannot explain 說, this is likely to be a transcription of Shabuhr. 說 is to be emended to 沙?” Kósa believes: “長眉 Long Eyebrowed” refers to one of the Arhats—Pindola.
- ^[36] G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, “The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light”, *Asia Major*, N. S. 3 (1952), pp.190-191.
- ^[37] Yoshida and Furukawa, *Studies of the Chinese Manichaean Paintings of South Chinese Origin Preserved in Japan*, Plates 14, pp.128-137; Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures*, Fig. 6/13, 6/20, pp.386-393.
- ^[38] Yoshida and Furukawa, *Studies of the Chinese Manichaean Paintings of South Chinese Origin Preserved in Japan*, Plates 14-8, pp.128-137, 204-6, 224-37; Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures*, pp.386-393, Fig. 6/20; Ma Xiaoho “Ri cang ‘Moni dan sheng tu’ yu ‘Moni guang fo · Xia sheng zan’” 日藏《摩尼誕生圖》與《摩尼光佛·下生讚》 (*The*

- Painting of the Birth of Mani in Japan and “Hymn of Descent” in Mani the Buddha of Light*, *Meishu Xuebao* 美術學報 (Art Journal), 2016.3: 5-17; Ma Xiaohu, “‘Moni dan sheng tu’ bukao” 摩尼誕生圖補考 (Research on Mani at Birth in Japanese Collections), *Xiyu Yanjiu* 西域研究 (The Western Regions Studies), 2016.4: 57-69, 142, pl.1-4.
- ^[39] Cf. Yoshida and Furukawa, *Studies of the Chinese Manichaean Paintings of South Chinese Origin Preserved in Japan*, Plate 14.
- ^[40] 第二蘇路支，救淨風性下波斯，開化鬱多習，……為有天神像，妖幻往波毘，放神光照盡崩隳。Yoshida’s comment: “鬱多習 may be compared with 烏瑟多習 of the 西陽雜俎, which stands for (King) Wishtasp, the first supporter of Zoroaster”. Cf. Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, “Sino-Iranica”, *Seinan Ajia Kenkyū* 西南アジア研究 (Bulletin of the Society for Western and Southern Asiatic Studies), Kyoto University, no.48, 1998, p.46, note 15.
- ^[41] 大聖摩尼光佛 {和}原(願)開智惠(慧)大慈門，[摩尼、]摩尼光伙：蘇憐(隣)降跡號摩尼，應化三身妙入微。九種靈祥超世俗，八般無畏表神威。四歲出家辭國位，十三成道演真言。一切有緣皆得度，萬靈咸仰盡皈依。仰啓：慈濟世尊摩尼光伙、大慈大悲尋聲來救度。惟願：亡者離苦，上生天堂，見佛聞經，逍遙自在。極樂歡娛無量受(壽)，蓮臺救(究)竟永逍遙。
- ^[42] 大聖那羅延伙 {和}願開憐愍大慈門，{和}那羅、那羅延伙：那羅元始度人輪，得度為功十禮文。教設洪荒行正道，果(偓)佺淳朴化初人。一傳八代源流遠，五萬七千法正真。十四真言功不泯，屹然銅住(柱)更加新。仰啓：元始世尊那羅延伙…… *Woquan* 偓佺 is the name of an ancient immortal. Here this name means Nārāyaṇa.
- ^[43] 大聖蘇路支伙 {和}願開誠信大慈門 {和}[蘇路、蘇路支]佛：二尊蘇路是真身，叱喝邪疋(魔)到業輪。世界三千威振習，城門十二現威神。鼻蛇叱去王心悟，死後重蘇國論稱。六十年間身寂去，宗風三百歲清真。仰啓：示現世尊蘇路支伙…… A turtle-nosed snake (鼈鼻蛇) that is so venomous that a person will die with a single bit. (T 2003.48.145a29)
- ^[44] 大聖釋迦文伙 [{和}]願開具足大慈門{和}[釋迦、釋迦文]伙：釋迦天竺誕王宮，彈指還知四苦空。十九春城求國位，六年雪嶺等成功。火風地水明先体，大地山河显聖功。授記以名余國位，我今得遇後真宗。仰啓：大覺世尊釋迦文伙、…… Śākyamuni in a prior lifetime entered the Snow Mountains (雪嶺 Himalayas) to practice the Bodhisattva path. Śākyamuni preached that the human body is a composite of earth, water, fire, and wind.
- ^[45] 大聖夷數和伙 [{和}]願開忍辱大慈門 {和}[夷數、夷數和伙] <願開>夷數再甦生，聖化神通不可量。白鴿飛來騰瑞相，那能俗處現風光？六旬住世身皈依，三百餘年教闡揚。授記明童迎後聖，願為我等布津梁。仰啓：活命世尊夷數和伙、……
- ^[46] Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures*, Fig. 6/17, pp.367-368, Fig. 6/38, p.450; cf. Kósa, “The Manichaean ‘New Paradise’ in Text and Image”, pp.90-94.
