

## Dossiê: Visões da História Chinesa

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### **Mānī on the Margins: A Brief History of Manichaeism in Southeastern China**

*Mānī nas margens: uma breve história do maniqueísmo no sudeste da China*

*Mānī en las márgenes: una breve historia del maniqueísmo en el sureste de China*

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ABSTRACT: Mānī (216–ca. 277 AD), the founder of Manichaeism, was brought up in a Jewish-Christian community at the end of the Arsacid dynasty. After several private revelations, he established his own religion, which he and his disciples propagated in the newly established Sasanian Iran. Spreading east along the Silk Road, Manichaeism arrived in China in 694, where it remained basically a *religio licita* until 843. After the Huichang persecution (843–845), Manichaeans found a relatively safe harbour in the southeastern regions, especially in present-day Zhejiang and Fujian provinces, where they survived for centuries, as reports from the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties attest. In this paper, after summarizing the main events before the Huichang persecution, I give an overview of what the historical sources recording various manifestations of southeastern Manichaeism tell us about the latest form of Manichaeism, which uniquely survived in this peripheral region at a time, when it had completely disappeared from other parts of the world. This overview differs from other similar endeavours in that it also incorporates some new developments that were inspired by the discovery of a new corpus of texts from Xiapu and Pingnan counties, where it was the figure of Lin Deng (1003–1059), who played a pivotal role to preserve the Manichaean heritage of the Tang.

Keywords: China. Manicheism. Tang Dynasty.

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RESUMO: Mānī (216–ca. 277 DC), o fundador do maniqueísmo, foi criado em uma comunidade judaico-cristã no final da dinastia arsácida. Depois de várias revelações privadas, ele estabeleceu sua própria religião, que ele e seus discípulos propagaram no recém-estabelecido Irã Sassânida. Espalhando-se para o leste ao longo da Rota da Seda, o maniqueísmo chegou à China em 694, onde permaneceu basicamente uma *religio licita* até 843. Após a perseguição de Huichang (843–845), os maniqueístas encontraram um porto relativamente seguro nas regiões sudeste, especialmente nas atuais Províncias de Zhejiang e Fujian, onde sobreviveram por séculos, como atestam os relatos das dinastias Song, Yuan e Ming. Neste artigo, depois de resumir os principais eventos antes da perseguição de Huichang, apresento uma visão geral das fontes históricas, que registram várias manifestações do maniqueísmo do sudeste e nos contam sobre a forma mais recente de maniqueísmo, que sobreviveu com exclusividade nesta região periférica na época, enquanto ele havia desaparecido completamente de outras partes do mundo. Esta visão geral difere de outros esforços semelhantes, pois também incorpora alguns novos desenvolvimentos que foram inspirados na descoberta de um novo corpus de textos dos condados de Xiapu e Pingnan, onde a figura de Lin Deng (1003–1059) interpretou um papel fundamental para preservar a herança maniqueísta de Tang.

Palavras-chave: China. Dinastia Tang. Maniqueísmo.

RESUMEN: Mānī (216–ca. 277 d. C.), el fundador del maniqueísmo, se crió en una comunidad judeocristiana al final de la dinastía Arsácida. Después de varias revelaciones privadas, estableció su propia religión, que él y sus discípulos propagaron en el recién establecido Irán de Sasán. Extendiéndose hacia el este a lo largo de la Ruta de la Seda, el maniqueísmo llegó a China en 694, donde permaneció básicamente como una religio licita hasta 843. Después de la persecución de Huichang (843–845), los maniqueos encontraron un puerto relativamente seguro en las regiones del sureste, especialmente en las actuales provincias de Zhejiang y Fujian, donde sobrevivieron durante siglos, como atestiguan los informes de las dinastías Song, Yuan y Ming. En este artículo, después de resumir los principales eventos antes de la persecución de Huichang, ofrezco una descripción general de las fuentes históricas, que registran diversas manifestaciones del maniqueísmo del sudeste y nos dicen sobre la última forma de maniqueísmo, que sobrevivió de manera única en esta región periférica en un momento en que había desaparecido por completo de otras partes del mundo. Este resumen se diferencia de otros esfuerzos similares en que también incorpora algunos desarrollos nuevos, que se inspiraron en el descubrimiento de un nuevo corpus de textos de los condados de Xiapu y Pingnan, donde fue la figura de Lin Deng (1003–1059), interpretó a un papel fundamental para preservar la herencia maniquea de los Tang.

Palabras clave: China. Dinastía Tang. Maniqueísmo.

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## Introduction

Mānī (216–ca. 277 AD), the founder of Manichaeism, supposedly received several private revelations from his spiritual Twin between the age of 12 and 24. After these revelations, he left the Jewish-Christian community to which his father had taken him at a very young age, and, equipped with this divine knowledge, he first started proselytizing and organizing his Manichaean church with the support of Shapur I (r. 240–270) in Sasanian Iran (224–651 AD); later on he sent missionaries to the Roman Empire and Central Asia. With these latter missions along the Silk Road, Manichaeism entered the Transoxanian regions where scriptures in Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, and Uyghur languages were produced. In 694 AD Manichaean missionaries reached the court of the Chinese empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705 AD), where this new religion gained some popularity among the various other Tang religions.

In general, one can broadly divide the various religious traditions of ancient and medieval China into two major categories:

1. The first type comprises religions that took shape in China: various shamanic and popular religious cults, religious Daoism, and certain aspects of Confucianism (if we consider the latter a religion at all);

2. The second category covers religions that arrived from abroad: the most important and well-know example is Buddhism, but there were also the so-called “three foreign religions” (*sanyi jiao* 三夷教) of the Tang dynasty: Zoroastrianism, Nestorianism, and Manichaeism. The representatives of these three latter religions arrived at the western marketplace of Chang’an 長安 after a typically long journey along what 19<sup>th</sup> century German geographers (like Carl Ritter or Ferdinand von Richthofen) called the Silk Roads (Mertens 2019). Chinese Manichaeism is probably the most important among the “three foreign religions” and can boast of some superlatives:

I. In general, Manichaeism can probably be duly called the first world religion, and while it disappeared completely from other regions of the Eurasian continent by ca. 12<sup>th</sup> century, it did survive in the southeastern provinces of China for several subsequent centuries; II. The only surviving Manichaean temple in the world can be found in Jinjiang 晉江, Fujian province; III. This temple also houses the only surviving Manichaean sculpted image of Mānī.

## Historical sources

Due to a double set of new discoveries, the last decade has witnessed an unprecedented interest in Chinese Manichaeism.<sup>1</sup> It is not the first occasion that such a sudden surge of interest

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<sup>1</sup> For bibliographies, see Kósa (2010–2011), (2015a), (2020), and Yang Fuxue (2020). For this study I sometimes used Kósa (2015a) and (2020) without reference.

arises in Manichaean studies in general: a similar impetus to this field was the discovery of Chinese manuscripts in Cave 17 of Dunhuang in 1907, that of the Coptic manuscripts in the 1930s and the discovery of the so-called *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* (CMC), which happens to be the smallest parchment codex surviving from antiquity, in 1969.

