

Manichaeism in Central Asia and China

By
Samuel N.C. Lieu

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**MANICHAEISM IN
CENTRAL ASIA
AND CHINA**

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To
Professor Mary Boyce
and
Professor Dr. Dr. Werner Sundermann
and
Dr. Peter Zieme

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PREFACE

This second volume¹ of my selected articles on Manichaeism contains studies on the history and texts of the sect in Central Asia and especially in China. It also contains a working catalogue of published Manichaean texts from Central Asia and Egypt and North Africa which is published here for the first time. Several of the essays (III-VI) were published early in my research career on the subject and such is the pace of research and discovery in Manichaean studies that they have all been substantially revised (esp. III and VI), up-dated and expanded (esp. V).

The production of this volume benefited greatly from my directorship of the Database of Manichaean Texts from Roman Egypt and Central Asia (1990-94 now succeeded by the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum*). The generous financial assistance received from *inter alia* the British Academy, the Society of Antiquaries, the Swedish Academy of History and Letters, the Swedish Council of Social Sciences, the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust and the Leverhulme Trust (U.K.) has enabled me to co-ordinate the research on Manichaean texts by a team of internationally distinguished scholars as well as younger researchers from Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Sweden, Australia, the U.S.A. and the U.K. The project made available in electronic format a large number of Manichaean texts which facilitated citation of texts in their original scripts. The greater availability of Chinese word-processing facilities also enabled me to give Chinese names, titles, terms and bibliographical details in their original characters as well as in the Wade-Giles system of transliteration. In this I would like to thank Prof. Lin Wushu and Dr. Peter Bryder for initiating the arduous task of the data-entry of Chinese Manichaean texts and Ms. Ida Pu of Warwick University for patient and skilled assistance in the word-processing of the longer passages in Chinese characters for article IV.

To my wife Judith I owe much for loving support and critical advice (esp. for article VI). The kind invitation of Prof. Martin Hengel, FBA, for my wife and I to be Humboldt Visiting Fellows at the Institut für Antikes Judentum und hellenistische Religionsgeschichte at Universität Tübingen in the academic year of 1989-90 enabled me to work in Germany and especially at Berlin - the unrivalled centre for the study of Manichaean texts from Central Asia. In the course of the revision and up-dating, I have benefited much from Prof. Takao Moriyasu's pioneering work on Turkish Manichaean texts and from many helpful comments on points of translation from Chinese sources on Manichaeism from my Macquarie colleague Dr. Lance Eccles. Generous funding from the Australian Research Council and from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation has helped to establish Manichaean

¹ The first volume *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East* (1994) is also published by Brill but in the series *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*.

studies on a sound basis in the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre at Macquarie University. To Prof. James Robinson and Prof. Johannes Van Oort, editors of the series Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, I am grateful for the interest they have shown in my published work over the last two decades.

I would like to thank Prof. K. Tanabe, Mr. J. Cribb and Mrs. H. Wang for their permission to reprint Article I from *Silk Road Coins and Culture* (Kamakura, 1997), the editors of *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* for Article II, of the *Journal of Theological Studies* for Article III, of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* for Articles IV and V and of *Vigiliage Christianae* for Article VI.

Finally I would like to express my deepest personal gratitude to Prof. Werner Sundermann and his Berlin colleague Dr. Peter Zieme for their constant help, advice and up-to-date information on Manichaean texts from Central Asia in the Berlin collection and for being excellent hosts on the occasions of my visit to their city. To Professor Mary Boyce I owe an immense personal debt. When I first began the serious study of the subject at Oxford more than twenty years ago, she was one of a small handful of senior British scholars who had the experience of working with Manichaean texts. Her advice and her publications have been a constant source of inspiration to me and to many other scholars in Manichaean and Zoroastrian studies. To these three generous and outstanding scholars this collection of studies is affectionately dedicated.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Adam, *Texte* A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, CLXXV, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1969)
- AoF *Altorientalische Forschungen* (Berlin)
- APAW Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin, 1815-1907; philosoph.-hist. Kl., 1908-49)
- Aspects* F. Decret, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine* (Paris, 1970).
- Aug. Aurelius Augustinus
- BBB W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, APAW 1936, X.
- BEFEO *Bulletin de l'École Française d'extrême-Orient*
- BJRL *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
- BSO(A)S *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
- CCSG Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca (Turnhout, 1977 ff.)
- CCSL Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout 1967 ff.)
- CFHB Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Washington, D.C. etc. 1967 ff.)
- Chin. Chinese
- CJ *Codex Justinianus*
- CMC *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis*
- coll. *Lex Dei sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio*
- Copt. Coptic
- Copt./Gr. Coptic word of Greek origin
- CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris, Louvain etc. 1903 ff.)
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866 ff.)
- CT *Codex Theodosianus*
- Epiph. Epiphanius Constantensis
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig 1897-1941; Berlin and Leipzig, 1953; Berlin 1954 ff.)
- Gnosis, III A. Böhlig and J. P. Asmussen (edd. and transs.), *Die Gnosis, III, Der Manichäismus* (Zürich and Munich, 1980)
- Gr. Greek
- [Hegem]., Arch. [Hegemonius], *Acta Archelai*
- Hom. *Manichäische Homilien*, ed. and trans. H.-J. Polotsky (Stuttgart, 1934)
- HR ii F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan II*, aus den Anhang zu den APAW, 1904, 1-117.

- IMTT** W. Sundermann (ed.), *Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts in early publications (1904-1934)*, Photo Edition, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Suppl. Ser. III (London, 1996)
- JRAS** *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)
- JRS** *Journal of Roman Studies*
- JTS** *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oxford)
- Keph.** *Kephalaia*, edd. and transs. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (Stuttgart, 1940 ff.)
- KPT** W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berliner Turfantexte IV (Berlin, 1973)
- L'Afrique**, i-ii F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne, Étude historique et doctrinale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1978.)
- Lat.** Latin
- Lieu**, *Manichaeism*² S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 2nd edn. (Tübingen, 1992)
- MIO** *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* (Berlin)
- MM i-iii** F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I*, SPAW X, 1932, pp. 175-222; II, *ibid.* 1933, VII, pp. 294-363 and III, *ibid.* 1934, XXVII, pp. 848-912
- MMTKGI** W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berliner Turfantexte XI (Berlin, 1981)
- NH(M)S** *Nag Hammadi (and Manichaean) Studies* (Leiden)
- Pe.** Middle Persian
- PG** *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeco-Latina*, edd. J. P. Migne *et al.*, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857-66)
- PL** *Patrologiae cursus completus, series, Latina*, edd. J. P. Migne *et al.*, 221 vols. (Paris 1844-64) and 5 Suppl. (1958-74)
- PO** *Patrologia Orientalis*, edd. R. Graffin and F. Nau (Paris, 1907 ff.)
- Ps.-Bk.** *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, I, Pt. 2, ed. and trans. C. R. C. Allberry (Stuttgart, 1938)
- Pth.** Parthian
- PW** A. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa (Stuttgart 1893 ff.)
- Reader** M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica IX (Tehran-Liège, 1975)
- Šb.** *Šābuhragān*, ed. D. N. MacKenzie, "Mani's *Šābuhragān*", BSOAS 42/3 (1979) 500-34 and "Mani's *Šābuhragān* - II", *ibid.* 43/2 (1980) 288-310.
- Sogd.** Sogdian
- SPAW** *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1882-1921; phi1os.-hist. Kl., 1922-49)
- SPPY** *Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要 (Shanghai, 1927-36)

- SPTK* *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai, 1935)
- T* *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (The Tripitaka in Chinese, Tokyo, 1924-29)
- TMC* i-iii A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, *APAW*, 1911; II, *ibid.* 1919 and II, *ibid.* 1922.
- Traité* 1911 E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *Journal Asiatique*, 10^e sér., 18 (1911) 499-617.
- Traité* 1913 E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, deuxième partie, Fragment Pelliot et textes historiques", *Journal Asiatique*, 11^e ser., 1 (1913) 99-199 and 261-392.
- W.-L.* i-ii E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, *APAW* 1926, 4; "Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten", *SPAW* 1933, 13, pp. 480-607.
- Word-List* M. Boyce, *A Word-List in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, *Acta Iranica* 9a (Teheran-Liège, 1977).
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
- ZRGG* *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*

I. MANICHAEAN ART AND TEXTS FROM THE SILK ROAD*

1. Introduction

The discovery of Manichaean texts and examples of the sect's artistic achievements takes us back to one of the earliest chapters of the modern study of the Silk Road. The Manichaean religion was a religion of the book *par excellence*. Early Manichaean missionaries counted scribes and calligraphers among their number. Even such staunch enemies of the sect as Ephraim and Augustine had to admit the artistic skills of the Manichaeans while Mani himself enjoyed a high reputation in Arabic sources as a ("Chinese") painter in the Islamic period. However, the religion was hounded out of existence by its many enemies (Zoroastrians, Christians, Muslims and Confucianists) who also did their utmost to destroy its meeting places and burn its literature. This destruction was so thorough, especially in the West, that until the middle of the last century, Europe's knowledge of the basic teachings of the Manichaean sect was largely dependent on the writings of the Fathers, especially those of Augustine of Hippo who, for a period of nine years, was a lay member of the sect and therefore had first hand knowledge of its teachings and activities in Roman North Africa and Italy. Soon after his famous conversion to Catholic Christianity, he began to write prolifically against the sect, concentrating on the illogicality of its tenets and on the moral ambivalence of its Elect members. Augustine is one of the few polemicists who cites direct from Manichaean works – both from the writings of Mani such as the *Thesaurus (Treasures)* and the *Epistula fundamenti* and also from those of Faustus of

* This is an expanded and up-dated version of an article first published in K. Tanabe, J. Cribb and H. Wang (edd.), *Silk Road Coins and Culture* (Kamakura, 1997) 261-312. Though published in 1997, the article was submitted in 1994. Some of the research for this article, especially on the contribution of the German Iranologists and Turkologists to the study of the subject, was made while I was guest of the Institutum Judaicum at the Universität Tübingen, 1989-90. I would like to thank Prof. Martin Hengel, FBA, for his kind invitation and the Humboldt Stiftung for financing my stay at Tübingen. I would also like to thank (the late) Prof. Böhlig and his wife for their hospitality and Prof. Gaube for allowing me to attend his classes on Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian. Prof. Werner Sundermann (Berlin) has been a constant source of advice and information and this article is dedicated to him and his wife, Hannelore, his colleague, Dr. Peter Zieme, and their co-workers at the Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung in Berlin.

Milevis, one of the most famous Manichaean teachers in the Latin West in the fourth century. These citations, together with those preserved in a polemical work entitled the *Acta Archelai*, constituted the basis of the critical study of Manichaeism until the middle of the last century. As an experienced polemicist, Augustine was always on guard against his reader falling for the heretical teaching which he was endeavouring to refute and consequently he never presented more of his opponents' arguments than was needed for the purpose of refutation.

A turning point, the first of many in Manichaean studies, was the publication in 1865 by Gustav Flügel of his edition and translation of a long article on Mani and his religion by the ninth century Baghdad bibliographer and encyclopaedist, Abul Faraj Muhammed ibn Ishak "al-Warrak" (the book-seller, commonly known as Ibn al-Yakub al-Nadim, which clearly draws material *sine ira et studio* from genuine Manichaean sources which were still extant in Arabic in his time.¹ Before the end of the century, another important discovery was made by the Semitic scholar Pognon of the anti-heretical catalogue of Theodor bar Kōnai, Nestorian Bishop of Kashkar (near al-Waṣīt) in Iraq, which also cites extensively from a Manichaean source in Syriac – a language akin to Mani's own dialect of Aramaic – on cosmogony.² The material from Theodor's *mimra* on Manichaean cosmogony was cited *in extenso* with extensive annotation by Cumont and Kugener. The latter also made available, for the first time, citations from another Manichaean text on cosmogony preserved in the Syriac translation of one of the homilies of Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch (c. A.D. 465-538).³

2. *The German Expeditions to Turfan (1902-14)*

It was the Silk Road, however, which yielded the first major hoard of genuine Manichaean texts, *viz.* texts produced by members of the sect for the religious life of their communities. In November 1902, an expedition led by Grünwedel, Director of the Indian Department of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, reached Chotcho in Central Asia. Grünwedel was a specialist in Buddhism in India and Tibet, and his interest in the Turfan Basin as a possible centre of diffusion of Graeco-Roman art into north India

¹ Cf. G. Flügel, *Mani. Seine Lehre und seine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1862) 4-80.

² H. Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir*, II (Paris, 1899) tr. 184-93.

³ F. Cumont and M. Kugener, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, II (Bruxelles, 1912) 89-150.

began in 1899 with the report by two Russian scholars from St. Petersburg, Radloff and Salemann, who brought samples of manuscripts and artistic remains from the region which they had earlier visited. However, financial backing for a German expedition was hard to come by as the Prussian Academy was reluctant to be involved. An expedition was made possible in the end through using the funds of the Museum and private donations. At the site known as Ruine- or Complex- α , Bartus, Grünwedel's assistant and one of the most colourful members of this and subsequent expeditions, when digging among the ruins along the remains of an inner city wall, came upon a beautiful frescoed floor, which later proved to be part of a *cella*. The walls of the *cella* were also adorned with frescoes and on one of them was the upper part of a body of a white-robed priest with a rectangular hat. After they had moved to another site, local inhabitants brought manuscript fragments dug out of the passage-ways around the *cella* in Complex- α . One of these contained a miniature with white-robed men resembling the figure on the fresco.⁴ Grünwedel surmised that the expedition had stumbled upon a manuscript depository. The script of the manuscripts was immediately recognised as a form of Estrangela, one of the most common Syriac scripts, but it was less easy to identify the language(s). Near the southern gateway of the complex was a series of rubble-filled rooms in which were found texts in Uighur Turkish as well as printed and hand-copied Buddhist texts and secular documents.⁵

At the end of the expedition in March 1903, the study of the texts in Estrangela script brought back to Berlin was entrusted to F. W. K. Müller, a Sinologist with a thorough knowledge of classical Arabic and Persian as well as the repertoire of classical and modern languages standard among German scholars of his time. He began with an exceptionally well-preserved fragment on white leather (M178 = MIK III 4990) but made little progress as the language of it (Sogdian) was then unknown.⁶ Less than a year later,

⁴ MIK III 4979. Cf. A. von Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike II, Die Manichäischen Miniaturen* (Berlin 1923) pl. 8a/b. [Hereafter von Le Coq, *Miniaturen*.]

⁵ Cf. M. Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan collection* (Berlin, 1960) [hereafter Boyce, *Cat.*] X-XI and H. Härtel and M. Yaldiz, *Die Seidenstraße, Malereien und Plastiken aus buddhistischen Höhlentempeln* (Berlin, 1987) 15-18. [Hereafter Härtel-Yaldiz, *Die Seidenstraße*.] Eng. trans. of an earlier edition by Ian Robson, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes, Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1982.

⁶ Cf. W. B. Henning, "A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony", *BSOAS* 12 (1948) 306.

he was able to communicate to the Prussian Academy on 18 February a full table of transcriptions, specimen texts and even sample translations – he had by then worked out that the language of some of the texts was a form of Middle Iranian then known as Pahlavi and was able to transcribe and translate both the recto and verso of one small fragment (MIK III 8259 I V i 1-9, V ii 15-18).⁷ He concluded his short communication⁸ with the suggestion that the texts were of Manichaean origin as Chinese sources had indicated the region to be a centre of Manichaeism in the Middle Ages.⁹

Five months later, Müller placed before the Prussian Academy a substantial selection of Manichaean texts with interlinear translations.¹⁰ The information on the original writings of the Manichaeans provided by Ibn al-Nadim had enabled Müller to identify many fragments from Mani's *Šābuhragān* – a semi-canonical work which Mani wrote in Persian for his first imperial patron, Shāpūr I.¹¹ The fragments would later be re-ordered by the Belgian Ghilain¹² and a fuller version was published more recently by MacKenzie.¹³ Of great importance also are two double sheets (M98-99) which contain a detailed account of the fashioning of the heavens and the earths by the Living Spirit.¹⁴ Other fragments contain excerpts from Mani's canonical *Evangelium* as well as letters and accounts of Manichaean history. The texts were reproduced in transcription and are vocalised. The entire collection would later be republished with minor revisions by Salemann in unvocalised Hebrew transcription and provided with grammatical notes, a word-index and reverse-index.¹⁵ The pioneering achievement of Müller also

⁷ Cf. F. W. K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan I", APAW 1904 [hereafter *HR i*] 350-51, texts given as P1 and P2 by C. S. Salemann in *Manichäische Studien, I, Die mittelpersischen Texte in revidierter transcription, mit glossar and grammatischen bemerkungen*, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg, St. Petersburg (1908) 32.

⁸ I.e. *HR i*.

⁹ *Ibid.* 352.

¹⁰ I. e. F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan II*, aus den Anhang zu den APAW 1904, 1-117. [Hereafter *HR ii.*]

¹¹ *Ibid.* 11-25.

¹² A. Ghilain, "Un feuillet manichéen reconstitué", *Le Muséon* 59 (1946) 535-45.

¹³ D. N. MacKenzie, "Mani's *Šābuhragān*", *BSOAS* 42/3 (1979) 500-34 and "Mani's *Šābuhragān* – II", *ibid.* 43/2 (1980) 288-310..

¹⁴ *HR ii*, pp. 37-43.

¹⁵ C. S. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien, I, Die mittelpersischen Texte in revidierter transcription, mit glossar and grammatischen bemerkungen*,

enabled Salemann to edit and translate a number of important Iranian fragments in Manichaean script in the St. Petersburg collection.¹⁶

The later successful interpretation of a commemorative inscription in Uighur, on a wooden pile discovered in Complex- α ,¹⁷ raised the important question of why so many Manichaean texts were found in a site which had been a Buddhist monastery since c. A. D. 768. More recent research into the history of religious foundations of the region and of the names and titles of Uighur kings has led to the redating of the inscription to 1008, a time when Buddhism was beginning to replace Manichaeism as a predominant religion of the Turfan region.¹⁸ Complex- α was clearly the site of a major centre of Manichaeism, probably the seat of an *archegos* of the East, to which important correspondence concerning the administration and organisation of the sect in all the lands between the Oxus and the frontier of the Chinese Empire was addressed.

News of the finds by the first expedition, especially of Buddhist art treasures, caused a considerable stir in Japan, with the result that Count Ōtani, the head of the Buddhist Pure Land Sect (Jodo Shinshu), financed a Japanese expedition to the Tarim Basin in 1902-03 and a second one in 1908-09. The two expeditions both contributed greatly to the geographical knowledge of the Silk Road.¹⁹ They also yielded a number of texts (now housed in Kyoto) in Manichaean script which are now finally being studied and published.²⁰

Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg, St. Petersburg. [Hereafter Salemann, *MStud.*]

¹⁶ Idem, *MStud.* and idem, "Manichaeica III", *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg* (1912) 1-32.

¹⁷ F. W. K. Müller, "Zwei Pfahlinschriften aus den Turfanfunden" in *APAW* 1915, 6-13.

¹⁸ W. Sundermann, "Completion and correction of archaeological work by philological means: the case of the Turfan texts" in P. Bernard and F. Grenet (edd.), *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques. Actes du Colloque international du CNRS* (Paris, 1991) 286-87. [Hereafter Sundermann, *Completion.*]

¹⁹ H.-J. Klimkeit, *Die Seidenstraße: Handelsweg und Kulturbrücke zwischen Morgen- und Abendland* (Cologne, 1988) 38. [Hereafter Klimkeit, *Seidenstraße.*]

²⁰ See esp. W. Sundermann, *The Manichaean Hymn cycles Huyadagmān and Angad Rōšnān in Parthian and Sogdian*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Supplementary Series, II (London, 1990) 22 and idem, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous, Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus, Edition der parthischen und soghdischen Version*, *Berliner Turfantexte XVII* (Berlin, 1992) 38 and Y. Yoshida, "On a Manichaean Middle Iranian fragment lost from the Ōtani

The unexpected success of the first German expedition led for calls among the German intelligentsia for more and the second expedition (officially termed the First Royal Prussian Expedition because it received funding from the Kaiser) set off in September 1908 under the leadership of Albert von Le Coq, a well-known figure in Turkology who had at one time been a trader and was now an honorary worker of the Museum für Völkerkunde. The main discovery was made at Ruine- or Complex-K, an important group of ruins at Chotcho, lying roughly in the centre of the city.²¹ It was in one of the three large halls at the centre of the complex that peasants had recently exposed, behind a thin outer wall, an older and exquisitely executed wall-painting of Manichaean priests in three rows behind an outsized figure.²² The description of this stunning discovery as given by von Le Coq to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1909 is still worth citing in full:²³

Our attention was invited to the large and centrally situated complex of ruins, marked K on the plan, by the fact that some natives had pulled down a wall in the northernmost of the three large hall-like edifices we found in the centre of this complex. It then appeared that this wall had anciently been erected with a view of obliterating the paintings on the face of the original wall, on which we found the picture, in water-colours, of a Manichaean high-priest in his pontifical robes, surrounded by a number of his clergy, all dressed in the white sacerdotal robes, which we know from their recurrence on Manichaean miniatures to be the costume of a certain class of ecclesiastics of that faith. The portrait of the high-priest – for the whole group of painted faces impresses one as being meant for portraits – is done larger than life. His dress is white, but shows a rectangular piece of embroidery attached to the part covering the bosom, while a broad band of embroidery passes over the left – and probably also over the right (destroyed) – shoulder. His tall white cap is embroidered with gold, and held on the head by a black band which passes under the chin. The face is oval, the nose aquiline, but the eyes, small and rather slanting in their position, recall the manner of Chinese artists when painting the portrait of a European. The nimbus is composed of moon-

collection” in O. Sakiyama and A. Sato (edd.) *Asian Languages and General Linguistics* (Tokyo/Sanseido, 1990) 176-78.

²¹ A. von Le Coq, *Chotscho: Facsimile-Wiedergaben der wichtigeren Funde der ersten königlich preussischen Expedition nach Turfan in Ost-turkistan* (Berlin, 1913) 7-9. [Hereafter von Le Coq, *Chotscho*.]

²² See plate in von Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Tafel 1, orig. size 168.5 x 88 cm., poorly reproduced in H.-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy, Iconography of Religions* 20 (Leiden, 1982) pl. VII, 10a. [Hereafter, Klimkeit, *Art*.]

²³ A. von Le Coq, “A short account of the origin, journey, and results of the First Royal Prussian (Second German) Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkistan”, *JRAS* 1909, 304-05. [Hereafter von Le Coq, *Short account*.]

crescent and sun, the disc of the sun being represented as golden-yellow. The peculiar signification of this extraordinary nimbus has caused the impression that perhaps we have here a picture of Manes (*sic*) himself before us.

