

# THE QING CORPUS OF MANICHAEAN TEXTS FROM FUJIAN

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The recent decade has witnessed some major discoveries in ‘Manichaean studies’, a field exploring the various textual and visual remains of the Late Antique religion created by Mānī (ca. 216-277).<sup>1</sup> Established in the early years of Sasanian Iran (224-651), Manichaeism spread both to the western and the eastern directions. Spreading east along the Silk Road, Manichaeism arrived in China in 694 and Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690-705 AD) welcomed the new teaching. After its arrival, the history of Manichaeism in China can be roughly divided into two phases: from 694 to 842 Manichaeism was fundamentally a *religio licita*<sup>2</sup>—though in 732 an edict by the Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756 AD) accused Manichaeans of pretending to be Buddhists, and, with the exception of “Western barbarians” (*xihu* 西胡), i.e. presumably Sogdians, prohibited the practice of this new religion for some time.<sup>3</sup> The Uyghur Böğü Khan officially adopted Manichaeism as a state religion in 762/763. When the rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山 and Shi Chaoyi 史朝義 (755-763 AD) was terminated by the military intervention of the Uyghurs, the dependence of the Chinese Court on the Uyghurs forced the Chinese emperors for ca. 80 years to permit the Uyghurs to spread their faith. Consequently, several Manichaean temples were built in Luoyang 洛陽 and other prefectures (e.g. Jing 荊, Hong 洪, Yue 越), and various scriptures were translated into Chinese.<sup>4</sup> After their defeat by the Kirghiz in 840, the steppe Uyghurs fled, portions settling in Qocho (Gaochang 高昌, present-day Xinjiang) and continued to practice their religion for at least another 150 years; they produced important, though at present fragmentary, pieces of Manichaean art.<sup>5</sup> No longer being dependent on the Uyghur help, Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840-846 AD) could launch a massive attack against Manichaeism, which was part of a general persecution of all foreign religions (especially Buddhism,

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<sup>1</sup> I highly appreciate Ma Xiaohe’s comments on the draft version of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> *Fozu tongji*, T49.2035: 370a, 474c.

<sup>3</sup> *Fozu tongji*, T49.2035: 374c, 474c; *Da Song Sengshilüe*, T54.2126: 253b.

<sup>4</sup> *Fozu tongji*, T49.2035: 370a, 378c, 474c; *Da Song Sengshilüe*, T54.2126: 253c.

<sup>5</sup> Gulácsi 2001.

primarily motivated by economic interests) in 843-845.<sup>6</sup> After this Huichang 會昌 persecution, Manichaeans found a relatively safe harbour in the southeastern regions, especially in present-day Zhejiang and Fujian provinces, where their remains survived for centuries, as reports from the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties, and, as it turned out recently, materials from the Qing Dynasty attest.

In addition to the Chinese historical sources on Manichaeism, the majority of previously known Chinese Manichaean texts derive from Dunhuang, with some fragments from Turfan. The following list includes the major findings from this northern region:

1. The *Hymnscroll* (*Monijiao xiabu zan* 摩尼教下部讚, S.2659; T2140: 1270b-1279c) was discovered in the Library Cave of Dunhuang. It is a late 8<sup>th</sup> century collection of hymns addressed to various Manichaean divine figures and entities.
2. The *Traité* (*Bosijiao canjing* 波斯教殘經; BD00256; T2141B: 1281a-1286a), also from Cave 17, is kept at Beijing National Library and details the works of a Manichaean deity, the so-called Light-Nous.
3. The *Compendium* (*Moni guangfo jiao fayi lue* 摩尼光佛教法儀略; S3969+P3884; T2141A: 1279c-1281a), compiled at the behest of Emperor Xuanzong in 731 AD, is a succinct summary of Manichaeism.
4. The *Huahuajing* 化胡經 is not a genuine Manichaean text, but certain versions contain references to Mānī as one of Laozi's incarnations.
5. The fragmentary *Foxingjing* 佛性經 (BD9401), first identified as Manichaean in 2012, describes the hearers' fate after death by listing seven places of sufferings and five possible places of liberation.
6. Various Chinese Manichaean fragments from Turfan (e.g. Ch. 258, Ch. 174, Ch. 1363 R, Ch. 3218) include alternative translations of some hymns and prose works.

These texts originate from the first, "northern period" of Chinese Manichaeism, and it was only from 2008 on that we have texts from the second, "southeastern phase" of its history in China. This paper aims to make some basic pieces of information of this new discovery from the Qing Dynasty accessible to those beyond the field Manichaean studies.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Xin Tangshu*, 217: 6133; *Jiu Tangshu*, 18: 594.

<sup>7</sup> In writing this paper, I used two former studies of mine (Kósa 2015a, and 2020 forthcoming): the first was originally published in the *Manichaean Studies Newsletter*, a forum of the International Association of Manichaean Studies (IAMS), circulated only among its members, while the second one, summarizing the developments between 2013 and 2017, is forthcoming in the proceedings volume of the conference organized by IAMS in Turin in 2017.

## 1. The Discovery and the Historical Background

From October 2008 on, several Qing Dynasty texts and artefacts that are closely related to Manichaeism were identified around Shangwan village 上万村 of Baiyang township 柏洋乡 of Xiapu county 霞浦县, Fujian province.<sup>8</sup>

On 20 November 2008, Wu Chunming 吴春明, director of the Museum of Xiapu County, and his colleagues were studying some carved sculptures from the Ming Dynasty at Shangwan and recognized the resemblance between these and the one at a former Manichaean monastery (the so-called *cao'an* 草庵) near Jinjiang 晋江, Fujian. Afterwards, with the help of local people, this group discovered the tomb of a local Manichaean missionary called Lin Deng 林瞪 (1003-1059) and some local historical records on him, as well as the remains of a temple called Longshousi 龍首寺 (Leshantang 樂山堂) and ritual objects, all dating from the Song Dynasty (960-1279). In January 2009, Wu Chunming contacted Lin Yun 林鋆, the 29<sup>th</sup> generation descendant of Lin Deng, the presumed originator of this community.

On 29 January 2009, scholars from the Research Institute of World Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院世界宗教研究所), including Jin Ze 金泽, Huang Xianian 黄夏年, Zheng Xiaoyun 郑筱筠, and Chen Jinguo 陈进国, were invited to explore the Manichaean remains in this area. Between March and May 2009, a group of researchers from Ningde 宁德 made archaeological investigations at Longshousi and concluded that during the Song Dynasty it had functioned as a Manichaean temple. During their visit, they became aware of several manuscripts that were possessed by Chen Peisheng 陈培生 and Xie Daolian 谢道琰, two ritual masters (*fashi* 法师) in Baiyang township. The first assessment of the new discoveries was compiled in May 2009.<sup>9</sup> It was Chen Jinguo and Wu Chunming who announced the discovery at a conference in Taiwan on 9-11 June 2009, and later at Xiamen University (Fujian) on 16 October 2009.<sup>10</sup> Based on Chen Jinguo's talk, Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤 presented the first results in English at the 7<sup>th</sup> IAMS conference in Dublin, on 8-11 September 2009.<sup>11</sup> The first comprehensive report on the new manuscripts and some pictorial remains were published by Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun in January of 2010.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The following summary of the discovery is based on Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010; Ji Jiachen and Yang Fuxue 2012; Gai Shanyun 2012; Ma Xiaohe 2009/2015.

<sup>9</sup> Xiapu xian di sanci quanguo wenwu pucha lingdao xiaozu 2009.

<sup>10</sup> Chen and Wu 2009.

<sup>11</sup> Ma 2009/2015.

<sup>12</sup> Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010.

Here a historical retrospective on the southeastern phase of Chinese Manichaeism is probably useful. These new findings are not completely surprising: in fact, previously there had been several written testimonies and archaeological finds that had indicated the presence of Manichaeism in the southeastern region, especially Fujian and Zhejiang, during the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties. The most important references to what these sources usually call the ‘Religion of Light’ (*Mingjiao* 明教) are the following:

1. In the *Fangyu zhi* 方域志 part (7<sup>th</sup> ch.) of his *Minshu* 閩書, He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠 (1558-1632) devotes a lengthy passage (7.31b-32b) to the description of a Yuan Dynasty Manichaean temple and takes this opportunity to summarize the history of this religion in China.<sup>13</sup> An important part of this report relates the fate of Manichaeism after the Huichang persecution:  
 “In the period Huichang (841-846), when (Buddhist) monks were suppressed in great numbers, the Religion of Light (*Mingjiao* 明教) was also included in the suppression. However, a *hulu*<sup>14</sup> *fashi* 呼祿法師 came to Futang 福唐 (south of Fuzhou), taught his disciples at Sanshan 三山 (at Fuzhou). He came to the prefecture of Quan in his travels, and died (there) and was buried at the foot of a mountain to the north of the prefecture” (會昌中汰僧，明教在汰中。有呼祿法師者來入福唐，授侶三山。游方泉郡，卒葬郡北山下).<sup>15</sup>
2. Based on the description of the *Minshu*, Wu Wenliang 吳文良 identified the Manichaean temple (*cao'an*, ‘a thatched nunnery’) on the slope of Huabiao mountain 華表山 in Jinjiang near Quanzhou.<sup>16</sup> An inscription near the temple, as a photo attests, said the following: “I request you, recite: ‘Purity, Light, Great Power, Wisdom, unsurpassable, perfect truth, Mānī, the Buddha of Light. (Inscribed in) the ninth month of the *yichou* year [1445] of the *Zhengtong* period’<sup>17</sup> (勸念：清靜、光明、大力、智慧、無上

<sup>13</sup> See Pelliot 1923; Nian Liangtu 2008, pp. 11-22.

<sup>14</sup> There are two proposals for the identification of this word: it is either an abbreviated and alternate form of the Middle Persian *xrwh(x)w'n* (preacher-priest), the complete form being written as *huluhuan* 呼嚕喚, or it stands for Uyghur *uluy* (‘great, big’) (Lieu 1992, p. 264; Lieu 2012a, p. 66, no. 21). In both cases, it cannot be excluded that it was not a single person, but several people, as Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun (2010, p. 361) suggest.

<sup>15</sup> Trans. S.N.C. Lieu 2012a, p. 66. Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing (2017, p. 266) identify Futang 福唐 with Fuqing 福清, and the mountain of burial as Qingyuan shan 清源山.

<sup>16</sup> Wu Wenliang 1957, pp. 44-45 (with Figs. 105-107), see also Goodrich 1957; Bryder 1988, Nian Liangtu 2008. On Wu Wenliang, see Lieu et al. 2012, pp. 13-24.

<sup>17</sup> The inscription of the stone that once stood near the Cao'an (Wu Wenliang 1957, p. 44); on the history of this stone and some similar ones, see Lieu 2012a, pp. 77-79.

- 至真摩尼光佛。正統乙丑年九月)。<sup>18</sup> This temple, which was functioning as a Buddhist temple for a long time, also houses the only surviving sculptured image of Mānī,<sup>19</sup> which, as the inscription attests, was financed by a certain Chen Zhenze 陳真澤 in 1339.<sup>20</sup> Similarly to the ones in Feilu ta 飛路塔 in Yantian 鹽田 (Xiapu county), the divination poems used in this temple also seem to have some Manichaean colouring.<sup>21</sup>
3. In 1985 Huang Shichun 黃世春 reported that some black bowls with the inscription ‘(belonging to) the Community of the Religion of Light’ (*Mingjiao hui* 明教會) had been discovered in 1979.<sup>22</sup>
  4. In the same region other temples that used to be Manichaean were identified:
    - 4.1. E. H. Schafer found a report (*Fujian tongzhi* 福建通志 47.4b) on a Manichaean sanctuary (*Monigong* 摩尼宮) in Fuding 福鼎:<sup>23</sup> it stood on the Taimu 太姥 mountain and also had a statue, where the followers could pray for the fulfillment of their dreams.<sup>24</sup>
    - 4.2. In prefecture Wen 溫 another temple called ‘The Temple of Hidden Light’ (*Qianguang yuan* 潛光院) was described by the Confucian literatus, Chen Gao 陳高 (1314-1366).<sup>25</sup>
    - 4.3. *Huangshi richao* 黃氏日抄 has preserved a correspondence of the author of the work, Huang Zhen 黃震 with Zhang Xisheng 張希聲 from around 1260-1270.<sup>26</sup> Zhang Xisheng, who was in charge of the Daoist temple named *Chongshougong* 崇壽宮 near Ningbo 寧波, previously functioning as a Manichaean temple, traced the origin of the temple and related the brief history of Manichaeism in China.
  5. The *Songhuiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (*xingfa* 刑法) (2.78) refers to Manichaeans in Zhejiang, more specifically in Wen prefecture,

<sup>18</sup> A stone with a similar inscription was found by Chen Changcheng 陳長城, at a place 93 km far from Fuzhou in 1988 (Chen Changsheng 1988; Lin 1992, pp. 344, 352): “[...] Great Power, Widsom, Mānī, the Buddha of Light” (大力、智慧、摩尼光佛).