In the following pages I will briefly survey the history of Chinese Manichaeism in a chronological order. This will differ from similar and more exhaustive endeavors (Chavannes and Pelliot 1912, 169–346; Lieu 1992, 243–304) in focusing on the southeastern presence of Chinese Manichaeism and in incorporating some new information into the already known ones in this region,<sup>2</sup> since this constitutes the historical background for the new textual and visual discoveries.

### Manichaeism during the Tang Dynasty (618–907)

Before turning to the topic proper of this paper, it is worth giving a short overview of the preceding events. After the Late Antique religion established by Mānī in Sasanian Iran, Manichaeism spread both to the West and to the East. It was a Persian Manichaean bishop (*fuduodan* 拂多誕) who in 694 brought the Manichaean *Scripture of Two Principles* (*Erzongjing* 二宗經), most probably the *Šabubragān*, to the Chinese court of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705 AD).<sup>3</sup> These new doctrines were dubbed as ‘false teaching’ (*weijiao* 偽教) by Zhipan 志磬 (ca. 1220–1275), the Song dynasty Buddhist author of a late source, but, in fact, the contemporaneous Tang Buddhists were also hostile to Manichaeism, while Wu Zetian was surprisingly open to the newcomer.<sup>4</sup>

In 731, the summary of Manichaean teachings, now called the *Compendium*, was submitted to Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756 AD), who in his edict issued in 732 forbade its practice among the Chinese citizens, though allowed it for “Western barbarians” (*xibu* 西胡), i.e., presumably Sogdians.<sup>5</sup> Mo Moni 末摩尼, the Chinese name of the founder of Manichaeism appearing in this edict, is equivalent to Mār Mānī, the first part of which (Mo 末) is the phonetic transcription of the Syriac title meaning ‘lord’ (*mār*). The knowledge of this equation was still present much later in the 1600s, when the *Minsbu* recorded that *mo* 末 here means ‘great’ (*da* 大),<sup>6</sup> which is especially remarkable since the Chinese word *mo* otherwise means ‘small, insignificant’, i.e., just the opposite of the elevated meaning of ‘lord’ and ‘great’. The major accusation of the imperial edict against the

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<sup>2</sup> On Manichaeism in southeastern China, see Lieu (1992, 263–304), Lieu (1998a) [1980].

<sup>3</sup> *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記 T2035: 0370a; 0474c: 延載元年。(…)波斯國人拂多誕(西海大秦國人)持二宗經偽教來朝。

<sup>4</sup> *Minsbu* 7.32 [172]: 至武則天時，慕闍高弟密烏沒斯拂多誕復入見，群僧妒譖，互相擊難，則天悅其說，留使課經。

<sup>5</sup> *Tongdian* 通典 40.229c: 開元二十年七月敕：『末摩尼法本是邪見，妄稱佛教。誑惑黎元，宜嚴加禁斷。以西胡等既是鄉法，當身自行，不須科罪者。』 For a translation, see Lieu (1992, 241). The same text with some variants appears in the *Fozu tongji* (T49n2035p374c22-23, 474c15-17) and the *Da Song Sengshilüe* 大宋僧史略 (T54n2126: 253b26-28).

<sup>6</sup> *Minsbu* 7.32a [172]: 末之爲言大也。

Manichaeans was that they feign a Buddhist identity. This characteristic is not baseless at all, since Manichaean missionaries were famous for adopting the local religious traditions, which was definitely Buddhism in Central and East Asia, as tools to express their own teachings (Bryder, 1994).

Despite this short interlude, Manichaeism was basically a *religio licita* in Tang China until 843 AD, and some Chinese Manichaean scriptures survive from this period.<sup>7</sup> A crucial moment from the perspective of the subsequent events was the adoption of Manichaeism as a state religion of the East Uyghur Empire (744–840) by the Uyghur Bögü Khagan (Mouyu 牟羽; r. 759–780) in 762/763.<sup>8</sup> When the rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山 and Shi Chaoyi 史朝義 (755–763 AD) was suppressed with the Uyghurs' military assistance, five<sup>9</sup> Manichaean monks from China were instrumental in introducing the Manichaean teachings of Two Principles and Three Epochs to the Uyghur khagan (on this period, see the summary of Lieu 1992: 234–236), as the trilingual (Chinese, Uyghur, Sogdian) Karabalgasun inscription attests.<sup>10</sup>

Subsequently, the Uyghurs were allowed to spread their faith in China for ca. 80 years.<sup>11</sup> This is a key period, when Sogdians, who were the “teachers of the Uyghurs”, strived to make Manichaeism take root in the Chinese religious soil: Manichaean scriptures were translated into Chinese and several Manichaean temples were built in Luoyang 洛陽 and in prefectures (zhou 州) like Jing 荆, Hong 洪, and Yue 越 in 768, 771, and 807 AD.<sup>12</sup> Some of these temples, called ‘the

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<sup>7</sup> The first three texts were found in the Library Cave (Cave 17) in Dunhuang: 1. *Hymnscroll* (*Monijiao xiabu zan* 摩尼教下部讚, S.2659), British Library; 2. *Compendium* (*Moni guangfo jiao fayi lie* 摩尼光佛教法儀略; S3969+P3884), British Library and BnF, Paris; 3. *Traité* (*Bosijiao canjing* 波斯教殘經; BD00256), Beijing National Library; 4. Various Chinese Manichaean fragments from Turfan (e.g., Ch. 258, Ch. 174, Ch. 1363 R, Ch. 3218); kept in Berlin; 5. The *Foxingjing* 佛性經 (BD9401), identified in 2012.

<sup>8</sup> On the conversion of the Uyghurs, see Hansen (1930), Clark (2000). Clark's view that the conversion happened earlier in 755/756 was partly criticized by Moriyasu (2015, 319–322), though he also admits that the act of taking five Manichaeans from China in 763 was the result, and not the cause, of the Uyghurs' acquaintance with Manichaeism.

<sup>9</sup> Yoshida 2020, 14: “According to our reading of the Chinese version, it was five monks who first came to Karabalgasun, that is to say, four monks headed by Ruixi 睿息 and another referred to as *fasbi* 法師 “master of the law,” who was apparently the leader of the group. All previous scholars have thought that it was four monks who visited the Uyghur capital, and that Ruixi was also referred to as *fasbi*.”

<sup>10</sup> 將睿息等四僧入國，闡揚二祀，洞徹三際。On this inscription, see Chavannes and Pelliot (1912, 221–223), Yoshida (2020: 13–20). For a comprehensive analysis, see Yoshida (2020). The conversion of the Uyghurs was a longer process, which is summarized by Yoshida (2020, 17) as follows (references omitted): “1. Bögü's first encounter with Manichaeism. Manichaean mission to the Uyghur court from Central Asia; 2. Bögü's final conversion after some hesitation because of an anti-Manichaean vassal named Tarkhan; 3. Invitation to the Uyghur court of the five Manichaean monks whom Bögü encountered in Luoyang in 762/3; 4. The Chinese monks' successful propagation; one Manichaean church headed by a *mabistag* was established in the capital; 5. Anti-Manichaean Uyghur ministers' final adoption of Manichaeism; 6. Archegos's praise of the Uyghurs' conversion; 7. Arrival of the Central Asian monks and Možak Mār Nēw Ruwān, whose seat was placed in Tughristan (Karashahr or Šorčuq); 8. Establishment of Manichaean churches in various cities in China, first in 768 CE and again in 771 CE.”