- ^[47] Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures*, Fig. 6/17, p.368.
- ^[48] The different characters of the *Hymnscroll* are in parentheses: 我今懺悔所，是身口意業，及貪嗔痴[行]，或乃至從(縱)賊毒心，諸根放逸；或宜(疑)常住三宝并二大光明；或損盧舍那身及(兼)五明子；於僧師(師僧)父母、諸善知識起輕慢心，更相毀謗；於七世(施)十戒、三印法門，若不具修，願罪消滅。Cf. Tsui Chi,

- “*Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan: ‘The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns’*”, *BSOAS*, XI (1943-6), p.215.
- ¹⁴⁹¹ 皈依佛：薩緩默羅聖主。居方外，永安固。巍巍美（靈）相若寶珠。無生無滅、法躰真常住。萬億聖賢，常仰瞻慕。仰瞻慕，願降威神加護。一定光，無曉暮。真實元本安樂處。普願三界、明性早覺悟。盡向大明，相將皈去。
- ¹⁵⁰¹ 皈依法：夷數始立天真義，最可珍。遍周沙界作通津。二宗三際、妙義廣開陳。覺悟明性，脫離凡塵。離凡塵，復本真如聖身。續來世，轉法輪。十般殊勝永清新。惟願今宵、功德薦亡靈。志心回向，修證佛因。
- ¹⁵¹¹ 皈依僧：羅漢真人上佺。回光性，降十天。廣遊苦海駕明船。滂（撈）漉無價珍寶至法筵。救拔無數真善明緣。善明緣，五戒三印俱全。微妙義，最幽玄。光明眾廣宣傳。七時禮懺，志意倍精專。流傳正法，相繼萬年。
Cf. Ma Xiaohe, “Jingjiao yu Mingjiao de qishi lichan” 景教與明教的七時禮懺 (The Seven Prayers Daily of Nestorianism and the Religion of Light), in Zhang Xiaogui ed. *Research on the Three Barbarian Religions*, pp.254-267.
- ¹⁵²¹ Albert de Jong, “Zurvanism”, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/zurvanism> (accessed on May 24, 2018).
- ¹⁵³¹ W. Sundermann, “Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos”, in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, VI, 1979, p.101.
- ¹⁵⁴¹ Yoshida and Furukawa, *Studies of the Chinese Manichaean Paintings of South Chinese Origin Preserved in Japan*, Plates 11-13, pp.120-121; Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*, Fig. 6/37, pp.444-447.
- ¹⁵⁵¹ Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*, Fig. 6/37, p.446.
- ¹⁵⁶¹ 香風吹鐸響玲玲，無數天人作梵聲。極樂不過於寶界，爭如相喚早歸明。新明界欲成，相喚須歸去。莫戀此閻浮，不是安居處。救性離災殃，速超常樂海。[.....]新明寶刹中，玉殿金園裏。莫戀此閻浮，.....七寶座踰躄，賜汝降魔子。新明今已登，賜汝一國佛。莫戀此閻浮，.....一國如千城，一城千萬邑。新明寶宮衢，化生無量壽。莫戀此閻浮，.....歌詠齊唱饒，終日無停息。新明最好遊，永證花臺上。莫戀此閻浮，.....長生少樂時，壽命無限度。
- ¹⁵⁷¹ Cf. Gulácsi, *Mani's Pictures*, Fig. 6/38, p.448.
- ¹⁵⁸¹ Lin Wushu, *Supplement for the Study on Sinicization of Manichaeism*, p.491.
- ¹⁵⁹¹ E. Morano, “Manichaean Middle Iranian incantation texts from Turfan”, in D. Durkin-Meisterernst et al. ed., *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, Berlin, 2003, pp.221-227, in particular p.222.
- ¹⁶⁰¹ 願共諸眾生，同歸真如海。
- ¹⁶¹¹ 願共諸眾生，往生安樂國。
- ¹⁶²¹ 願亡靈、乘佛威光，證菩薩會。
- ¹⁶³¹ *Compiled Manuscripts of the Important Documents of the Song*, v.14, p.8325.
- ¹⁶⁴¹ *Laoxue An Biji Jiaozhu* 老學庵筆記校注 (Critical Version of Miscellaneous Notes from the Old Studio of the Cottage), in Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 ed., *Lu You Quanji Jiaozhu* 陸遊全集校注 (Critical edition of Complete Works of Lu You), Hangzhou: Zhejiang Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2011, v.11, p.481.