<sup>19</sup> Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing 2017, pp. 264-265.

<sup>20</sup> Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing 2017, p. 265.

<sup>21</sup> Nian Liangtu 2008, pp. 92-110; Nian Liangtu 2016; Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu 2015, pp. 381-387; Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing 2017, p. 265. Not far from the Cao'an, in Sunei 苏内 village, the local believers worship five statues in the temple called Jingzhu Gong 境主宮 (rebuilt in the 1930s), one of them identified as Moni guangfo 摩尼光佛, a statue similar to yet another one in Dongshi zhen 东石镇. The cult in these villages is most probably a ‘revival cult’ and can be traced back to the rebuilding of the Cao'an between 1923 and 1932 (Lieu 2012a, p. 80; Franzmann, Gardner and Lieu 2005).

<sup>22</sup> Huang Shichun 1985; see also Nian Liangtu 2008, pp. 34-39.

<sup>23</sup> *Fujian tongzhi*, 47: 4b; see also Stöcker-Parnian 1991.

<sup>24</sup> Schafer 1954, p. 102; see also Kauz 2000.

<sup>25</sup> *Buxi zhoyuji*, 12: 14b-15a; Lieu 1992, p. 298; Lieu 1998a, pp. 123-125.

<sup>26</sup> Lieu 1998a.

neighbouring Fujian: “The officials say: ‘At the prefecture of Wen (Wenzhou 溫州) and other places are recalcitrant persons who proclaim themselves to be the “disciples” (*xingzhe* 行者 = Sanskrit: *ācārin*) of the Religion of Light (Mingjiao). At present these followers of the Religion of Light set up buildings in the districts and villages of their abode which they call “vegetarian halls” (*zhaitang* 齋堂). In the prefecture of Wen for instance, there are some forty such establishments and they are privately built and unlicensed Buddhist temples’ (臣僚言：一溫州等狂悖之人，自稱明教，號為行者。今來，明教行者各於所居鄉村，建立屋宇，號為齋堂。如溫州共有四十餘處並是私建無名額佛堂).<sup>27</sup> Moreover, this source lists the title of thirteen texts and six paintings used by the Manichaeans in this region, and emphasizes that the former are different from the Buddhist and Daoist writings (與道釋經文不同).<sup>28</sup>

6. The *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (T2035: 0431a-0431b) quotes Hong Mai’s 洪邁 *Yijianzhi* 夷堅志 mentioning some “vegetarian demon-worshippers” [*chicai shimo* 喫菜事魔]<sup>29</sup> around the ‘Three mountains’ [*Sanshan* 三山] in Fujian (near Fuzhou), who are otherwise called the ‘community of the Religion of Light’ (*Mingjiao hui* 明教會), who prefer the colour white. This source also cites the Manichaean version of the *Huahuajing*, and lists the fundamental teaching of Manichaeism about the Two Principles and the Three Epochs (*erzong sanji* 二宗三際), therefore it is secure that it reports on Fujianese Manichaeans.
7. The *Weinan wenji* 渭南文集 (5.7b-8b) also contains references to Manichaeism in Fujian, which is ‘the Religion of Light’ (福建謂之明教).<sup>30</sup> This source also mentions their white robe (*baiyi* 白衣), their being vegetarian and following a strange habit of bathing.
8. The *Laoxue anbijì* 老學庵筆記 (10.2a) by Lu You 陸遊 (1125-1210) similarly mentions Manichaeans in Fujian: “In Fujian there are those who practice heterodoxy and who are of the Religion of Light. There are also a large number of scriptures belonging to the Religion of Light. [The followers of the sect] published them by block-printing and they fraudulently place the names of the functionaries in charge of compiling the Taoist Canon at the end of the texts as their revisers<sup>31</sup> (閩中有習左道者，謂之明教。亦有明教經甚多。刻版摹印，妄取道藏中校定官名銜贅其後).”

<sup>27</sup> Lieu 2012a, p. 63. See also Forte 1973, pp. 229-234; Lieu 1992, pp. 276-277; Wang Jianchuan 1992, pp. 251-252.

<sup>28</sup> Forte 1973, pp. 238-251; Lieu 2012a, p. 64.

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. Lieu 1998b, pp. 134-135.

<sup>30</sup> Wang Jianchuan 1992, pp. 306-307; Lieu 1992, p. 287.

<sup>31</sup> Trans. Lieu 1992, p. 288.

9. In addition to the textual references and archaeological finds, during the past ten years, several 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century silk paintings, most probably originating from the same region, have been identified in various collections: 1. The ‘Cosmology painting’ (137.1 x 56.6 cm, anonymous Japanese private collection) is the most complex Manichaean painting with a pure cosmological message; 2. The Two ‘Realm of Light fragments’ (17.0 x 37.4 cm / 17.2 x 22.5 cm, anonymous Japanese private collection) can be joined with the Cosmology painting and thus supplement its content; 3. The ‘Birth of Mānī painting’ (35.6 x 57.0 cm; Kyūshū National Museum, Dazaifu 太宰府) is a Buddhisized depiction of Mānī’s birth; 4. ‘Hagiography I’ (119.9 x 57.6 cm, anonymous Japanese private collection) probably depicts Mānī’s missionary journey to India; 5. ‘Hagiography II’ (32.9 x 57.4 cm, anonymous Japanese private collection) visualizes scenes from his mission; 6. ‘Hagiography III’ (112.1 x 56.5 cm; Japanese private collection, Tokyo) depicts Mānī expounding four Buddhist parables to an aristocratic woman (upper register), and pictures various Indian ascetics (lower register); 7. ‘Mānī’s parents painting’ (39.7 x 57.1 cm; Asian Art Museum of San Francisco [B67D15]) presents Mānī’s royal parents; 8. The ‘Yamato Bunkakan painting’ (alternatively: *Rokudōzu* 六道図 painting; 142.0 x 59.2 cm, Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, Nara) comprises five registers with three of them portraying the possible destinations of rebirths, while a further lower register has a unique judgment scene; 9. The ‘Seiun-ji painting’ (153.3 x 58.7 cm, Seiun-ji 栖雲寺, Kōfu 甲府) portrays a Manichaean deity—according to the present scholarly consensus: Jesus—with a cross in his hand; 10. The ‘Kokka image’ (180.3 x 67.3 cm) of Mānī was first identified by Furukawa Shōichi 古川攝一 in a past issue (1937) of the journal *Kokka* 國華, while in 2019 the original has also been found.

The examples of written sources, archaeological finds and paintings listed above amply attest to the presence of Manichaeans in Fujian after the Tang Dynasty. These Manichaeans did their best to get integrated into the local religious landscape, either by displaying skills of magical incantations<sup>32</sup> or by having their scripture—the *Erzong sanji jing* 二宗三際經, almost certainly the Chinese translation of the Middle Persian *Šābuhragān*—inserted into the Daoist Canon under Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997-1022).<sup>33</sup>

After this excursus on the previously identified Manichaean remains of the region, let us return to the most recent finds, which are thus embedded in this southeastern religious milieu, where Manichaeism was one of the many local

<sup>32</sup> Lieu 1992, p. 267; see also You Xiaoyu 2017, pp. 59-67.

<sup>33</sup> Lieu 1992, pp. 268-270. On the other hand, Manichaeans were frequently accused of participating in various uprisings, e.g. the Fang La 方臘 rebellion (Lieu 1992, pp. 270-285).

religious groups. First, I will briefly introduce the figure of Lin Deng, who seems to have played a crucial role in the survival of the manuscripts.

## 2. *Lin Deng (1003-1059) and His Cult*

There are several historical sources on Lin Deng, the Fujianese Manichaean, who most probably played a decisive role in establishing Manichaeism in Xiapu county.<sup>34</sup> He was the disciple of Sun Mian 孫綿, who established the temple called Longshousi. Lin Deng had a married and an unmarried daughter, as well as several dozens of disciples. In the extant texts, he is variedly called Lin Nianwu gong 林廿伍公, Lin Wugong 林伍公 or Lin Wugong 林五公. The following local historical records contain information on Lin Deng and the later cult devoted to him:<sup>35</sup>

(1) *Jinan Tang Shangwan Linshi zongpu* 濟南堂上萬林氏宗譜 (also called *Gaizhu Shangwan Linshi zongpu* 蓋竹上萬林氏宗譜 [ch. *Shici tu* 世次图]): from Shangwan village, 1872;

(2) *Jinantang Shangwan Linshi zongpu* 濟南堂上萬林氏宗譜: from Baiyang village, copy from 1989;

(3) *Jinan jun Linshi zongpu* 濟南郡林氏宗譜: from Shangwan village, copied in 1981;

(4) *Linshi zongpu* 林氏宗譜: from Cangnan 蒼南 (Zhejiang 浙江), 1817;

(5) *Wanli Funing zhouzhi* 萬歷福寧州志 [15<sup>th</sup> scroll: *Sengfan* 僧梵]: 1616, now in Japan;

(6) *Fujian tongzhi* 福建通志 [*Fujian liexianzhuan* • Song 福建列仙傳 • 宋]: 1684/1737.

(7) *Funing fu zhi* 福寧府志 [32<sup>nd</sup> scroll: *Renwu zhi* • *Fangwai* 人物志 • 方外]: 1762;

(8) *Xiapu xian zhi* 霞浦縣志 [38<sup>th</sup> scroll: *Liezhuan* • *Fangwai* 列傳 • 方外]: Republic era;

(9) *(Xuanchi Fuchun) Sunshi zongpu* (宣池富春) 孫氏宗譜: Baiyang village, 1932.

These sources unanimously record that at the age of 25 (in 1027), Lin Deng became a Manichaean and that much later, after his death, he averted a menacing fire, which then turned him into a local divinity.

<sup>34</sup> See Ma Xiaohe 2009/2015, pp. 232-238.

<sup>35</sup> Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, pp. 344-351; Chen and Wu 2009; Lin Zizhou and Chen Jianqiu 2010, p. 82; Ma Xiaohe 2009/2015, p. 238.



This latter development ensured that his cult and the scriptures surrounding this cult would survive. Since at the time of the fire rescuing, he was already well known as a Manichaean priest (see e.g. the pronounced reference to the white clothes he was wearing),<sup>36</sup> his Manichaean heritage was also highly cherished. Here I quote two excerpts translated by Ma Xiaohe.

Sire Deng was born on the 13th day of the 2nd month of the 6th year of Xianping of Song Zhenzong (Guimao) (March 18, 1003 A.D.), 25th in seniority among brothers and sisters and styled himself [...]. He married with Miss Chen and had two daughters. His eldest daughter gave up the secular life, became a nun and was buried on the left side of her father's tomb. His second daughter married [to X] and was also buried on the left side of her father's tomb too. When Sire (Lin Deng) was 25 years old in the 5th year of Tiansheng (Dingmao) (1027), he gave up the secular life and converted to the Religion of Light (i.e. Manichaeism with Chinese characteristics). He abstained from meat, wine, etc. absolutely for 22 years<sup>37</sup> and his merits and virtues were complete. He died on Mishi 密時 of the 3rd day of the 3rd month of the 4th year of Jiayou (Jihai) (April 17, 1059) at the age of 56 and was buried at Qinqiankeng—east from his residence. After his death, his spirit protected the people. It is said by the old people that Sire had merit of fighting fire in Fuzhou during the past dynasty and was soon conferred as 'Great King of Promoting the Well-being' by the officials with the approval of the imperial throne and was offered sacrifices in the temple built in the right side of Min County city. Later the Heir of the Celestial Masters since the Han Dynasty personally wrote four characters which mean 'Grotto-Heaven and Blissful Lands' on a horizontal golden board (for him). Sire was conferred as 'Chief Thunder Apostle of the Grotto-Heaven' (by the officials with the Court's approval) and additional title of 'Honest Perfect Lord of the Upright and Brilliant Inner Hall', enjoys sacrifices in the temple, and responds to pray[er]s. On his birthday, the 13th day of the 2nd month in every year, his two daughters are offered sacrifices in the temple. His descendants certainly hold a memorial ceremony in front of his tomb and celebrate in the clan hall on this day. Such practice is (annual) routine.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Cfr. Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, p. 350.