<sup>11</sup> On Eastern Uyghur Manichaeism, see, e.g., the summary of Moriyasu (2015).

<sup>12</sup> *Fozu tongji* T49n2035p370a, p378c12-14: 勅回紇奉末尼者建大雲光明寺; T49n2035\_p0378c28 [=p474c18-19]: 回紇請於荆揚洪越等州置大雲光明寺; *Da Song Sengshilüe* T54n2126p253c02-05: 大曆三年六月。勅迴紇置寺。宜賜額大雲光明之寺。六年正月又勅荆揚洪等州。各置大雲光明寺一所。

Light of the Great Cloud' (*Dayun guangming si* 大雲光明寺), were established in a region that was not far from the venues of later Manichaeism. Yue prefecture, for example, was located in present day Zhejiang province, which was a prominent place for late Manichaeism.<sup>13</sup> During this period between 763 and 840, the Uyghur embassies, accompanied by Manichaeans wearing white robe and white headgear,<sup>14</sup> regularly visited the Chinese court.<sup>15</sup>

A huge turn in the history of Chinese Manichaeism was triggered by the defeat of the Uyghurs by the Kirghiz in 840, which in turn instigated the steppe Uyghurs to flee from their homeland; some of them settled in the Turfan basin, with the capitals in Qočo (Gaochang 高昌) and Bišbaliq (Beiting 北庭), and continued to support Manichaeism for at least another 150 years. This period of the Western Uyghur Empire (ca. 850–1000 AD), which basically belongs to Uyghur and not to Chinese history, played a pivotal role in producing the most well-known, albeit rather fragmentary, pieces of Central Asian Manichaean art<sup>16</sup> and scriptures.

Not being reliant on the Uyghurs' support anymore, emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840–846 AD) initiated a massive attack against Manichaeism, which was part of a general persecution of all foreign religions (especially Buddhism) in 843–845: Manichaean scriptures and images were burnt and Manichaean priests and nuns were executed.

The emperor decreed that the Uyghurs belonging to the Gongdeshi (director of religious affairs) in the two capitals should wear Chinese robes. The officials should collect the Manichaean writings, as well as the statues, and burn them publicly. The(ir) properties should be confiscated.<sup>17</sup> "Fourth month: Middle ten days: (In 843) an imperial edict was issued [ordering] the Manichaean priests of the Empire to be killed. Their heads are to be shaved, and they are to be dressed in Buddhist robes and are to be killed looking like Buddhist monks. The Manichaean priests are highly respected by the Uyghurs.<sup>18</sup>

After this Huichang 會昌 persecution, Manichaeans found a relatively safe harbor in the southeastern regions, especially in present-day Zhejiang and Fujian provinces. As the late *Minsbu* reports, one of the religious leaders went to the southeastern Futang 福唐, thus named between 742 and 933, in the vicinity of present-day Fuzhou 福州 (Fujian province), where he was teaching at the

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<sup>13</sup> A Tang literary piece, preserved in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (107.727), narrates the story of the Manichaean Wu Kejiu 吳可久, who hailed from Yue prefecture (Lieu 1992, 236).

<sup>14</sup> T49n2035\_p0378c29, T49n2035\_p0474c20-21: 其徒白衣白冠。

<sup>15</sup> T49n2035\_p0380b26: 元和元年 [...] 回紇遣使, 同摩尼僞人來朝; *Xin Tangshu* 217a.6126: 元和初, 再朝獻。始以摩尼至。[...] 摩尼至京師, 歲往來西市; *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 237.7638: 是歲回紇入貢。始以摩尼偕來於中國, 置寺處之。 *Cefu yuanqi* 冊府元龜 979.17b–18a [11506]: (元和) 十二年迴鶻又遣摩尼僧寺等八人至。 (...) 以摩尼普為迴鶻信奉, 使宰臣言其不可。

<sup>16</sup> On the history of this period, see Moriyasu (2004); on the artistic remains and book culture, see Gulácsi (2001) and (2005), respectively.

<sup>17</sup> *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 217b.6133: 詔回鶻營功德使在二京者, 悉冠帶之。有司收摩尼書若象, 燒于道, 產貨入之官。

<sup>18</sup> Trans. Lieu (1992, 238), which is a modified version of Reischauer (1955, 327). *Nitto gubo junrei gyoki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Katsutoshi 1968, 491): 四月中旬敕, 令煞天下摩尼師, 剃髮, 令著袈裟作沙門形而煞之。摩尼師即迴鶻所崇重也。Other sources include the following: *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 18.594: 其迴紇及摩尼寺住宅、錢物等, 並委功德使與御史臺及京兆府各差官點檢收抽, 不得容諸色人影占。如犯者並處極法, 錢物納官。摩尼寺僧委中書門下條疏聞奏; *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 49.864: 會昌三年敕, 摩尼寺住宅、錢物, 並委功德使及御史臺京兆府差官檢點; *Fozu tongji* T2035: 0380b: 會昌三年 [...] 敕天下末尼寺並令廢罷。京城女末尼七十人皆死。在回紇者流之諸道, 死者大半。

Sanshan<sup>19</sup> 三山 region (i.e., Fuzhou) (Pelliot 1923, 205. n. 5), and he died and was buried at the foot of a mountain in the northern part of Quanjun 泉郡.<sup>20</sup> The *Minsbu* does not give the name of this person, nor do any other sources, but refers to him as *bulu fashi* 呼祿法師. The second part of this expression (*fashi* 法師), which is ultimately a Buddhist term (Sanskrit *dharmabhāṇaka*), literally means “a dharma teacher”, “master of the law”, or, more generally, “a religious teacher” (Mikkelsen 2006, 19). Aside from the *Minsbu*, this term is also used in the Karabalgasun inscription (Chinese version, column VII-VIII), and Yoshida Yutaka opines that in this context this *fashi* was the leader of the four other Manichaean monks who ultimately converted the Uyghur Bögü khagan in 762/3 (Yoshida 2020, 14), and, he continues, “In our understanding of the Chinese text, owing to this *fashi*’s great contribution in propagating Manichaeism among the Uighurs, he became a *mabistag*, i.e., presbyter. Possibly this was the first time that the seat of *mabistag* or presbyter was established in the Uighur capital” (Yoshida 2020, 14). It is the *fashi*’s excellent knowledge of Manichaeism and his rhetorical skill that is praised in the subsequent part (VIII):

They [the five monks] clearly showed (the doctrine of) the two sacrifices [= principles] and were thoroughly acquainted with (the teaching of) the three times, to say nothing of the master of the law (= *fashi* 法師), who was marvelously learned in the Doctrine of Light (明門 = Manichaeism) and understood the seven scriptures (七部) perfectly. His abilities were deep like an ocean and high like a mountain, while his eloquence was like a torrent. That is why they were able to propagate the right teachings (正教 = Manichaeism) in the land of the Uighurs. (Yoshida 2020, 14).