The nimbus-effect surrounding the head of the chief figure is particularly striking and distinguishes him from the other figures. The symbol of sun and moon occupies an important place in Manichaean cosmology as the two celestial bodies are also light vessels for the conveyance of redeemed Light-Particles. The three rows of lesser figures contain a minimum of thirteen persons which rules out the possibility of their being the twelve disciples of Mani *in instar apostolici numeri*. They are all named in what were later identified as Sogdian letters in black with one exception which is in Manichaean script in red. None of the names approximate to those of Mani's earliest disciples as known to us from Manichaean historical texts. The expedition apparently arrived in the nick of time to prevent the painting from falling into the hands of treasure hunters. On the opposite wall was apparently a lesser figure which was not so elaborately painted. This depiction (now no longer extant) might have been that of Mār Ammō, the chief Manichaean missionary to the eastern lands during the lifetime of Mani.²⁴

Complex-K had clearly once been a Manichaean library as the excavators found manuscript fragments which had been reduced to loess by irrigation-water lying deep on the floor. It was, as von Le Coq mournfully exclaimed, 'ein ungeheurer Schatz verlorengegangen'.²⁵

Thus I had the grief of discovering in the Manichaean shrine K a library which was utterly destroyed by water. When I had unearthed the door from the heaped-up loess dust and sand we found on the threshold the dried-up corpse of a murdered Buddhist monk, his ritual robe all stained with blood. The whole room, into which this door led, was covered to a depth of about two feet with a mass of what, on closer inspection, proved to be remains of Manichaean manuscripts. The loess water had penetrated the papers, stuck everything together, and in the terrible heat of the usual summer there all these valuable books had turned into loess. I took specimens of them and dried them carefully in the hope of saving some of these manuscripts; but the separate pages crumbled off and dropped into small fragments, on which the remains of beautifully written lines, intermingled with traces of miniatures executed in gold, blue, red, green, and yellow, were still to be seen. An

²⁴ Cf. Klimkeit, *Art*, 25.

²⁵ A. von Le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan, Berichte und Abenteuer der II. und III. Deutschen Turfan-Expedition* (Leipzig, 1926) 47. [Hereafter von Le Coq, *Spuren*]. Eng. trans. by Anna Barwell, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1928) 61.

enormous treasure has been lost here. On the walls we found exceedingly well-executed frescoes, but they, too, were much damaged. In a narrow passage near this library a tremendous quantity of textile materials, some Persian and some Chinese in character, was discovered, amongst other things Manichaeian hanging pictures on cloth, depicting a man or a woman in the full canonicals of the Manichaeian priesthood.²⁶

The library was apparently undamaged until the beginning of the twentieth century when the irrigation channels were dug causing a rise in the watertable and thereby the books to rot.²⁷ Besides destruction by nature of a major hoard of texts in the Manichaeian script, von Le Coq and his companions were also greatly disappointed to learn that they had arrived too late to rescue other texts from human destruction out of sheer ignorance:²⁸

Our expeditions arrived too late at Karakhoja. Had they come earlier, more of these remarkable Sassanian-Hellenistic paintings would certainly have been secured. We should have saved, too, very much more of the literature of the religious community, important as it is to the history of religions and languages alike; one of the peasants told me that five years before the arrival of the first expedition he had, in the ruins of one of the temples, which were pulled down to turn their site into fields, found great cart-loads (*araba*) of those manuscripts 'with the little writing' (i.e. Manichaeian) for which we were making such diligent search. Many had been ornamented with pictures in gold and colours. But he was afraid, to begin with, of the unholy nature of the writings and, secondly, that the Chinese might use the discovery as a pretext for fresh extortions, so that he straightway threw the whole library into the river!

Nevertheless, Manichaeian texts were found in many other sites at Chotcho, most notably in a small barrel-vaulted room in a domed building along the north of Complex-K in which were also found the bodies of Buddhist monks violently slain, and also in ruins which were situated in the southern part of the city. In March 1905, von Le Coq brought the work at Chotcho to a close and moved on to work at temple sites at Sängim, Bāzäklik (=Murtuq) and Tuyuq. Many manuscript fragments, including those of Manichaeian texts, were recovered from these sites, especially from a half-destroyed library in Tuyuq, which included fragments of Christian and Buddhist texts, as well as Manichaeian texts in Middle Iranian and Turkish.²⁹ The manuscripts consisted of bound books, scrolls and the occasional Indian-type

²⁶ Ibid. trans. p. 61.

²⁷ Cf. Boyce, *Cat.*, 68, n. 1.

²⁸ von Le Coq, *Spuren*, 44; trans. 58-59.

²⁹ Cf. Boyce, *Cat.* XVII.

pothi (on the last v. *infra* §5b). The writing was executed in excellent calligraphy and in good ink on leather, silk, and, most commonly, high-quality paper. Some of the texts were also illustrated with exquisite and delicate miniatures. In most cases the texts had been reduced to fragments by over-zealous Islamic invaders who might have been offended by the anthropomorphic representations of deities and demons in the illustrations.

In August 1905, von Le Coq received word that Grünwedel had finally decided to join the expedition and he was to meet him at Kashgar. The two met in December and the combined parties began what is technically known as the 'Third German Expedition to Turfan' which lasted from December 1905 until June 1907, but ill-health forced von Le Coq to pull out of the expedition in June 1906, and return via India. A total of six sites were explored and Manichaean manuscripts were found at Murtuk. The lack of a find list from this particular expedition makes it difficult to evaluate both the quantity and importance of the Manichaean fragments recovered.³⁰

As one would expect, the large amount of artifacts and texts brought back by the second and third expeditions kept the scholars in Berlin occupied for the next few years. The political situation in the Turfan region had in the meantime degenerated to such an extent that the personal safety of the would-be western explorers could not be guaranteed. Prior to their departure from Berlin in March 1913, both von Le Coq and Bartus had to sign a declaration at the Foreign Office that they were embarking on their new expedition at their own personal risk. The fourth and last German expedition left by train for Kashgar with the express intention of further exploring the area around Kucha (south-west of Turfan) visited by the Third Expedition. This final expedition, the subject of a well-known popular work by von Le Coq,³¹ examined mainly Buddhist sites between Tumšuk and Kurla which yielded no Manichaean text or art-fragment. The only Manichaean fragments in Berlin which carry signatures associated with this final expedition were probably brought by locals to von Le Coq from Chotcho to Kucha.³² In March 1914, von Le Coq and Bartus left Kashgar to head back to Berlin via Russia, returning shortly before Europe was plunged into the horrors of the Great War.

³⁰ Ibid. XIX.

³¹ I.e. *Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkistan. Berichte und Abenteuer der 4. Deutschen Turfanexpedition* (Leipzig, 1928).

³² Cf. Boyce, *Cat.* XX-XXI.

3. *The discoveries of Manichaean texts at Dunhuang* 敦煌

Dunhuang, arguably the most famous of the Silk Road cities, came into prominence as a source of Manichaean texts as a result of the historic 'inspection' of the large cache of texts in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas in May 1907 by Marc Aurel Stein, then Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore. The cache had come to light several years earlier when a Taoist priest had by chance discovered a sealed entrance while cleaning up one of the cave-temples. Stein's description of the cave is as follows:³³

The entrance to the cave-temple had been formerly blocked by fallen rock débris and drift-sand, as was still partially the case at several of the caves situated at the foot of the cliff further south. While restorations were slowly being carried on in the temple cellar and the place now occupied by its antechapel, the labourers engaged had noticed a crack in the frescoed wall of the passage connecting the two. An opening was thus discovered that led to a recess or small chamber excavated from the rock behind the stuccoed north wall of the passage.

Manuscript rolls, written in Chinese characters but in a non-Chinese language, were said to have filled the recess completely. Their total quantity was supposed to be so great as to make up several cartloads. News of the discovery having reached distant Lan-chou, specimens of the manuscripts were asked for from provincial headquarters. Ultimately orders were supposed to have come from the Viceroy of Kan-su to restore the whole of the find to its original place of deposit. So now this strange hoard of undeciphered manuscripts was declared to be kept by the Tao-shih behind the carefully locked door with which the hidden recess had been provided since its first discovery.

The documents had been deposited before 1035 when the cave was sealed. This man-made time-capsule would turn into one of the most significant documentary finds in recent history. A skilled negotiator, Stein managed to persuade the Taoist priest, Wang Tao-shih 王道士, the discoverer of the cache and keeper of the Buddhist temple in which the sealed cave was found, to permit him to take to India (the land of origin of the Buddhist texts) a large quantity of texts for further study. The news of the find soon attracted other scholarly visitors to Dunhuang and among them was the distinguished French Central Asian scholar, Paul Pelliot. Among the manuscripts he was able to acquire for the Bibliothèque Nationale was a fragment in Chinese of some thirty lines, which Pelliot was able to identify as the concluding section of a summary of Manichaean doctrine. This text has come to be

³³ M.-A. Stein, *Serindia*, II (Oxford, 1921) 801-02.

known as the “Fragment Pelliot” (P3884) after its discoverer. By then, news of the discovery had belatedly reached Chinese scholars in Beijing and what remained of the cache was brought back to the capital. It was not long before the Chinese scholars noticed that what had appeared to be an untitled Buddhist text in Chinese in fact belonged to an Iranian religion, as it contained a number of loan-words which were not transliterations of Sanskrit or of Pali as commonly found in Chinese Buddhist texts. The Chinese scholar, Lo Ts'en-yü 羅振玉, suspected that its original version was Iranian and entitled the text *Po-sso chiao ts'an-ching* 波斯教殘經 (The fragmentary scripture of a Persian religion) (Cat. no. Bei 北 8470, formerly Yu 宇 56). Since Chinese scholars then were not sufficiently conversant in the subject of Iranian religions to attempt a serious study of the text, Professors Eduard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, who were the two most eminent scholars then in the study of foreign religions in China, were invited jointly to edit the text. This led to their epoch-making study “Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine”, published in three parts of the *Journal Asiatique* from 1911-13.³⁴ It gives a fully annotated translation of the newly discovered text, together with a translation of the “Fragment Pelliot” and a collection of testimonies on the diffusion of Manichaeism in China. The existence of Manichaeism in China, once doubted by Chavannes himself, was no longer in question. The *testimonia* from Chinese historical, bureaucratic and literary sources published by the two French scholars also help to explain the presence of Manichaeism in the Tarim Basin. From them we learn that the religion reached China in the early eighth century, but it was only allowed to be propagated among members of the foreign communities. The status of the religion changed completely when the Khaghan of the Uighur Turks (who were the main mercenaries of a weak T'ang government) was converted to the religion in 762. The capital of the Uighur Kingdom was then at Karabalghasun on the Orkhon, south of Lake Baikal, and the conversion was celebrated in the famous fragmentary trilingual inscription (Turkish, Sogdian and Chinese) found at the ruins of the capital. Later, in 840, when the Uighurs fell victim to the Kirghiz in a fratricidal war between the two Turkic tribes, the remnants of the Uighur forces, together with the court, were resettled by the T'ang Government in the region around Chotcho. There Manichaeism continued to enjoy the status of the religion of the royal court well into the middle of the tenth century, when its influence was gradually eclipsed by that of Buddhism. The majority of the Manichaean texts recovered by the German Expeditions,

³⁴ “I”, *Journal Asiatique*, 10^e sér., 18 (1911) 499-617; “II and III”, *ibid.* 11^e sér., 1 (1913) 99-199 and 261-392.

were thus produced in the first century of the Second Uighur Empire, when the religion still enjoyed the patronage of the court and of the nobility.

Among the texts brought back by Stein, first to India and then later to London, is a long Manichaean text in Uighur. The *X^uāstvānīft*, as it is known, is a prayer-confessional for the Manichaean Hearer. Versions of this text have already been encountered by scholars among other collections of Manichaean texts, especially the collection in St. Petersburg. Further Manichaean texts in Chinese surfaced in the Stein collection in the next decade. The German scholars, Waldschmidt and Lentz, announced the discovery of two further Manichaean texts among the manuscripts which Stein had brought back from China.³⁵ One is a long hymnscroll (S7053 *Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan* 摩尼教下部讚) and the other, a summary of the main tenets of the sect entitled the *Compendium of the teaching of Mani the Buddha of Light*. (S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fu chiao-fa i-lueh* 摩尼光佛教法議略). This was almost immediately recognised as the main part of the document of which the “Fragment Pelliot” preserves the final sections.

4. The Manichaean artistic remains and their doctrinal and historical significance

Von Le Coq and his associates had no qualms about removing the finest examples of Buddhist and Manichaean wall-paintings from the site of their discovery, as well as manuscript fragments, and transporting them back to Berlin. Chinese rule over Turkestan was then extremely lax and from 1911 onwards the country was engulfed in civil war. The removal of the artifacts was also justified on the grounds that the predominant religion of the region was Islam which was not known for its tolerance to the art of other religions. Moreover, the Chinese were thought to have no real interest in foreign religions and culture. This view would come to dominate von Le Coq's view of the art of the region. His typical reaction when he witnessed the wall-painting of the Mani-figure in Complex-K at Chotcho for the first time was to its “westernness”:³⁶

The whole painting recalls Byzantine art more than anything else; it resembles the style of the miniatures strikingly, without, however,

³⁵ Cf. E. Waldschmidt, E. and W. Lentz, W. “A Chinese Manichaean hymnal from Tun-huang”, *JRAS* 1926, 116-299 and idem, “A Chinese Manichaean hymnal from Tun-huang: Additions and corrections”, *ibid.* 298-99.

³⁶ von Le Coq, *Short account*, 306.

approaching them in that excellence of execution which is a particular feature of those precious relics.

In his subsequent publications, he would see the main inspiration of the wall- and miniature-painters of Turfan as coming from the West – an extension of Gandharan, and even Hellenistic, art – and would avoid suggesting, even remotely, Chinese influence. The title of his most popular work on his adventures, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkestan*,³⁷ speaks legions for his Helleno-centric approach to the history and culture of Chinese Turkestan. In an astonishing feat of publication, von Le Coq completed the reports of the expeditions in a series of handsomely produced large size volumes, which remains the cornerstone of much research on the history, archaeology and art history of the Turfan region.³⁸ The famous wall-painting of the Mani-figure was proudly exhibited by being plastered on a wall of the Museum für Völkerkunde from 1924 onwards. Sadly, when war was once more threatened in 1939, there was no means of removing this particular painting for safe-storage and it was subsequently destroyed in an air raid, leaving the reproduction in von Le Coq's magnificent publication in 1913 as our main source of this single most impressive example of wall-painting by the sect.

The artistic achievements of the Manichaean miniature painters also became the subject of a special volume by von Le Coq.³⁹ The quality of their work confirms the great (and sometimes dangerous) reputation Mani and the Manichaeans enjoyed as painters. Art was also an important means of explaining important points of doctrine and we know that one of the canonical works of Mani, the *Ardahang*, was a picture-book. Although no fragment of this work was found in Turfan, nevertheless some of the themes and motifs of the miniatures may well reflect its contents. These exquisitely executed miniatures add significantly to our understanding of Manichaean teaching, especially on cosmogony and ethics as well as their cultural adaptation in a highly syncretistic milieu. The basic teaching of Mani takes the form of a cosmic drama involving a primordial invasion of the Kingdom of Light by elements of the Kingdom of Darkness. The chief deity of the

³⁷ Full title: *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan, Berichte und Abenteuer der II. und III. Deutschen Turfan-Expedition*, Leipzig. See above, n. 25.

³⁸ For Manichaean finds see especially von Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Tafeln 1-6. [The 1979 reprint of the work (reprinted at Graz, Austria) is not a full-size reproduction of the original publication. The reduction occasionally distorts finer details in the paintings and in the miniatures. Scholars are strongly advised to consult the original version.]

³⁹ I.e. *Miniaturen, passim*.

Kingdom of Light is the Father of Greatness and he has four attributes: divinity, light, strength and wisdom. In Greek sources he is aptly described as possessing a fourfold personality (τετραπρόσωπος). His four attributes are attested in both eastern (Parthian: bg, rwšn, z'wr, jyryft; Chinese: *ch'ing-chieh, kuang-ming, ta-li, chih-hui* 清淨 光明 大力 智慧 (literally: purity, light, power and wisdom) and western Manichaean texts (Greek, from the recently published "Prayer of the Emanations" from Kellis in Egypt:⁴⁰ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ φῶς ... καὶ ὁ λόγος, Coptic:⁴¹ **ΝΟΥΤΕ, ΟΥΔΙΝΕ, ΕΔΛ, ΣΟΦΙΑ**). In Central Asia these attributes assumed distinctive personae and in one of the best known extant miniatures (MIK III 4979)⁴² they are represented by a tetrad of Indian deities: Shiva, Brahma, Vishnu and Ganesha. The first three are worshipped by Buddhists as a triad and Ganesha, the elephant-god, is also known to Buddhism. These Hindu deities, therefore, may have come to Manichaeism through Buddhism and their use certainly reflects a high degree of religious syncretism and cultural adaptation by the Manichaeans in the Turfan region, where Buddhism was rapidly becoming the dominant religion. The series of four divinities is also represented in what might have been margin decorations.

Opposed to the Father of Greatness was the Prince of Darkness in his infernal kingdom which was dominated by concupiscence and strife. According to al-Nadim who cites directly from Manichaean writings, he is depicted by the Manichaeans as a monster consisting of the distinctive parts of five types of animals:⁴³

Mani says: Satan arose from this earth of darkness. He was not eternal in his being, rather the elements of the component parts of his being were eternal. These component parts of his being were made up of his elements and they were made into a Satan: his head is like the head of a lion, his rump like the rump of a dragon, his wings like the wings of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, his feet like the feet of crawling animals. After this Satan had been formed from darkness and had received the name of primeval devil, he set about devouring, swallowing and destroying; he went to right and left and pressed down into the depths. In all of this he brought ruin and destruction to whoever he overpowered.

⁴⁰ T Kellis Greek lines 9-10, ed. R. G. Jenkins, "The Prayer of the Emanations in Greek from Kellis (T Kellis 22)", *Le Muséon* 108/3-4 (1995) 249.

⁴¹ Cf. *Ps.-Bk.* 191,11.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pl. 8b/a.

⁴³ Trans. based on Flügel, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

The term πεντάμορφος (in five shapes) is aptly used to describe this collective personification of evil by the neo-Platonist Simplicius.⁴⁴ An equally graphic description of his appearance and his rule of terror is also summarised in a fragment of a Manichaean abecedarian hymn in Parthian from Turfan (M507):⁴⁵

The hideous demon [...] and the form [...]

He scorches, he destroys [...] he terrifies, [...]

He flies upon wings, as a being of air; he swims with fins like one of the water; and he crawls like those of the darkness. He is with armour on (his) four limbs, as when the children of the fire run against him in the manner of beings of hell.

Poisonous springs gush from him; and from him are breathed out [smoky] fogs; he shakes (?) his teeth [like] daggers.

[Five verses missing]

[...] through [...] and hideousness

[...] they [...] one another [...] tyranny of perdition.

They (the archons of darkness) are rotting upon a couch of darkness; in pursuit of desire and in lust they bear and again destroy one another.

The quarrelsome Prince of Darkness has subdued those five pits of destruction (the five regions of the Realm of Darkness), through great ... (?) terror and wrath.

He has flung much poison and wickedness from that deep upon ... and it (?) stood [...] through [...].

It is hard to imagine that a demonic being so graphically described in the texts did not find artistic expression among the Manichaeans of Turfan. I believe that just such a five-shaped monster is depicted on a wall-painting from Bāzāklik, now in Berlin, which, though well-known among art historians, is not often discussed in relation to Manichaean art. It is of uncertain provenance and it shows a dragon-like creature emerging from a turbulent sea (MIK III 8383).⁴⁶ One's immediate impression is that it is an ordinary representation of the Chinese dragon – a common motif in both Chinese art and architecture – and we also have similar creatures depicted (as good luck or imperial symbols?) on silk from Complex-K at Chotcho.

⁴⁴ In *Epict. Ench.*, 35 (68), *Commentaire sur le Manuel d'Epictète, Introduction et édition critique du texte grec* par Ilsetraut Hadot, *Philosophia Antiqua* 66 (Leiden, 1996) 324.

⁴⁵ M507, trans. M. Boyce, "Some Parthian abecedarian hymns", *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 441-42.

⁴⁶ Härtel-Yaldiz, *Die Seidenstraße*, 124.

However, I have been informed by leading authorities on Chinese art history that the dragon from Bāzāklik is unique and that it predates most graphic representations of this mythical animal by Chinese artists. The painter appears to have made sure that the features of the five individual animals which combine to form this primeval monster are easily distinguishable. Moreover, the background shows a landscape of caverns from which emerge identical looking trees – a scene which readily calls to mind a description in the extracts of Manichaean writings cited by Severus of Antioch, of the Kingdom of Darkness consisting of caverns and populated by warring and lustful demons of both sexes. From these caverns emerge five trees which together constitute the Tree of Death ('yln' dmwt' 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭲), the symbol of Matter (hwl' 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭲 = ὕλη). Although the Berlin painting might have come originally from a non-Manichaean site, it is not impossible that the painting was either originally Manichaean or was a wall-decoration in a Buddhist temple inspired by a Manichaean original.

In the battle which ensued between the two realms, part of the Kingdom of Light was entrapped by the demonic forces and had to be redeemed by a deity known as the Living Spirit. Among the many Heath Robinson contraptions he devised were the Light Vessels (the Sun and the Moon) which would ferry the rescued Light-Particles back to their land of origin along the Milky Way. The lunar vessel was also the residence of the important deity, the Luminous Jesus. He is exquisitely depicted as a Buddha figure in a lunar-vessel on a fragment of a painting on silk.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the colours of this important and much neglected example of Manichaean art are so delicate that it is impossible to reproduce them in black-and-white photography in the standard work on Manichaean art in English.⁴⁸

The process of redemption is never complete, as sexual regeneration perpetuates the captivity of the Light-Particles in the physical universe. This suffering is personified by Jesus *patibilis*, the sum total of Light-Particles crucified in matter, whose symbol is the Cross of Light. As this Cross of Light is present in all matter, it could be injured by physical activity. Thus, we learn from the Greek *Mani-Codex* that the young Mani was said to have avoided picking dates as the action of harvesting would hurt the Light-Particles present in the plant. When one of his fellow Babylonian “baptists” ignored his warning and cut some vegetables, the plants wailed “just like human beings and like children. Woe, woe! Blood streamed down from the place, which had been struck by the sickle in his hands, and they

⁴⁷ von Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 4b.

⁴⁸ Cf. Klimkeit, *Art*, 45, see outline drawing on pl. XXV.

screamed with human voices as the blows fell".⁴⁹ This avoidance of hurting living matter of any kind is effectively depicted on a miniature which features an out-sized flower with what appears to be a flame on top and two Electi staring horrified at it (MIK III 8259).⁵⁰ The fear is so apparent on their faces that von Le Coq's original explanation for the miniature as a didactic scene is grossly inadequate. What we have before us are two Electi terrified at the sight of blood spurting from a damaged plant.⁵¹ A group of Hearers (who might have been responsible for the crime) in penitential stance completes a doctrinally significant artistic representation.

The miniatures are also highly informative on the religious life of the Manichaean community at Chotcho. On the reverse of the miniature depicting the four aspects of the Father of Greatness as four Hindu deities (MIK III 4979) is a Bēma scene. The feast of the Bēma (platform), which commemorates the death of the founder, was the most important liturgical event of the Manichaean calendar. Here we see an Elect, or an icon of Mani, or both, placed on a raised platform with a group of Electi paying homage to him (or it). Beside the Bēma is a three-legged table heaped with grapes and melons – the latter were particularly prized by the Manichaeans because of the large number of Light-Particles they are said to hold. It is fortuitous that the climatic conditions of the Turfan region are specially suited for melon-growing and among the items of rent the Manichaean monasteries expected from lands they rented out were high grade melons (see Monastery Document, line 79).⁵² In front of the Electi is a square table with a pile of what look like cakes with the pastry shaped to symbolise the sun and the moon.⁵³

As the Electi were forbidden to procure their own food since harvesting and cooking or baking would injure the Light-Particles in the corn and

⁴⁹ *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis* 10,4-6, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (Über das Werden seines Leibes)*, Kritische Edition aufgrund der von A. Henrichs und L. Koenen besorgten Erstedition, herausgegeben und übersetzt von L. Koenen und Cornelia Römer, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe, Papyrologica Coloniensia, Vol. XIV (Opladen, 1988) 7.