<sup>37</sup> There are two reasonable explanations for this period. If Lin Deng was 25 when he joined the Manichaean community, he may have spent ca. 10 years as an "auditor", subsequently becoming an "electus", and thus would follow the stricter rules for 22 additional years. Another possibility is that we should read 32 years (三十有二年) instead of 22 years (二十有二年). It seems to me that one of these explanations is required to reconcile the apparent missing 10 years in the period between his conversion and his death.

<sup>38</sup> Trans. Ma Xiaohe 2009/2015, pp. 233-234. *Lin shi zongpu* 林氏宗譜 (ca. 1800-1820): 瞻公，宋真宗咸平六年癸卯二月十三日生，行二十五，字□□，娶陳氏，生女二。長女屏俗出家為尼，卒附父墓左。次女適□□□，卒亦附父墓左。天聖五年丁卯，公年二十五，乃棄俗入明教門，齋戒嚴肅，歷二十有二年，功行乃成。至嘉祐四年己亥三月三日密時冥化，享年五十有六，葬於所居東頭芹前坑。公歿后靈感衛民，故老相傳，公於昔朝曾在福州救火有功，尋蒙有司奏封『興福大王』，乃立閩縣右邊之廟以祀之，續蒙嗣漢天師親書『洞天福地』四字金額一面，仍為奏封『洞天都雷使』，加封『貞明內

Lin Deng came from Shangwan. During the Jiayou reign, Qianjin Gate of Min County caught fire. People of the Prefecture saw that a person in white clothing in the sky used an iron fan in his hand to put out the fire and the fire was extinguished. He told the people in far distance: 'I am Lin Deng from Shangwan of Changxi.'<sup>39</sup> The people of Min County (then) visited his tomb and worshiped it. This event was reported to the Court and Lin Deng was conferred as 'Immortal of Promoting the Well-being' (for Lin Deng).<sup>40</sup>

At present, rituals are performed to honour Lin Deng in the following three villages: Baiyang 柏洋村, Shangwan and Tahou 塔后村 villages.<sup>41</sup> All the three villages are relatively small (364, 113, and 110 households, respectively).

According to the census of 2005, more than 600 of the total 1838 people of Baiyang village belong to the Lin family, who moved there from Shangwan, which is called Gaizhu Shangwan 盖竹上万 in the records.<sup>42</sup>

Except for 31 Christian households, all other families of Shangwan follow the cult of Lin Deng (Lin Wugong 林伍公). Each village has its own shrine dedicated to Lin Deng, but the shrine of Tahou does not have sculptures, therefore they borrow four statues (Lin Deng, his wife, Marshal Ma and Marshal Zhao) from the shrine in Shangwan for their ceremonies on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the second month of lunar calendar and send them back on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of the second month.

The annual rituals celebrating Lin Deng's birthday occur between 12<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of the second month and slightly vary in the three villages, but in all the three cases the ritual indisputably focuses on the cult of Lin Deng.<sup>43</sup>

### 3. *The Manuscripts*

The local finds related to Manichaeism can be divided into four groups: buildings, reliefs, objects and texts. The manuscripts from Baiyang township are usually 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century copies or amplifications of earlier materials, and part of

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院立正真君』，血食於廟，祈禱響應。每年二月十三日誕辰，二女俱崇祀於廟中，是日子孫必羅祭於墓，慶祝於祠，以為常式。Cfr. Kauz 2000, p. 341.

<sup>39</sup> The administrative designation of Changxi 長溪 was used for Xiapu county during the Tang Dynasty (Ma Xiaohe 2009/2015, p. 228).

<sup>40</sup> Trans. Ma Xiaohe 2009/2015, pp. 237-238, Ma Xiaohe 2015, p. 457; *Funing zhou zhi*, ch. 15. [1616]: 林瞪，上萬人。嘉祐間，閩縣前津門火，郡人望空中有人衣素衣，手持鉄扇撲火，遂滅。遙告眾曰：『我長溪上萬林瞪也。』閩人訪至其墓拜謁，事聞，勅書『興福真人』(Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, p. 350). Similar statements can be found in the chapters mentioned above in *Fujian tongzhi*, *Funing fu zhi*, and *Xiapu xian zhi* (Ma Xiaohe 2009/2015, p. 238).

<sup>41</sup> Lin Zizhou and Chen Jianqiu 2010, p. 82.

<sup>42</sup> Lin Zizhou and Chen Jianqiu 2010, p. 82.

<sup>43</sup> Lin Zizhou and Chen Jianqiu 2010, pp. 82-83.

their contents goes back at least to the Song or even the Tang Dynasty (618-907). In the present outline, I solely concentrate on the textual corpus and will not explore the buildings, the statues and other objects.<sup>44</sup> Based on some reports,<sup>45</sup> I prepared a preliminary list of the extant texts, also adding their length, their date (later part of the Qing Dynasty [1644-1911] or early Republican era [Rep.]), and owner (Chen Peisheng *fashi* or Xie Daolian *fashi*), whenever information was available. I must emphasize that I had no chance to personally verify these data, thus the following list is based on data retrieved from the reports.

1. *Moni guangfo* “摩尼光佛”, 82 pages (Late Qing or Rep.), Chen Peisheng; including (*Sangui yi* 〈三皈依〉 [6/9-9/1]); *Zan tianwang* 〈讚天王〉 [13/1-14/7]; *Dui tudi zan* 〈對土地贊〉 [15/4-19/3]; *Xiasheng zan* 〈下生贊〉 [37/4-39/8]; *Jisi zhou* 〈吉斯咒〉 [39/8-42/3]; *Tianwang zan* 〈天王讚〉 [42/3-43/1]; *Kaitan zan* 〈開壇讚〉 [51/4-53/1]; *Gongjing shifang changzhu sanbao* 〈恭敬十方常住三寶〉 [53/5-54/1]; *Sangui yi* 〈三皈依〉 [54/2-56/5]; *Wuleizi* 〈五雷子〉 [62/6-65/3]; *Zuo xinli* 〈做信礼〉 [65/4-68/4];
2. *Xingfuzu qingdan ke* “興福祖慶誕科”, two copies: 34 pages (Qing), 30 pages (recent), both owned by Chen Peisheng: 2.1. *Qi dasheng* 〈起大聖〉; 2.2. *Kaitan wen* 〈開壇文〉; 2.3. *Jingkou wen* 〈淨口文〉; 2.4. *Jingtian wen* 〈淨壇文〉; 2.5. *Tiannü zhou* 〈天女咒〉; 2.6. *Tiandi zhou* 〈天地咒〉; 2.6. *Qing hu fa wen* 〈請護法文〉; 2.7. *Qing sanbao deng xiang* 〈請三寶燈香〉; 2.8. *Wufang jiantan lushi zhouyu* 〈五方建壇路師咒語〉; 2.9. *Zhaofu guanwen* 〈召符官文〉; 2.10. *Chu [yan] qing waijing* 〈出[筵]請外境〉; 2.11. *Song tudi zan anwei* 誦土地讚安慰; 2.12. *Zhou shui bian shi* 〈咒水變食〉; [2.13. *Siji zan* 〈四寂贊〉; 2.14. 〈筵誦天女咒〉];

<sup>44</sup> The remains of the following buildings were found in the region: 1. ‘The Pagoda of the Three buddhas’ (*Sanfo ta* 三佛塔, built between 1506 and 1521); 2. ‘The Pagoda of the Flying Road’ (*Feilu ta* 飛路塔, built in 1374; it has the inscription *qingjing guangming dali zhihui* 清淨光明大力智慧 “Purity, Light, Great Power, Wisdom”); 3. Gupogong 姑婆宮 with Lin Deng’s tomb behind it; 4. The most important one is the ‘Dragonhead temple’ (Longshou si 龍首寺), ca. 2 km from Shangwan. This temple was built in 966 by Lin Deng’s master, Sun Mian. It was renamed as Leshantang (also called Gaizhutang 蓋竹堂) during the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368). Though repaired many times, it remained basically intact until 2006, when it was destroyed by a typhoon. In addition to the remains of buildings, several reliefs depicting various figures and ritual objects were identified (Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, pp. 344, 371-377, 386-387; Ma Xiaohe 2009/2015, pp. 241-242; Nian Liangtu 2013, pp. 204-205; Yuan Wenqi 2011, p. 169); as for the latter, two bronze seals (with the inscriptions: *Wulei haoling* 五雷号令, *Shengming jingbao* 聖明淨寶), a bronze censer with three legs, and a wooden statue of Mānī owned by Chen Peisheng 陳培生 (Baiyang) were recognized. On the ritual objects and buildings found in Pingnan county, see Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing 2017, pp. 260-264.

<sup>45</sup> Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, pp. 351-357; Yang Fuxue 2011, pp. 135-136; Fan Lisha and Yang Fuxue 2011, p. 177.

3. *Zou shen die shu kece* “奏申牒疏科冊”, 70 pages, Qing, two copies: one owned by Xie Daolian, the other, titled as *Dao yu shu zou shen die zhuangshi Yushu* “禱雨疏奏申牒狀式” (abbreviated as *Dao yushu* 禱雨疏), 72 pages, owned by Chen Peisheng;
4. *Leshan tang shenji* “樂山堂神記”, 10 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
5. *Mingmen chuchuan qing benshi* “明門初傳請本師”, 17 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
6. *Gaoguang wen* “高廣文”, 4 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;<sup>46</sup>
7. *Mingfu qing fo wen* “冥福請佛文”, 14 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
8. *Jie xizhang wen* “借錫杖文”, 4 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
9. *Jie zhu wen* “借珠文”, 3 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
10. *Fu xizhang ji* “付錫杖偈”, 1 page, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
11. *Poyu haoliao song xizhang ji* “破獄好了送錫杖偈”, 1 page, Chen Peisheng;
12. *Siji zan* “四寂贊”, 2 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
13. *Song sanjie shenwen* “送三界神文”, 4 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
14. *Song fo zan* “送佛贊”, 3 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
15. *Song fo wen* “送佛文”, 8 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
16. *Xiongke kan Zhenmingjing biyong ci wen* “凶科看貞明經畢用此文”, 4 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
17. *Diandeng qiceng kece* “點燈七層科冊” = *Gongde zouming zoudie* “功德奏名奏牒”, 26 pages, Xie Daolian;
18. *Moni shishi mifa* “摩尼施食秘法”, Chen Peisheng;
19. *Menying keyuan* “門迎科苑”: copy from 1715;
20. *Jixiang daochang shen han die* “吉祥道場申函牒”, 90 pages, Qing, Chen Peisheng;
21. *Jixiang daochang menshu* “吉祥道場門書”: copy from 1786, Chen Peisheng;
22. *Qusha fu* 去煞符, 1 page;<sup>47</sup>
23. *Jiaoping qing zhi biao* “繳憑請職表.”

<sup>46</sup> Items from 4 to 16 belong to a bulk of manuscript titled *Qingshen keyishu hechao* 請神科儀書合抄 in the reports.

<sup>47</sup> Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun (2010, p. 382) mention a certain ‘Manuscript without title’ (*Wuming kewen* 无名科文). Based on a photo (图 34) therein reproduced, it is clear that the manuscript in question is the *Diandeng qiceng kece* 點燈七層科冊 (26 pages), transcribed in Yang Fuxue, Bao Lang and Xue Wenjing 2018, p. 109 (without the photo). However, Yang Fuxue (2011, p. 135) mentions both the ‘Manuscript without title’ and the *Diandeng qiceng kece* as separate items, so they cannot be identical. Moreover, Fan Lisha and Yang Fuxue (2011, p. 177) do the same, and add that it consists of several works, the longest of which is 163 pages, and both ritual masters have their own transmitted version. This means that, if these descriptions are correct, this manuscript can hardly be identical with the 26-page-long *Diandeng qiceng kece*, which cannot even be part of it.