As for the first part of the expression, two suggestions have been offered: P. Bryder and S. N. C. Lieu proposed that *bulu* 呼祿 is equivalent to *bulubuan* 呼嚕喚 (*Compendium*, col. 93) (Lieu 1981, 163; Bryder 1985, 10; Lieu 1992, 264), which in turn, as Gauthiot (1911, 60) had suggested already back in 1911, is the phonetic transcription of Middle Persian *xrwxw’n* or *xrwhxw’n* (*xrōhxwān*), ‘preacher’ (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 364). The *Compendium* (col. 93) defines it as follows: “The second is *bulubuan* 呼嚕喚, which can be translated as ‘the leader of the teachers of the (religious) way, who is especially versed in inspiring and encouraging (others)’ [第二, 呼嚕喚, 譯云教道首, 專知獎勸]. This characterization of the *Compendium* seems to tally exceedingly well with the role this *fashi* plays in the Karabalgasun inscription: both sources stress the *fashi*’s prominent skill in missions, which greatly harmonizes with the role played by this person in spreading Manichaeism in southeastern China. The second proposition to explain *bulu* 呼祿 was made by Moriyasu Takao, who thinks that 呼祿 is identical with 胡祿, which in turn frequently renders Uyghur *uluγ* (‘big, great’, originally *buluγ*), consequently the expression thus would be an Uyghur-Chinese hybrid word for ‘great religious master’ (Moriyasu 2000, 436).

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<sup>19</sup> *Kunshan zhi* 崑山志 5.8a (1344); Chavannes and Pelliot 1912: 293–294. n.3.

<sup>20</sup> *Minsbu* 7.32a [172]: 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。

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While it is obvious that the two *fasbis* are not identical, the relatively high (though definitely not the highest) status of the latter implies the same status in the former case. This means that the person taking Manichaeism to the south was a relatively important person in the Manichaean hierarchy, even if this name does not appear in the description of hierarchies of the *Compendium* (cols. 70–75).

After the Huichang persecution, the “northern phase” of Chinese Manichaeism basically ended,<sup>21</sup> and the “southeastern phase” began, and this information in the *Minsbu* seems to be the only explicit link between the two. During the southern phase, Manichaeans survived in Zhejiang and Fujian provinces, as reports from subsequent centuries, to be briefly summarized below, attest.

### Manichaeism during the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties

Although we only have scattered references to the Chinese presence of Manichaeism, there can be no doubt that it did play some minor, local role in southeastern China, especially Zhejiang and Fujian provinces (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Gábor Kósa, *Zhejiang and Fujian provinces in China*. Modified map from: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/福建#/media/File:China\\_Fujian.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/福建#/media/File:China_Fujian.svg)

The importance of southeastern Manichaeism has been known for some time, but it was only during the last ten years that more thorough investigations were carried out (See e. g. Goodrich

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<sup>21</sup> This does not mean that there were no Manichaeans left in northern China: the *Cefu yuangui* (976.18b–19a [11468–11469]), for example, reports that a Manichaean monk (Mōnī *beshang* 摩尼和尚) was buried in Taiyuan 太原 (Shanxi) in 926. Occasionally, we hear of embassies of Uyghurs with Manichaeans arriving at the Chinese court (e.g., *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史 11.112 [951 AD]). Chinese sources also attest to the Manichaean presence in Gaochang: returning from his visit to Gaochang between 981–984, Wang Yande 王延德 made the following remark: “There are also Manichaean temples there, all the Persian monks stick to that religion. This is what the Buddhist scriptures call ‘heresy’.” (*Songsshi* 宋史 490.14112: 復有摩尼寺，波斯僧各持其法。佛經所謂外道者也; cf. Chavannes and Pelliot 1912, 271). Other sources like that of al-Mas’ūdi, an-Nadīm and Gardīzī also report on Manichaeism in Gaochang (Chao 1996, 296; Lieu 1992, 240).

1957, 164; Bryder 1988; Kauz 2000; Franzmann, Gardner and Lieu 2005). In the following pages, I aim to summarize what we know of this southern phase of Manichaeism, here usually termed as the ‘Religion of Light’ (*Mingjiao* 明教). Here I combine the previously known information with the historical references surrounding the newly found texts. It should be emphasized again that by these late medieval times it was only this Chinese region that provided foothold for any Manichaean community in the entire world.<sup>22</sup>

### The period of the Five Dynasties (907–960) and the Song Dynasty (960–1279)<sup>23</sup>

During the Five dynasties and the Song dynasty, Manichaeism was not infrequently, though most probably unduly, associated with various uprisings (e. g. Wu Yi 毋乙 in 920,<sup>24</sup> Fang La in 1120 plus five additional rebellions afterwards; Chikusa 1991, 44; Lieu 1992, 270–285; Yang Fuxue and Shi Yajun 2013). This negative role is sometimes counterbalanced by a more positive characterization: the *Record on the Investigation of the Divine* (*Jishenlu* 稽神錄), for example, narrates the story of a haunted house of a Qingyuan 清源 (Fujian province) military leader, where the local shaman proved to be ineffective in exorcising the house, while the representative of the Religion of Light, with his sacred book, succeeded in chasing away a demon (*Jishenlu* 稽神錄 3.6–7, quoted in the *Taiping guangji* 355.2812).

This more positive tone, as well as the Daoist association of Manichaeism, explains why during their search for scattered Daoist scriptures, Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962–1025), more precisely his main assistant, Zhang Junfang 張君房 (fl. 10th–11th c), obtained “the scriptures of Mānī, the envoy of light” (明使摩尼經) in Fujian.<sup>25</sup> In the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries, four imperial edicts were issued (in 1016, 1019, 1116, 1120) to collect the Manichaean scriptures in Fuzhou and Wenzhou so that they can be included in the Daoist Canon.<sup>26</sup>

Ten years before the discovery of the new manuscripts, Ralph Kauz already quoted a key sentence from the chronicle entitled *Genealogy of the Lins from Baiyang Village, Xiapu County* (*Xiapu Baiyangxiang Linsbi zuapu* 霞浦柏洋鄉林氏族譜), the relevance of which was not obvious back in 2000: “Lin Denggong 林澄公 (...) gave up his secular life and entered the Religion of Light [*ru mingjiao* 入明教]” (Kauz 2000, 340). The role Lin Deng 林澄 (1003–1059) played in Fujianese Manichaeism can hardly be underestimated, thus a longer excursus is due here (on Lin Deng, see, e.g., Yang Fuxue

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<sup>22</sup> I do not view the Cathars of the 12th–14th centuries as direct heirs of Manichaeism, thus this movement is not considered here.

<sup>23</sup> See Shigematsu (1991, 73–106).