⁵⁰ von Le Coq, *Miniaturen*, pl. 7b.

⁵¹ Klimkeit, *Art*, 38-39.

⁵² Ed. Geng Shimin, "Notes on an ancient Uighur official decree issued to a Manichaean monastery", *Central Asiatic Journal* 35/3-4 (1991) 213 see also the edition of T. Moriyasu, *A study on (sic) the history of Uighur Manichaeism - research on some Manichaean materials and their historical background* (in Japanese), Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters of Osaka University 31-32 (Osaka, 1991) 43. [See detailed study below, pp. 76-97.]

⁵³ von Le Coq, *Miniaturen*, pl. 8b/a and Moriyasu, op. cit., pl. XVIa.

vegetables, they were totally dependent on their Hearers for their daily sustenance. On the other hand, the Hearers needed the intercession of the Electi to shorten the cycle of birth-death to which they, as believers of the second rank, were subjected. Confession of sins to the Electi was one way in which the Hearers acknowledged their inferior position. This is skilfully expressed in a miniature with two Hearers kneeling in penitence before two out-sized Electi – the difference in size between Elect and Hearer was clearly exaggerated to underscore the difference in status between the two classes.⁵⁴ In another miniature we have what appears to be a judgement scene with an Elect raising an accusing finger at a Hearer, clad only in an Indian *dhoti* but with the head of an ox hanging round his neck – a reminder perhaps of the consequences of the slaughter of animals which was permitted to the Hearers but with the consequence that they would reincarnate in the form of the animals they had killed.⁵⁵ This Manichaean concept of rebirth, which was probably of Buddhist origin, appears to have also been preached in the West, as the term *μετενσωματώσις* (reincarnation) is found in the newly discovered “Prayer of the Emanations” from Kellis, instead of the more common Manichaean technical term *μεταγγισμός* (transmigration of souls).⁵⁶

The high quality of execution of both the miniatures and the calligraphy of the Manichaean texts attests to an active scribal tradition in Turfan and this finds expression in what can only be termed a group-self-portrait of Manichaean Electi performing scribal duties. Seated in two rows in front of two Trees of Life, they are shown to be engaged in their craft with intense expressions. Two of the figures hold a pen in each hand – one perhaps for copying in black ink and the other for red as many of the extant Manichaean text fragments are two-toned (see, for example, M1).⁵⁷ As Manichaeism was a religion of the book, the Manichaeans took their scribal duties very seriously. A monk is required in a Sogdian confessional to ask for forgiveness for having neglected his calligraphy, for hating or despising it and for having damaged or injured a brush, a writing board, a piece of silk or paper (BBB 524-30).⁵⁸ On the reverse of this miniature-fragment is portrayed a group of musicians, one playing an instrument resembling the Chinese *p'i-p'a* 琵琶, an instrument which came to China from India via

⁵⁴ von Le Coq, *Miniaturen*, pl. 7a.

⁵⁵ Ibid. pl. 8b/d.

⁵⁶ Line 110, cf. Jenkins, art. cit., p. 252.

⁵⁷ Moriyasu, op. cit., pls XXI-XXII.

⁵⁸ Ed. W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, APAW (Berlin, 1936) 33-34.

Central Asia. Music certainly played a major role in the religious life of the Manichaeans. Many of the hymns would have been sung to set tunes and with accompaniment, as indicated by the fact that some of the extant hymn-texts are cantillated.⁵⁹

The trail of discovery of Manichaean material from Central Asia did not end with the German expeditions. The region has been the subject of a number of archaeological expeditions by Chinese scholars and one led by Huang Wen-pi 黃文弼 brought back, *inter alia*, a long document in Old Turkish which contains the *regula* of a group of Manichaean monasteries in the Turfan region.⁶⁰ Chance discoveries of Manichaean texts by local inhabitants are still taking place. One major find which has emerged in the last decade is a well-preserved series of scrolls in Sogdian script entitled "To the great radiant majesty of the Mozak (=teacher)".⁶¹ The work, which contains letters and private documents, is currently being deciphered by Dr. Yutaka Yoshida. One wall-painting in Bāzāklik with the symbol of a three-stemmed tree, which was noted by Grünwedel but escaped removal to Berlin by von Le Coq, has subsequently been identified as Manichaean.⁶² The painting, still *in situ* in Cave 25, is in a poor state of conservation and we are dependent on the excellent reconstruction by Jacovleff for many important details.⁶³ Excavation in Cave 38 (= Cave 25 Grünwedel) since 1989 has revealed a remarkable series of Manichaean paintings covered by Buddhist murals on walls built to reset the Manichaean cave. These include pictures of female Hearers and winged guardian deities. The Manichaean origins of these paintings are confirmed by dedicatory inscriptions in Uighur.⁶⁴ The Manichaean cave appears to have been built inside an earlier Buddhist one, an indication of the constant religious change to which the region was subjected in the three centuries prior to the Islamic conquest.⁶⁵ Cave 38 is not alone in yielding examples of Manichaean wall-paintings. Since 1987, Prof. Chao Hua-shan 晁華山 of the Department of Archaeology

⁵⁹ See e.g. M64, cf. *HR ii*, 92-93.

⁶⁰ Cf. P. Zieme, "Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich", in L. Ligetti (ed.), *Researches in Altaic Languages* (Budapest, 1975) 331-38; S. N. C. Lieu "Precept and practice in Manichaean monasticism", *JTS* 32/1 (1981) 153-73 [hereafter Lieu, *Precept*, see below pp. 76-97]; Geng, *op. cit.*, *passim* and Moriyasu, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-46.

⁶¹ Moriyasu, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIIb

⁶² Cf. Klimkeit, *Art*, 31-32.

⁶³ Ap. J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques en Asie Centrale* (Paris, 1936) pl.1. See also Moriyasu, *op. cit.*, pl. II.

⁶⁴ Moriyasu, *op. cit.*, pls. III-V, transcription and trans. on p. 20.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 11-12.

of Beijing University, has systematically surveyed the two hundred or so grottoes in the surrounding regions of Turfan with a view to identifying further traces of Manichaean sites. Such a survey is long overdue as much more is now known about Manichaean art and symbolism than in the pioneering days of Grünwedel and von Le Coq. Chao conducted his search on the assumption that the large number of Manichaean text fragments recovered by the German explorers must be reflected by a far greater number of sites. His preliminary research has shown that there are more than seventy sites that were once Manichaean than had previously been recorded. Thirty-nine of them have yielded what he believes to be irrefutable evidence of Manichaean art or architectural design (eleven at Tuyuq, nineteen at Bāzāklik and nine at Sangim) and thirty or so others are in need of further investigation. The most clearly discernible and remarkable Manichaean symbol Chao has identified is that of the Two Trees at Cave 4 at Sangim. The two trees are intertwined, one carrying luxuriant foliage and the other barren and fruitless.⁶⁶ This corresponds almost exactly to the comparison of the Kingdoms of Light and Darkness (the two principles) with the Good and the Evil Trees as found in a Manichaean work cited by Severus of Antioch in a Cathedral Homily which, originally composed in Greek, has survived only in Syriac translations (*v. supra*):

[The Tree of Life] is decorated with all that is beautiful and with all shining splendours, which is filled and clothed with all that is good, which stands fast and does not vacillate in its nature: its earth includes three regions, that of the North which is external and below, [that] of the East and [that] of the West, external and below. Below is not something that has been submerged by it or clothed on one side or another, but infinity is outside and below. No foreign body is around it [the Tree of Life] or below it, nor at an[other] place of the three regions, but its own is below and outside, to the North, to the East and to the West. There is nothing which surrounds and encloses it on one of the three sides. But it is in itself, of itself and to itself, it concludes its fruits within itself. And the Kingdom consists of it.⁶⁷

The Tree of Death, however, according to his nature has no life, and equally few fruits of goodness on one of his branches. He is always in the southern region. He has his own place, where he is.⁶⁸

The Tree of Death is divided into many [trees]. War and cruelty rule in them, peace is a stranger [to them]. But they are full of all wickedness and never have good fruits. He [the Tree of Death] is divided and stands in

⁶⁶ I am supremely grateful to Prof. Chao for sending me summaries of his remarkable discoveries both in Chinese and in English and a fine coloured photograph of the wall-painting of the "Two Trees" from Cave 4 at Sangim.

⁶⁷ Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 123, *PO* 29, p. 154,7-18, ed. Brière.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 154,26-156,8.

contrast to his fruits, and the fruits in contrast to the tree. They are not at one with him who produced them, but they all produce the worm for the destruction of their place. They are not subject to him, who produced them, but the whole tree is bad. It never does any good and each individual part destroys what is nearby.⁶⁹

That the two trees are depicted as intertwined, according to Chao, represents another major theme in Manichaean cosmogony, that of the Three Moments. The trees are initially separated, then they are mixed and then separated once more.⁷⁰ Depictions of the Tree of Life and of wine-grapes – the latter being a symbol of the Manichaean church⁷¹ – also appear in Cave 2 of the so-called North Mosque complex at Sangim. The architecture of the entire cave-temple complex is of immense interest. Chao's preliminary survey has shown that it is built on five terraces (the Manichaean Bēma has five steps), the first tier consisting of five halls which Chao believes were used for storing the scriptures, fasting, confession and convalescence. Regulation for such a five-fold arrangement of rooms is found in the "Fragment Pelliot" (the last section of the *Compendium* from Dunhuang):⁷²

(84) 寺宇儀第五

(85) 經圖堂— 齋講堂— 禮懺堂— 教授堂—

(86) 病僧堂—

On the buildings of the monastery:

One room for the scriptures and images.

One room for fasting and preaching.

One room for worship and confession.

One room for religious instructions.

One room for sick monks.

Chao dates some of the sites to as early as the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. This explains how the *Compendium*, which was translated into Chinese by imperial decree in 731, came to contain such clear instructions on the lay-out of a monastery. As Sangim alone has five sites identified as Mani-

⁶⁹ Ibid. 162.6-13.

⁷⁰ Chao Hua-shan, "New evidence of Manichaeism in Asia: A description of some recently discovered Manichaean Temples in Turfan", *Monumenta Serica* 44 (1996) 273-84.

⁷¹ See e.g. *Ps.-Bk.*, p. 13,22. See also references collected in V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus* (Köln-Leiden, 1978) 40-42.

⁷² S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fu chiao-fa i-lueh* 摩尼光佛教法議略 lines 84-86. French translation by N. Tajadod, *Mani le Bouddha de Lumière – Catéchisme manichéen chinois*, Sources gnostiques et manichéennes 3 (Paris, 1990) 61.

chaean temples, the religion was clearly well-established in the Turfan region at the time of its entry into China and certainly before the establishment of the Second Uighur Kingdom at Chotcho, which brought with it imperial patronage for the religion and the building of Manichaean temples within the city of Chotcho. Further work on the cave-temples is clearly called for and joint-investigations by German and Chinese scholars are being planned.

5. *The publication of the texts from Turfan*

(a) *Middle Iranian*

The publication of the Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian was continued by Müller while the Second Expedition was still in progress, although not on quite the same scale as his seminal monograph of 1904.⁷³ In the following year, he presented before the Prussian Academy a short work containing the text and transcription of a Manichaean text in Middle Persian (M97), which contains extracts from the Ninth Similitude of the enigmatic early Christian work, the *Shepherd of Hermas*.⁷⁴ As Manichaeism was then still seen exclusively as an Iranian religion, the significance of such a well-known Christian work among the Manichaeans in Central Asia was hardly noted. Now with the decipherment of the *Cologne Mani-Codex*, we are much more aware of the Jewish-Christian roots of the religion. The Manichaeans utilised the work probably because of its emphasis on repentance. What cannot be so easily explained is how the Manichaeans gained access to a work which, though well attested within Christian circles in the Roman Empire, was not known to have been translated into Syriac – the language which gave the Manichaeans access to Christian literature.⁷⁵ A more substantial contribution by Müller is his edition of a double page from Manichaean hymn-book (M1, more commonly referred to as *Mahnāmāg*, Pe. “hymn-book”).⁷⁶ One page contains what the editor believed to be the introduction to the hymn-book and the other the index of *incipits* of the hymns. This would later prove to be an invaluable tool in the identification

⁷³ I.e. *HR* ii.

⁷⁴ “Eine Hermas-Stelle in manichäischer Version”, *SPAW* 1905, 1077-83.

⁷⁵ L. Cirillo, “‘Hermae Pastor’ and ‘Revelatio Manichaica’; Some Remarks”, in G. Wiessner & H.-J. Klimkeit (edd.), *Studia Manichaica; II. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, 6-10. August, St. Augustin/Bonn* (Wiesbaden, 1992) 189-90.

⁷⁶ *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahnāmāg)* APAW 1912.

of hymn-fragments from the manuscript collection. The “Introduction” gives a highly personal account of the endeavours of one devout member of the sect to restore the book:⁷⁷

In the year 546 after the birth of the Apostle of Light, (i.e. 762 CE), (that is) now the year [486], when he (i.e. Mani) was raised up in power, and in the year 162 after the raising (i.e. redemption) of the benevolent Šād-Ohrmizd (it was) that this book of hymns was begun, which is full of living words and beautiful hymns.

The scribe who began it at the command of the spiritual superiors was not able to finish it; therefore, since he could not devote himself (to the work) and had no time, he wrote a little, (only) a few hymns and did not complete it.

For many years it remained in place uncompleted. It lay about and was deposited in the monastery of Ark (= Karašahr). When I, Yazdāmad the preacher, saw the book of hymns lying about, incomplete and useless, I commanded my beloved child, the dear son Naxurēgrōšn (lit. “Firstborn of the Lights”) to complete it, so that it would help the faith to increase, (that it should become) a book of hymns in the hands of the children of faith, of the new pupils, that souls might thereby be purified and that from it doctrine, wisdom, instruction and virtue should be taught.

So now, by the blessing of Yazd Māri Aryān-šā, the new teacher and good sign, and by the blessing of Mār Dōšist, the bishop, and by the good guidance of Mar Yišō Aryamān (lit. “Jesus the Friend”), the presbyter and by the hard work of the brilliant preacher Yazdāmad, and further by the zeal and the work and the effort of Naxurēgrōšn, who worked with a warm heart and loving mind and who, with (other) scribes wrote them (= the hymns) day and night, until everything was perfect and complete ...

And I, Naxurēgrōšn, , was involved in the preparation, ordering and writing for the sake of this book ...

Sundermann has rightly cast doubt on Müller’s suggestion that the double-page once constituted the beginning and end of a hymn-book, with the in-between pages now missing. There are simply too many hymns listed in the index for them to be enfolded by a double page. Instead Sundermann argues that the double-sheet was folded in the opposite direction to that suggested by Müller, with the end of the index followed by the “Introduction”, which was in fact a colophon.⁷⁸ This observation, which makes excellent sense, means that the lines of Müller’s text have to be completely renumbered. The colophon pays homage to a long list of Uighur princes and princesses who were undoubtedly patrons of religion in the Uighur kingdom of Chotcho, in

⁷⁷ Ibid. pp. 15-17.

⁷⁸ Sundermann, *Completion*, 72.

which Manichaeism was the religion of the court for almost two centuries. The same theme is also captured in a Middle Persian text with Turkish names and titles published first by Müller as an appendix to *Mahrnāmag* and later more fully studied in an article in the *Festschrift* for Wilhelm Thomsen (MIK III 6371).⁷⁹ The text is a colophon in praise for Bögü Khan, the Uighur Khaghan who first embraced Manichaeism, and his court, composed after 762, which indicates that even at this late date Middle Persian was still one of the main liturgical languages of the sect in Central Asia (transliterations of the Turkish after Müller).⁸⁰

[The angels] with your own ones, the helpers, may they themselves protect and guard the whole community of the Hearers; first and foremost the great ruler, the great majesty, the good, the blessed, worthy of the two blisses, of the two lives, of the two dominions: of the body and of the soul, the Ruler of the East, the preserver of the religion, helper of the righteous, the Hearer, the radiant one, the wearer of the diadem, the ruler of praised and blessed name, the Great King who has received majesty from God (or Heaven), heroic, majestic, famed, wise Uighur Khaghan, the offspring of Mani.

And in addition to that the ... great protectors (?) and generals of the happy ruler. Firstly the Il Ugasi Nigoschakapat (= leader of the Hearers, Sgd. *nyws'kpt*) the Il Ugasi Jagan-Savag Tutuch (= Chinese, *tu-tu* 都督), the Il Ugasi Otur Buila Tarchan. And also the Tutuch (titled ones): Tapmisch Qutlug Tutuch, Tschiiig Tutuch; and the Tschigschi (titled ones): Waga Tschigischi, Jagan Oz Tschigischi, Tudun Tschigischi, ... Tschangschi, Kul Sangun Tirak, Inamtschu Bilga Tirak. In addition, the Builas: Tapmisch Buila Tarchan, Aschpada (Aschpara?) Buila. May they all live unharmed, at the end may they attain the reward of the devout in eternity. (Thus) may it come to pass! – Further, the eminent palace officials, who, before the pious ruler, carry out their service. Firstly Otur Buila Tarchan, Qutlug Itschraki ... Tapmisch, Ina(ntschu) ... Qutlug T ...

Müller also directed his linguistic skills and learning to texts of other religions from Turfan of which those of the Christians from Shui-pang, a settlement near Bulayiq, a town about ten kilometres north of Turfan, were of particular significance to Manichaean studies. The majority of these texts were written in a clear Syriac script then still in common use by Nestorian Christians in Iraq, but only a few of these texts were actually in the Syriac

⁷⁹ Cf. Müller, "Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-Königs", *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen* (Leipzig, 1912) 207-13. See also H.-J. Klimkeit, *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts. Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens*, *Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 79 (Opladen, 1989) 196. [Herafter Klimkeit, *Hymnen*.]

⁸⁰ Müller, op. cit., pp. 208-11.

language. Other texts were in a cursive script and fragments in Book Pahlavi and even one line in Greek from Psalm 32.1 according to the Septuagint: 'Αγαλλιᾶσθε, δίκαιοι, ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ.⁸¹ Shuī-pang was undoubtedly the site of a former Christian monastery, judging from the range of Christian literature displayed by the fragments and from the fact that some of the texts were later identified as acts of Christian martyrs in Persia and as classics of *ascetica* such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. It did not take Müller long to realise from easily recognisable proper names that some of the text-fragments in Syriac script were translations into a hitherto undeciphered Middle Iranian language of the *Peshitta*, the Syriac version of the Bible. With the help of the original Syriac text he was able to decode the new language which he subsequently named Sogdian at the suggestion of the Iranologist, F. C. Andreas, on the basis of certain morphological changes from Old Iranian into the Sogdian dialect noted by the medieval Arabic *savant* al-Biruni.⁸² In 1907 he published a fragment from the Epistle to the Galatians and from Luke 1:63-80,⁸³ and later, two substantial collections of Christian Sogdian texts, including fragments of a text containing the account of the Discovery of the True Cross by Helena, the mother of Constantine, as well as more scriptural passages.⁸⁴ Sogdian was clearly one of the most common languages of the Silk Road. Besides Manichaean and Christian texts, a significant number of Buddhist texts in that language were also identified in the collections in Berlin, Paris and London; and some of them, like the famous *Sūtra of the Causes and Effects*, could be studied alongside the known Chinese versions of the same texts. Sogdian trading colonies were dotted along the main arteries of trade between Samarkand and the Chinese capital cities of Ch'ang-an and Lu-yang. Sogdians also ventured south to India as evidenced by the hundreds of examples of graffiti left by Sogdian traders along the banks of the Gilgit and Hunza rivers on the Upper Indus Valley.⁸⁵

⁸¹ N. Sims-Williams, "Syro-Sogdica I: an anonymous homily on the three periods of solitary life", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47 (1981) 442.

⁸² Mentioned by Müller in *Uigurica I*, APAW 1908, §a, 2, n. 3

⁸³ I. e. F. W. K. Müller, "Neutestamentliche Bruchstücke in soghdischer Sprache", *SPAW* 1907, 260-270.

⁸⁴ I. e. F. W. K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte I*, APAW 1912/2 and "Soghdische Texte II. Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Wolfgang Lentz", *SPAW* 1934, 504-607.

⁸⁵ Cf. N. Sims-Williams, *Sogdian and other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus I*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum II/3* (London, 1989) and *Sogdian and other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus, II*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum II/3* (London, 1992). [Hereafter Sims-Williams, *Upper Indus*.]

The establishment in 1912 of the Orientalische Kommission by the Prussian Academy guaranteed continuity for the study and systematic publication of the texts from Turfan. Müller, one of the six founding members, began to direct his energies and skills to the study of Buddhist texts in Uighur. However, as a Fellow of the Prussian Academy, he was also permitted to lecture at the Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität in Berlin where his lectures and his prodigious learning attracted a small circle of devoted students, the most outstanding among whom was A. von Gabain, who would later become a leading authority on pre-Islamic Turkish.⁸⁶

The domination of the study of the texts from Turfan by German scholars in Berlin continued well after the end of the expeditions. The only significant contribution to the study of the newly discovered text fragments by an English-speaking scholar was the American Sanskritist and Iranologist A. V. W. Jackson. He republished a number of important texts on Manichaean cosmogony with more detailed commentaries.⁸⁷ He used throughout the transcription system initialled by Müller and his work is particularly useful for scholars who have difficulty in gaining access to the St. Petersburg fragments published by Salemann which were transcribed into Hebrew letters. In Germany, though Berlin was undoubtedly the main centre for research on Manichaean texts, a group of younger researchers also gathered round F. C. Andreas, one of the most distinguished Iranological scholars of his time, at Göttingen. Among them was W. Lentz, who became Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter at the Kommission in 1924, and when a long hymn-scroll in Chinese containing phonetically transcribed hymns from Iranian was identified among the Dunhuang manuscripts in the Stein collection in London (*v. supra*) a year later, Lentz and the eminent Buddhistologist, E. Waldschmidt, were invited to work jointly on it. In the two major studies which emerged from their joint research, Lentz published a number of Manichaean fragments, mainly hymns, in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian accompanied by detailed studies on eastern Manichaean *technici termini*.⁸⁸ Another of Andreas' outstanding pupils was W. B. Henning. Upon Andreas' death, the Prussian Academy appointed Henning in

⁸⁶ Cf. A. von Gabain, "Die erste Generation der Forscher an den Turfan-Handschriften", in H. Klengel, and W. Sundermann, W. (edd.), *Ägypten – Vorderasien – Turfan. Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 23 (Berlin, 1991) 101. [Hereafter von Gabain, *Die erste Generation*.]

⁸⁷ *Researches in Manichaeism, with special reference to the Turfan fragments*, Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series 13 (New York, 1932).

⁸⁸ See now E. Morano, "The Sogdian hymns of *Stellung Jesu*", *East and West*, 32 (1982) 9-43

1932 to publish his "Nachlaß" which subsequently appeared in three installments. The first of these is an edition of a number of more or less continuous pages from a codex containing a cosmogonic text (M7980-7984) which gives a particularly graphic account of the role of Manichaean demons in the creation of Man and Woman and especially that of the demoness Az (greed).⁸⁹ Henning would later demonstrate that the text could be dated on the basis of certain clumsy up-dating of calendrical details to the early years of the reign of Shāpūr I which would make it a valuable example of early Manichaean writing – perhaps a work of Mani himself.⁹⁰ This is also supported by a number of forms of proper names such as Xradešahr Yazd (lit. God of the World of Wisdom, used to signify the eschatological Jesus) which it shares uniquely with that of the surviving fragments of the *Šābuhr-agān*, which as we have already noted, is a semi-canonical work of Mani.⁹¹ The text also shows considerable affinity with M98-99, published originally by Müller, and may well be a continuation of the same text from different manuscripts.⁹² This important edition, which contains a number of detailed theological and philological comments, was further strengthened by the publication of Henning's dissertation on the Middle Persian verb from the Manichaean texts from Turfan – a reference work which remains standard.⁹³ Henning, however, only published a handful of photographs of this important (canonical?) Manichaean text, but the photographs are at last available in a magnificent photo-edition of Manichaean texts published before the Second World War.⁹⁴ The second installment of texts from Andreas' "Nachlaß" contains a selection of fragments in Middle Persian on a wide variety of topics.⁹⁵ Of the greatest interest to historians of the religion

⁸⁹ "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I", *SPAW* 10, 175-222.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 32-33.