The size of the individual manuscripts does not necessarily concur with the length of the Manichaean content, since most of the manuscripts contain non-Manichaean material as well. The *Mingfu qing fo wen*, for example, consists of 13 smaller units, but only units 1 and 2 contain Manichaean material.<sup>48</sup>

Pingnan county 屏南县 (Fujian), 150 km west of Xiapu county, is also administered by Ningde prefecture-level city 宁德市. After Zhang Zhengrong's 张峥嵘 initial discovery in 2014<sup>49</sup> and the investigation of a research group led by Yang Fuxue 杨富学 in March 2019,<sup>50</sup> the news about additional texts from this county, more specifically from Jianglong 降龙 village (Shoushan township 寿山乡), was officially announced at a conference titled 'One Belt, One Road – Scholarly Conference on the Manichaean Culture of Xiapu' (*Yidai yilu yu Xiapu Moni [Mani] wenhua xueshu yantaohui* '一带一路'与霞浦摩尼 (Mani) 文化学术研讨会), which was organized by the Dunhuang Academy (Dunhuang Yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院) on 16-22 March 2016 in Fuzhou.<sup>51</sup>

In Jianglong, the local temple named Zhenming tang 贞明堂 preserves ritual manuals,<sup>52</sup> and at least two of them (*Zhenming kaizheng wenke* 贞明開正文科, *Zhenming kaizheng zou* 贞明開正奏) has a content that resembles that of the Xiapu corpus. These manuscripts are most probably related to the Xiapu corpus via the same Lin Deng who is the source of the latter.<sup>53</sup> The corpus includes hymns dedicated to deities, instructions on rituals, list of names, as well as phonetically transcribed texts.

The most carefully edited manuscript is the *Zhenming kaizheng wenke*, which survives in two copies: one is usually referred to as the *Daoguangben* 道光本, because it was copied by a certain Han Fazhen 韩法真 in the second year of the Daoguang era (1832),<sup>54</sup> while the other copy, more damaged, does not contain information on the date or the name of the copyist.<sup>55</sup> *Zhenming kaizheng zou*, which has a different content, was also copied by Han Fazhen. The local population, ca. 280 people altogether, trace their lineage back to a single ancestor, and their surnames—with the exception of two families—are Han 韩.<sup>56</sup> On the fifth day of the first month they worshiped Mānī in their temple, local

<sup>48</sup> Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, pp. 352-356.

<sup>49</sup> Ma Xiaohe and Zhang Fan 2019, p. 104.

<sup>50</sup> Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing 2017.

<sup>51</sup> Ma Xiaohe and Zhang Fan 2019, p. 104. Zhang Fan 2017, Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing 2017, pp. 269-270. Zhang Fan's study (2017, pp. 88-91) also gives a detailed description of the various statues found in Jianglong.

<sup>52</sup> Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing 2017, p. 270.

<sup>53</sup> Ma Xiaohe and Zhang Fan 2019, p. 106.

<sup>54</sup> Wang Ding 2018.

<sup>55</sup> Zhang Fan 2017, p. 91.

<sup>56</sup> Zhang Fan 2017, p. 88.

people still remembering that in the 1940s-50s the ceremony lasted from dawn to midnight;<sup>57</sup> however, it may be important to add that although the object of the worship is Mānī and several non-Chinese expressions are recited during the ceremony as described in the manuscripts,<sup>58</sup> the ritual itself is not Manichaeism, it simply follows the general local religious ritual patterns.<sup>59</sup>

Following Ma Xiaohe's lead, it seems reasonable to divide the entire Fujianese corpus into an early and a later part. The few early manuscripts (*Moni guangfo*, *Xingfuzu qingdan ke*, *Zhenming kaizheng wenke*) contain practically only Manichaeism material, while the later part of the corpus comprises manuscripts that were complemented by plenty of other material.<sup>60</sup> Since the manuscripts were repeatedly copied again and again, it is hard to pinpoint their exact date of composition, but Ma Xiaohe suggests that the manuscripts belonging to the early phase category, which contain Tang and Song material, were finalized during the Yuan Dynasty,<sup>61</sup> while the other manuscripts were produced during the Ming and Qing dynasties.<sup>62</sup>

The majority of these Fujianese Manichaeism manuscripts are of ritual nature: they basically contain hymns, invocations, prayers, sometimes with specific instructions related to the ritual themselves. The rituals in question are frequently funerary ones, during which various deities, including Manichaeism, Daoist, Buddhist and local ones, are invoked to protect the deceased soul during his/her journey to the otherworld. Shangwan villagers, for example, gathered at Leshantang temple on the 15<sup>th</sup> of the seventh month to perform their annual ritual for the deceased, with the ritual masters reciting some of the texts mentioned above; similarly, the ritual masters' major task is to perform a ritual whenever someone leaves this world.<sup>63</sup> Some other manuscripts are related to the cult of Lin Deng; the *Xingfuzu qingdan ke*, for example, celebrates Lin Deng's birthday (Chinese lunar calendar 13<sup>th</sup> of the second month).

Here I briefly introduce three texts from this corpus: the *Leshan tang shenji*, the *Xingfuzu qingdan ke* and the *Moni guangfo*.

### 3.1. The Leshan tang shenji

The content of this manuscript is aptly summarized by Ma Xiaohe: "*The Divine Record of Loving Mountains Temple* is a complex document in which there are at least six parts. In the first part the priest invites the gods of Manichaeism, Daoism and Buddhism. In the second and third parts, he invites Lin Deng and masters of every generation of Loving Mountains Temple. In the fourth part he

<sup>57</sup> Ma Xiaohe and Zhang Fan 2019, p. 106.

<sup>58</sup> Zhang Fan 2017, pp. 91-94.

<sup>59</sup> Zhang Fan 2017, p. 92.

<sup>60</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2019, pp. 122-128.

<sup>61</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2019, pp. 138-139.

<sup>62</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2019, pp. 141-142.

<sup>63</sup> Fan Lisha and Yang Fuxue 2011, p. 180; Yang Fuxue 2011, p. 137.

invites Goddess Chen Shunyi 陳順懿 and spirits of Loving Mountains Temple. In the fifth and sixth parts he invites Dragon and Phoenix Female Electa (Lin Deng's daughter), spirits of all the local temples in Baiyang Township, Yoga 瑜伽 school and Lüshan 閩山 school.<sup>64</sup> In the first part Manichaean figures are indeed mixed with non-Manichaean ones.<sup>65</sup>

### 3.2. *Xingfuzu qingdan ke* 興福祖慶誕科

Surviving in two versions, the *Xingfuzu qingdan ke* (Ritual Manual for the Celebration of the Birthday of the Ancestor of Promoting Well-being) is a ritual manual in the possession of ritual master Chen Peisheng. It has been used in the memorial services performed in honour of Lin Deng, who appears in the title as Xingfuzu 興福祖.<sup>66</sup> The core of the text was composed by Lin Deng's followers in the Jiayou period (1056-1063),<sup>67</sup> and further motifs were added later.<sup>68</sup> In his MA thesis (2013), Ji Jiachen 計佳辰 offered a critical edition of the two versions, and compared its content with other Xiapu and Dunhuang materials.<sup>69</sup> This manuscript contains several Chinese names of the Manichaean pantheon that are almost completely identical with those occurring in the Dunhuang manuscripts (Yishu 夷數), from which it also cites complete verses. Moreover, it also comprises phonetically transcribed names (e.g. 謹你嚧訖, MC. \**kjən-ni* *luo-ɣjən*, Pth./MP. *kanīg rōšn*, “Maiden of Light”; 稷泯嚧訖, MC. *ɣwak-mjēn* *luo-ɣjən*, MP. *wahman rōšn*, “Light-Nous”)<sup>70</sup> and hymns. Similarly to the other texts, this manuscript also contains non-Manichaean material.

### 3.3. *The Moni guangfo manuscript*

The *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛 (abbreviated as MG) is a 82-page-long manuscript that consists of 665 lines (8372 characters). The original cover has been lost, and the new one now has *Moni guangfo* and the name of ritual master Chen Peisheng 陈培生 (Xianghua daoshi 香花道士) on the cover page. The pages

<sup>64</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2009/2015, pp. 245-246.

<sup>65</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2009/2015, pp. 246-253; Yang Fuxue 2011, pp. 142-150, 166-173.

<sup>66</sup> On Lin Deng, see Ma Xiaohe 2015b; Lin Wushu 2015b; Yang Fuxue 2014. His official names were as follows Xingfu dawang 興福大王, Dongtian du leishi 洞天都雷使 (‘Chief Thunder Apostle of the Grotto-Heaven’), and Zhenming neiyuan lizheng zhenjun 貞明內院立正真君 ‘Honest Perfect Lord of the Upright and Brilliant Inner Hall’ (Ma Xiaohe 2015, p. 457).

<sup>67</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2015, pp. 455.

<sup>68</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2015, pp. 458.

<sup>69</sup> Ji Jiachen 2013; see also Ma Xiaohe 2015a, 2015b, and 2016c.

<sup>70</sup> Yoshida Yutaka 2017a, pp. 108-110; Ma Xiaohe 2015, pp. 455, 463.

usually consist of eight (and rarely nine) columns. In its present form, it is probably from the Qing Dynasty or the Republican era, but it is more than probable that it contains much earlier material. The *Moni guangfo* seems to preserve the most genuine materials, among others excerpts from the Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts.<sup>71</sup>

Due to its importance, three complete, modern editions of the *Moni guangfo* are available: Lin Wushu 林悟殊 (2014), Yang Fuxue 杨富學 and Bao Lang 包朗 (2015), Wang Chuan [Juan] 汪娟 and Ma Xiaohe 馬小鶴 (2016). While we have three excellent text editions, the photos of the original manuscript have not yet been published in their entirety, less than half of the original pages are scattered in various publications.

Numerous studies have explored this manuscript in general,<sup>72</sup> or certain parts of it specifically, to name just a few: these studies analyzed the pantheon contained in it,<sup>73</sup> the account of Mānī's birth and life,<sup>74</sup> the passage on Rex Honoris, the King of Ten Firmaments (Shitian wang 十天王),<sup>75</sup> its relation to the recently discovered Manichaean paintings,<sup>76</sup> or the hymn on St. George.<sup>77</sup> As a matter of fact, all the "highlights" presented below are attested in this manuscript.

#### 4. General Characteristics and Highlights

Although the manuscripts themselves are definitely late, ranging from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, according to the general scholarly consensus the Manichaean part is relatively early, and some of it can be traced back to at least Lin Deng's time, i.e. the Northern Song Dynasty. Given the paucity of information on the rituals themselves, it would be premature to draw any conclusion on their exact religious affiliation; nevertheless, based on the ritual manuals themselves and some references to the actual rituals,<sup>78</sup> in 2015 I assumed that the rituals themselves do not go back to any Manichaean ritual, but should be placed in a Chinese popular religious context, which, in this form at least, is basically rooted in the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing dynasties.

In a paper published in 2015, Lin Wushu, based on a shared lineage of masters in two Xiapu manuscripts (*Mingmen chuchuan qingbenshi* 明門初傳

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Fan Lisha and Yang Fuxue 2011, pp. 178-179.

<sup>72</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2012; Ma Xiaohe and Wang Chuan 2018a; Yang and Bao 2014.

<sup>73</sup> Kósa 2018.

<sup>74</sup> Lin Wushu 2018; Ma Xiaohe 2013a; Ma Xiaohe 2014a.

<sup>75</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2010; Kósa 2016, and 2017.

<sup>76</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2016b.

<sup>77</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2016a, and 2017; Takahashi Hidemi 2016; Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu 2018.

<sup>78</sup> E.g. Lin Zizhou and Chen Jianqiu 2010.