<sup>24</sup> T49n2035\_p0391a20–25; *Jiu Wudai shi* 10.2a.

<sup>25</sup> *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 122.1a–2a (*Daozang* 道藏 CT 1032); cf. Chavannes and Pelliot (1912, 289).

<sup>26</sup> *Huangshi richao* 黃氏日抄 86.9b: ... 皆宣取摩尼經頒入道藏。

2014). There are several local sources that commemorate Lin Deng, the Fujianese Manichaean, who had a significant role in spreading Manichaeism in the Xiapu county of Fujian (see Ma Xiaohe 2015a, 232–238). Lin Deng’s teacher was a certain Sun Mian 孫綿, who established the temple called Longshousi 龍首寺 (Leshantang 樂山堂). Lin Deng had two daughters, as well as several dozens of disciples. In the surviving texts, he is address as Lin Nianwu gong 林廿伍公, Lin Wugong 林伍公 or Lin Wugong 林五公. The various local historical records<sup>27</sup> have preserved consistent information on Lin Deng’s life and activity, as well as the subsequent cult centered around him (Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, 344–351; Chen Jinguo and Wu Chunming 2009; Lin Zizhou and Chen Jianqiu 2010, 82; Ma Xiaohe 2015a, 238). Accordingly, Lin Deng entered the Manichaean community in 1027 (at the age of 25) and after his death, he succeeded in averting a threatening fire, which made him a local divinity. This latter development guaranteed that the writings surrounding his cult would be copied and recopied during the subsequent centuries. Due to his Manichaean priestly identity (obviously implied in the reference to his white robe in the narrative below, cf. Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, 350), his Manichaean heritage was also greatly esteemed. Here I quote two excerpts translated by Ma Xiaohe.

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>28</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>29</sup>

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.) (...) 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 and his merits and virtues were complete. He died on Mishi 密时 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. (...) On his birthday, the 13th day of the 2nd month in every year, his two daughters are offered

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<sup>27</sup> (1) *Ji’nan Tang Shangwan Linsbi zongpu* 濟南堂上萬林氏宗譜 (also called *Gaizhu Shangwan Linsbi zongpu* 蓋竹上萬林氏宗譜 [ch. *Shici tu* 世次圖]: from Shangwan village, 1872; (2) *Ji’nantang Shangwan Linsbi zongpu* 濟南堂上萬林氏宗譜: from Baiyang village, copy from 1989; (3) *Ji’nan jun Linsbi zongpu* 濟南郡林氏宗譜: from Shangwan village, copied in 1981; (4) *Linsbi zongpu* 林氏宗譜: from Cangnan 蒼南 (Zhejiang 浙江), 1817; (5) *Wanli Funing zhou zhi* 萬曆福寧州志 [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.

<sup>28</sup> The administrative designation of Changxi 長溪 was used for Xiapu county during the Tang dynasty (Ma Xiaohe 2015a, 228).

<sup>29</sup> Trans. Ma Xiaohe (2015a, 237–238); Ma Xiaohe (2015b, 457); *Funing zhou zhi* 福寧州志 ch. 15. [1616]: 林燈，上萬人。嘉祐間，閩縣前津門火，郡人望空中有人衣素衣，手持鐵扇撲火，遂滅。遙告眾曰：『我長溪上萬林燈也。』閩人訪至其墓拜謁，事聞，勅書『興福真人』 (Chen Jinguo and Lin Yun 2010, 350). Similar statements can be found in the chapters mentioned above in *Fujian tongzhi*, *Funing fu zhi*, *Xiapu xian zhi* (Ma Xiaohe 2015a, 238).

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>30</sup>

There is an apparent discrepancy between two facts recorded in the second source: Lin Deng joined the Manichaean community at the age of 25, and followed strict dietary restrictions, a requirement for a Manichaean elect, for 22 years, and died at the age of 56, which means that there is a period of ten years missing. This either can be explained by a scribal error of writing 22 instead of the correct 32 (this is the opinion of Lin Wushu 2017, 23), or he spent his first ten years as an “auditor”, the lower grade of Manichaean hierarchy, without embracing stricter regulations. This latter scenario is more likely, because he first joined the community at a young age (25), and one cannot immediately become an elect in the Manichaean system: a case in point is the young Augustine, who was a Manichaean auditor for at least nine years between 373 and 382 (on this period see BeDuhn 2010).

At present, rituals are performed to honour Lin Deng in three villages: Baiyang village 柏洋村, Shangwan village 上万村 and Tahou village 塔后村 (Lin Zizhou and Chen Jianqiu 2010, 82; on his cult, see also Yang Fuxue 2020, 139–152). 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 馬 and Marshal Zhao 趙) 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 (Lin Zizhou and Chen Jianqiu 2010, 82–83). The ritual manuals used during these and other, typically funerary rites, contain genuine Manichaean materials, presented in a popular religious context.

After this excursus on Lin Deng’s role, let us return to the traditional descriptions. Hong Mai’s 洪邁 (1123–1202) ‘Record of Yijian’ (*Yijianzhi* 夷堅志), as quoted by the *Fozu tongji*, relates that “the vegetarian demon-worshippers” (*chicai shimo* 喫菜事魔) live in great number in the vicinity of *Sanshan* 三山, the same place where the northern Manichaean teacher gathered disciples after the Huichang persecution (Lin and Yin 2012). The women wear white robe and a dark headgear, they are called the “community of Light”, and worship a buddha with white robe.<sup>31</sup> The umbrella term “vegetarian demon-worshippers” (other variants: *shicai shimo* 食菜事魔, *shimo shicai* 事魔食菜) was

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<sup>30</sup> Trans. Ma Xiaohe (2015a, 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 (...) 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。公歿後靈感衛民，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 (...) 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。 Cf. Kauz (2000, 341).

<sup>31</sup> *Fozu tongji* T2035: 0431a17–19: 喫菜事魔三山尤熾。為首者紫帽寬衫，婦人黑冠，白服。稱為明教會，所事佛衣白。

partly a statement of a fact (vegetarianism), while the other part seems to be a malicious pun on writing *shimo* 事魔 (‘serving the demons’) instead of *shi Mo* 事摩[尼] (‘serving Mā[ni]’) (see Chikusa 1991; Yang Fuxue and Shi Yajun 2014; Yang Fuxue 2020, 267–282).