⁹¹ Cf. W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berliner Turfantexte 11 (Berlin, 1981) 92.

⁹² E. M. Boyce, *A reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, *Acta Iranica* 9 (Tehran-Liège, 1975) 60, *comm. ad Text y*.

⁹³ W. B. Henning, "Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente", *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 9 (1933) 158-253.

⁹⁴ W. Sundermann (ed.), *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in early publications, Photo Edition*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Suppl. Series III (London, 1996), pls. 133-138. [Hereafter Sundermann, *Photo Edition*.] Much less satisfactory are those reproduced in M. Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte. Edition, Kommentar und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M98/99 I und M7980-7984*, *Studies in Oriental Religions* 21 (Wiesbaden, 1992) pls V-XX.

is a historical text (M2 I) which gives the account of the sending of two missionaries, Addā and Pattig, by Mani to the Roman Empire. They were said to have raised a certain important person called Npš' to the religion and Addā took the religion as far as Alexandria, choosing many for the faith and establishing Manichaean monasteries or cells. This caused considerable excitement among historians of Christian monasticism, as the date of the Manichaean mission pre-dated the establishment of Christian monasteries by more than half a century and the question of Manichaean influence on Christian monasticism in Egypt was inevitably raised and remains unresolved.⁹⁶

In transcribing the texts of the first two collections, Andreas and Henning had adhered to the convention of using the Hebrew script established by Salemann and adapted by Lentz. As the Manichaean Estrangela script was derived from Aramaic such a convention seems logical and avoids the pitfalls of uncertain vocalisation. It was, however, (and still is) an enormous inconvenience to scholars of Manichaeism who are not familiar with the Hebrew script. For the third collection which consists almost entirely of texts from Parthian, Henning devised an unvocalised system of transcription – the use of the Hebrew script then being banned by the Germany's anti-Semitic laws – a system which gained wide acceptance and soon became standard. The third collection, like its predecessor, consists of texts on a variety of topics,⁹⁷ the most important of which is a discourse on the final salvation of the Light and its return to the Paradise (M2 II). The complex theological issues and the awkwardness of the style suggest that the text was probably from a canonical work of Mani which was translated into Parthian. Of the more important texts in this collection are accounts of Mani's "martyrdom" in prose (M5569) and in verse (M5). An excellent example both of late Parthian prose and of the influence of Buddhist literary style on Manichaean literature is a fictitious letter to Mār Ammō, the pioneer-missionary, commissioned by Mani to evangelise the lands east of the Oxus (M5815 I).

In 1932 the Prussian Academy would once more play host to another major discovery of Manichaean texts: this time the texts were in Coptic and they had been found three years previously by workmen digging for fertiliser

⁹⁵ "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II", *SPAW* 7 (1934) 294-363.

⁹⁶ Cf. Lieu, *Precept*, 155-59. [See below, pp. 77-87.].

⁹⁷ "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III", *SPAW* 27 (1934) 848-912

in Medīnet Mādi in Egypt.⁹⁸ The find consists of a library which had once belonged to either a Manichaean Hearer or group of Hearers (as it contains only one canonical work – the Letters of Mani). The eight codices were split between a number of dealers but all of them were eventually purchased by either Prof. Carl Schmidt for the Prussian Academy or by Chester Beatty for his own manuscript collection in London (now in Dublin). However, the latter allowed the texts in his possession to be conserved and studied in Berlin and for the entire find to be published in Germany. As Schmidt had no interest in Manichaeism, the work of the decipherment of the newly discovered texts largely fell on his young colleague, Hans Jakob Polotsky, a former pupil of Andreas, who had already established himself as the leading semitic philologist of his generation. Henning had by then moved to Berlin and was a lodger with Polotsky's mother. The coming to power of National Socialism induced Polotsky, who was Jewish, to take up a teaching position in Egyptology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the same year as the completion of his outstanding edition of the Manichaean *Homilies* from the Medīnet Mādi-find.⁹⁹ His work on the first part of the *Kephalaia* from the same collection was acknowledged only in passing in the publication because of the Nuremberg Laws. Henning, who by then was engaged to Polotsky's sister, accepted in 1937 the invitation to succeed H. W. Bailey as the Parsee Community's Lecturer in Iranian Studies at the School of Oriental Studies in London. In the years prior to his emigration he had turned his attention to a small Manichaean codex (M801) which contains a long confessional text in Parthian and Sogdian. He began learning Sogdian in 1935 and although he only had the results of Lentz and of scholars of Buddhist and Christian Sogdian to draw on, his skills in comparative philology were such that he was able to complete in the astonishingly short time of one year an *editio major* of the text with a full

⁹⁸ C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, SPAW 1933, 5-7.

⁹⁹ *Manichäische Homilien*, (Stuttgart, 1933, actually published in 1934). Polotsky was not invited to take the Chair of Egyptology at Jerusalem as is often assumed or suggested. His first position at the Hebrew University was that of "instructor" and he "must surely have been the internationally most celebrated assistant lecturer anywhere". (E. Ullendorff, "H. J. Polotsky (1905-1991): Linguistic genius", *JRAS* (1994) 7.). It was not until 1949 that he was promoted to Associate Professor and then immediately to Professor (*ibid*).

philological commentary¹⁰⁰ – both of which remain unsurpassed and the work is rightly hailed as a “Bible” for students of Manichaean Sogdian.¹⁰¹

Henning was interned as an enemy alien by the British authorities at the outbreak of the war in Europe. His valuable study of Sogdian lists (of points of doctrine, calendar-days etc., i.e. mnemonic catalogues for an oral tradition) and of glossaries in which Middle Persian and Parthian words are explained in Sogdian was seen through the press by H. W. Bailey.¹⁰² Henning was released within a year on the grounds of his delicate health, and, in the more tranquil atmosphere of Cambridge to which the School of Oriental Studies had moved, a stream of minor editions of Manichaean historical texts on the last days of Mani and the fragments of the canonical *Book of the Giants* in all three Middle Iranian dialects appeared.¹⁰³ In 1947 the title of Professor of Central Asian Studies was conferred on him by London University and among his earliest pupils was Ilya Gershevitch who would compile a grammar of Manichaean Sogdian.¹⁰⁴ Another scholar Henning was able to “divert” to Middle Iranian studies in the immediate post-war years was Mary Boyce, who would later become Professor of Iranology at the School of Oriental and African Studies and who had then just begun a university teaching and research career in Anglo-Saxon in London University (1944-46). Boyce undertook as the topic for her Cambridge doctoral dissertation (completed in 1947) an edition of the Manichaean hymn-cycles in Parthian.¹⁰⁵ Henning had already drawn attention to these hymn-cycles and their popularity among the Manichaeans of Central Asia as evidenced by translations of them into Chinese¹⁰⁶ and he

¹⁰⁰ *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, APAW 10 (1936).

¹⁰¹ I. Gershevitch, “W.B. Henning, 1908-1967, in memoriam” in E. M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (edd.), *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London, 1970) xi.

¹⁰² *Sogdica*, James Forlong Fund Prize Publications 21 (London, 1940). [Hereafter, Henning, *Sogdica*.]

¹⁰³ Mani’s last journey”, *BSOAS* 10/4 (1942) 941-53 and “The Book of the Giants”, *ibid.* 11/1 (1943) 52-74.

¹⁰⁴ *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, Publications of the Philological Society (Oxford, 1961).

¹⁰⁵ *Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian*, London Oriental Series 3 (Oxford, 1954). See also eadem, “Some remarks on the present state of the Iranian Manichaean MSS from Turfan, together with additions and corrections to “Manichaean Hymn Cycles in Parthian”, *MIO* 4/2 (1956) 314-22.

¹⁰⁶ Henning, *ap.* Tsui Chi “Mo-ni-chiao hsia-pu-tsan. The lower (second?) section of the Manichaean hymns”, *BSOAS* 11 (1943) 174-215 (with annotations by W. B. Henning) 218-19.

later also identified versions of them in Old Turkish.¹⁰⁷ Boyce's edition remains a classic in its field and has now been supplemented by an edition by Sundermann of further fragments and photographic reproductions of all the text fragments including those of texts originally published by Boyce.¹⁰⁸ The latter also published a number of important Parthian text-fragments in prose and poetry on Manichaean cosmogony.¹⁰⁹

For the duration of the war in Europe, the Turfan fragments, by now almost all under glass, were placed in safe storage. After the cessation of hostilities they were returned to the Orientalische Kommission at 8 Unter den Linden, Berlin, which was then a bombed-out building. Subsequently, there was some theft of glass, a precious commodity in immediate post-war Berlin. This led to some, though not a major, loss of texts. A tragic loss, however, was two of the more important of the manuscripts of the texts published by Henning in his 1934 collection and in his article on Mani's last journey (i.e. M2 and M3), but fortunately excellent photographs of these texts exist in Göttingen.¹¹⁰

Although most of the Turfan texts were returned to Berlin (East), one crate of texts together with the photographs, card-catalogue and other written records found its way to the BRD and were eventually housed at the Akademie der Wissenschaften at Mainz and later transferred to Marburg, but with photographic versions available at Hamburg. As this could not be reunited with the texts in Berlin, an urgent task confronting the researchers of Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian in the post-War years was the compilation of a systematic catalogue of the fragments in both halves of a divided Germany. Moreover, the conflicting systems of numbering of the fragments in publications were causing numerous problems to scholars who had no direct access to the texts. Many of the fragments were assigned similar or identical numbers at the time of discovery (such as T I α or T II K, T standing for Turfan Expedition, I & II for the Expedition number, α and K for Complex- α and -K respectively) which was a constant source of confusion, especially when some fragments earlier in the Second Expedition were given the more general signature of T II D (D = Dakianus-stadt, i.e. (anywhere in) Chotcho). There were more than a hundred fragments bearing

¹⁰⁷ "A fragment of the Manichaean hymn-cycle in Old Turkish", *Asia Major*, N.S. 7 (1959) 122-24.

¹⁰⁸ *The Manichaean Hymn cycles Huyadagrñan and Angad Rōšnān in Parthian and Sogdian*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Suppl. Series 2 (London, 1990).

¹⁰⁹ E. M. Boyce, "Sadwēs and Pēsūs" *BSOAS* 13 (1951) 908-15 and "Some Parthian abecedarian hymns", *ibid.* 14 (1952) 435-50.

¹¹⁰ These are now published in Sundermann, *IMTT*, pls. 3-6.

the signature of T II K with nothing to distinguish between them.¹¹¹ The reason for the lack of a precise indication of the provenance of the fragments is that the early explorers, in order to save time, did not write down the location of the fragments but stuffed the ones they had themselves discovered or had bought from the natives into envelopes which were later labelled with a collective signature. Some of the texts were subsequently found to have been assigned the wrong abbreviation indicating their place of discovery. For instance, a book-scroll containing two hundred and two lines of a parable-book in Sogdian is said to have been discovered by the Second Expedition at Chotcho as it bears the signature of T II D 2. However, additional fragments of the same text have recently been found bearing signatures which indicate they were found at Tuyuq by the Second (T II T 1184) and even the Third Expedition (T III T 601 and T III 2015)! This has led Prof. Sundermann to suspect that the signature of T II D 2 for the main scroll is incorrect, as it is most unlikely that the same text would have been torn up and taken to another site some fifteen kilometres distant and hidden so that they could be found by a later expedition. It is more probable that the main scroll and the fragments were all found by the Third Expedition at Tuyuq, a site which yielded a number of Sogdian texts which are characterised by a declining command of the language and strong Buddhist influences in both style and literary format. The T II D signature was given to the scroll following the simple rule that if in doubt, try T II D because of its vagueness and because so many Manichaean texts were found by the Second Expedition at Chotcho.¹¹²

For his pioneering publication of the Middle Iranian texts of 1904, Müller introduced a system of numbering the fragments with a signature of M (= text in Manichaean script) followed by a number. This had the benefit of simplicity but gives no information as to the place of discovery of the fragments. His numbering stopped at M919 and later scholars used both M-numbers and site-signatures in citing the texts. Various experiments at systematic numbering of the fragments by members of the Kommission were made, but as none went beyond a few hundred fragments, the new numbers, some of which were inadvertently duplicated, only served to increase the confusion. A decision was made at an informal meeting of the main researchers of the Turfan material in Middle Iranian to continue the work of cataloguing all the texts with M-numbers. The task was brought to a successful conclusion in 1960 with the publication of Boyce's catalogue

¹¹¹ Boyce, *Cat.* 123-29.

¹¹² Sundermann, *Completion* 285-86.

of all fragments in the Manichaean script then available to her either in the original or in photographic collections. Her work, which gives brief descriptions of the condition and content of the text fragments, place(s) of publication and bibliography of emendations, retranslations *etc.*, remains one of the most essential tools in Manichaean research.¹¹³ The fact that it is now in urgent need of revision because of the discovery of texts which had escaped her notice at the time of compilation only serves to underline the work's fundamental importance.

In the course of cataloguing the manuscripts Boyce also came across a text (M1224) on leather in Manichaean script but in a hitherto unknown language. This has since been identified by Henning as a unique specimen of Manichaean Bactrian, the language of the Indo-Greeks and of the former Kushan Kingdom. The decipherment of the text was later entrusted to Gershevitich whose still unpublished edition shows that the text deals with the problem which would have undoubtedly vexed the minds of many Electi, *viz.* how they could justify the practice of "soul-service" – i.e. their needing to be cared for by their Hearers for their daily needs. The recto of the fragment gives an *apologia* for the practice which shows much greater ingenuity than that offered by the *Fragmenta Tebestina*, the sole extant Manichaean document in Latin (found in a cave near Tebessa, modern Theveste in Algeria) which compares the calling of the two classes to the predilections of Martha and Mary in the Gospels. Just like gardens and orchards which need water to produce flowers and plants, and like animals which need grass and water to produce milk, cheese and butter, the author of the Bactrian fragment argues that the Electi too need sustenance for a useful purpose. The gifts and services of the Hearer would bring forth *pwnn* (Pali *punya*, i.e. the blessing arising from good deeds; Chinese Buddhist *fu-te* 福德). Moreover, the Electi were to be equated with the Arhan (= the perfect man of the Hinayāna). The task of the Hearer in Iranian texts is *ruwānagān* which is commonly translated as "soul-service". Though *ruvan* (Avestan *ruvan-*) is the pan-Iranian word for "souls", the Iranian Manichaeans used the word *gryw* for soul in the term "Living Soul" (Pe. *gryw zyndg*, Pth. *gryw jywndg*). On the reverse of the Bactrian fragment, the word beauty (Bactrian *waß* = Pe. *xwšn*) is used of the term "Living Soul" in a text which concerns the much avoided topic of the fate of the Hearer after death. This has led Gershevitich to make the important suggestion that the Iranian Manichaeans were following the Zoroastrians in employing the *ruvan* synonymously with *daēnā* – the personification of a person's soul which he would meet for

¹¹³ I.e. Boyce, *Cat.*

the first time after his death in varying degrees of female beauty or ugliness depending on how he had lived his life. Thus, by naming the Living Spirit "Beauty", Manichaean missionaries were able to draw on Iranian religious tradition to hold out to the Hearer the promise of eternal union with a soul of matchless beauty. The Hearer, therefore, who is described as *huruwān* (= pious) is not merely someone who performs pious duty for the Living Spirit in his service to the Elect but someone who is in possession of a "beautiful" soul.¹¹⁴

Iranian Manichaean studies suffered a massive blow in Henning's premature death in 1967 as a result of complications following an accidental fall.¹¹⁵ His last years were spent at Berkeley, California, where he had been Professor of Iranology since 1961. Few scholars possess his combination of linguistic genius and deep understanding of the intellectual and historical aspects of the religion and his unique experience of working with the original texts. His later publications cover a wide range of Iranological subjects and his last contributions to Manichaean studies, written mostly in the late 1940s and early 1950s, were mainly on texts in Sogdian, but these were often prefaced by highly perceptive studies of the historical development of the religion.¹¹⁶ Boyce's research interest also shifted to Zoroastrianism and some of the planned joint projects advertised in the *Catalogue*,¹¹⁷ as well as Henning's edition of *Mitteliranische Manichaica IV*,¹¹⁸ were never published. However, Boyce performed a major and much valued task by bringing together all the main published fragments in Middle Persian and Parthian and providing them with an insightful introduction and

¹¹⁴ I. Gershevitch, "The Bactrian Fragment in Manichaean Script", in J. Harmatta (ed.), *From Hecataeus to Al-Ḥuwārizmī, Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Persian, Sanskrit, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Greek and Latin Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1984) 273-80 and idem, "Beauty as the Living Soul in Iranian Manichaeism", *ibid.* 281-88 and "The Manichaean Bactrian Fragment" (Text, translation and commentary), Paper delivered to the Second European Seminar on Central Asian Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies 1985 (unpublished).

¹¹⁵ Cf. Boyce, "Obituary - Walter Bruno Henning", *BSOAS* 30/3 (1967) 785.

¹¹⁶ "The murder of the Magi", *JRAS* 1944, 133-44, "Warucān-Šāh", *Journal of the Greater India Society* 11/2 (1944), 85-90, "Brāhman", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1944, 108-18, "The Manichaean fasts", *JRAS* 1945, 146-64, "Sogdian tales", *BSOAS* 11/3 (1945), 465-87, "Two Manichaean magical texts with an excursus on the Parthian ending -ēndēh", *ibid.* 12 (1947)-48 39-66, "A Sogdian fragment of the Manichaean cosmogony", *ibid.* pp. 306-18.

¹¹⁷ Boyce, *Cat.* xxxviii.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 9.

notes which cover both matters philological and historical.¹¹⁹ The *Reader* is particularly valuable for the access it gives to texts which are not easily available, such as those published by Müller, or those transcribed into Hebrew, like *Mitteliranische Manichaica* I and II, or those which are both inaccessible and in Hebrew script such as the works of Salemann. To this indispensable collection, which will long remain the standard introduction for those who wish to acquaint themselves with the original texts of the Manichaean fragments in Middle Iranian, Boyce added a word-list which, at the time of writing, is still the most comprehensive single list which is readily available to scholars.¹²⁰ It also contains a reverse-index compiled by Dr. R. Zwanziger to assist those who are working with the more lacunose original manuscripts. The two main draw-backs of this pair of books for the research scholar are (a) the original line-breaks (and therefore line numbers) are not given, which makes comparison with the original texts difficult and (b) the word-list is not also a word-index, as is standard in most publications of Manichaean texts. Several unofficial word-indices to this important collection have been made and the one compiled by Zwanziger on a main-frame computer at University College London has enjoyed considerable circulation among scholars but remains unpublished. Boyce's *Reader* is not accompanied by an English translation but a good number of the texts it contains had by then already been translated into English by the eminent Danish Iranologist, Prof. J. P. Asmussen¹²¹ and more recently by the distinguished German Historian of Religion, Prof. H.-J. Klimkeit.¹²² One can only hope that there will appear in the not too distant future a "Reader" of Manichaean texts in Sogdian. A colleague of Boyce's who subsequently became Professor Ordinarius in Iranology at Göttingen, Prof. D. N. MacKenzie, brought out a new edition of the fragments (with many additional ones) of the quasi-canonical *Šābuhragān* – one of the earliest works of Mani and one which we know to have been originally written in Middle Persian and not translated into that language. MacKenzie's edition was to some extent inspired by Boyce's *Reader* even if it appeared following

¹¹⁹ *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica 9 (Tehran-Liège, 1975). [Hereafter Boyce, *Reader*.]

¹²⁰ *A word-List in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica 9a (Tehran-Liège, 1977).

¹²¹ *Manichaean literature, representative texts chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian writings* (New York, 1975).

¹²² *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (San Francisco, 1993). [Hereafter, Klimkeit, *Gnosis*.]

his disagreement with her arrangement of some of the fragments.¹²³ More fragments of this important work have since been identified and with the aid of mirror-writing impressions on some of the fragments and headlines, it is now possible to reconstruct almost a complete sequence of eighteen pages.¹²⁴ The high standard of Manichaean Studies established by Henning and Boyce at the School of Oriental and African Studies has been continued by Prof. N. Sims-Williams. An acknowledged expert on Sogdian texts, especially of Christian Sogdian texts, he has published in an important series of studies some Sogdian Manichaean texts from the British Library,¹²⁵ further fragments of the *Huyadagmān*,¹²⁶ and has republished a number of Sogdian fragments from St. Petersburg which, when joined together correctly, give a fascinating account of Mani's audience with a Magus at the court of the Shahanshah Hormizd the Bold - an account which helps to fill a vital gap in our knowledge of the religion after the death of its first major patron, Shāpūr I.¹²⁷

Berlin (East), where most of the texts were housed at the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, returned to the centre-stage of the study of Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian with a series of distinguished publications by Dr. (now Prof.) W. Sundermann of the then Akademie der Wissenschaften of the DDR. These begin with a valuable article on Christian gospel citations, especially those from non-canonical or apocryphal gospels and gospel-harmonies, found in Manichaean texts. The new material, which clearly deals with the trial and resurrection of Jesus the Messiah, adds much to the tantalising scraps first published by Müller (M132a and M18). One newly edited fragment gives an account of the trial of Jesus before the High Priest which shows the clear influence of the *Diatessarōn*, the most popular, and probably the only, gospel-harmony used

¹²³ "Mani's *Šābuhragān*", *BSOAS* 42/3 (1979) 500-34 and "Mani's *Šābuhragān* II", *ibid.* 43/2 (1980) 288-310.

¹²⁴ W. Sundermann, "Recent work on Iranian Turfan Texts", *Journal of Central Asia (Journal of International Association for the study of the cultures of Central Asia)*, 6/1 (1983) 105.

¹²⁵ 'The Sogdian fragments of the British Library', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18 (1976) 43-82.

¹²⁶ "A new fragment from the Parthian Hymn-cycle *Huyadagmān*" in *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, *Studia Iranica - Cahier 7* (Paris, 1989) 321-31.

¹²⁷ "The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad II: Mani at the court of the Shahanshah", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 4 (1990) 281-88.

by Syriac-speaking Christians (M4570).¹²⁸ The launching of a major text-series, *Berliner Turfantexte*, in 1971 offered the researchers on the text fragments a convenient means of systematic publication. A major collection of cosmogonic and parable texts in Middle Persian and Parthian appeared in the series and it set a new standard with publication of photographs of all the fragments edited in the main text.¹²⁹ A second major collection, for which the editor was awarded the prestigious Ghirshman Prize, contains the long awaited church-history texts in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian.¹³⁰ The editor had originally hoped to reconstruct a Eusebian version of Manichaean *Ecclesiastical History* but it soon became apparent to him that the historical accounts of early Manichaean mission are firmly embedded in a great variety of homiletic and parable texts. The texts extend very considerably our knowledge of early Manichaean mission. We now know that the election of Npš' to the religion took place probably at Palmyra. She was cured of an illness by Mār Addā and her sister was referred to as the wife of a *kysr*. Since the word *kysr* in Middle Iranian is almost always reserved for the Roman emperor, the only person in the frontier region who would qualify for such a title was Odaenathus, the husband of the redoubtable Zenobia.¹³¹ Another Sogdian text gives us a graphic account of Mār Gabryab's adventures at the court of the King of Revan (= Erevan in Armenia) where his competitors for royal patronage were Christian priests!¹³² The collection also contains a fuller version of the *Diatessarōnic*-type text on the trial of Jesus (M4570). The new version furnishes the literary context which the earlier edition lacks. We can now see that it was not a stray page from a Christian gospel-harmony used by Manichaeans of Central Asia but rather a part of a homily on the martyrdom of Mani and the suffering of his followers which were equated by the author with the crucifixion of Christ.¹³³

¹²⁸ "Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-Manichäischen Literatur", *MIO* 14 (1968) 386-405, esp. 390-91.