請本師 and *Leshantang shenji* 樂山堂神記), argued that the two ritual masters who possess the manuscripts are affiliated to what he calls the *Lingyuanjiao* 靈源教.<sup>79</sup>

In his paper, Lin Wushu, who voiced this opinion several times since then, argues that the Xiapu texts should be conceived as the amalgamation of various religious traditions, which were used only for their local popularity and assumed efficacy.<sup>80</sup> He also postulates that Manichaeism does not play a pivotal role in them, but it is only one of the many foreign, Fujianese religious traditions. Lin's argument is based on two lineages preserved in *Mingmen chuchuan qing benshi* and *Leshantang shenji*, which list deities of *Lingyuan lidai chuanjiao zongshi* 靈源傳教歷代宗祖 (The Successive Generations of Preaching Predecessors of Lingyuan), their number being 36 and 50, respectively, with 11 appearing in both lists. At the origin of both lists stands a figure called Hu tianzun zushi 胡天尊祖師 (Celestial Worthy Hu ['Barbarian'], the Ancestral Master).<sup>81</sup> He claims that the two ritual masters are demonstrably descendants of this lineage.<sup>82</sup>

Lin's opinion differs from those of the mainstream research on the time when the non-Chinese content of these manuscripts was crystallized: Lin maintains that this happened during the Ming and Qing dynasties, when a certain Lingyuan lineage (*Lingyuan jiao* 靈源教) assembled motifs of some exotic faiths (Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism, Manichaeism) prevailing in Fujian to effectively utilize them to its own interest. In his view, this would be the moment when, for example, the figures of Zarathuṣtra, Viṣṇu or Jesus entered these scriptures. In a more recent paper authored by him and Wang Yuanyuan, they write as follows: "In recent years, many ritual manuscripts have been discovered in Xiapu County of Fujian Province. They are probably the religious documents of *Lingyuan jiao*, a polytheistic folk religion that prevailed in the Ming and Qing dynasties, which absorbed various elements of Buddhism, Daoism, Brahmanism, Manichaeism (*Mingjiao*), Christianity, Zoroastrianism and other local beliefs."<sup>83</sup> The Yongzheng 雍正 era (1723-1735), he claims, was an especially crucial period in this respect.<sup>84</sup> In the case of certain manuscripts, the late nature can indeed be shown: for example, Lin Wushu demonstrated that the *Zoujiaozhu* part of the *Zou shen die shu kece* manuscript (pp. 15-16), which mentions Jesus, the Virgin of Light and Mānī, had been originally based on a Qing Dynasty Daoist template, into which the Manichaean names were subsequently inserted.<sup>85</sup> To

<sup>79</sup> Lin Wushu 2015a; see also Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu 2018.

<sup>80</sup> Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu 2018, p. 117.

<sup>81</sup> Lin Wushu 2015a; Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu 2018, p. 116.

<sup>82</sup> Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu 2018, p. 116.

<sup>83</sup> Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu 2018, pp. 115, 117.

<sup>84</sup> Lin Wushu 2015a, pp. 257-262.

<sup>85</sup> Lin Wushu 2012.

this effect, he even posits that the title of the perhaps most important scripture, the *Moni guangfo* ('Mānī, the buddha of light'), should rather be called a collection of petitions of various faiths, because the present title distorts the real, inner proportions of this "polytheistic folk religion", and unduly emphasizes the centrality of Mani and Manichaeism, which he would not like to see. "Therefore, it is more proper to name the whole manuscript 'Petitioning the Five Buddhas' than 'The Luminous Buddha of Mani.'"<sup>86</sup>

It seems to me, however, that Lin Wushu's stance can be challenged by several counterarguments: as mentioned above, Lin Deng, who evidently plays a key role in this religious community, was recorded to have entered the Religion of Light (*Mingjiao*). The manuscripts are interspersed with citations from an obviously Manichaean collection of hymns (known from Dunhuang as the *Hymnscroll*) and also with a great number of Middle Iranian hymns phonetically transcribed into Chinese. Although the thorough deciphering of the latter has just begun,<sup>87</sup> it seems most probable that all these texts are in Middle Iranian idioms (and not in Syriac or Sanskrit), and that they are counterparts of original, Middle Iranian Manichaean texts.

To the best of my knowledge, none of these Fujianese manuscripts contain genuine and systematically cited Zoroastrian, Hindu or Christian texts (either in transcription or in translation), only something that has been obviously mediated through Manichaeism. Even the most conspicuous, though unique, Christian text in the *Moni guangfo* manuscript, a prayer on the *vita* of St. George, has a Manichaean colouring (see later).

Among the five so-called "light envoys" Mānī always plays the central role, his biography is more extensive than that of the others, he is called the "last envoy", and he appears as the central figure in the charts visualizing this pentad of prophets. Phrases like the "Original teacher [founder of religion], the head of the religion, Mānī, the Buddha of light" (*Leshantang shenji* 2.: 太上本師教主摩尼光佛) or "Supreme head of the religion, Mānī, the Buddha of light" (*Zou jiaozhu*: 太上教主摩尼光佛) make it unambiguous to me that the corpus is fundamentally related to Manichaeism, and the identity of the community is deeply linked to Mānī. Buddhist and Daoist motifs, of course, are present in these manuscripts, but this simply underscores the general tendency of Manichaeism to adapt itself to the local religious traditions.

At this point it seems useful to reiterate Ma Xiaohe's division of the Fujianese corpus into an earlier and a later group of manuscripts. In my view, Manichaean motifs without doubt play a predominant role in the early scriptures, and no other foreign faith in its own right is present in them to any significant extent. This cannot be said of the manuscripts belonging to the later phase, which thus can indeed be characterized as Ming or Qing recycling of earlier material in their contemporary religious context. Lin Wushu's arguments about

<sup>86</sup> Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu 2018, p. 118.

<sup>87</sup> Yoshida Yutaka 2016, 2017a, and 2017b.

the late nature of the corpus should thus be seriously considered in the case of the majority of the manuscripts, but, in my view, cannot be extended to the early phase scriptures like the *Moni guangfo* or the *Xingfuzu qingdan ke*.

This also has consequences about the community, and it can be assumed that the people preserving these texts were not necessarily always and are not at present Manichaean.

In fact, at present, they are clearly not, nor is the community surrounding them: they do not follow Manichaean rules, they do not have any Manichaean church hierarchy, they do not celebrate Manichaean festivals, they simply preserve and use these scriptures containing a Manichaean pantheon and some associated concepts as efficacious tools to facilitate their daily life and, more importantly, their mortuary rituals. And in this latter characterization of the present community, I do agree with Lin Wushu: we should definitely not consider these groups of people as clandestinely surviving Manichaean communities.

Chinese scholars basically agree that the popular religious nature of these texts, at least the late ones, is significant.<sup>88</sup> Since Chinese popular religion absorbed various Daoist and Buddhist motifs, it is difficult to assess whether a certain Daoist motif arrived with the Manichaean content or it had been already present in the popular religious system, when it merged with the Manichaean text. This said, there is one certain type of Daoist practice which seems to have exerted a rather significant influence on these texts, and this is the so-called “thunder ritual” (*leifa* 雷法), which was especially popular in Fujian province.<sup>89</sup>

I would, however, disagree with Lin Wushu’s standpoint on the late (Ming and Qing) date of the inclusion of the founders of other religions into these texts. I agree with the general opinion that these motifs had entered these scriptures at an early phase, at least during the Tang, Song or perhaps the Yuan periods, and, what is more important, the inclusion of Christian or Zoroastrian motifs—comprising information about their founding fathers—had occurred via Manichaeism.

One can amply demonstrate the presence of the figures of Zarathuštra or Jesus in the non-Chinese Manichaean sources, though the case of Viṣṇu is indeed not that simple, but this alone does not substantiate the claim that all the other figures are also much later imports.

Nevertheless, it must be stressed that Lin Wushu did make an important step towards understanding more specifically the popular religious context underlying the entire Xiapu/Pingnan phenomenon.

It is also probable that what he identifies as the Lingyuan lineage had indeed played an important role in the case of certain late manuscripts, which is,

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<sup>88</sup> Fan Lisha and Yang Fuxue 2011, pp. 180-181; Ma and Wu 2010, pp. 45-46; Ma Xiaohu 2014, p. 218; Yang Fuxue and Shi Yajun 2013, p. 244.

<sup>89</sup> Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, p. 346.

however, not necessarily true for other, earlier manuscripts, and/or that *Lingyuan jiao* should be viewed as a later religious context that absorbed or gave a final touch to the already existing Manichaean tradition. We should therefore indeed seriously consider the possibility that the manuscripts associated with Lin Deng, which evidently did not have a clearcut path to their present form, might have undergone a thorough redaction in the hands of some Qing Lingyuan masters.

In the following, I will briefly present some of the “highlights” that, I suppose, might be of special interest.

#### 4.1. Excerpts from the *Hymnscroll*

Both the Xiapu and the Pingnan texts (e.g. *Moni guangfo* [MG], *Xingfuzu qingdan ke* [XQK], *Diandeng qiceng kece* [DQK]) contain brief quotations from texts that we otherwise know from Dunhuang: they most prominently feature various stanzas from the *Hymnscroll* (*Xiabuzan* 下部讚) and, less commonly, some lines from the *Compendium*.<sup>90</sup>

It is a generally held view that these quotations demonstrate that the southeastern Xiapu corpus, probably via Lin Deng, are closely related to the northern, Dunhuang one.

Interestingly, in almost all the cases only a few verses or lines are quoted, never a complete hymn, and even in these cases neither the source of, nor the reason for the quotation is specified. Moreover, citations are mixed, i.e. two lines from a certain hymn of the *Hymnscroll* are followed by some other from a completely different hymn.

Despite the spatial and temporal (ca. 1000 years) gap between them, these quotations in general match almost perfectly, although there may be slight differences (a few different characters) between the two versions.

As the Chinese Manichaean fragments from the Turfan area attest, there have been parallel translations and transmissions of Manichaean hymns. Lin Wushu concludes that, compared with the Dunhuang versions, the Xiapu material seems to invariably contain the more corrupted form, which would be logical.<sup>91</sup> However, the degree of corruption is rather small, and the mistakes usually derive from the lack of knowledge of some specific motifs.<sup>92</sup>

Here I give only three examples, which also show the strange arrangement of the *Hymnscroll* verses in the Xiapu texts:<sup>93</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Lin Wushu 2012 [2014], Ma Xiaohe and Zhang Fan 2019, pp. 106-107; Yuan Wenqi 2011, p. 170-173; see also Kósa 2020.

<sup>91</sup> Lin Wushu 2012 [2014], p. 178.

<sup>92</sup> Lin Wushu 2012a, pp. 174-176.

<sup>93</sup> Kósa 2012, p. 53, no. 31.

- H030: We wish that you would grant us the incense of commandments and the water of liberation, the twelve-jewelled cap, the robe and the necklace! Wash our wonderful nature [= soul] and remove the earthly dust, adorn and purify the body to make it upright!
- H030: 願施戒香解脫水，十二寶冠衣纓珞！洗我妙性離塵埃，嚴飾淨體令端正！
- XQK 4b/1-2: 願施戒香解脫水，十二寶<sup>ㄟ</sup>衣纓珞冠<sup>ㄩ</sup>！洒除壇界息塵埃，嚴潔淨口令端正！<sup>94</sup>
- MG 32/6-7: 願施戒香解脫水，十二寶冠衣纓珞！洒除壇界離塵埃，嚴潔淨口令端正！<sup>95</sup>
- MG 43/8-44/1: 願施戒香解脫水，十二寶冠衣纓珞！洒除壇界離塵埃，嚴潔淨口令端正！<sup>96</sup>
- DQK 3/1: 願施戒香解脫水，十二云云。<sup>97</sup>

In this first case, line 30 of the *Hymnscroll* altogether appears four times in three Xiapu manuscripts.

The only major difference is the replacement of Dunhuang *xi* 洗 (‘wash’ by Xiapu *sa* 洒, ‘wash, cleanse’), which is followed by *chu* 除, and is used in relation to the altar space (*tanjie* 壇界). Similarly, instead of the adornment and purification of the body, all the Xiapu texts speak of the mouth (*kou* 口), with a greater emphasis on purification (*jiejing* 潔淨).