Two important quotations attesting to Southern Song Manichaeism derive from two works of the same person, Lu You 陸遊 (1125–1210). His *Laoxue anbi* 老學庵筆記 (10.3a) 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>32</sup> Lu You’s other work, the *Weinan wenji* 渭南文集, mentions a sect called Mouni 牟尼 in Zhejiang province (the two Zhe [*liang* Zhe 兩浙], Zhexi 浙西 and Zhedong 浙東) and the Religion of Light in Fujian province (福建謂之明教) (*Weinan wenji* 渭南文集 5.7b), both referring to Manichaeism under different names (名號不一). Lu You states that the Religion of Light is the most widespread among them and both officials and soldiers spread it among themselves.<sup>33</sup> Lu You also emphasizes that this sect has numerous books and images: this author calls them ‘false scriptures and demonic images’ (*weijing yaoxiang* 偽經妖像), which clearly indicates Lu You’s negative attitude to this religion: he explicitly suggests that all the persons involved in these activities should submit their scriptures and images to the local office; furthermore, remaining scriptures should be collected and thrown to fire, while those spreading them are subject to being condemned.<sup>34</sup> Lu You’s tone implies a real threat and indicates a relatively great number of Manichaean followers, images (paintings or statues) and scriptures. The two latter types are more concretely referred to in other historical sources as well: the *Fozu tongji* cites the 13<sup>th</sup> century *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統, which quotes an edict that foremost warns against the contemporary use of the *Book of the Two Principles* (*Erzongjing* 二宗經),<sup>35</sup> the same work that was brought to Wu Zetian’s court in 694, and mentions several other works, at present otherwise unknown.<sup>36</sup> The most complete list of supposedly Manichaean writings and paintings that were in vogue among the followers of the Religion of Light in Wenzhou 溫州 (Zhejiang) appears in the *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (*xingfa* 刑法), which is a Qing dynasty (1644–

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<sup>32</sup> Trans. Lieu (1992, 288). 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贊其後。

<sup>33</sup> 明教尤甚。至有秀才使人軍兵亦相傳習。

<sup>34</sup> 其經文、印版令州縣根尋目下焚毀。仍立法：凡為人圖畫、妖像及傳刊印明教等妖妄經文者，並從徒一年論罪。

<sup>35</sup> Another, more complete title of the same work appears in Hong Kuo’s 洪适 (1117–1184) *Panzhou wenji* 盤洲文集 (74.1b), which has “The scripture of the Two Principles and Three Epochs” (*Erzong sanji jing* 二宗三際經), a title that precisely reflects the two fundamental concepts of Manichaeism, which nevertheless do not appear anywhere else (Wang Jianchuan 1992, 249–250).

<sup>36</sup> T49n2035\_p0370a09–15: 準國朝法令：諸以《二宗經》及非《藏經》所載不根經文傳習惑眾者，以左道論罪。(...) 不根經文者，謂《佛佛吐戀師》、《佛說啼淚》、《大小明王出世經》、《開元括地變文》、《齊天論》、《五來子曲》之類。

1911) compilation of Song dynasty documents: the list consists of six scriptures, six hymns, one confession text, and six paintings.<sup>37</sup>

The *Song huiyao jigao* (*xingfa*) (2.78 [165.6534]) refers to Manichaeans in Zhejiang, more specifically at a place (Wen 溫 prefecture) very close to Fujian:

The officials say: 'At the prefecture of Wen (Wenzhou 温州) and other places are recalcitrant persons who proclaim themselves to be the "disciples" (*xingzhe* 行者 = Sanskrit: *acarin*) 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" (*zhai tang* 齋堂). In the prefecture of Wen for instance, there are some forty such establishments and they are privately built and unlicensed Buddhist temples'.<sup>38</sup>

Recurring motifs in the characterization of the Manichaeans in Zhejiang and Fujian are the white robe they wear, their ban on eating meat and drinking wine, their gathering at night and dispersing in the morning, as well as their potential threat to the social order.

## The period of the Yuan (1279–1368) and Ming (1368–1644) Dynasties

A Yuan dynasty tomb, found in Quanzhou 泉州, a major international harbor (Lieu et al. 2012), is dedicated to Mar Solomon, a Christian bishop, who was in charge of the Religion of Light (*Mingjiao* 明教), Nestorianism (*Qinjiao* 秦教) and other religions in Jiangnan, which among other encompassed Zhejiang.<sup>39</sup> According to Marco Polo's report, in Fuzhou 福州 ('Fugiu') of the southern 'Manzi' region, he encountered a little known religious group, who were neither idol-worshippers (i.e., Buddhists), nor Zoroastrians, Muslims or Christians (though finally decided to join Christianity after their visit to the Mongol court). P. Pelliot and L. Olschki both suggested that they were in fact Manichaeans.<sup>40</sup>

During the Ming dynasty, Manichaeism was prohibited with other sects, as attested, for example, in the legal code *Da Ming lü jijie fuli*, where it is called 'the Religion of the Venerable Light' (*Zunmingjiao* 尊明教) (*Da Ming lü jijie fuli* 大明律集解附例 11.9b–10a; see also *Hongwu shilu* 洪武實錄 53.3;

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<sup>37</sup> *Song huiyao jigao* (*xingfa*) 2.78 [165.6534]; Forte (1973, 238–251), Lin Wushu (2018): « 訖思經 »、« 證明經 »、« 太子下生經 »、« 父母經 »、« 圖經 »、« 文緣經 »、« 七時偈 »、« 日光偈 »、« 月光偈 »、« 平文 »、« 策漢贊 »、« 策證明贊 »、« 廣大懺 »、« 妙水佛幀 »、« 先意佛幀 »、« 夷數佛幀 »、« 善惡幀 »、« 太子幀 »、« 四天王幀 ». Zs. Gulácsi (2009, 105–106, 144) opines that the so-called Seiun-ji painting (153.3 x 58.7 cm, Seiun-ji 栖雲寺, Kōfu 甲府) can be termed as a "Portrait of Jesus buddha"; for an alternative view, see Kósa (2015b, 205–206, n. 27).

<sup>38</sup> 臣僚言：一温州等狂悖之人，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。如温州共有四十餘處並是私建無名額佛堂。Trans. Lieu (2012a, 63). See also Forte (1973, 229–234), Lieu (1992, 276–277), Wang Jianchuan (1992, 251–252).

<sup>39</sup> Lieu (1998b, 180–181; 1980, 73–74). 管領江南諸路明教、秦教等，也裡可溫馬裡失裡門阿必思古八，馬裡哈昔牙。Cf. Moriyasu (2011, 348–357).

<sup>40</sup> Pelliot (1929): "De même, un chapitre entièrement nouveau nous révèle l'existence, près de Fou-tcheou du Foukien, d'une secte dont les officialités chrétiennes et islamiques se disputaient l'administration. Marco Polo a pensé finalement que c'étaient des chrétiens d'une espèce particulière, et M. Benedetto a souscrit ce jugement; mais il s'agit sûrement des Manichéens qui n'avaient pas dans l'empire mongol leurs officialités propres, mais étaient très nombreux dans Certaines régions, en particulier autour de Fou-tchéou; nous savons par d'autres sources qu'ils ne s'y éteignirent qu'au début du xvne siècle." For a more detailed discussion, see Olschki (1951).