¹²⁹ *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, *Berliner Turfantexte* 4 (Berlin, 1973). [Hereafter, Sundermann, *KPT*.]

¹³⁰ *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, *Berliner Turfantexte* 11 (Berlin, 1981). Of relevance are also his earlier studies on historical texts: "Zur frühen missionarischen Wirksamkeit Manis", *Acta Orientalia ... Hungaricae*, 24/1 (1971) 79-125, "Iranische Lebensbeschreibungen Manis", *Acta Orientalia*, 26 (Copenhagen 1974) 129-45

¹³¹ *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, §3.3.

¹³² *Ibid.* §3.4.

¹³³ *Ibid.* §4a.18.

Discourse on the crucifixion (*wyfr's d'rwbdgyftyg*)

... and he (Mani?) was unconscious and died. Such was the blessed death (Parinirvana) of (our) Father, as was written. No one should contemplate on anything more wonderful. Absolve us from all that had happened to him. As we all know when Jesus the Messiah (*yyšwyc mšyh'ḥ*) the Lord of us all, was crucified, it was attested about him, that they seized him like a evil-doer. They also dressed him in a [purple] cloak and placed a cane in his hand. And they paid reverence to him and [mockingly?] spoke: ["... King], our Christ!" [A]nd they then led (him) to the cross (?). [... 3 lines ...] he was delivered to them, but if not [...] there are also others who [departed (?) from this world] through crucifixion. Many there [are...] who were put [to death] by the sword [... 3 lines ...]. [A]nd there are those who went to distant lands and were killed when they got there. Every one of these messengers were well-known, for [we](?) are told about them: what they have endured and through what form of crucifixion (i.e. execution) they departed from this world. They also had some disciples who were thrown to the animals and others who were evicted from land to land. They were like strangers and enemies to the whole world and they were called the "deceived ones" and "ruined ones" in the whole world. And many are the temptations (?) [...] and they endured [...] (and) (?) themselves also taught [...] alms. Even as our father, the [beneficent] [...] our [...] living, so also the Jews (similarly desired) to remove <him> from the world, as it is shown that at dawn, the teachers, the (Jewish) priests, the scribes and the religious leaders deliberated (*cf.* Luke 22:66) and took counsel from each other to kill him (*cf.* Matt. 27:1). And they sought (false witnesses), (*cf.* Matt. 26:59) but their testimony did not agree with each other (*cf.* Mark 14:59). They brought forward two others (*cf.* Matt. 26:60) and they said: 'This man had declared: "I am able to destroy the temple (lit. palace) (Pth. *'pdn* = Syr. *'pdn'* ܦܕܢܐ) which is built with hands and in three days build another one built without hands (*cf.* Mark 14:58)."' Their testimonies also do not tally (*cf.* Mark 14:59), and the High Priest asked him, saying: 'I demand of you, on oath to the living God, that you tell me, whether you are the Christ, the son of (God, the living (?))' (*cf.* Matt. 26:63). Jesus said to him, "First, you yourself have said that I am it (*cf.* Matt. 26:64) [...6 lines...] (truly) appears but from now on you will see the Son of Man as he sits on the right side of divine power (and) when he will come in the (chariot) from heaven" (*cf.* Matt. 26:64). Then the High Priest of the Jews [tore] his garment and said (*cf.* Mark 14:63): "To me" [...] and they spoke to one another: "[...] the testimony which is desired. We have heard again (?) [the blasphemy] from his own very lips (*cf.* Luke 22:71) [...thereupon] it is necessary to kill him" (*cf.* Matt. 26:66). [...2 lines...] Pilate [...]

The sequence of gospel-verses is very similar to that of the *Diaterssarōn* and the same could be proved of another Manichaean text in Parthian which contains an account of the visit of the women to the tomb of Jesus

(M18).¹³⁴ The text gives the names of the women: Mariam, Shalom and Arseniyāh (=Arsenoe). The latter, clearly a Greek name, is hitherto unattested in Christian literature but is interestingly found in a Coptic Manichaean text in which she is lauded along with Salome among a list of those who had responded to the call of Christ in the Gospel.¹³⁵ It is a great misfortune that due to the shortage of printing-paper in the then DDR, only a small number of this important collection of Manichaean church-history texts was published, making the edition of these fascinating texts almost as inaccessible to scholars as the original fragments themselves.

In addition to editing these text fragments, Sundermann also embarked on a major source-critical study of Manichaean historical material in all the languages in which they have survived. The result, a monograph published in three parts, opens many new windows to Manichaean research.¹³⁶ To my mind, one of his most important and far-reaching conclusions, and one which he has already detected in his study of the translation and transformation of the names of Manichaean deities and demons, is that a high proportion of Manichaean texts in Parthian can be traced back to Syriac rather than Middle Persian originals. The latter, in fact, use a distinctive vocabulary which is heavily influenced by Zoroastrianism, while texts in Parthian contain many more transliterations or translated terms from Syriac and borrowings from Christian literature. The fact that some of these Parthian texts were later translated into Middle Persian obscured its distinctive Syro-Christian tradition.¹³⁷ A common Syriac origin also explains why there are a number of striking parallels and unique common features between Manichaean texts in Coptic and Parthian, such as, for instance, the name Arsinoe referred to already. It also explains the presence of the large number of Syriac loan-words in Parthian texts, words which are rarely found in Middle Persian forms.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Boyce, *Reader*, 126-27; W. Petersen, "An important unnoticed Diatessaronic reading in Turfan Fragment M-18" in T. Baarda, A. Hilhorst, G. P. Lutikhuisen and A. S. van der Woude (edd.) *Text and Testimony, Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn* (Kampen, 1988) 190-91.

¹³⁵ *Ps.-Bk.* p. 192,24 and 194,22.

¹³⁶ "Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer I", *AoF* 13/1 (Berlin 1986) 40-92, "II", *ibid.* 13/2 (1986) 239-317 and "III", *ibid.* 14/1, (1987) 41-107. [Hereafter, Sundermann, *Studien* I-III.]

¹³⁷ "Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos", *AoF* 6 (Berlin, 1979) 114 and *idem*, *Studien* II, 298-302.

¹³⁸ See e.g. *MM* iii, 900, 907, 910-11.

An edition of a parable-book in Sogdian – a text which had been worked on earlier by Müller and Lentz - appeared in the series *Berliner Turfantexte* in 1985.¹³⁹ As mentioned above, Sundermann convincingly argues for Tuyoq rather than Chotcho as its place of origin. Its heavy use of Buddhist terminology and motifs and adoption of Buddhist literary style show a clear loss of identity of the religion in the last phase of its history in the Tarim Basin. The political reunification of Germany should, in theory, provide a major boost to Manichaean studies as the Turfan material in the former BRD could now be reunited with the main collection in Berlin. However, the swift imposition of an academic structure developed over the last four decades along regional lines on the highly centralised system which characterised the former DDR is not without problems and uncertainties. In spite of the consequent upheavals, the fourth of Sundermann's major collections of Manichaean texts in the *Berliner Turfantexte* series was published in a reunited Germany by what is now a commercial academic press at a price which puts it beyond the reach of many academic libraries in the West, let alone the individual scholar. This is particularly unfortunate as the texts in this latest collection, the fragments of the "Sermon of the Light-Mind", will be of great interest to scholars of Manichaean texts in all languages.¹⁴⁰ While editing the texts on cosmogony for his first collection, Sundermann had come to realise that two of the longer texts in Parthian bear an uncanny resemblance to the opening sections of the Chinese treatise ("Traité") published by Chavannes and Pelliot in 1911 and duly noted the parallels in his commentary.¹⁴¹ Further research into the many text fragments given as "Traité"-type material in Boyce's *Catalogue* enabled him to compile a version of substantial parts of the sermon and also identify a number of related texts in Sogdian. The "Sermon of the Light-Mind" is clearly a didactic text of great importance judging by its popularity, and we now have versions of it in Parthian, Chinese, Turkish (see below) and Sogdian. In addition there is also a *kephalaion* on the same subject in Coptic (*Keph.* 38)¹⁴² which exhibits a number of verbal and thematic

¹³⁹ W. Sundermann, *Ein manichäisch-sogdisches Parabelbuch*, mit einem Anhang von Friedmar Geissler† über Erzählmotive in der Geschichte von den zwei Schlangen, *Berliner Turfantexte* 15 (Berlin, 1985). [Hereafter Sundermann, *Parabelbuch*.]

¹⁴⁰ *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous, Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus, Edition der parthischen und sogdischen Version*, *Berliner Turfantexte* 17 (Berlin, 1992).

¹⁴¹ Sundermann, *KPT* §§ 5, 6.

¹⁴² *Kephalaia*, edd. and transs. H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (Stuttgart, 1940ff.) 89-102.

similarities. It cannot be ruled out that the core of the work may stem from a work of Mani. It is also important to note that a work which is so clearly gnostic in outlook and blatant in its Christian-borrowings, especially the Pauline metaphor of Old and New Man, should have gained such widespread popularity among the far-flung communities of the sect whose members lived alongside (and often under) a variety of dominant religions.

A similar group of texts in Parthian and Sogdian belonging to the "Sermon on the Soul" currently worked on by Sundermann is similar to the "Sermon of the Light-Mind" in that echoes of its contents though not exact parallels to it can also be found in the Chinese *Hymnscroll* (v. *infra*).¹⁴³ Both works: "describe the five Light Elements, the sons of the First Man and the World-Soul, not as the suffering victims of the worldly powers of darkness but as a pentad of mighty deities who support and promote the life of the creatures on earth."¹⁴⁴ Comparison of the Chinese and the Middle Iranian texts highlights the very great problems of translating *Manichaici termini* like 'soul'¹⁴⁵ into Chinese – a language which at the time of the introduction of Buddhism into China was still lacking the vocabulary to express concepts which were common place in Indo-European languages. The full publication of the fragments of this popular Manichaean work in Central Asia is eagerly awaited.

In the few years prior to the reunification of Germany, Sundermann had the opportunity to initiate a number of younger German scholars into the skills of Turfan studies. Fragments of the text of a version of a parable-book which is different from the Sogdian parable-book from Tuyuq is the subject of a major publication by Colditz.¹⁴⁶ The latter has also published the fragments of the hymns of Šād-Ohrmezd, clearly an important figure in eastern Manichaeism judging from the reverence paid to him in the double-page of the hymn-book cited above.¹⁴⁷ Her colleague Reck has begun the

¹⁴³ W. Sundermann, *Der Sermon von der Seele. Ein Literaturwerk des östlichen Manichäismus*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G310 (Opladen, 1991) *passim*.

¹⁴⁴ Idem, "Iranian Manichaean texts in Chinese remake" in A. Cadonna and L. Lanciotti (edd.), *Cina e Iran da Alessandro Magno alla Dinastia Tang* (Florence, 1996) 112.

¹⁴⁵ E.g. the use of the word *shen* 身 'body' to mean 'soul' (Pe. & Pth.: gy'n) – though possible it would have been an extremely rare use of this common word.

¹⁴⁶ I. Colditz, "Bruchstücke manichäisch-parthischer Parabelsammlungen", *AoF* 14/2 (Berlin, 1987) 274-313.

¹⁴⁷ Eadem, "Hymnen an Šād-Ohrmezd. Ein Beitrag zur frühen Geschichte der Dīnāwariya in Transoxanien", *AoF* 19 (1992) 322-23.

research into the Monday- and Bēma-hymns in Parthian,¹⁴⁸ the *incipits* of many of which are preserved in the index section of the hymn-book cited above. Manichaean scholars the world over cannot but be grateful for this continuing supply of resources for research on the history and doctrine of the religion from the powerhouse in Berlin and can only hope that a formula may be found within the new structure of German *academia* which will ensure the new Akademienvorhaben Turfanforschung maintaining the very high standards of research established by the pioneers of the Orientalische Kommission.

(b) *Old Turkish (Uighur)*

Müller, already established as the foremost scholar in Berlin on Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian, was also the first to publish a collection of texts in Old Turkish (Uighur) from Turfan. The majority of the texts in Uighur from Turfan are Buddhist and Müller's training as a Sinologist gave him considerable advantage in working with those Buddhist texts in Turkish for which Chinese versions exist. He was known to suggest to his research students that they translate Uighur words they did not understand into Chinese so that they could consult a decent (i.e. Chinese-Dutch) dictionary!¹⁴⁹ The very first Uighur text he published, however, was a Christian midrash on the coming of the Magi.¹⁵⁰ His later publications, some jointly with his younger research colleague, von Gabain, were almost all devoted to Buddhist texts in Uighur. As von Le Coq had already established a reputation in *res Turcica*, it was natural that he should be the first scholar to undertake the systematic publication of Manichaean texts in Uighur. One text which received considerable attention and interest is the famous *X^uāstvānīft*, a long prayer-confessional for Manichaean Hearers. Several versions of it exist, the most important being those in St.

¹⁴⁸ C. reck, "Ein weiterer parthischer Montagshymnus?", *AoF* 19/2 (Berlin, 1992) 342-49.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. von Gabain, *Die erste Generation*, 102.

¹⁵⁰ "Ein manichäisch-ugurisches Fragment aus Idiqt Schahri", *SPAW* 1908, 19, 398-414. The text has been republished by A. van Tongerloo, "Ecce Magi ab oriente venerunt", *Acta Orientalia Belgica VII Philosophie – Philosophy, Tolerance* (Leuven, 1992) 57-74.

Petersburg,¹⁵¹ Berlin¹⁵² and a particularly well-preserved version among the Stein documents in London.¹⁵³ The Turkish versions were most likely to have been translated from Sogdian as the principal evil deity is named Šimnu rather than Ahriman – a nomenclature which is particular to Manichaean texts in Sogdian.¹⁵⁴ A number of Sogdian fragments of the same confessional were later identified and published by Henning.¹⁵⁵ The formula begins with a summary of Manichaean teaching on cosmogony and its ethical consequences are then expressed in the nature and categories of sins for which the Hearer had to make confession. The document is thus of enormous importance for the study of Manichaean cosmogony and ethics. Its popularity among Sogdian and Turkish Manichaeans shows clearly that written confessional formulas were a genre borrowed from Buddhism, then the dominant religion of the Tarim Basin.

Between 1911 and 1922, von Le Coq also published three substantial collections of fragments in both the Uighur and the Manichaean Estrangela scripts.¹⁵⁶ Like Müller's pioneering collection of Middle Iranian Manichaean texts, the fragments included in the three collections by von Le Coq were selected by their better state of preservation and they cover a wide range of topics. Knowledge of Manichaeism then was still very rudimentary and von Le Coq's editions of the fragments were consequently furnished with minimal introductions and hardly any notes. He did, however, succeed in identifying a group of fragments as containing a Turkish version of the Chinese Manichaean treatise made famous by the publications of Chavannes and Pelliot.¹⁵⁷ These have now been republished with translations into

¹⁵¹ *Chuastuanift, das Bussgebet der Manichäer. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von W. Radloff* (St. Petersburg, 1909) and "Nachträge zum Chuastuanift (Chuastuanvt), dem Bussgebete der Manichäer (Hörer)", *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg* 1911, 867-96.

¹⁵² A. von Le Coq, *Chuastvanift, ein Sündbekenntnis der manichäischen Auditores gefunden in Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan)*, APAW 1910, Anhang, Abh. IV.

¹⁵³ "Dr. Stein's Turkish Khuastuanift from Tun-huang, being a Confession-Prayer of the Manichæan Auditores", *JRAS* 1911, 277-314.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Sundermann, *Parabelbuch*, §b, p. 194; for the origins of the Sogdian name see Sims-Williams, *Upper Indus*, p. 40.

¹⁵⁵ *Sogdica*, 63-67.

¹⁵⁶ *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, APAW 1911, "II", *ibid.* 1919 and "III", *ibid.* 1922.

¹⁵⁷ U45 (= T II D 119), MIK III 636 (= TM 300), U44 (= TM 423c), U43 (= TM 423b), U42 (= TM 423e), U41 (= T I α 2), U40 (= TM 423a) in A. von Le Coq, *Manichaica aus Chotscho*, III, 16-22.

German of their Chinese parallels¹⁵⁸ and further fragments have also been identified.¹⁵⁹ Von Le Coq became something of a folk-hero in his native Germany as his popular works on the three expeditions in which he played a leading role enjoyed instant and enormous publishing success. Clearly many of the fragments he published needed re-editing and in-depth study. This was provided for a select number of texts by W. Bang, a polymath, who before the First World War had held the Chair of Germanic Philology at Leuven and had a publication record which ranged from editions of Early English texts to critical studies on the *Codex Cumanicus*. He was forced to leave Belgium by the First World War and after the War he based himself at the Ungarischen Institut in Berlin where he began a series of studies of texts published originally by von Le Coq.¹⁶⁰ He also collaborated with von Gabain, who had been Assistentin to Müller on four collections of Turkish Turfan texts, the third of which is devoted entirely to fragments of a hymn to the Father Mani,¹⁶¹ as well as a study of the Manichaean Wind-God.¹⁶² The second of the four collections also contains one text, of great significance to our knowledge, of the early history of Manichaeism in the Uighur court (TM 276a).¹⁶³ The Manichaeans appeared to have suffered persecution at the hands of a Turkish Tarqan, whose men killed "Hearers and merchants" wherever they could be found. The Electi petitioned the Khaghan to have the offending Tarqan removed, threatening national disaster if he would not comply with their wishes. After lengthy deliberation lasting two days and nights, the "divine king Bögü Khan" personally came to the assembly of the

¹⁵⁸ H.-J. Klimkeit and H. Schmidt-Glitzler, "Die türkischen Parallelen zum chinesisch-Manichäischen Traktat", *Zentralasiatische Studien* 17 (1984) 82-117. Eng. trans. of the fragments in Klimkeit, *Gnosis*, pp. 331-33.

¹⁵⁹ Ch/U 6814 (= T II T 509), Öt. Ry. 2266, U 128a (= TM 151), U199 (T I D), ed. and trans. P. Zieme, "Neue Fragmente des alttürkischen Sermons vom Licht-Nous", in C. Reck and P. Zieme (edd.), *Iran und Turfan, Beiträge Berliner Wissenschaftler, Werner Sundermann zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Wiesbaden 1995, 251-76.

¹⁶⁰ "Manichäische Laien-Beichtspiegel", *Le Muséon* 36 (1923) 137-242, "Manichäische Hymnen", *ibid.* 38 (1925) 1-55, "Aus Manis Briefen" in *Aus den Forschungsarbeiten der Mitglieder des ungarischen Instituts in Berlin dem Andenken Robert Graggers gewidmet* (Berlin, 1927) 1-4 and "Manichäische Erzähler", *Le Muséon* 44 (1931) 1-36.

¹⁶¹ "Türkische Turfantexte I", *SPAW* 1929 241-68, II: Der grosse Hymnus auf Mani, *ibid.* 441-30, III, *ibid.* (1930) 183-211, IV, *ibid.* 432-50, V, 1931, 323-56 and "Analytischer Index", *ibid.* 1931, 461-517.

¹⁶² "Ein uigurisches Fragment über den manichäischen Windgott", *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 8 (1928) 248-56.

¹⁶³ "Türkische Turfan-Texte, II: Manichaica", *SPAW* 1929, 415-19.

Electi and begged forgiveness. This was followed by great rejoicing, not only among the Electi but also the population of the capital (presumably of Karabalghasun). Crowds numbering tens of thousands came, there was all kind of sport and games and the feasting lasted all night. The style of the narrative is characteristic of Manichaean missionary history in Middle Iranian and it is truly remarkable that it was preserved by Manichaean historians at Chotcho in recounting an important moment in the religion's more recent history.

Despite the industry of Bang and von Gabain, the proportion of Buddhist material among the Turkish texts from Turfan was so very much greater than that of the Manichaean, and the number of specialists on pre-Islamic Turkish was so small in comparison to the size of the task at hand, that the Turkish Manichaean texts were simply not given the same elaborate attention as texts in Middle Iranian.¹⁶⁴ The publication of Manichaean texts in Turkish came to a halt long before the outbreak of the Second World War. Von Gabain, the only surviving member of the Turkological team in Berlin, published a valuable grammar of Old Turkish (which includes samples of Manichaean scripts) during the War. Now in its third and enlarged edition, it remains the only *porta linguae* of the Turkish Manichaean texts.¹⁶⁵ After the War, she moved to the BRD and her only major publication on Turkish Manichaean texts was the Turkish part of Winter's edition of the unique bilingual (Tocharian B and Uighur) fragments of the Hymn to the Father Mani¹⁶⁶ in the *Pothi-Book* (v. *infra*). On the other hand, she published two major historical studies on the Uighur Kingdom of Chotcho which set the history of Manichaeism under Uighur patronage in its political and social historical context.¹⁶⁷ In the two decades after the War, the only significant publication on Turkish *Manichaica* was the *editio major* by Asmussen of the *X^u āstvānift*, based on all three

¹⁶⁴ For a comprehensive survey of the Manichaean texts in Turkish arranged by type of texts see now L. Clark, "The Turkic Manichaean Literature" in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, *Emerging from Darkness - Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 43 (Leiden, 1997) 89-141.

¹⁶⁵ *Alttürkische Grammatik*, *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, N. S. 10, 3rd. expanded edn. (Wiesbaden, 1974), (1st. edn., Leipzig 1941).

¹⁶⁶ A. von Gabain and W. Winter, *Türkische Turfantexte IX: Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf 'Tocharisch' B mit alttürkischer Übersetzung*, ADAW 1956, II, Berlin 1958. [Hereafter von Gabain and Winter, *Hymnus*.]

¹⁶⁷ *Das uigurische Königreich von Chotscho 850-1250*, Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1961, no. 5 and *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1973).

previously published versions with a judicious and highly informative commentary.¹⁶⁸ The general lack of access to the documents in East Berlin was a major handicap in research and there was also no collection of photographs of the texts in the BRD like that of the Middle Iranian texts at Göttingen. The renaissance in the study of Manichaean texts in Old Turkish to some extent mirrored that of the study of the Manichaean texts in Middle Iranian. A series of articles culminating in a major collection of texts in the series *Berliner Turfantexte* by Zieme (of the then Akademie der Wissenschaften of the then DDR) put the study of the Turkish Manichaean texts back on the research agenda of the Akademie.¹⁶⁹ His more recent work – a collection of Buddhist and Manichaean verse with stave-rhyme stanzas, viz. verses which were composed to be read rather than listened to – introduces scholars to a special genre of Manichaean literature.¹⁷⁰ The “stanzaic alliteration patterns which characterise it are based on the written shape of words, where different (occasionally very different) sound does not appear to matter (or rather, is acceptable in poetic licence)”.¹⁷¹

A text unique in the format of its binding among the Manichaean texts from Central Asia is a *pothi* (= palm-leaf) book. Its place of discovery, as so often happened, was wrongly attributed to Chotcho, but it in fact came from Bāzāklik (= Murtuq). More than fifty pages of this rare text have survived but their publications were scattered in a number of works by von Le Coq,¹⁷² Bang¹⁷³ and von Gabain.¹⁷⁴ The extant fragments have now been skilfully assembled in a major new edition by Clark.¹⁷⁵ The reassembled fragments show that the *pothi*-book was a mini-library of Manichaean literature, containing a ‘Great Hymn to Mani’ (I v 1-XXV v 4) comprising

¹⁶⁸ J. P. Asmussen, *X^uāstvānīft*, *Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen, 1965) 167-93.