Since the Xiapu hymns were recited in a different ritual context, these seem to be meaningful alterations, thus I do not consider them as a result of corruption, it rather seems to be the result of adaptation. The popularity of this line is corroborated by its abbreviated format in *Diandeng qiceng kece* 點燈七層科冊, which, as the editors also note,<sup>98</sup> means that the continuation is not cited verbatim, evidently because it was so well known by the community, or at least by the reciter.

In the XQK, this verse is immediately followed by a verse from the middle of the *Hymnscroll* (H206), from a completely different hymn:

- H206: We only wish that you listen to our petition now, and send down your great mercy to protect us, entrust the skillful means to us so that we can safeguard ourselves, and we could strive to obtain tranquility and remove the detestable enemy!

<sup>94</sup> Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, p. 379, Fig. 31.

<sup>95</sup> Lin Wushu 2014, p. 468.

<sup>96</sup> Lin Wushu 2014, p. 472.

<sup>97</sup> Yang Fuxue, Bao Lang and Xue Wenjing 2018, p. 111.

<sup>98</sup> Yang Fuxue, Bao Lang and Xue Wenjing 2018, p. 111, no. 1.

- H206: 唯願今時聽我啟，降大慈悲護我等，任巧方便自遮防，務得安寧離怨敵！
- XQK 4b/3-4: 唯愿今時聽我啟，降大威神護我等，任巧方便自遮防，務得安寧離冤敵！<sup>99</sup>
- MG 45/8-46/1: 唯愿今時聽我啟，降大威神護我等，任巧方便自遮防，務得安寧離冤敵！<sup>100</sup>
- DQK 2/2-3: 唯愿今時聽我啟，降大威神護我等，任巧方便自遮防，務得安寧離冤敵！<sup>101</sup>

Aside from minor graphic variants (听 and 聽, 怨 and 冤/冤), there are no important differences in this line.

As an example of corruption, I quote the Xiapu (*Moni guangfo*) and Pingnan (*Zhenming kaizheng wenke* 貞明開正文科, abbreviated as ZKW) versions of H140:

- H140: We also call the community of heaven, the venerable and divine group with great power and reverent faith, the celestial beings of the celestial worlds to protect and uphold the pure and true teachings.
- H140: 復告真空一切眾，大力敬信尊神輩，及諸天界諸天子，護持清淨正法者。
- MG 11/5-6: 復告真空一切眾，大力敬信尊神輩，及諸天界諸天子，護持清淨正法者。<sup>102</sup>
- MG 44/4-5: 復告真空一切眾，大力敬信尊神輩，及諸天界諸天子，護持清淨正法者。<sup>103</sup>
- ZKW.1: 復各真空一切眾，大力敬聖尊神輩，及諸天界諸天子，護持清淨正法者。<sup>104</sup>
- ZKW.2: 復各真空一切眾，大力敬聖尊神輩，及諸天界諸天子，護持清淨正法者。<sup>105</sup>
- ZKW.1: 復告真空一切眾，大力敬聖尊神輩，及天界諸天子，護持清淨正法者。<sup>106</sup>
- ZKW.2: 復告冥□□□眾，大力敬聖尊神輩，及天界諸天子，護持清淨正法者。<sup>107</sup>

Both versions of the Pingnan manuscript (ZKW) have 各 instead of 告 in the first instance,<sup>108</sup> and the scribe left out the first 諸 before 天, which is a

<sup>99</sup> Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, p. 379, Fig. 31.

<sup>100</sup> Lin Wushu 2014, p. 473.

<sup>101</sup> Yang Fuxue, Bao Lang and Xue Wenjing 2018, p. 111.

<sup>102</sup> Lin Wushu 2014, p. 461.

<sup>103</sup> Lin Wushu 2014, p. 473.

<sup>104</sup> W04021-2; Wang Ding 2018, p. 122.

<sup>105</sup> F03020-2; Wang Ding 2018, p. 122.

<sup>106</sup> W13075-7; Wang Ding 2018, p. 123.

<sup>107</sup> F10079-81; Wang Ding 2018, p. 123.

corrupted form, but aside from this and the change of *tian* 實 to *ming* 冥, there is no difference between the Dunhuang and the Xiapu versions. Yang Fuxue and Bao Lang suggest that *tian* is a mistake in the Dunhuang version,<sup>109</sup> which would be a very rare case, where all the Fujianese versions are correct, while the Dunhuang one is not.<sup>110</sup>

In a recently finished paper, I argued that there may have existed a larger pool of hymns that included what we at present know as the Dunhuang version of the *Hymnscroll*, as well as several additional hymns, some persisting within the new Fujianese manuscripts.

The precise identification, translation and interpretation of these hymns, that resemble the Dunhuang ones yet do not occur in the *Hymnscroll*, as well as the exact relationship between the Dunhuang and the Xiapu hymns, will surely encourage students of Manichaeism to explore the problem in the future.

#### 4.2. The Names of the Four Archangels

The hymn ‘In praise of the Heavenly Kings’ (*Zan tianwang* 讚天王, MG 13/1-14/7) describes the activities of the so-called Rex Honoris, one of the five sons of the Living Spirit.

The attributes presented in this short text indicate the presence of *Book of Giants* tradition,<sup>111</sup> and, surprisingly, makes this late Chinese text a unique and complex source of information.

Among others, it includes the Chinese transcription of the names of four archangels.<sup>112</sup>

These four archangels as a group is rendered as the four heavenly kings (*si tianwang* 四天王, sometimes *si fan tianwang* 四梵天王),<sup>113</sup> Sanskrit *caturmahārāja*), i.e. the Buddhist deities of the four cardinal directions who are responsible for protecting the Dharma and the world from evil influences.

The individual names of the archangels (Raphael, Michael, Sariel and Gabriel) are attested in the following Xiapu texts (*Zan Tianwang* in *Moni guangfo* 13-14):<sup>114</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Wang Ding 2018, p. 127.

<sup>109</sup> Yang and Bao 2015, p. 84, no.1.

<sup>110</sup> Ma Xiaohe drew my attention to the similar case of H171 (十二者惠明莊嚴佛), where the much later Fujianese version (MG 388: 十二者莊嚴惠明佛) is the correct one.

<sup>111</sup> See Kósa 2016.

<sup>112</sup> See Ma Xiaohe 2013b; Kósa 2016, and 2017.

<sup>113</sup> *Leshantang shenji*, 3; *Zou shen die shu kuce*, 41.

<sup>114</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2013b; Yoshida Yutaka 2016, pp. 3-4.

Middle Iranian	<i>Moni guangfo</i>	<i>Xingfuzu qingdan ke</i>	<i>Xingfuzu qingdan ke</i>
Angel name	12/3-6, 18/5-6, 50/4-5	I/5a, [II/18b]	II/6a, [I/12b]
rwf'yl, rwf'yl	嚧嚧逸(囉) [*luo b'iwak ǰět (lâ)]	口户縛[訶]逸囉 [*luo b'iwak ǰět lâ]	嚧嚧逸 [*luo b'iwak ǰět]
myx'yl, myh'yl	弥訶逸(囉) [*mjie xâ ǰět (lâ)]	弥訶逸囉 [*mjie xâ ǰět lâ]	弥訶逸 [*mjie xâ ǰět]
gbr'yl	業縛囉逸囉 [*ngjɛp b'iwak ǰět lâ]	業縛囉逸囉 [*ngjɛp b'iwak ǰět lâ]	喋囉逸 [*ngjɛp lâ ǰět]
sr'yl	娑囉逸(囉) [*sâ lâ ǰět (lâ)]	娑囉逸囉 [*sâ lâ ǰět lâ]	娑囉逸 [*sâ lâ ǰět]

This list of these ultimately Semitic names, mediated via the Iranian Manichaean scriptures, is in itself surprising to find in these late, southeastern Chinese manuscripts, but there are additional names as well: the four archangels are frequently supplemented with a fifth one, called Jacob (Yejufo 耶俱孚 [\*ja kju p'ju]).

This figure occurs in the Middle Iranian and Uyghur Manichaean texts as well (y'kwɓ, y'q'wɓ, y'kwɓ; yakoβ), altogether totalling more than a dozen times.<sup>115</sup> Jacob seems to be the leader of the archangels, a characteristic referred to in the Dunhuang *Hymnscroll*: “Yejufo [Jacob], the leader, the great general, always equipped with armour and weapon, casts down the rebellious groups” (頭首大將耶俱孚，常具甲仗摧逆黨) (*Hymnscroll*, col. 215). This central role of Jacob is further corroborated by various charts which give him a prominent status.

These charts often juxtapose the co-called Four Faces of the Father of Greatness with the four archangels, and, as usual in Chinese pentadic systems, add a fifth one for Jacob; furthermore, they also add the five directions, as well as some *bagua* 八卦 signs. The following chart (Fig. 1) derives from the *Xingfuzu qingdan ke* (5b) manuscript, and I also provide the Chinese and the English version in a structure reproducing the original.

<sup>115</sup> Kósa 2019, pp. 49-51.