Chavannes and Pelliot 1912, 329–331). Among the Ming dynasty sources we have several important descriptions, the most important being He Qiaoyuan's work on Fujian province, entitled the *Minsbu* (7.31b–32b [171–172]; chapter *Fangyu zhi* 方域志), which contains the most comprehensive summary of Chinese Manichaeism (Pelliot 1923, 198–207): the starting point is the Manichaean shrine (called *cao'an* 草庵) on the Huabiao mountain (Huabiao shan 華表山) in Quanzhou prefecture (*Quanzhou fu* 泉州府). Then he recounts the mythical birth of Mānī through the chest of his mother in Sulin 蘇隣, after she had eaten a pomegranate (an Iranian fruit introduced to China during the Han dynasty [206 BC – 220 AD], a symbol of fertility, see Harper 1986), which in turn was a transformed shape of Laozi. This narrative seems to be related to the *huabu* 化胡 theory, which was popular among the Chinese Manichaeans: one of the versions of the *Huabujing* (T54n2139\_p1267b19–24) had a Manichaean ending, which was then cited in the *Compendium* (cols. 35–40).<sup>41</sup> After describing some general features of the religion, He Qiaoyuan offers a historical overview of its spread in China, already referred to several times above; nevertheless, the entire report is worth quoting in length:

The Huabiao Hill of the county of Jinjiang prefecture of Quanzhou is joined to the Lingyuan Hills. Its two peaks stand up like *huabiao* (i.e., twin columns placed at the entrance of tombs). On the ridge slope back of the hill is a *cao'an* (lit. thatched nunnery) which is a relic of the Yuan period. There reverence is paid to Buddha Mani. The Buddha Mani has for name 'Brilliant Buddha Mo Moni. He came from Sulin (i.e., Assuristan) and is also a Buddha, having the name 'Envoy of the Great Light, Complete in Knowledge'. It is said that more than five hundred years after Laozi travelled to the shifting sands of the West, in the Wuzi year of the Jian'an period of emperor Xian of the Han (208 A.D.), he was transformed into a *naiyun* (i. e., pomegranate). The queen of the king Badi ate and liked it, upon which she became pregnant. The time having come, the child came forth through her breast. The *naiyun* is a pomegranate of the imperial gardens. This story is similar to that of the grasping of the pear-tree and the coming forth from the left side. His (Laozi's avatar; Mani's) religion is called "luminous"; in his clothing he favoured white; in the morning he worshipped the sun, in the evening the moon. He had a complete conception of the nature of "dharma", and laboured for its clarification. He said: 'That which approaches your nature is mine; that which approaches my nature, is yours.' In fine, he united in one [the doctrines of] Sakyamuni (i.e., Buddha) and Laozi (i.e., Taoism). He propagated [his religion] in the countries of the Arabs, the Roman Empire, Tokharestan, and Persia. In the year Pingsi of the Taishi period of emperor Wu of the Jin (A.D. 266) he died in Persia. He entrusted his doctrine to a chief *mushe*. The *mushe* in the reign of Gaozong of Tang (650–683) propagated his religion in the Middle Kingdom. Then, in the time of Wu Zetian (684–704) an eminent disciple of the *mushe*, the *juduodan* Miwumosi (Mihr-Ormuzd) came in turn to the court. The Buddhist monks were jealous of him and calumniated him, and there were mutual struggles and difficulties; but Zetian (i.e., Empress Wu) was pleased with his words and kept the envoy to explain his Scriptures to her. In the period Kaiyuan (713–741) a *Dayun guangmingsi* (Temple of the Light of the Great Clouds) was established for the worship (of Mani). He himself (the *juduodan*) said that in his country there had been in the beginning two sages, called Xianyi (Primordial Thought) and Yishu (Jesus); as we in the Middle Kingdom speak of Pangu. The word *mo* means large. Of their sacred books there are seven works. They have [also] the *Huabujing*, where is told the story of Laozi entering the shifting sands of the West to be born in Syria. In the period Huichang (841–846) when (Buddhist) monks were suppressed in great numbers, the Religion of Light was included in the suppression. However, a *Hulu fashi* came to Futang (south of Fuzhou), and taught his disciples at Sanshan (in Fuzhou). He came to the prefecture of Quan in his travels and died

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<sup>41</sup> The same story is recorded in He Qiaoyuan's other work, the *Mingshanzang* 明山藏 (ch. *Wangxiangji* 王享記), see Pelliot (1923, 196–198). See also Chavannes and Pelliot (1912, 140–156).

(there) and was buried at the foot of a mountain to the north of the prefecture. In the period Zhidao (995–997) a scholar of Huai’an, Li Tingyu, found an image of the Buddha (Mani) in a soothsayer’s shop at the capital; it was sold to him for 50,000 cashpieces, and thus his auspicious image was circulated in (the province of) Min (i.e., Fujian). In the reign of Zhenzong (998–1022) a scholar of Min, Lin Shichang, presented his (i.e., Manichaean) scriptures for safe-keeping to the Official College of Fuzhou. When Taizu of the Ming Dynasty established his rule, he wanted the people to be guided by the Three Religions (i.e., Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism). He was further displeased by the fact that (the Manichaeans) usurped the dynastic title (viz. *Mingchao* 明朝 ‘Dynasty of Light’) through the name of their sect (viz. *Mingjiao* 明教 – ‘Religion of Light’). He expelled their followers (from their shrines) and destroyed their shrines. The President of the Board of Rites, Yang Long, memorialized the throne to stop (this proscription); and because of this the matter was set aside and dropped. At present those among the people who follow its (Manichaean) practices use formulas of incantation called ‘The master’s prescription’, (but) they are not much in evidence. Behind the shrine are the Peak of Ten Thousand Stones, the Jade Spring, the Cloud-Ladder of a Hundred Steps, as well as accounts inscribed on the rocks (by visitors).<sup>42</sup>

In addition to the written allusions to Manichaeans and their activities, there are some textual references to temples, as well as some archaeological finds that witness to the Manichaeans’ presence in Zhejiang and Fujian. A temple called ‘The Cloister of the Religion of Light’ (*Mingjiaoyuan* 明教院) was founded in Rui’an 瑞安 (Zhejiang) in 942 (*Jiajing Rui’an xianzhi* 嘉靖瑞安縣志 1544, 1186b; Zhou 1990, 77), while another was founded in *Yongjia* 永嘉 (Zhejiang) in 938 under the name ‘The Temple of the Yoga of the Religion of Light’ (*Mingjiao yujia si* 明教瑜珈寺) (*Jiajing Yongjia xianzhi* 嘉靖永嘉縣志 1566, 8.6b; Zhou 1990: 77, Kauz 2000, 337). The *Fujian tongzhi* 福建通志 (ed. 1867; 14.9a, 47.4b) refers to a Manichaean temple (Moni gong 摩尼宮) in Fuding 福鼎 on the Taimu 太姥 mountain; here a statue was housed, in front of which believers were praying for the fulfillment of their dreams (Schafer 1954, 102; see also Kauz 2000; Bai Rongmin 2020). Kauz (2000, 341) suggests that the Moxiao’an 摩霄庵, a bigger temple nearby, was perhaps originally also a Manichaean temple. The *Xishan zazhi* 西山雜誌 mentions a Manichaean temple (*Moni si* 摩尼寺) on the Stone Knife Mountain (*Shidaoshan* 石刀山), which is the local name of the Huabiao mountain (Kauz 2000, 337. n.20). *Huangshi richao* 黃氏日抄 has preserved a correspondence (ca. 1260–1270) between Huang Zhen 黃震, the author of the work, and Zhang Xisheng 張希聲 (Lieu 1998a). The latter person, who was in charge of the Daoist temple named Chongshougong 崇壽宮 near Ningbo 寧波, traced the origin of the temple, which had been formerly used as a Manichaean temple. The Confucian literatus, Chen Gao 陳高 (1314–1366) reported on a temple called ‘The Temple of