¹⁶⁹ P. Zieme, “Türkçe bir Mani siiri (Ein manichäisch-türkisches Gedicht)”, *Türk Dili Arastirmalari yilligi: Belletin* 1969, 39-51, idem, “Ein manichäisch-türkisches Fragment in manichäischer Schrift”, *Acta Orientalia ... Hungaricae* 23, 157-65 and idem, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, *Berliner Turfantexte* V (Berlin, 1975).

¹⁷⁰ *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang: Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung*, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* 33 (Budapest, 1991). [Hereafter Zieme, *Stabreimtexte*.]

¹⁷¹ M. Erdal, Review of Zieme, op. cit., *BSOAS* 56/1 (1991) 145

¹⁷² *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, III, *APAW* 1922, no. 39, 46-48 (text only).

¹⁷³ I.e. W. Bang, “Manichäische Erzähler”, *Le Muséon* 44 (1931) 25-30.

¹⁷⁴ I.e. von Gabain and Winter, *Hymnus* 10-19.

¹⁷⁵ L. Clark, “The Manichaean Turkic *Pothi-Book*”, *AoF* 9 (1982) 168-91.

more than a hundred and twenty quatrains of alliterated verses (i.e. in stave-rhyme, *v. supra*), a bilingual (Tocharian B and Uighur) “Hymn to Father Mani” (XXV v 5-XXIX r 5), an invocation to the prophets (XXIX v 1-[XXX?]), a confession text ([XXXI? – XXXVII ?]), a tale of Arazan the merchant – a highly topical choice of profession for the hero of the story given the popularity of the religion among the merchants of the Silk Road ([XXXVII]-XLIV r 1), benedictions (?) (XLIV), a story about demons ([45?]-?) and a colophon on transfer of merit. Though written in the unmistakably Manichaean Estrangela script, the *pothi*-book, clearly a product of the last phases of the religion in Central Asia, shows innumerable Buddhist features such as the *pothi*-format, the bilingual hymn, the unrestrained use of Buddhist terminology and the practice of transfer of merit.¹⁷⁶ The work was dated by von Gabain to the first quarter of the tenth century by identifying persons named in the colophon with the ruling Liao Dynasty. This has now been challenged on the grounds that the language displays a number of later features and an eleventh century date seems more likely.¹⁷⁷

The study of the Manichaean texts in Turkish was one discipline which benefited immediately from the resumption of academic contacts between China and the West. From the early 1980s onwards, a frequent visitor to Germany, especially to the Universität Bonn, has been Prof. Geng Shimin, the doyen of Uighur studies in China. Prior to his first visit, Geng had already published in Chinese a transcription and translation of a Uighur Manichaean charter concerning the financial arrangements and internal discipline of Manichaean monasteries in the area of Chotcho (*v. supra*).¹⁷⁸ Together with his Bonn host, Prof. H.-J. Klimkeit, and in collaboration with Dr. P. Laut of Marburg, he published a text found in the early 1980s by workers clearing rubble in Cave 38 at Bāzāklik (see above). The text fills a vital gap in our knowledge of the last years of Mani’s life as it gives an account of a debate between Mani and a prince called Hormizd who must have been successor to Shāpūr I. In the Coptic *Homilies*, Mani was said to have had little difficulty in securing from his successor the same degree of tolerance as was granted to him by Shāpūr, his most significant patron.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. 159-60.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. M. Erdal, “The chronological classification of Old Turkish Texts”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 23 (1979) 169-71 and Zieme, *Stabreimtexte*, 21-23.

¹⁷⁸ For an English version of this important study with text and translation but not including word-index see Geng Shimin, “Notes on an Ancient Uighur official decree issued to a Manichaean monastery”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 35/3-4 (1991) 209-223. [See also below, pp. 87-96.]

¹⁷⁹ *Manichäische Homilien*, ed. and trans. H. J. Polotsky (Stuttgart, 1934) p. 42, 15-30.

In true Manichaean hagiographical tradition, the Turkish fragment portrays the encounter as a confrontation which Mani had to win through his wit and his virtues and not through his previous connection with Shāpūr.¹⁸⁰ Another text, jointly published by Geng and Klimkeit from photographs of the Turfan collection in Hamburg, provides a fitting end to the history of Manichaeism in the Uighur kingdom of Chotcho. The recto of the text (M112) contains letters in Sogdian in which the author was greatly annoyed by certain damnable innovations to, and deviations from, the established rules of the sect practised by certain neighbouring communities or members of their own communities (castigated as the Mihrijja – members of a more liberal wing).¹⁸¹ The reverse side of the fragment contains a Uighur text in the Sogdian script, which might have been written as a colophon, and recounts the valiant effort of a monk to redecorate a Manichaean temple (*manistan*) which had lost its decoration to a three-storeyed Buddhist *vihāra* built under imperial patronage.¹⁸² The site of the discovery of the text has now been relocated by Sundermann to Complex-α, which was the first site to yield a significant number of Manichaean texts in the First German Expedition of 1902.¹⁸³ The presence of texts of such a late date and of pure local interest confirms beyond doubt that the site was the seat of a former Manichaean *archegos* of the East to whom the letters from the Miqlasījja were addressed and the site remained Manichaean until the conversion of the Uighur court to Buddhism, which took place after the tenth century, when the sole monk scribbled his sorrowful tale of vandalism on the reverse of a document received by the *archegos* perhaps more than a century earlier.

Before turning to the Chinese material, it is worth remembering that a large number of texts in Uighur, again mainly Buddhist texts or administrative documents, were brought back by Pelliot from Dunhuang to Paris. These are now being systematically published, and in the collection of texts from Cave 17 edited by J. Hamilton are three Manichaean texts (Pelliot Chinois 3049, 3407, 3071).¹⁸⁴ The first of the trio of texts is a praise of

¹⁸⁰ Geng, Shimin and H.-J. Klimkeit in Verbindung mit J. P. Laut, "Manis Wettkampf mit dem Prinzen", *ZDMG* 137 (1987) 44-58.

¹⁸¹ W. Sundermann, "Probleme der Interpretation manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe", *Acta Antiqua ... Hungaricae*, 28 (1983) 305-12.

¹⁸² Geng Shimin and H.-J. Klimkeit, "Zerstörung manichäischer Klöster in Turfan", *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 18 (1987) 7-11

¹⁸³ Sundermann, *Completion*, 287.

¹⁸⁴ *Manuscripts ouïgours du ix^e-x^e siècle de Touen-houang*, 2 vols., Paris, Vol. 1, 37-62. See also P. Zieme, "Notizen zum alttürkischen Sprichwortschatz" in *Altaica Osloensia, Proceedings from the 32nd Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference* (Oslo, 1990) 401-09. Hamilton's more recent

Mani, the Buddha of Light, which gives a full list of the names of the main Manichaean deities in Uighur. The names are clearly translated from Sogdian but the use of the name Zurvan for the Father of Greatness points ultimately to a Parthian origin. The text is one which students of Manichaean *technici termini* and cosmogony ignore at their own peril.

(c) *Chinese*

The first Chinese Manichean text to be identified as such was, as mentioned above, the "Fragment Pelliot", but its publication was inevitably delayed when the text of the long treatise now in Beijing was made available to Chavannes and Pelliot. The two texts (the "Traité" and "Fragment Pelliot" respectively) were published in the monograph article by the two French scholars in three parts in *Journal Asiatique*.¹⁸⁵ The two scholars did not, however, have access to the original text in Beijing and the text on which they based their translation was copied by a scribe who made a number of either careless copying mistakes or perfidious improvements. The worst of these is the confusion between the two key Manichaean terms *chi-nien* 記念 (memory) and *chi-yen* 記驗 (signs, symbols), causing considerable confusion to the two translators.¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately, the facsimile text accompanying the work of Chavannes and Pelliot was the most available version to scholars outside China. It was incorporated without correction into the standard Buddhist canon, the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經¹⁸⁷ and this same error-ridden text was also used by Schmidt-Glinterz in his German translation of the three Chinese Manichaean texts from Dunhuang.¹⁸⁸ A critical text based on a first-hand examination of the original text, and which reproduces accurately its special orthography, was produced by the Chinese scholar Ch'en Yüan 陳垣 a decade after the pioneering publication of Chavannes and Pelliot.¹⁸⁹ This was largely

study on calendrical texts also contains material relevant to study of Turkish Manichaean texts: "Calendriers manichéens ouïgours de 988, 989 et 1003" in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont *et al.* (edd.), *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, Varia Turcica 19 (Paris, 1992) 7-20.

¹⁸⁵ E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine I", *Journal Asiatique*, 10^e sér., 18 (1911) 499-617 and II and III", *ibid.* 11^e sér., 1 (1913) 99-199 and 261-392. [Hereafter, *Traité* 1911 and 1913.]

¹⁸⁶ *Traité* 1911, 541.

¹⁸⁷ 2140-2141B, Vol. LIV, pp.1270b21-1286a29.

¹⁸⁸ *Chinesische Manichaica mit text kritischen Anmerkungen und einem Glossar*, Studies in Oriental Religions 14 (Wiesbaden, 1987) 76-103.

¹⁸⁹ "*Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching* 摩尼教殘經 (Fragmentary Manichaean Sūtra)", *Kuo hsüeh chi-k'an* 國學季刊 1/2 (1923) 531-544.

unknown to scholars in the West. A new edition of the text with a close comparison of the Parthian, Sogdian and Turkish parallels is clearly needed and one is in hand for the new *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum* project by the present author in collaboration with Gunner Mikkelsen of Aarhus University (Denmark) and with A. van Tongerloo (Leuven). In the meantime, photographs of the text can be consulted in the work of Lin Wushu 林梧殊¹⁹⁰ and are also available on microfilm in many major academic libraries in the West.

Of the two Chinese texts in the Stein collection of Dunhuang manuscripts identified as Manichaean, the first is a long hymn-scroll and the other the first and main part of the "Fragment Pelliot" (v. *supra*).¹⁹¹ The hymn-scroll became the subject of two major studies by Waldschmidt and Lentz¹⁹² who also translated substantial parts of it. At the time of its discovery, it was the longest single Manichaean document and certainly the largest single collection of Manichaean hymns. These are translated from Parthian and the work contains two hymns in phonetic transcription. A number of Aramaic words have now been tentatively identified in these phonetic hymns by Yoshida,¹⁹³ which is not altogether surprising considering the frequent occurrence of Syriac words in Parthian texts.¹⁹⁴ The Chinese parts of the text were translated into English by the Buddhist scholar, Tsui Chi, at the suggestion of Henning. The text has a very odd Chinese title, *Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan* 摩尼教下部讚, which is rendered into Chinese by Tsui Chi as the "The lower (second?) section of the Manichaean hymns". Such a translation would assume a somewhat unusual scribal practice as the normal way of indicating "second section" would have been *chüan-hsia* 卷下 or *chüan-erh* 卷二. It seems more likely that the title means "Hymns for the Lower Section (i.e. the Hearers) of the Manichaean Religion". There is a suggestive parallel to such an interpretation in one of the headers of the Middle Iranian hymn-book referred to above (M1 [i.e. *Mahrnāmag*] S1 H): *nywš'g'n pywhyšn* "supplication of the Hearers". Another example (in

¹⁹⁰ *Mo-ni chiao chi ch'i tung-ch'ien* 摩尼教及其東漸 (Manichaeism and its eastern diffusion) (Beijing, 1987) 217-229.

¹⁹¹ E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, "A Chinese Manichaean hymnal from Tun-huang", *JRAS* 1926, 116-299 and idem, "A Chinese Manichaean hymnal from Tun-huang: Additions and corrections", *ibid.* 298-99.

¹⁹² *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, *APAW* 1926, 4 and "Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten", *SPAW* 13, 480-607. [Hereafter *Stellung Jesu* and *Dogmatik*.]

¹⁹³ Yutaka Yoshida, "Manichaean Aramaic in the Chinese Hymnscroll", *BSOAS* 46 (1983) 326-31.

¹⁹⁴ See esp. Word-Index to *MM* iii.

Sogdian) is the title “Homily addressed to the laymen” (*ny’ws’nk wy-δβ’γ*).¹⁹⁵

Since Tsui Chi did his translation in London, it was generally assumed that he would have had access to the original text in the British Museum (now in the British Library). This was not in fact the case. The manuscript was in safe storage in Wales for the entire duration of the War and Tsui Chi’s translation was based on a microfilm version of the original and the far from satisfactory transcription in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*. The ink of the text copied on the reverse had come through in many places thereby causing serious problems to any photographic reproduction of the text.¹⁹⁶ One case in point is the almost meaningless translation of line 205a, where the first stanza in the *Taishō* text reads *tsun-che chi-shih chieh-shang nu-ssu* 尊者即是劫傷怒思, which Tsui Chi translates as “Even if the venerable priests were menaced, injured, or in anger (?), etc.”. This interpretation is followed by Schmidt-Glintzer: “Von den ehrwürdigen Priestern mögen manche bedroht, verwundet oder verärgert sein, usw.” However, *chieh-shang nu-ssu* 劫傷怒思 is a very unusual combination of characters and the fact that this particular stanza has one extra character should have alerted the reader to their being a phonetic transliteration of a foreign name or term, and, in any case, four words with verbal functions in sequence is stylistically odd. I am grateful to Prof. Lin Wu-shu, who has personally examined the manuscript, for pointing out to me at an international seminar on the *Traktat (Traité) Pelliot* at Lund, that the editor of the *Taishō* text may have misread 傷 *i* – a character commonly used in transliteration (e.g. ms. lines 21-22) for 傷 *shang* – ‘to injure, to wound’. Professor Sundermann, who was also present at the discussion, surmised that the new phrase *chieh-i nu-ssu* 劫傷怒思 may have been the phonetic transliteration of the name of the angel Kaftinus (Pe. *kftnyws*, see M20 I R 3). This suggestion would certainly make better sense in the context even if we can not be certain of the exact Iranian equivalent of the name. Since then I have personally examined the manuscript in the British Library and can confirm Prof. Lin’s reading.

We owe the translation of the main part of the *Compendium*, the third major Chinese Manichaean document, also to the energies of Henning. While the School of Oriental Studies was relocated to Cambridge during the Second World War, he and the then Professor of Chinese at Cambridge, Haloun, met regularly to work on a joint translation of the text, a work

¹⁹⁵ Cf. W. B. Henning, “The Murder of the Magi”, *JRAS* 1944, 137.

¹⁹⁶ Clearly shown in *Stellung Jesu*, pl. 1.

which Henning published after the death of Haloun.¹⁹⁷ Although both scholars realised that the “Fragment Pelliot” in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is a continuation of the same text, they did not include it in their translation, with the exception of a few characters which conclude the sentence at the end of the text in the British Museum. The second half of the sentence preserved in the “Fragment Pelliot”, as it happens, has been a source of both perplexity and curiosity: perplexity because of its context, which was unclear until the discovery of the main part of the text, and curiosity because it seems to refer to the disposal and storage of dead bodies – a pertinent issue as Manichaeans in China were accused of not giving their dead a proper burial. However, the first part of the sentence, as preserved in the part of the text in the British Library, shows clearly that the mention of dead bodies is a metaphor borrowed from Buddhism, and the context of the passage is about internal discipline within the Manichaean community and not about the disposal of the dead. The text claims to have been translated from “Sanskrit” (*sic*, the translation was probably disguising the fact that the original was in Parthian) but it contains a passage which is only of relevance to the diffusion of the religion in China, *viz.* the legend that Lao-tzu, the founder of Taoism, did not die but went West and converted Barbarians to his teaching. Among his later manifestations were the Buddha and Mani, the Buddha of Light. Since the relevant passage contains verbatim quotation from a known Chinese text, the *Sūtra on the Conversion of Barbarians* (*Hua-hu ching* 化胡經), that particular section could not possibly have been translated out of Parthian. As Lin has convincingly demonstrated, the word *shih* 譯 in Ms. line 3 can mean to ‘explain’ or to ‘expound’ as well as to ‘translate’.¹⁹⁸ Thus, the text is adapted rather than translated from a Parthian original. The frequent occurrence of Parthian words in transliteration in the text leaves little doubt that it was predominantly a translated document. The whole text has now been translated into German (with no notes) by Schmidt-Glintzer¹⁹⁹ and into French (with notes mainly on the Buddhistic elements of the document) by N. Tajadod²⁰⁰ who also reproduced the hitherto unpublished translation by Pelliot and the eminent

¹⁹⁷ G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, “The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light”, *Asia Major*, N. S. 3 (1952) 184-212.

¹⁹⁸ “The origin of “The Compendium of the Teaching of Mani” in Chinese in A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen (edd.), *Manichaica Selecta, Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, Leuven-Louvain, 1991) 231.

¹⁹⁹ Schmidt-Glintzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-75.

²⁰⁰ Tajadod, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-65.

Buddhologist, Paul Demiéville, of the main part of the document, which is still worth consulting.²⁰¹

Since Chinese was also an important language of the Silk Road, it is not surprising that two fragments of Manichaean texts in Chinese have now been identified among Chinese texts in the Turfansammlung in Berlin by Thilo.²⁰² The first, measuring only 13.2 x 8.2cm, and containing a hitherto unattested penitential prayer to a "Great Saint" (i.e. Mani) was once part of a small codex. The fragment bears the manuscript signature of Ch 174 (formerly T II 1917). It was brought to Berlin by the Second German Expedition. The second and less well preserved fragment (T II T 1319) once constituted the centre part of a double-page (13.2 x 4.7cm) and one half of it contains, on both sides, verses of a Manichaean hymn, which is also attested in a slightly different translation in the London hymn-scroll (§§ 161-163 and 167-169). The other half of the double-page contains part of a hymn of which a Parthian version has been identified in two manuscriptal fragments by Sundermann. These new small fragments of Chinese Manichaean texts from Turfan, both once parts of codices, contrast in format with the texts from Dunhuang which are preserved on long scrolls. The hymn-scroll measures some 7.5m in length and the "Traité", 6.2m. The codex format is much more popular among the texts discovered from Turfan. The fact that the second of the two fragments contains parts of a translation of a hymn, which is different from the translation preserved in the hymn-scroll but has the same recognisable original, and that codices were not widely used before the ninth century, implies that the translation of Manichaean texts into Chinese was still being carried out in the Uighur Kingdom of Chotcho after the religion had been expelled from China itself.

It is worth noting that the Chinese texts from both Dunhuang and Turfan render the important Iranian Manichaean term, the "Three Ditches (or moats)" (Pth. *hry p'rgyn*, Pe. *sh p'rgyn*), with the Buddhist term, "Three Calamities" (*san-tsai* 三災). But there is no conceptual link between the two terms, and the Chinese term, though commonly found in Chinese Buddhist texts, seems not to have a Sanskrit or Pali equivalent, which may imply that it was coined by translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese. There is a variety of Chinese words which the translator could have used to represent

²⁰¹ Ibid. pp. 257-70.

²⁰² Th. Thilo, "Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei chinesisch-manichäischen Textfragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung", in Klengel and Sundermann (edd.) op. cit., pp 161-170. For Parthian parallels see W. Sundermann, "Anmerkungen zu: Th. Thilo, Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei chinesisch-manichäischen Textfragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung", ibid. 171-74.

the concept of a physical cleavage. As Chavannes and Pelliot remarked, the original Chinese term chosen might have been *san-hue* 三穴 (three holes or ditches) and the physical resemblance of the character 穴 *hue* to the character 災 *tsai* in Tang orthography allowed for the adoption of the Buddhist term. The fact that the same term “Three Calamities” is found in similar context in one of the newly published fragments of Chinese Manichaean texts from Turfan shows that it is not a one-off decision by the translator of the “Traité” to assimilate, or rather to replace, a key Manichaean motif by a Buddhist Chinese term with similar orthographic appearance, but rather that the translators in Dunhuang and Turfan both used standardised multilingual terminological lists which resemble those published by Henning in *Sogdica* and the more recently discovered Syriac and Coptic lists from the Dakhleh Oasis.²⁰³

6. *Manichaean art and architecture from Alchi,
Ladakh (north India) (?)*

Sogdian merchants travelled across the Hindu Kush as well as the Pāmirs. North India and Tibet had long been within the orbit of Central Asian commercial, cultural and artistic interchange. An inscription at Drangtse in the Ladakh region shows that Sogdians (probably merchants) from Samarkand, together with a Buddhist monk, were among an official delegation sent to the court of the Tibetan Khaghan in 841/2.²⁰⁴ More tantalising still is the Sogdian graffito which gives the name *sr'wšrt'yn* (from *Srōšart*, the Sogdian name of the Manichaean divinity, the “Column of Glory” = Pe. *srwš'hr'y*).²⁰⁵ With such unambiguous evidence of contact with Central Asia, one is led to wonder whether Manichaean influences could be detected in the famous Buddhist art of Ladakh. At Alchi in Ladakh is located a three-storeyed (*Sum-tsek*) Buddhist temple which exhibits magnificent Buddhist wall-paintings dating back to the eleventh century. Diagonally leftward from the entrance to the second floor is a panel of five small paintings of the Tathāgatas in their paradises. Klimkeit has pointed out that there are cross-symbols in the paintings which are not commonly found in Buddhist art. We know from Central Asian and Chinese Manichaean texts that Vairocana (Chinese Buddhist *pi-lu-she-na* 毗盧遮那, Chinese Manichaean *lu-she-na* 盧舍那, Turkish *Lusyanta*) is identified with

²⁰³ I. Gardner (ed.), *Kellis Literary Texts*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1996) 112-26.

²⁰⁴ N. Sims-Williams, “Travellers to Tibet: the Sogdian inscriptions of Ladakh” (unpubl.) 4.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 5-6.

the Column of Glory (Pe. *srwš'hr'y*), a Manichaean deity of the Third Creation who also signifies Jesus *patibilis*, the sum total of Light-Particles crucified in matter and whose symbol is the Cross of Light. Since Vairocana is the essential body of the Buddha-truth which, like the Light, pervades everywhere, it is a convenient choice for symbolising a Gnostic concept which has its origins firmly rooted in apocryphal Christian literature. In the case of the depiction of Aksobhya at Alchi, a Cross of Light has replaced his normal thunderbolt (*vajra*). Since the latter normally symbolises the Buddha-nature or the *vajra* (adamantine truth) nature which resides in all beings, the substitution is also appropriate. At Alchi the figure of Amitābha, the Buddha of Light, is also accompanied by a white cross and the symbol of the sun. The cross here may represent Jesus the Luminous who resides in the moon, hence the juxtaposition of the sun and the cross. One may surmise that a Manichaean visitor could see in them a representation of the five *membra dei* of the Great Nous while a Buddhist would accept them as a more or less traditional depiction of the five Paradises of the Tathāgatas. In the entrance court of the Assembly Hall (*Du-'khang*) in the same temple complex is a mural depicting two ships. The symbol of the ship crossing the sea of suffering, as Klimkeit remarks, is common in Buddhism but the symbolism of two ships is regarded by Klimkeit as unusual and may have been inspired by the Manichaean concept of the sun and moon as "light vessels".²⁰⁶

The region of Ladakh had been part of the Central Asian Empire of Tibet which flourished in the Early Middle Ages. Tibetan sources reveal some knowledge of Manichaeism, derived (as far as one can deduce from the spelling of proper names) from Middle Iranian, especially from Sogdian sources. As the Uighurs constituted a major part of China's military effort to curtail the expansion of the Tibetan Empire in the second half of the eighth century, especially in the area around the strategic town of Beiting, and many of the Uighurs would have been Manichaeans, knowledge of the religion could have diffused into Tibet through them.²⁰⁷ The temple at Alchi, on the other hand, was built, according to epigraphical evidence, by followers of Rinchen Zangpo in probably the second half of the eleventh century when Manichaeism was no longer a major religious force east of the Pāmirs. Moreover, the poor quality of the photographs produced by

²⁰⁶ H.-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean art and calligraphy*, Iconography of Religions 20 (Leiden, 1982) 33.