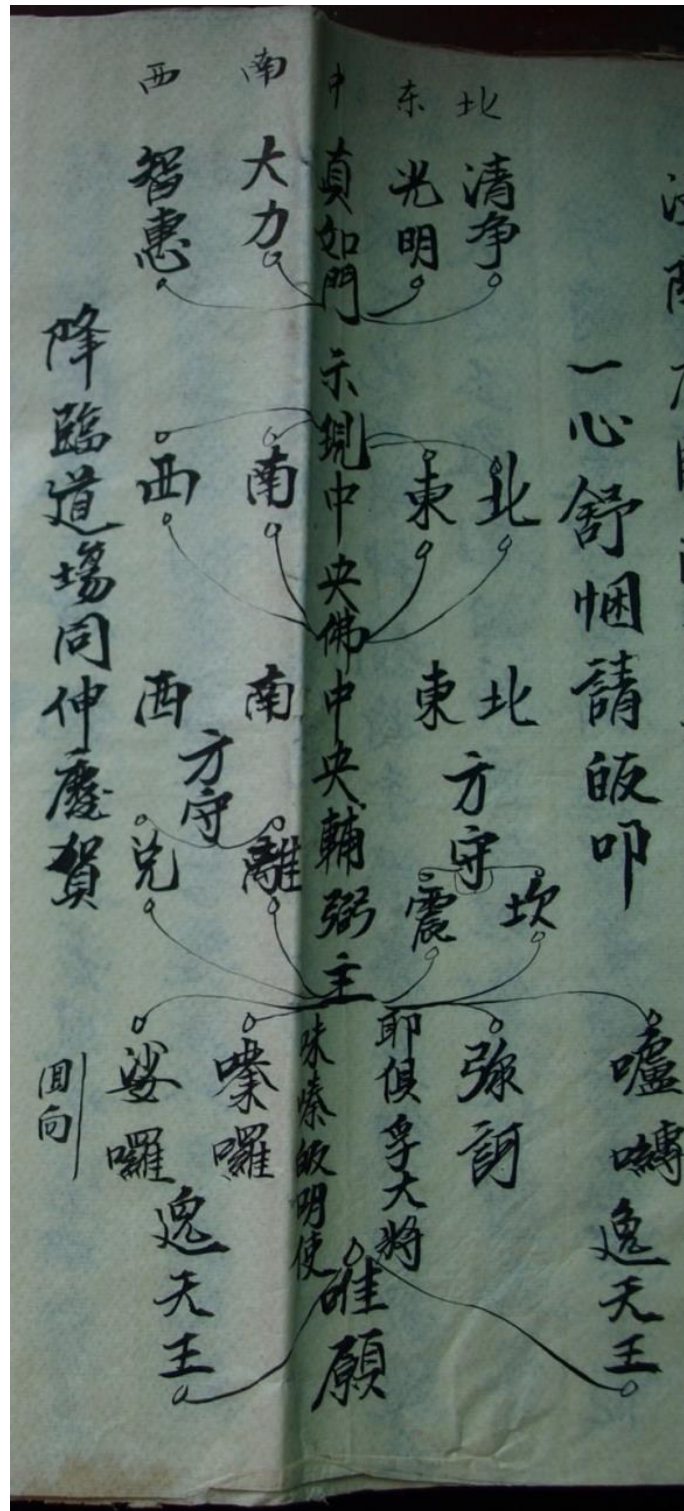
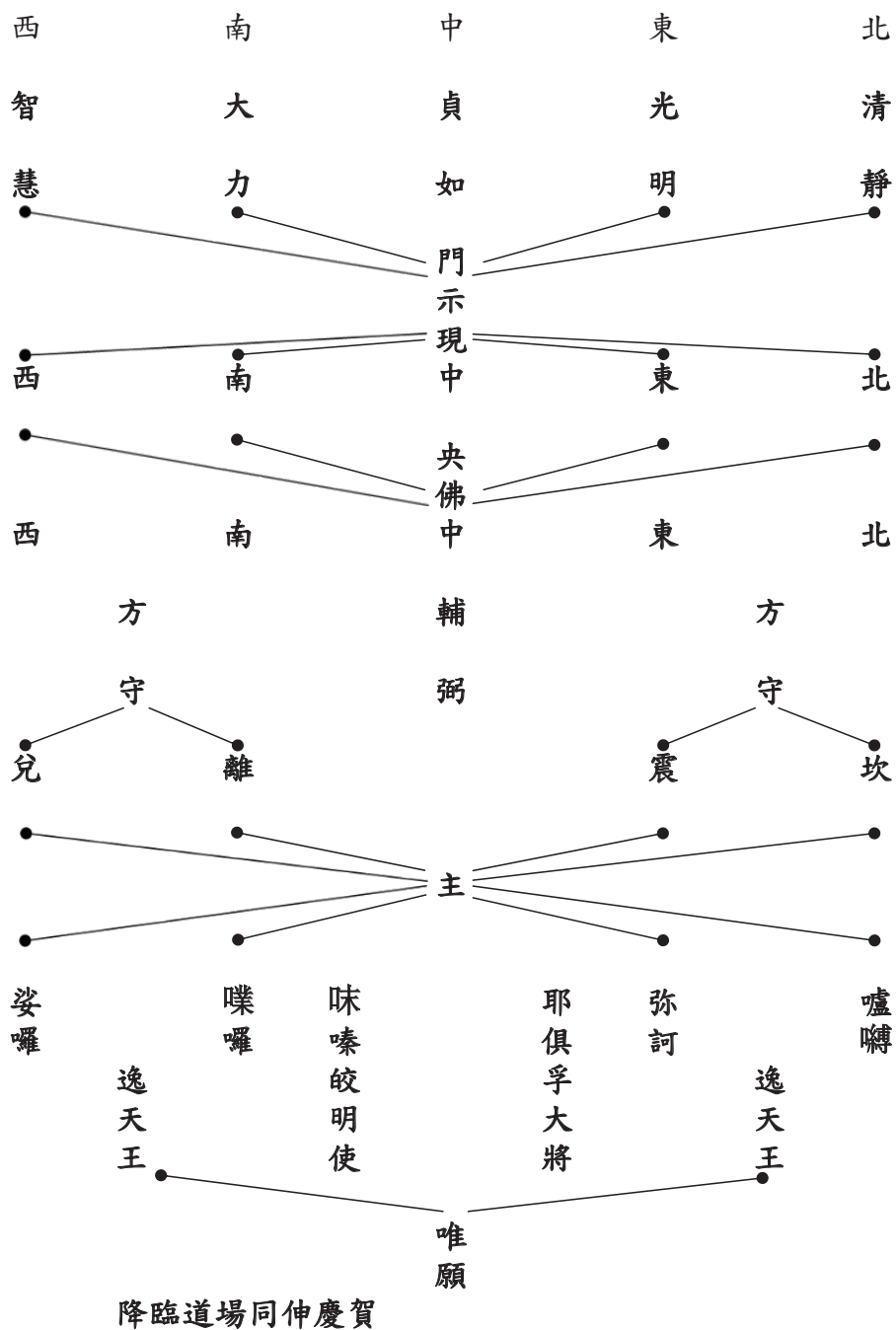
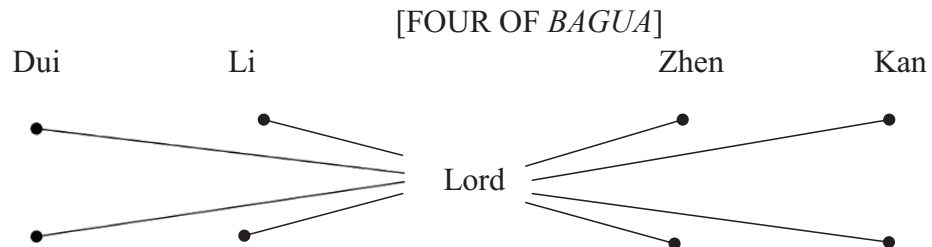
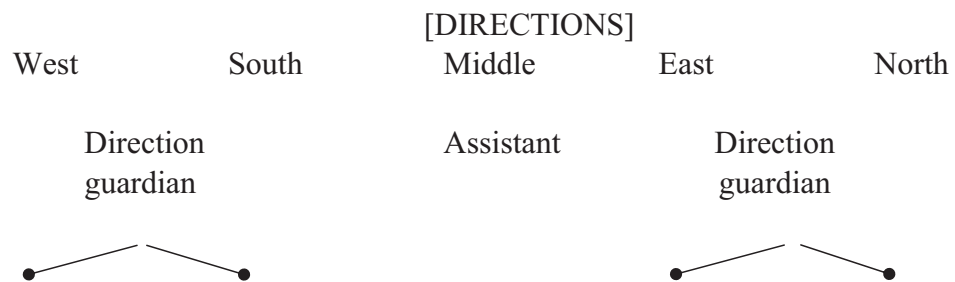
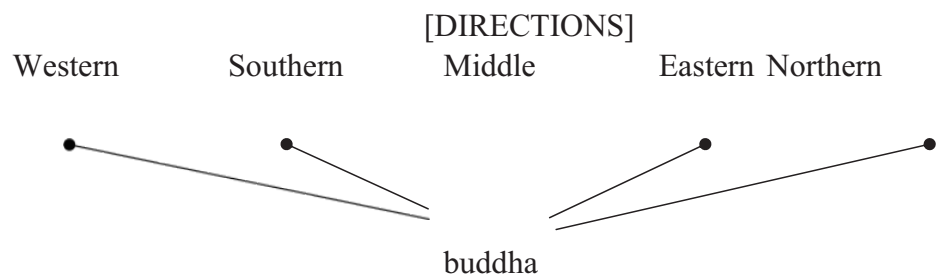
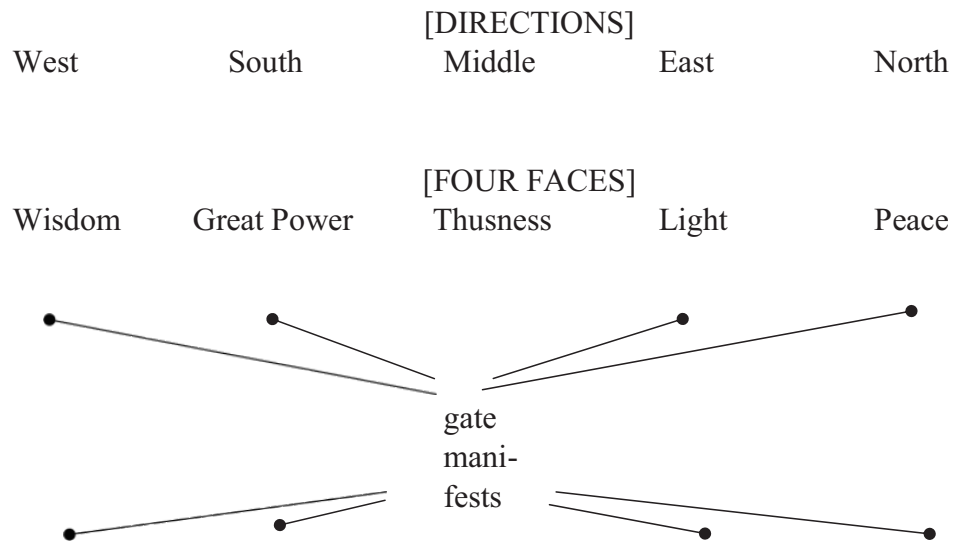
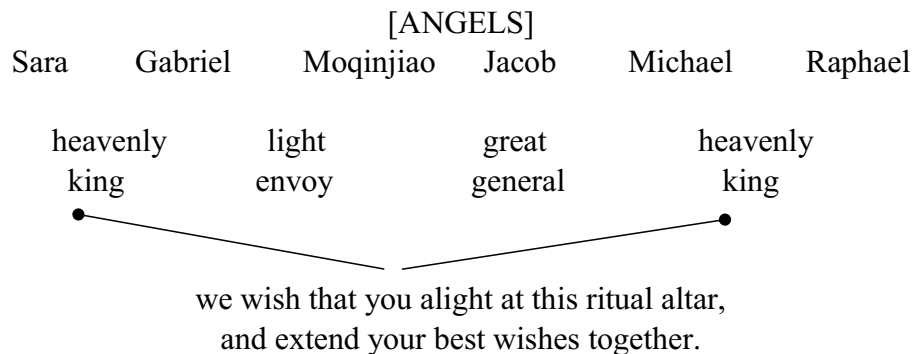


Fig. 1. Archangels and their analogies  
(Ma 2014, p. 9. Fig. 15; photo by Wu Chunming)







In addition to this pentad of angels, there are several additional names, also appearing in the Middle Iranian texts,<sup>116</sup> attested in these Chinese texts. These include the following: Marsus (唵素思), Narsus (捺素思), Nastikus (能悉致响思), Sarendus (娑隣度師), Ahrendus (阿孚林度師).<sup>117</sup>

#### 4.3. Phonetically transcribed texts

Both the Xiapu and the Pingnan corpus contain a great number of Middle Iranian expressions (sometimes themselves of Syriac origin), which appear in phonetically transcribed forms. The name of the founder of Manichaeism, Mār Mānī appears as Moluo Moni 末囉摩尼, one of the central metaphors, ‘lights’ (*rōšnān*) appears as *lushen* 嚙誦, the word envoys (*frēštagān*) occurs as *fulixidejian* 弗里悉德健, or the frequent word ‘holy’ (Syriac *qādūš*, Middle Persian and Parthian *q’dwš*, *k’dwš*) is referred to as *jiadushi* 伽度師 or 加度師. Sometimes complete hymns could be reconstructed from these Chinese texts, which were subsequently identified among the Middle Iranian texts of the Turfan finds.<sup>118</sup> Yoshida Yutaka, Ma Xiaohe and Lin Wushu devoted much attention to these phonetically transcribed hymns.<sup>119</sup>

As an example, here I quote one of Yoshida Yutaka’s reconstructions:<sup>120</sup> in this case, we have a Chinese title (*Tianwang zan* 天王讚) in the *Moni guanfo*

<sup>116</sup> See e.g. the Middle Persian M2303+M299e+M196/I/v/1-15: “The mighty glories, wahmans, the spiritual protectors of the church of righteousness. First to Jacob, the mighty archangel, Arsus, Marsus, Narsus, Nastikus, Jacob and Qaftinus, Sarendus and Ahrendus, Seth and Barsimus, the valiant shepherds. The community of strong Mi]chael [ ]el.” [German translation by Reck (2004, p. 159; cfr. Henning 1947, p. 51): qy(rd)g’r(’n) prh’n whmn’n p’sb’n’n w’xšyg’n ‘yg dyn ‘rd’yh<sup>o</sup> pd sr ‘w y’kwb wzrg prystg ‘qyrdg’r<sup>o</sup> rsws mrsws nrsws nstyqws y’qwb ‘wd qptynws s’ryndws u ‘hryndws (s)yt<sup>o</sup> ‘wd brsymws [šw]b’n’n nyw’n rm [ 3 ](’n)zwrmd’n<sup>o</sup> [ 9 my](x)’yl [ ](y)l .]

<sup>117</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2015, p. 455; Kósa 2019, pp. 59-61.

<sup>118</sup> Yoshida Yutaka 2017a, and 2017b.