<sup>42</sup> Lieu (1998b, 194–195) and Lieu (2015, 137) combined (pinyin added to the first, Chinese characters removed from the second). *Minsbu* 7.31b–7.32b: 泉州府晉江縣華表山與靈源相連，兩峰角立如華表。山背之麓有草庵，元時物也。祀摩尼佛。摩尼佛名末摩尼光佛，蘇鄰國人，又一佛也，號具智大明使。云老子西入流沙，五百餘歲，當漢獻帝建安之戊子，寄形暈。國王拔帝之后，食而甘之，遂有孕。及期，擊胸而出。暈者，禁苑石榴也。是為摩尼佛。棕暈者禁苑石榴也。其說與攀李樹出左脅相應。其教曰明，衣尚白。朝拜日，夕拜月，了見法性究竟廣明。云即汝之性是我之身，即我之身是汝之性。蓋合釋老而一之。行於大食拂林火羅波斯諸國。晉武帝太始丙戌，滅度於波斯。以其法屬上首慕闍。慕闍當唐高宗朝行教中國。至武則天時，慕闍高弟密烏沒斯拂多誕復入見，群僧妒讐，互相擊難，則天悅其說，留使課經。開元中作大雲光明寺奉之。自言其國始有二聖，號先意、夷數，若吾中國之言盤古者。宋之為言大也。其經有七部，有化胡經言老子西入流沙，托生蘇鄰事。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。至道中懷安士人李廷裕得佛像於京城卜肆，鬻以五十千錢，而瑞相遂傳闔中。真宗朝閩士人林世長取其經，以進授守福州文學。皇朝太祖定天下以三教範民，又嫌其教門上逼國號。擯其徒，毀其宮。戶部尚書郁新，禮部尚書楊隆奏留之，因得置不問。今民間習其術者行符咒，名師氏法，不甚顯云。庵後有萬石峰，有玉泉、雲梯百級，及諸題刻。

Hidden Light' (Qianguang yuan 潛光院) in Wen 溫 prefecture (*Buxi zhouyuyi* 不繫舟漁集 12.7.14b–15a; Lieu 1992, 298; Lieu 1998c, 123–125).

The temples mentioned above occur in the written sources, but there are also some actual archaeological finds that survive. Based on the description of the *Minsbu*, mentioned above, Wu Wenliang 吳文良 identified a Manichaean temple (*cao'an*, 'a thatched nunnery') on the slope of Huabiao mountain 華表山 in Jinjiang 晉江, near Quanzhou (Wu Wenliang 1957, 44–45, with Figs. 105–107), see also Goodrich (1957); Bryder (1988); Nian Liangtu (2008); on Wu Wenliang, see Lieu et al. (2012, 13–24). 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>43</sup> [勸念: 清淨、光明、大力、智慧、無上至真摩尼光佛。正統乙丑年九月]."<sup>44</sup> This temple, which was functioning as a Buddhist temple for a long time, also houses the only surviving sculptured image of Mānī (154 cm x 83 cm; Fig. 2) (Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing 2017, 264–265), which, as the inscription attests, was financed by a certain Chen Zhenze 陳真澤 in 1339.<sup>45</sup>



Fig. 2: Jinjiang, Huabiao mountain, *A Chinese image of Mānī in the "Cao'an"*, [http://www.zaytun.org/content/2016-12/13/content\\_5569691.htm](http://www.zaytun.org/content/2016-12/13/content_5569691.htm)

<sup>43</sup> The inscription of the stone that once stood near the Cao'an. See Wu Wenliang (1957, 44); on the history of this stone and some similar ones, see Lieu (2012a: 77–79).

<sup>44</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. See Chen Changsheng (1988), Lin (1992, 344, 352): "... Great Power, Wisdom, Mānī, the Buddha of Light" ... 大力、智慧、摩尼光佛。Yet another stone (137 cm x 64 cm x 32 cm) with the inscription [清]淨、光明、大力、智慧、□□□真摩尼光佛 was discovered near Putian 莆田 between Fuzhou and Quanzhou (You Guopeng and Liu Yuanmei 2010).

<sup>45</sup> Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing (2017, 265). 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. Nian Liangtu (2008, 92–110), Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu (2015, 381–387), Yang Fuxue, Li Xiaoyan and Peng Xiaojing (2017, 265). Not far from the Cao'an, in Sunei 蘇內 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 東石鎮. 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, see Lieu (2012a, 80), Franzmann, Gardner and Lieu (2005), Wang Yuanyuan and Lin Wushu (2015).

In 1985, Huang Shichun 黃世春 reported that some black bowls, inscribed with the three characters ‘(belonging to) the Community of the Religion of Light’ (*Mingjiao hui* 明教會) had been discovered in 1979 in the vicinity of the *cao’an*.<sup>46</sup>

During recent discoveries in Fujian, the remains of the following buildings were identified 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 zhibui* 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. Fushougong 福壽宮, originally ‘Mingjiao wenfo zudian 明教文佛祖殿’: a temple in Fuzhou, built during the Song dynasty. It houses a painting and several statues (Lin Wushu 2004; Peng Xiaojing and Yang Fuxue 2016; Yang Fuxue 2020, 161–225).

5. The ‘Dragon-head temple’ (Longshou si 龍首寺), ca. 2 km from Shangwan village. This temple was built in 966 by Lin Deng’s master, Sun Mian 孫綿. It was renamed as Leshantang 樂山堂 (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.

The written sources quoted above and, to a smaller extent, the archaeological finds listed attest to a relatively large community in these two southeastern provinces. In sum, there were two major figures who ensured the continuity of Chinese Manichaeism: first, the “great dharma teacher”, who after the Huichang persecution (843–845) of the Tang dynasty took Manichaeism from northern to southeastern China; and the second key figure in the survival of Manichaeism was Lin Deng (1003–1059) during the Song dynasty, whose local cult happened to coincide with the preservation of Manichaean material in the local ritual manuals. Without the former person, Manichaeism would have most probably disappeared by the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and without Lin Deng we would definitely not have the unique documents with Manichaean contents surviving into the Qing dynasty. In his new book, Yang Fuxue suggests that there was a direct line of transmission between these two figures.<sup>47</sup> If this is indeed so, the thousand-year history of post-Tang Manichaeism hinged on a single person, whose original name we do not even know.

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<sup>46</sup> Huang Shichun (1985), see also Nian Liangtu (2008, 34–39).

<sup>47</sup> Yang Fuxue (2020, 112): 据笔者第一章的分析，从呼祿法師來入福唐，授侶三山以來，霞浦摩尼教傳承關係大致為呼祿（胡天尊）→高佛日→西爽大師→陳誠庵→孫綿→林澄。

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