²⁰⁷ C. I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire of Central Asia* (Princeton, N. J., 1988) 146-56, 163-69.

Klimkeit²⁰⁸ obscures the fact that the crosses are filled with fine drawings of waves and delicate patterns and that in another of the paintings there is also a half-cross and a cross with rounded corners containing the same patterns.²⁰⁹ Klimkeit's classification of the wall-paintings at the *Sum-tsek* at Alchi as Manichaeism clearly needs to be reconsidered.

7. *Manichaean architecture and pottery*
from Fujian 福建 (South China)

The publication of Chavannes and Pelliot's work caused considerable excitement among Chinese scholars, who were particularly surprised by the material on the survival of the religion in China proper after the end of the T'ang period, which had witnessed the expulsion of religions from the Near East, including Zoroastrianism, Nestorian Christianity and Manichaeism. Building on the foundation laid by the French scholars, Ch'en Yüan, the then leading authority on many aspects of foreign influences of Chinese history and culture, published a monograph-length article in which he reproduced all the testimonia given by Chavannes and Pelliot and included a few additions which he had found in his voracious reading of the Chinese sources. The most interesting of these is an account by Ho Ch'iao-yüan 何喬遠, a *literatus* of the Ming period who appears to have had first hand knowledge of the sect in the province of Min 閩 (i.e. Fujian) in South China:²¹⁰

The Hua-piao Hill of the county of Chin-kiang prefecture of Ch'üan-chou is joined to the Ling-yüan Hills. Its two peaks stand up like hua-p'iao (i.e. twin columns placed at entrance of tombs). On the ridge slope back of the hill is a rustic shrine dating from the Yüan period. There reverence is paid to Buddha Mani. The Buddha Mani has for name "Brilliant Buddha Mo-mo-ni". he came from Su-lin (i.e. Assuristan) and is also a Buddha, having the name "Envoy of the Great Light, Complete in Knowledge".... In the year Ping-ssu of the T'ai-shih period of emperor Wu of the Chin (A.D. 266) he died in Persia. He entrusted his doctrine to a chief *mu-che*. The *mu-che* in the reign of Kao-Tsung of Tang (650-683) propagated his religion in the Middle Kingdom. Then, in the time of Wu Tse-t'ien (684-704) an eminent disciple of the *mu-che*, the *fu-to-tan* Mi-wu-mo-ssu (Mihir Ormuzd) came in turn to the court. ... In the period K'ai-yüan (713-741) a Ta-yün-kuang-ming-ssu

²⁰⁸ See esp. Klimkeit, op. cit., pls.XII-XIII, figs 17-20.

²⁰⁹ See P. Pal, *Marvels of Buddhist Art: Alchi-Ladakh*, with photographs by L. Fournier (Paris, 1983) S71.

²¹⁰ *Min-shu* 閩書 7.31b2-32b7 (with omissions), trans. Brisson, revised by Lieu. [For a more complete translation see below pp. 194-95.]

(Temple of the Light of the Great Clouds) was established for the worship (of Mani) In the period Hui-ch'ang (841-846) when (Buddhist) monks were suppressed in great numbers, the religion of the light was included in the suppression. However, a *hu-lu fa-shi* (i.e. an Elect) came to Fou-t'ang (south of Fou-chou), and taught his disciples at San-shan (in Fou-chou). He came to the commandery of Ch'üan in his travels and died (there) and was buried at the foot of a mountain to the north of the commandery. In the period Chih-tao (995-997) a scholar of Huai-an, Li T'ing-yü, found an image of the Buddha (Mani) in a soothsayer's shop at the capital; it was sold to him for 50,000 cash-pieces, and this his auspicious image was circulated in Fukien.... When T'ai-tsu of the Ming Dynasty established his rule, he wanted the people to be guided by the Three Religions (i.e. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism). He was further displeased by the fact that [the Manichaeans] in the name of their religion (i.e. Ming) usurped the dynastic title. He expelled their followers (from their shrines) and destroyed their shrines. The President of the Board of Finance, Yu Hsin, and the president of the Board of Rites, Yang Lung, 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 (Manichaeic) 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 graven on the rocks (by visitors).

Attempts to locate the rustic shrine on Hua-piao Hill in the years before the region came under Japanese occupation were unsuccessful and it was not until the 1950s that it was finally identified by Wu Wen-liang 吳文良 a local antiquarian and archaeologist.²¹¹ The stone statue of Mani still extant in the shrine is a thirteenth century replacement of an earlier one and gives the immediate appearance of a normal statue of Buddha. On further examination, however, a number of un-Buddhist features readily emerge. The Buddha is usually depicted as having downcast eyes and curly hair and as being clean-shaven. The statue in the rustic shrine, however, stares straight at the spectator. His hair is straight and is draped over his shoulders and he is also bearded. He is fleshy-jowled while the facial features of the Buddha are usually more shallow. His eyebrows are arched while those of the Buddha are usually straight. Mani's hands rest on his abdomen with both palms facing upwards while those of the Buddha are usually held up in a symbolic or ritual gesture (*mudrā*). Conspicuous in his garment is the unusual design of a double-knot which is paralleled by the now destroyed wall-painting of Mani (?) found in Complex-K at Chotcho by von Le Coq.

²¹¹ Wu Wen-liang, *Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-ko* 泉州宗教石刻, (Peking, 1957) 44.

The head, body and hands of the statue in the shrine are skilfully carved from stones of different hues to give an overall impression of luminosity. Moreover, excavations during the 1980s in the area in front of the rustic shrine, on which a large Buddhist temple now stands, unearthed a complete glazed bowl and a considerable number of fragments of a distinctive black earthenware pottery. Inside the complete bowl is inscribed in large letters: *Ming-chiao hui* 明教會, i.e. "The assembly of the Teaching of Light (or Light-Sect)". Some fragments examined by the author in 1993 carry the inscription *Ming-chiao pao* 明教寶, i.e. "the possession (lit. treasure) of the Teaching of Light (or Light-Sect)". These were clearly once utensils for the communal eating of vegetarian meals by the sect. On a rock face was once carved in large letters the inscription: "Please remember Purity (i.e. Divinity), Light, Great Power, Wisdom, the Peerless Truth, Mani the Buddha of Light" (i.e. the qualities of the Four-faced Father of Greatness, v. *supra*). The inscription was seriously damaged during the Cultural Revolution and is no longer extant, but a version of it based on photographs of the original has been reinscribed on the hill-side behind the temple at a new location. An incomplete version of the same inscription on large stone slabs was found by workmen in the same province of China in 1991 indicating that it was a standard Manichaean motto and often inscribed. Part of this motto can also be found in the "Traité" from Dunhuang as a quotation from Mani's *Evangelium*. Another link with the texts from Dunhuang is that the Manichaeans, according to Ho Chiao-yüan, preserved a set of dates of Mani's life (i.e. 208-266) which is found only in the *Compendium* from Dunhuang and is at odds with the commonly accepted dates of 216-274. The error was most likely to have been caused in the translation of the original Sassanian calendrical formula and it is unlikely that it would have been repeated with the same results by a new influx of Manichaeans from the maritime Silk Route which flourished in the Islamic period. The rustic shrine in the south of China, the only extant building of the Manichaean religion, is therefore directly linked to its past as a major religion of the Silk Road in Central Asia. That it should be situated near a city (modern Quanzhou = Zaitun in the time of Marco Polo) which was a major terminal of the maritime Silk Route in the Middle Ages is no coincidence, as the ethnic and religious diversity of the city and its surrounding area provided ideal cover for the religion. It is entirely appropriate, therefore, that the city of Quanzhou was chosen as the terminus of UNESCO's Maritime Silk Road Expedition in 1990 and that the Manichaean rustic shrine on Hua-piao Hill should feature prominently on the festive itinerary of the delegates.

II. FROM PARTHIAN INTO CHINESE: Some observations on the *Traktat (Traité) Pelliot**

In 1911, the learned world was greatly excited by the publication by two distinguished French Sinologists, Eduard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, of a long Manichaean text in Chinese. This was found by Chinese scholars among the texts brought back to Beijing from the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas in Dunhuang 敦煌 in the wake of the famous expeditions of Aurel Stein and of Pelliot himself.¹ Lo Ts'en-yü 羅振玉, one of the first Chinese scholars to study this text, suspected that it was translated from Persian (i.e. Iranian) and entitled the text *Po-ssu chiao ts'an-ching* 波斯教殘經 (The Fragmentary Scripture of a Persian Religion). Since its identification as Manichaean, the text has carried the modified title of *Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching* 摩尼教殘經 (*Fragmentary Manichaean Scripture*), (Beijing National Library catalogue no. 北 8470, formerly 字 56).² The existence of Manichaeism in China had already been suspected by Pelliot himself³ and this was confirmed by his identification the so-called *Fragment Pelliot* (P3884 viz. the last section of the *Compendium of the Teachings of Mani the Buddha of Light* (S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lueh* 摩尼光佛教法議略) in the collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in Paris (P3884) as part of a hand-book of Manichaean teaching.⁴ Two further Chinese Manichaean texts were discovered in the Stein collection in London: a long hymn-scroll (S7053 *Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan* 摩尼教下部讚) and the first part of a handbook on Manichaean teaching, viz. the *Compendium* which we have already mentioned.⁵ The *Hymnscroll* occasioned two major studies by E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz which include translations of select sections,⁶ and, with the exception of the hymns transliterated from Iranian, the whole

* This is an expanded version of a review article first published with *pinyin* transliterations of Chinese characters in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 90/4 (July / Aug. 1995) cols. 357-72. The author is grateful to Prof. Werner Sundermann and Dr. Peter Zieme for their kind hospitality to him while consulting the Middle Iranian fragments of the "Sermon von Licht-Nous" in Berlin in 1993.

¹ E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *Journal Asiatique*, 10^e sér., 18 (1911) 499-617.

² A new critical edition of this text with English translation and of the Middle Iranian and Turkish parallels is being prepared by the present author together with G. Mikkelsen and A. van Tongerloo for the *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum*.

³ P. Pelliot, "Le Mo-ni et le Houa-hou-king", *BEFEO* 3 (1903) 318-27.

⁴ Cf. *Traité*, 1913, 105-40.

⁵ Cf. E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, "Two New Manichaean Manuscripts from Tun-huang", *JRAS* 1925, 113.

⁶ *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, APAW, 1926 and "Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten", SPAW, 1933, XIII, 479-607.

text was translated with great skill and sensitivity by the Chinese Buddhist scholar Tsui Chi.⁷ Pelliot also began work on the main part of the *Compendium* in London. His translation (revised by P. Demiéville) was used by Puech in his standard monograph on Manichaeism⁸ and this translation has now belatedly been published by Nahal Tajadod.⁹ A translation section in London was published by G. Haloun and W. B. Henning but the two scholars surprisingly did not include in their translation the fragment in Paris which completes the text.¹⁰ Printed editions of all three Chinese Manichaean texts were incorporated in the Japanese edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon¹¹ and can be most conveniently consulted in the edition with German translation by H. Schmidt-Glintzer.¹² More recently, Dr. Thomas Thilo of the Stadtsbibliothek Berlin has published two fragments of Chinese Manichaean texts from Turfan. These contain, *inter alia*, a different version of part of the *Hymnscroll* (§§ 161-163 and 167-169) and another hymn, the Parthian versions of which has been identified by Prof. Werner Sundermann.¹³

At the time when Chavannes and Pelliot were preparing their monumental edition of the long treatise now commonly referred to as the *Traité* (the text was also named *Traktat Pelliot* by Troje¹⁴ and the name came to be widely used although Pelliot was not its discoverer) the study of Manichaean texts from Central Asia was still in its infancy. Nevertheless they were greatly assisted in the identification of Manichaean *technici termini* and in the elucidation of Manichaean doctrines by the then recently published editions of Manichaean texts (mainly in Middle Persian) by F. W. K.

⁷ "Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan, the Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean hymns", *BSOAS* 11 (1943) pp. 174-219.

⁸ H. Ch. Puech, *Le Manichéisme, Son fondateur - sa doctrine* (Paris, 1949) 111, n. 88.

⁹ Nahal Tajadod, *Mani le Boudhha de Lumière - Catéchisme manichéen chinois, Sources gnostiques et manichéennes* 3, Collection dirigée par Michel Tardieu (Paris, 1990) 257-60.

¹⁰ "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light", *Asia Major*, N. S. 3, 184-212.

¹¹ *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 2140, 54.1270b21-1286a29.

¹² *Chinesische Manichaica mit text kritischen Anmerkungen und einem Glossar*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von H. Schmidt-Glintzer, *Studies in Oriental Religions* 14 (Wiesbaden, 1987) 77-103 (trans.) and T81-86 (text).

¹³ Th. Thilo, "Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei chinesisch-manichäischen Textfragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung", in H. Klengel and W. Sundermann (edd.), *Ägypten - Vorderasien - Turfan. Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften*, *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 23 (Berlin, 1991) 161-170 and W. Sundermann, "Anmerkungen zu: Th. Thilo, Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei chinesisch-manichäischen Textfragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung", *ibid.*, pp. 171-74.

¹⁴ L. Troje, *Die Dreizehn und die Zwölf im Traktat Pelliot* (Leipzig, 1925).

Müller and (in Uighur) by Albert von Le Coq.¹⁵ There was no doubt to the French *savants* that the treatise was translated and / or compiled from a Central Asian, most likely a Middle Iranian, language. The identification of fragments of a Turkish version of the same work by von Le Coq confirms beyond doubt that the *Traité* did not originate in a Chinese milieu.¹⁶ The presence of verses of hymns in Middle Persian and Parthian in Chinese phonetic transliteration in the *Hymnscroll* points to the close association between Chinese and Middle Iranian texts.¹⁷ Some short parallel texts in Sogdian to sections of the *Traité* on the different trees planted by the Light-Nous (mind) (a major figure of the *Traité*) were identified and published by W. B. Henning¹⁸ who also mentioned elsewhere in passing the existence of parallels to the *Traité* in Parthian.¹⁹ Some of these fragments were later identified and listed by Mary Boyce in her indispensable catalogue of Manichaean fragments in the Turfan-Sammlung.²⁰ She herself published the Parthian version of *Huyadagmān* Hymn-Cycles containing a canto which is paralleled in the Chinese *Hymnscroll*.²¹ The main part of the *Traité* is devoted to the work of the Light-Nous and we know of also a "Sermon on the Light-Nous" in the *Kephalaia*, one of the most important Manichaean texts in Coptic found in Medīnet Mādi in Egypt.²² More recently Sundermann published a fragment in Middle Persian of Mani's *Book of the Giants* among the texts now housed in Leningrad and on the second sheet is

¹⁵ Cf. *HR ii* and *TMT i*.

¹⁶ *TMT iii* 16-24. See new translation with translation Chinese parallels by H.-J. Klimkeit and Schmidt-Glintzer, H., "Die türkischen Parallelen zum chinesisch-manichäischen Traktat", *Zentralasiatische Studien* 17 (1984) 82-117. English translation of the fragments can be found in H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (San Francisco, 1993) 331-33. Additional fragments have more recently been identified by P. Zieme, "Neue Fragmente des alttürkischen Sermons vom Licht-Nous", in C. Reck and P. Zieme (edd.), *Iran und Turfan, Beiträge Berliner Wissenschaftler, Werner Sundermann zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 251-76.

¹⁷ W.-L. i, 85-92. See List below. See also Yutaka Yoshida, "Manichaean Aramaic in the Chinese Hymnscroll", *BSOAS* 46/2 (1983) 326-31 and P. Bryder, *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism, A study of Chinese Manichaean Terminology* (Lund, 1985)

¹⁸ *Sogdica*, James Forlong Fund Prize Publications 21, (London, 1940) 3-4.

¹⁹ "Two Manichaean magical texts with an excursus on the Parthian ending -ēndēh", *BSOAS* 12/1 (1947) 45, n. 43.

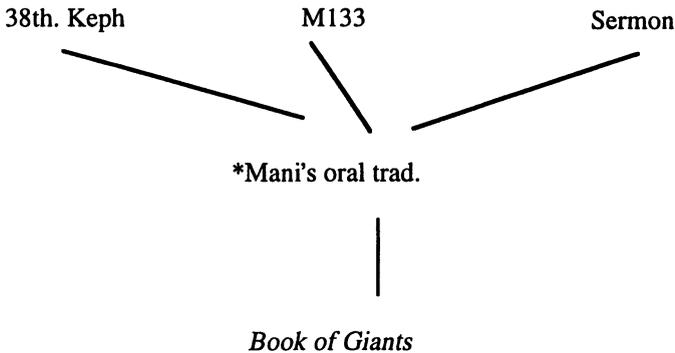
²⁰ M. Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan collection* (Berlin, 1960) 148, §§15-16.

²¹ See List below.

²² *Keph.* 38, pp. 89-102. See also A. Böhlig and J.-P. Asmussen (edd. and transs.), *Die Gnosis, III, Der Manichäismus* (Zürich and Munich, 1980) 180-86. See also pp. 159-67 for sections from the *Keph.* which are on similar topics as the *Traité*.

a text which is strongly reminiscent of the *Traité*.²³ Since the Coptic "Sermon on the Light-Nous" contains a significant number of quotations and literary allusions to Mani's *Book of the Giants*,²⁴ it is only logical to surmise that the Sermon on the Light-Nous, of which the *Traité* is a Chinese version, is either a section or a midrash of the canonical *Book of the Giants*.²⁵ Finally the long awaited edition of the Parthian and Sogdian fragments of the Sermon on the Light-Nous by Sundermann has now appeared in a magnificent format.²⁶

The Sermon is not a canonical work and its precise relationship with the earliest Manichaean writings is indirect but it is clear that the main traditions in Coptic (i.e. *Keph*. 38), Parthian (i.e. identified fragments of the Sermon), Sogdian (i.e. M133 which has no parallels in the Chinese version) go back to an original body of oral or written material linked with the *Book of the Giants* as clearly indicated in Sundermann's helpful diagram:



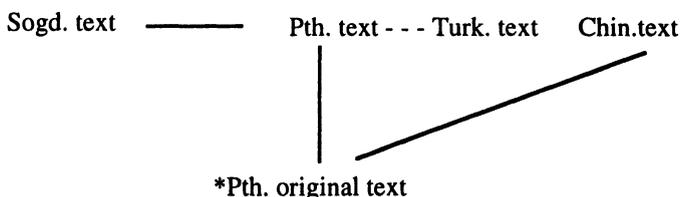
As for the versions in Central Asia, the Chinese and Turkish versions differ sufficiently from the Parthian in points of detail for Sundermann to reconstruct another schema:

²³ "Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch", *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata*, *Acta Iranica* 23, 2nd Ser. IX (1984) 491-505.

²⁴ Listed and translated in W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants", *BSOAS* 11/1 (1943) 71-72. See also J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony. Studies in the "Book of the Giants" Traditions* (Cincinnati, 1992) 71 *et passim*.

²⁵ Cf. W. Sundermann, "Der chinesische *Traité* Manichéen und der parthische Sermon vom Lichtnous", *AoF* 10/2 (1983) 241-42.

²⁶ W. Sundermann, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous, Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus, Edition der parthischen und soghdischen Version*, *Berliner Turfantexte* 17 (Berlin, 1992).



That there is more than one version of the Parthian is obvious from comparing the wording of the Chinese with the Parthian versions, especially where lists of attributes are given. Take for example lines 57-62 of the Chinese:

- 既入故城壞怨
- (58) 敵已當即分判明暗二力不令雜亂先降怨憎禁於骨城
- (59) 令其淨氣俱得離縛次降嗔恚禁於筋城令淨妙風即
- (60) 得解脫又伏姪慾禁於脈城令其妙水 (? 明力) 即便離縛又伏
<忿怒禁 (?) 於肉城令其妙水即便解脫又伏>愚
- (61) 癡禁於皮城零其妙火俱得解脫貪慾二魔禁於中間
- (62) 饑毒猛火放令自在

When he has entered the old city and destroyed the malevolent | enemies, he must immediately separate the two forces of Light and Darkness, and allow them to be co-mingled no longer. He begins by subduing Hatred; he imprisons it in the City of Bones, | doing it so that (or: causing) the Pure Air can be delivered entirely from its bonds. Next he subdues Irritation and imprisons it in the City of Sinews; doing it so that the Pure and Wonderful Wind might be |⁶⁰ released immediately. Then he subdues Lust and imprisons it in the City of Arteries; doing it so that the Light Power (?; ms.: “Wonderful Water”) might then throw off its bonds. He then subdues <Anger and imprisons it in the City of Flesh; doing it so that the Wonderful Water might be released immediately. Next he subdues> | Foolishness; he imprisons it in the City of Skin, doing it so that the Wonderful Fire might be released immediately.²⁷

which are paralleled by §15 of Sundermann’s edition of the Parthian:

o'dy'n w(yw)d'd ny(s)[g(?) 2-3] | [6-8 rwšn](c)'c t'r ywd wywydyd o nxwš(t) |
[w xyn 'br 'st](g) bndyd o 'wd 'w 'rd'(w) | [frwrdyn 'z'd kryd] o 'w dybhr 'br
pdyg bndyd⁵ [w'd 'w 'd yzd '](z)'d kryd o 'w 'wr(j)[w](g) ['br] | [rhg bndyd w
'w r]wšn yz(d'z)[d' kryd o 'w] ²⁸

²⁷ Transs. Lieu and Mikkelsen to be published in their edition of the Chinese version of the *Sermon for the Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum*.

²⁸ M240 V 1-6, Sundermann, *SLN*, frag. g, pp. 47-48.

Thereupon he separates the rad[iant(?) from the ... the light] he separates from the dark. First he binds [hatred onto the bones] and [he frees] the righteous [*Frawardīn* (i.e. Ether)]. He binds anger onto the sinews [and frees] [the wind-god]. [He binds] covetousness [onto the arteries and] [frees the] Light-god. [Tyranny he binds onto the flesh and frees the water-god. He binds ignorance onto the skin and frees the fire-god.]²⁹

may not appear to be a close translation but the differences between the two versions pale into insignificance when compared to the similarities. One section in Chinese which allows detailed comparison between the Chinese and the Parthian and between the Turkish and the Chinese and the Parthian versions comprises lines 89-93:

- (89) 惑時新人忘失記念於暗心中化出諸魔共新人心當即
 (90) 鬥戰於彼人身有大記驗其人於行无有誠信觸事生
 (91) 嗔寄住客性當即被染明性心體若還記念不忘本
 (92) 心令覺驅逐嗔恚退散誠信如故寄住客性免脫諸苦達
 (93) 於本界惑時新人忘失記念即被无明暗毒<念>中化出

Sometimes the New Man loses his memory; then from his dark Feeling demons will emerge by transformation, who at once conflict³⁰ with the New Man's Feeling. There are great signs of this in this man's person (lit. body): this man in his conduct will lack Faith, in matters that he handles he will conceive | Irritation; the Guest-Nature who temporarily dwells in him will immediately be contaminated. But if the Feeling-Limb of his Light-Nature retains its memory and does not forget its | original Feeling, he will become alert and drive away Irritation, which (then) recedes and disperses itself, and his Faith will be the same as before; the Guest-Nature which dwells in him temporarily will avoid all these sufferings, | and it will reach its original world.