<sup>119</sup> Yoshida Yutaka 2016, 2017a, and 2017b (see also Ma Xiaohe and Wang Chuan 2018b); Ma Xiaohe 2013b, and 2015; Lin Wushu 2016a, 2016b, and 2017.

<sup>120</sup> Yoshida Yutaka 2018; see also Ma Xiaohe and Wang Chuan 2018b, pp. 84-87.

manuscript (MG 42/3-43/1), which is followed by the Chinese transcription of a Middle Persian text, which is otherwise known from the Berlin Turfan collection (M19):

<p>奧和 弗裡悉德健那          ʾâu ʾyûa p̄uət lji s̄jēt tāk gʾiēn nâ          ō frēstagān  <i>To the Angels.</i></p> <p>喋[縛]囉逸 娑囉逸          ngiep [bʾiwak] lâ jēt sâ lâ jēt          gabraēl sraēl  <i>Gabriel Sarael</i></p> <p>俱滿 阿囉馱緩 你喻沙健那          k̄iū muān ʾâ lâ dʾâ ʾyûān nī ʾiū ša gʾiēn nâ          kumān ardāwān niyōšāgān  <i>May they give us, Electi and Hearers,</i></p> <p>烏{思}滿那 {哩} 忽特 波引 吓特 沙地          ʾuo si muān nâ xuət dʾāk puā jēn p̄iəu dʾāk          ša dʾi          umān xwad pāyēnd pad šādīh  <i>and protect ourselves with joy</i></p>	<p>湛 &lt; * 奧 &gt; 嚧縛逸 彌訶逸 罰悉勒去          ʾuən tām luo bʾiwak jēt mjie xâ jēt bʾiwet          s̄jēt lāk kʾiwo          wendām ō rufaēl mīhaēl wuzurg  <i>We praise Rufael, Michael the Great</i></p> <p>嗚特 唯悉伴那 弗哩悉德健那          ʾut dʾāk ʾiwi s̄jēt bʾuān nâ p̄uət lji s̄jēt tāk          gʾiēn nâ          ud wispān frēstagān  <i>and all the Angels.</i></p> <p>訶降宏 陣 俱滿特 囉彌訶          xâ kâng muā dʾiēn k̄iū muān dʾāk lâ mjie          s̄jēn          hāmāg dēn kunēnd rāmišn  <i>the whole Church, peace</i></p> <p>阿和 遮伊但          ʾâ ʾyûa tsia ʾi dʾān          ō jāydān  <i>for ever.</i></p>
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Based on this types of reconstructions, Yoshida Yutaka concludes that they may go back to the Tang period, which means that they are roughly contemporaneous with the Dunhuang manuscripts, e.g. with the *Hymnscroll*, which also contains three transcribed hymns (H001-H005, H154-158, H176-183):<sup>121</sup> “[T]he system of the phonetic transcription is basically the same in that its basis of transcription is the pronunciation of Middle Chinese [...], they are most likely to originate from the texts once existent in the high Tang time or in the 8<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>122</sup> This means that, despite the late date of the Xiapu manuscripts (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries), the foreign names they preserve were transcribed approximately 1,000 years earlier.

<sup>121</sup> Yoshida Yutaka 2016.

<sup>122</sup> Yoshida Yutaka 2016, pp. 4, 6; also see Yoshida Yutaka 2017a.

Yoshida Yutaka in fact claims that the phonetic peculiarities of the transcriptions “indicate that the Xiapu texts are slightly earlier than the Dunhuang ones.”<sup>123</sup> Theoretically, one of the possible explanations for this strange phenomenon could be if we surmise that the transcribed hymns had been created earlier and independently,<sup>124</sup> and they were more faithfully preserved than the translated hymns. However, this does not seem to apply to other cases, where the Xiapu phonetic texts are apparently corrupted.<sup>125</sup>

#### 4.4. *Mānī and His Forerunners*

The text titled ‘Praising His (Mānī’s) Incarnation’ (*Xiasheng zan* 下生讚; MG 292-314) is a unique, succinct account with various hagiographical details of Mānī’s life, including the myth of his mother eating pomegranate and thus becoming pregnant with Mānī, his joining and leaving the baptists’ sect, the revelation received from his Twin, and his proselytization in various parts of Iran.<sup>126</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the *Fozu tongji* (1269) quotes the *Yijianzhi* (12<sup>th</sup> ca.) on Manichaean communities (*Mingjiaohui*) near Sanshan (Fuzhou), who themselves wear white robe and venerate a Buddha with white robe. The *Yijianzhi* furthermore mentions that the local Manichaean cite the *Diamond sutra* (*Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經) saying “first buddha, second buddha, third, fourth and fifth buddha” (T49n2035p0431a20-21: 一佛二佛三四五佛) and claim that the fifth buddha is also called Mār Mānī (以為第五佛，又名末摩尼). The same *Yijianzhi* excerpt (T49n2035p0431a27-b01) also remarks that the Manichaeans used a poem (falsely) attributed to Bai Letian 白樂天 (Bo Juyi 白居易, 772-846) on the Manichaean path (Moni dao 摩尼道), the Two Principles (*erzong* 二宗), as well as the “the five buddhas’ perpetuating their light” (五佛繼光明). These references were allegedly appropriated by the Manichaeans as referring to their five buddhas, i.e. the five light envoys.

In these quotations, however, the five light envoys are not specified, while a pentad of such envoys makes a frequent appearance in the new Xiapu corpus as highly esteemed founders of five religions; the members of this group, almost invariably designated as ‘buddhas’ (*fó* 佛) are Nārāyaṇa [Naluoyan 那羅延, Viṣṇu], Zarathuṣtra [Suluzhi 蘇路支], Śākyamuni [Shijiawen 釋迦文], Jesus [Yishu 夷數 or Yishuhe 夷數和], and Mānī [Moni 摩尼], the latter often

<sup>123</sup> Yoshida Yutaka 2017a, p. 731.

<sup>124</sup> Cfr. Ma Xiaohe 2015, pp. 474-475.

<sup>125</sup> Yoshida Yutaka 2017a, pp. 729-732.

<sup>126</sup> On various parts of this short biography, see Ma Xiaohe 2014: 299-353. This text is often applied as a starting point to elucidate the visual motifs on the ‘Birth of Mānī painting’ (Wang Yuanyuan 2014; Wang Yuanyuan 2015; Ma Xiaohe 2016b).

appearing as the fifth and last prophet (e.g. *Moni guangfo* 64/3: 最後光明使).<sup>127</sup> While the triad of Zarathuštra, Śākyamuni and Jesus preceding Mānī appears in non-Chinese texts as well, Nārāyaṇa seems to be a Chinese addition to this list, although pre-Zarathuštra figures appear in non-Chinese texts as well.<sup>128</sup> This pentad is not simply listed or presented in various charts (e.g. *Moni guangfo* 2, 47, 57-58, 61, 70), but various pieces of information in the form of short descriptions are also added to them (e.g. *Moni guangfo* 62-64, 65-69, 76-79).

#### 4.5. A Hymn to St. George

‘A hymn to St. George’ (*Jisi zhou* 吉思咒; MG 39/8-42/3) is a unique text that contains a short but relatively precise description of St. George’s legend with minor Manichaean motifs.<sup>129</sup> St. George’s Chinese name, Yihuojisi 移活吉思, which was identified as the Sogdian *yw’-rks* by Yoshida Yutaka, appears in two other Xiapu documents: the *Leshantang shenji* 樂山堂神記 (3/1) has the same form, while the *Mingmen chuchuan qing benshi* (5/2-3)<sup>130</sup> and the *Daoyushu* (23/4)<sup>131</sup> has the slightly different form of Yihuojisi dasheng 夷活吉思. All the four occurrences are followed by the title ‘great saint’ (*dasheng* 大聖). Another form of the same name, *Yihejisi* 宜和吉思, occurs in the “Nestorian” Pelliot Chinois 3847 and was identified as St. George (*yw’-rks*) by N. Sims-Williams and J. Hamilton already in 1990.<sup>132</sup>

The short Chinese text has three English translations by Ma Xiaohe, Takahashi Hidemi, as well as Wang Yuanyuan with Lin Wushu.<sup>133</sup> The *Jisi zhou* can be fittingly matched to the traditional biography of St. George, and it was compared to the much longer Syriac, Sogdian, Turkic and Greek versions.<sup>134</sup> The Manichaean features are practically confined to the motif of St. George’s facing the two luminaries, the Sun and the Moon (*dui er da guangming* 對二大光明) and linking the name of ‘Jesus’ (*Yishu* 夷數) with ‘Buddha’ (*Fo* 佛). The Chinese text seems to be an abridged version of the plot, to accommodate it to the function of a prayer.<sup>135</sup>

As for the time of composition, Ma Xiaohe concludes that “[t]he original of *Jisi zhou* must have been composed during the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries when

<sup>127</sup> See Ma Xiaohe 2014, pp. 196-298; Yang and Bao 2014, pp. 256-259; Kósa 2015b.

<sup>128</sup> Kósa 2015b, pp. 102-104.

<sup>129</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2016a, and 2017; Takahashi Hidemi 2016; Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu 2018.

<sup>130</sup> Lin Wushu 2014, pp. 452.

<sup>131</sup> You Xiaoyu 2017, p. 148.

<sup>132</sup> Sims-Williams and Hamilton 1990, pp. 68/G5; cfr. Ma Xiaohe 2017, p. 460.

<sup>133</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2017, pp. 463-464; Takahashi Hidemi 2016, p. 2; Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu 2018, p. 119.

<sup>134</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2017, pp. 467-481; Takahashi Hidemi 2016, p. 3.

<sup>135</sup> Takahashi Hidemi 2016, p. 3.

Nestorianism and Manichaeism were more active and had more communication.”<sup>136</sup> Takahashi also stresses the possibility that the *Qisi jing* 訖思經, mentioned in an anti-Manichaean edict from 1120,<sup>137</sup> may be identical with a longer, Chinese version of St. George’s legend, from which the shorter *zhou* 咒 version may have been distilled.<sup>138</sup>

The fundamental question is when, where and why did the Manichaeans begin to apply this ultimately Christian narrative? Takahashi mentions two possible solutions: “(1) it was adopted by the Manichaeans from the Christians, or (2) it was brought into the Manichaean community by Christians who converted to Manichaeism, or were absorbed into the Manichaean community.”<sup>139</sup> If the second option was indeed the case, as Takahashi suggests, then it would be similar to the Manichaean adoption of various figures from the New Testament and the apocryphal acts of apostles (like Peter, Andrew, John, James, Thomas, Philip, Thecla, Drusiane, Maximilla, Martha, Arsenoe, Iphidama) as heroes and heroines of endurance in the Coptic *Psalm-book* (142,17-143,32 and 192,5-193,3).<sup>140</sup>

## Conclusion

The past decade has witnessed the discovery of new Manichaean manuscripts from Qing Dynasty Fujian (Xiapu and Pingnan counties). This corpus of texts is unique in various ways:

1. It shows *in concreto* how Manichaeism, an important world religion during medieval times, disappeared from the entire world and yet survived in these remote and culturally alien environments of southeastern China.
2. The Manichaean manuscripts preserved in Xiapu and Pingnan (and, undiscovered, possibly at some additional places in Fujian) preserve genuine Manichaean material, which sometimes offer unique pieces of information (e.g. about Rex Honoris), while in other cases support the information we have from other sources.
3. The phonetically transcribed hymns, expressions and words in these manuscripts derive from Middle Iranian idioms and will surely offer much food for thought for later generations.
4. The process of how Manichaeism became assimilated to the local popular religious tradition offers a unique glimpse into the more general religious phenomenon that can be broadly termed as syncretism. Although the validity

<sup>136</sup> Ma Xiaohe 2017, p. 481.

<sup>137</sup> *Songhuiyao jigao (xingfa)*, 2: 78.

<sup>138</sup> Takahashi Hidemi 2016, p. 5.

<sup>139</sup> Takahashi Hidemi 2016, p. 5.

<sup>140</sup> See Kósa 2011.



of this latter term has often been called into question, with some further narrowing of this concept, it can probably fittingly be applied here: in its final phase, as mirrored in the later group of manuscripts of these Fujianese corpus, Manichaeism indeed became a syncretic religion.

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