Parthian (§ 21)³⁰ :

{M428c V 4} (')wd 'st y'wr o kd (')[c mnwhmyd] l⁵ (r')ryg dyw'n 'zyhynd[ky 'd nw'g] {M208/M638 R 1} [o mrdwh](m) zmbg k(r)y(d) o | [mrdwhm zmbg](k)[ryn]d o 'g prgst | ['b'y'dg'ryft hyš]t o 'b'w 'ym | [nyš'n qwš w'wryf](t) xw's'd o | [11-13] bwyd o 'w wd'rg'n l⁵ [myhm'n 'w](j)nyd o 'wd wxybyy gy'n o | [mnwh]myd hnd'm rymn kryd o w 'g l'](b)y'dg'ryft d'ryd o pd w'wryft | [bd](r)ynjyd o 'w dybhr nyr'myd o (')[vd] | dwšmyn 'stwyd o (w 'w) wy'drg(n) |¹⁰ myhm'n o pd š'dyft frš(w)ydyd oo | (')wd wxybyh gy'n o (mnwhmyd hnd)]'m]

And it happens once, that demons go from the dark [understanding who go to war with the new man]. If he, God forbid!, [gives up remembrance], this is [the sign, that his fai]th has grown weak, [and] it is becoming []. He [s]ays

²⁹ Eng. translation by Doris Dance from the German of Prof. Sundermann.

³⁰ M428c V 4-5 + M208/M638 R, Sundermann, *SLN* frags. i and j, pp. 48-49.

the [guest] who is passing through and he pollutes the part of his soul which is [understanding]. And if he keeps remembrance, he then [st]ands fast in the faith, he suppresses anger and disarms the enemies. And he sends the travelling guest on his way with joy. And the part of his soul which is understanding [stands there with renewed power].

Turkish:³¹

//]dsar yayın////////// | bu äf'özdän ärtigli biš | tngri küč in artatmasar | ötrü kntü üzütü ning |⁵ ög sinī küčlügün bdükün | ärür oo oo ymä bar antay | öd ärgi kiši ning qararıγ | ög sinīntan yäklär önüp | yangi kiš[i] birlä söngüsürlär |¹⁰. birök ol kiši ögin | kongülin ič'γinsar oo ötrü | aning blgüsi antay bolur oo | srinmäk biligin yitürür oo | t(ä)rkiš küčäg biligig |

if...through his enemy...[if] he happened not to have destroyed the strength of the five-gods, passing over from this body, then the limb of his soul which is “understanding” (ög) will become great and mighty. And there is such a time, when presumably demons rise up from the limb of man, which is “dark understanding”, and fight with the new man. If that man then loses his understanding (ög) and his sense (köngül), then the sign (bälgü) of it is thus: he loses his patience, (he becomes) quarrelsome...³²

The Chinese version occasionally shows many close verbal similarities to the Turkish without suggesting that it was translated from the latter. Furthermore, elsewhere in the text, a *terminus technicus* like *tan-mo* 貪魔³³ in Chinese is much closer to the Turkish *az yäk*³⁴ than the Parthian 'z. Similarly a transliterated term which is frequently encountered in the Chinese version is *tien-na-wu* 電那勿 (Sogd. ðyn'βr, pl. ðyn'βrt “cleric, priest, the Elect”)³⁵ and a transliterated form is also found in the Turkish parallels: *dindar*, pl. *dindarlar*,³⁶ but the Parthian prefers 'rd'w, pl. 'rd'w'n “the righteous”.

With the publication of the Middle Iranian fragments of the ‘Sermon of the Light-Nous’ and the announcement of that of those of the ‘Sermon of the Soul’, the tally of Chinese *Manichaica* with Middle Iranian parallels now stands as follows (and the list is bound to increase as further parallels are identified):

³¹ MIK III 636 (= T.M. 300) R, cf. TM III, p. 17 and Klimkeit–Schmidt-Glintzer, art. cit., p. 89.

³² Trans. Doris Dance with reference to the German translation of Klimkeit. See also Klimkeit’s own English translation in his *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (San Francisco, 1993) 334.

³³ Ms. line 21 etc.

³⁴ U44 (= T.M. 423c) V 5, cf. TM III, 18 and Klimkeit–Schmidt-Glintzer, art. cit., p. 90.

³⁵ See e.g. *SLN* § 50b, p. 60 (Sogd. text y I R 3).

³⁶ See e.g. U45 (= T II D 119) V 4, cf. TM III, 16 and Klimkeit–Schmidt-Glintzer, art. cit., p. 86.

Chinese	Middle Iranian
(a) Texts from Dunhuang	
<i>MNCTC</i> lines 1-299	<i>SLN</i> §§1-79 (Pth. & Sogd.)
<i>ibid.</i> 158-75 (<i>partim</i>)	S I ⁰ /120 II-R-V (Pe.)
<i>ibid.</i> 176-180	<i>Sogdica</i> , Fr. I and M133 (Sogd.)
<i>MNCHPT</i> 1-5 (translit.)	Cf. Bryder, <i>Transformation</i> , 51-56 (Pe.?)
<i>ibid.</i> 154-158 (translit.)	Cf. Bryder, <i>ibid.</i> 57-62 (Pe., Pth. and Aramaic?)
<i>ibid.</i> 165-67	M14 V 7-12, <i>HR ii</i> , p. 44.
<i>ibid.</i> 177-183 (translit.)	M259c (Pth.) and TM 351 (Sogd.)
<i>ibid.</i> 236-58 (?)	<i>W.-L.</i> i, 85-93.
<i>ibid.</i> 261-338	<i>Sermon on the Soul</i> 19ff. (Pth. and Sogd.) ³⁷
	<i>Huyadagmān I, Hymn-Cycles</i> , pp. 66-77 (Pth.)
(b) Texts from Turfan	
Ch 258 (text X)	M8287 and 10 200/1 (5) (Pth.)
Ch 3138	cf. <i>SLN</i> §§21-22 M203 + M638 ³⁸
Ch 3218	<i>ditto</i>

Fragments from a total of more than twenty manuscripts of more than one version of the Parthian text of the 'Sermon the Light-Nous' have been identified by Sundermann among the collection of Manichaean manuscripts in the Turfan-Sammlung which makes the work one of the most popular Manichaean texts in Central Asia. The fact that versions of it exist in Sogdian, Chinese and Turkish also confirms its popularity and importance. Sundermann regards the Chinese version as a faithful rendering of a Parthian model without a Chinese or Sogdian intermediary. Where it clearly differs from the Parthian is the beginning and the final sections (*v. infra*).³⁹ The identification by Yoshida of two small fragments of Chinese Manichaean texts from Turfan (now in Berlin) which appear to be parts of a different

³⁷ The edition of the text of the Parthian *Sermon of the Soul* (with Sogdian parallels) is being by W. Sundermann. Cf. *idem*, "Iranian Manichaean Texts in Chinese Remake: Translation and Transformation", in A. Cadonna and L. Lanciotti (edd.) *Cina e Iran da Alessandro Magno alla Dinastia Tang* (Florence, 1996) 111-17.

³⁸ Cf. article by Yoshida cited below.

³⁹ Cf. Sundermann, *SLN*, 19-22.

translation of the same Parthian original text and employing very similar technical vocabulary confirms the widespread popularity of this text.⁴⁰

The availability of the Middle Iranian, especially Parthian parallels to the Chinese Manichaean texts offers a unique opportunity to study the translation techniques of the Manichaean scribes in Central Asia and the transformation of the religion as it enters into Chinese religious and thought-world. A good start had already been made by Bryder using the parallels from the *Hymn-scroll* and the *Huyadagmān* I.⁴¹ I would now like to focus on the opening sections of the *Traité* and its Iranian parallels so admirably edited by Professor Sundermann.

The Prologue (Chin. 1-8, Pth. H and §1)

The prologue of the Chinese version is strongly reminiscent of that of a Buddhist *sūtra*. Commenting on this similarity, Herbert Giles has remarked: 'Not only is it like in form to a Buddhist *sūtra*, but it is tinged here and there with traces of Buddhist thought, reminding us how the Buddhists themselves, when they first sought to convert Japan, were careful to begin by canonizing various Shinto or native gods, in order to impart an air of familiarity to the new religion. ... The opening words, but apparently not very many of them, are lost; we start, however, with a complete question put by a personage who has been identified with Addas, mentioned in the *Acta Archelai* as the apostle of Manichaeism in the East (in the West) and answered by Manichaeus himself. 'Is the original nature of the carnal body' asks Addas, 'single or double?' To this, Manichaeus, here called the Envoy of Light, began his reply in the very words of Buddha in the *Diamond Sūtra*, the Chinese characters being the same in both cases. 'Good indeed! Good indeed! In order to benefit the innumerable crowds of living beings, you have addressed to me this query profound and mysterious. You thus show yourself a good friend to all those living beings of the world who have blindly gone astray, and I will now explain the matter to you in detail, so that the net of doubt in which you are ensnared may be broken forever without recall'. Professor Giles also points out that the ending of this discourse is also strikingly Buddhistic:

Traité

Then, all the members of the great assembly, having heard the *sūtra* accepted it with faith and rejoicing, and proceeded to put it into practice.

Diamond Sūtra:

When the Buddha had delivered the *sūtra*, all the monks and nuns, lay-brothers and lay-sisters, together with all the devas and demons in the

⁴⁰ Y. Yoshida, "On the recently discovered Manichaean fragments" *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 12 (1997) 35-39.

⁴¹ Bryder, *op. cit.*, 66-74.

universe, having heard Buddha's words rejoiced with one accord, and accepting them with faith, proceeded to put them into practice.⁴²

The prologue of the Parthian version of the Sermon of the Light-Nous is completely unadorned and gives a Trinitarian formula ('Obeisance to the Father, p[raise to the Son], honour to the Holy Ghost, [to the] Glory of the Religion, praise to the No[us]') which suggests an early date for this version – i. e. when Parthian texts were translated direct from Syriac as a result of the work of Mar Ammō and before Manichaean texts came strongly under Buddhist influence.

The question which comes most readily to mind is whether the entire prologue is the product of Buddhization in the process of translation or if it had already existed in a Parthian version. On the other hand we must not forget that the dialogue form is not limited to Buddhist texts. The *Kephalaia* show Mani in the role of an apostolic teacher, explaining, instructing, and interpreting, in a conversational manner, the often highly sophisticated and more elaborate points of his revelation to his inner most circle of disciples. In this he regularly employs the catechetical method, giving the answers to questions proposed by his disciples - his purpose being ostensibly, that of introducing his followers into the more profound aspects of his religion, which they are later to disseminate.⁴³ In one instance in the *Kephalaia*, the words Mani used in praising his student are strikingly similar to those of the prologue in the Chinese *Traité*: 'You have asked intelligently (Copt. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$ = Gr. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$) and I shall clear up your problem for you.'⁴⁴

It is therefore entirely possible that what we have in Chinese is a translation of a the prologue of a different Parthian version based on the style of interlocution in the *Kephalaia*. The existence of Parthian versions of the discourses found in the *Kephalaia* can not now be doubted as many Manichaean texts in Parthian were derived from translations of early Manichaean texts from Syriac.⁴⁵ As Manichaean texts came under Buddhist influence in Central Asia, the Christian-gnostic dialogue form readily assumed a Buddhist guise.

⁴² *Confucianism and its Rivals* (London, 1915) 191-95.

⁴³ C. Schmidt, *Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus aus Aegypten*, Vortrag gehalten auf der Jahresversammlung der Gesellschaft für Kirchengeschichte in Berlin am 9. November, 1932 (Stuttgart, 1933) 8 [Article also appeared in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, N. F. 3, 52/1, (1933) 1-33.]

⁴⁴ *Keph.* 86, pp. 213,16-216,30. See esp. 214,31-215,1.

⁴⁵ See esp. *MMTKGI* 13.1, p. 113ff. and *Keph.* 102, p. 255ff. See also other parallels in W. Sundermann, "Iranische Kephalaia-texte?" in G. Wießner and H.-J. Klimkeit (edd.) *Studia Manichaica*, Studies in Oriental Religions 23 (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1992) 305-18.

[*Primal Man*] (Chin. 9, Pth. §2)

The *terminus technicus* for the Primal Man missing from line 9, one of the few fragmentary lines of the *Traité*, is almost certainly *Hsien-i* 先意 which means literally “First (or Previous) Thought”⁴⁶ – a term which is commonly found in Chinese Manichaeic texts⁴⁷ and suggests the Middle Persian term: hndyšyšn nxwstyn (First Reflection).⁴⁸ However, in the Parthian version, the Primal Man is assimilated to the important Zoroastrian deity Ohrmezd. As far as I know, the phonetic transliteration of the name ’whrmzyzd or ’whrmzyzd bg (Lord Ohrmezd) is not found in Chinese Manichaeic texts. The translated version is generally preferred by the translators.

Sphere (Chin. 14, Pth. §4)

Yeh-lun 業輪, i.e. the wheel of karma which turns men into the six paths of transmigrations,⁴⁹ is undeniably a Buddhist term and the suggested Parthian gap-filler by Sundermann ‘spyr means ‘globe or sphere’ without any concept of a wheel. However the Sogdian equivalent does mean a ‘rolling wheel’.⁵⁰ The word ‘spyr which might have already been in standard use for the translation of the Buddhist concept into Parthian offers here a convenient equivalent with religious overtones for what would have otherwise been a difficult term to approximate in Chinese.

Three Garments (Chin. 15, Pth. §4)

The Chinese term *san-i* 三衣 is the same as that used in Buddhism to denote the three regulation garments of a Buddhist monk – viz. *kāṣāya* (i.e. *saṅghāṇī*, assembling robe; *uttarāsanga*, upper garment worn over the *antarvāsaka*, vest or shirt.)⁵¹ The term expresses precisely the Manichaeic *terminus technicus* of the Three Garments (i.e. of wind, of water and of fire, Pe. *pymwg šh*,⁵² Pth. *hry pdmwcn*, Copt. *ⲡⲁⲙⲦⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱ*⁵³) and virtually any translator, whatever his or her religious conviction would have lighted on the same phrase in Chinese.

⁴⁶ A phrase containing the term “ever victorious” as epithet for the Primal Man can be found in the *Hymn-scroll* §124 常勝先意. Cf. A. Forte, “Deux études sur le manichéisme chinois”, *T’oung Pao*, 59 (1973) 249-50.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Hymnscroll*, §§ 124, 142, 169, 369, and *Traité* lines 9, 17, 146, 206

⁴⁸ Cf. Henning, “Two Manichaeic magical texts”, 45-6.

⁴⁹ Cf. W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London, 1937) 404b.

⁵⁰ Cf. W. B. Henning, “A Sogdian fragment of the Manichaeic Cosmogony”, *BSOAS* 12 (1948) 312-13.

⁵¹ Cf. Soothill, op. cit., p. 76a.

⁵² M98 I V 3, *HR ii*, p. 39.

⁵³ Cf. *Keph.* 30, p. 83,18.

Three Calamities (Chin. 15, Pth. §4)

For the important Iranian Manichaean term the “Three Ditches (or moats)” (Pth. hry p’rgyn, Mlr. c. sh p’rgyn) the Chinese gives the Buddhist term “Three Calamities” (*san-tsai* 三災). Here there is no conceptual link between the two terms and the Chinese term, though commonly found in Chinese Buddhist texts, seems not to have a Sanskrit or Pali equivalent which may imply that it was coined by translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese.⁵⁴ There is a variety of Chinese words which the translator could have used to represent the concept of a physical cleavage. As Chavannes and Pelliot have well remarked, the original Chinese term chosen might have been *san hue* 三穴 (three holes or ditches) and the physical resemblance of the character *hue* 穴 to the character *tsai* 災 in T’ang orthography allowed for the adoption for the Buddhist term. The fact that the same term “Three Calamities” is found in similar context in one of the newly published fragment of Chinese Manichaean texts from Turfan shows that it is not a one-off decision by the translator of the *Traité* to assimilate, or rather to replace, a key Manichaean motif by a Buddhist Chinese term with similar orthographic appearance, but rather that the translators in Dunhuang and Turfan both used standardised multilingual terminological lists which resemble those published by Henning in *Sogdica* and the more recently discovered Syriac and Coptic lists from the Dakhleh Oasis.⁵⁵

Call and Answer (Chin. 18 and 20, Pth. §6)

In listing the thirteen great courageous Light Powers, the Chinese version gives in phonetic transliteration the important Manichaean deities Call (*Hu-lu-she-te* = Pth. xrwštg) and Answer (*P’o-lu-huo-te* = Pth. pdw’xtg). However, two lines further on, in the course of attributing the various functions of the deities as prison guards, translations rather than transliterations of the names of these deities are given (*shuo-t’ing* 說聽 ‘call and listen or speak and to be listened to (?)’ and *huan-ying* 喚應 ‘reply, answer’). A Chinese reader unfamiliar with Manichaean texts or Manichaean terminology in Middle Iranian may have some difficulty in equating the phonetically transliterated terms and their translated versions. Perhaps the translated terms were provided at the second instance as a way of teaching the Manichaean Hearer the meaning of the two important Middle Iranian terms in Chinese transliteration.

⁵⁴ No Sanskrit or Pali equivalent of the term is given in Soothill, *op. cit.*, p. 69b or in the more comprehensive *Fo Kuang Ta Tze Tien* 佛光大字典, i (Kao-hsiung, 1988) 554b-555a.

⁵⁵ Cf. I. Gardner (ed.), *Kellis Literary Texts*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1996) 112-26.

The Column of Glory Su-lu-sha-lo-i (Chin. 18, Pth. §5)

The Parthian term for the Column of Glory is the well attested b'm 'stwn (Luminous Column, from Syr. 'stwn šwbh' ܠܘܡܝܢܐ ܥܘܠܡܝܢܐ cf. Sogd. β'mystwn) which is translated as the Pillar of the Adamantine Image (金剛相柱) in the *Hymnscroll* (§365). What intrigues me is the apparent decision by the Chinese translator of the *Traité* to adopt a transliterated form of the title (*Su-lu-sha-lo-i*) which is based on Middle Persian Srosahray (srwšhr'y, i.e. the righteous Sraoša – a Zoroastrian deity used the Manichaeans as personal name for the Column of Glory, which is also attested in Sogdian: srwš(')rṭ (b'yy) and in Old Turkish: srošart) and not on the Parthian b'm 'stwn which was probably the term used in the Parthian version placed before him. On the whole the Chinese would only transliterate titles and terms in foreign texts if no translation is possible. Here a translation is entirely possible as evidenced by the translator of the *Hymnscroll* but why should he then adopt a transliteration which is based on the Middle Persian rather than the Parthian version of the term? Does it mean that the Chinese translator had before him a Middle Persian (or even Turkish or Sogdian) rather than Parthian version of the treatise? This does not seem likely as there are no transliterated terms from Sogdian or Turkish in the *Traité*. Or, did the translator have a form of terminological dictionary before him giving equivalents in the different dialects of Middle Iranian and he had deliberately chosen the transliteration of the Middle Persian equivalent for reason of uniformity with other texts which he may have translated or that the transliteration had special doctrinal significance over the translation? A possible clue is in fact suggested by §365 of the *Hymnscroll*:

稱讚哀譽 蘇露沙羅夷
具足丈夫 金剛相柱
任持世界 充遍一切

We laud, praise and admire
Su-lu-sha lo-i,
The Perfect Man,
The Column of Adamantine Image,
who upholds the world,
and fills all things, ...

Here we find in close proximity the meaningless phonetic transcription of the Middle Persian version (srwšhr'y) of the divinity and two lines later the translation of the Parthian version (b'm 'stwn). One can not rule out the possibility that the Middle Iranian version of this section of the hymn was in Parthian with some terms in Middle Persian but it is not impossible that

the translator selected translated or transliterated terms from lists merely to provide variety.

Saklas and Nebroel (Chin. 21-22, Pth. §7)

The names of the two demons are given in the *Traité* as <?Shi->lu-i 路傷 (i.e. Saklas) and Yeh-lo-yang 業羅決 (or Yeh-lo-chu, i.e. Nebroel). The Chinese of the first of the pair is somewhat removed from Saklas or ʾšqlwn (Syr. ܫܩܠܘܢ, Copt. ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ) but one may assume that a character giving the initial shi- sound may have gone missing. The second is marginally closer to Namrael (ܢܡܪܐܝܠ) or Nebroel (ܢܒܪܘܐܝܠ) in Syriac but the problem here is that the name Namrael or Nebroel has not yet been encountered in a Middle Iranian text and the Parthian version of the *Traité* gives Pēsūs as the name of the female demon.⁵⁶ I wonder if in fact in the Chinese the name of the female comes first as the Chinese always says *tz'u-hung* 雌雄 i.e. “female and male” when referring to both sexes. But the *Traité* actually uses the more unusual form of *hung-tz'u* 雄雌 (male and female) - reflecting perhaps the Middle Iranian original. Lu-yi or Lu-she is still far removed from Pēsūs. How the Chinese translator came to think of offering a transliteration of Namrael or Nebroel when the name in the text staring at him is Pesus clearly requires further investigation as such an endeavour will undoubtedly reveal much that is important about the transmission of Manichaean texts in Central Asia. We may also be victims of our knowledge of the Syriac originals of these two names in our search for the Middle Iranian equivalent of the Chinese transliterations. We may benefit from widening our search to other forms of the names of these two demons in Middle Iranian languages.

Constellation (Chin. 24, Pth. §8)

Sundermann suggests translating the Pth. 'xtr'n as “signs of the Zodiac” on the grounds that the Chinese phrase preceding *hsing su* 星宿 “constellation” is *yeh-lun* 業輪 – a phrase which, as we have noted, is used to translate 'spwr (“sphere” or “zodiac”).⁵⁷ I believe that the four characters can not be read together as a phrase because the line contains three pairs of nouns each with two characters: 天地世界 業輪星宿 三災四圍 大海江河 (the cosmos of heaven and earth, the Wheel of Rotations and the constellations of stars, the Three Ditches and the Four Walls, the great seas and rivers). 星宿 must mean purely ‘constellations’. In Buddhist texts the term is used to indicate the twenty-eight Chinese constellations.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ On Pēsūs see the classic study by M. Boyce, “Sadwes and Pesus”, *BSOAS*, 13/4 (1950) 908-15.

⁵⁷ *SLN*, pp. 82-83.

⁵⁸ Cf. Soothill, *op. cit.*, p. 303b.

Conclusion

One must conclude in agreement with Prof. Sundermann that the version of the “Sermon of the Light-Nous” which he has reconstituted from the fragments of Manichaean texts in Parthian and Sogdian found in the Turfan-Sammlung of the Stadtsbibliothek Berlin is not the exact version from which the Chinese version is translated.⁵⁹ For those who wish to study closely the Manichaean art of translation into Chinese, this may come as a great disappointment. However, the differences between the two texts yield a wealth of historical data on the transmission and diffusion of Manichaean texts. As a first step in this research, I have begun with the help of the research team of the Data-Base of Manichaean Texts project at Warwick and Macquarie Universities, to produce a reconstruction (with textual references) of the Parthian / Chinese word-lists used by the Manichaean translators. My own view is that the translator of the Chinese version had a fuller version of the text than the one reconstructed by Sundermann. The Chinese text is much more detailed and accurate on many aspects of Manichaean cosmogony than the Parthian and in one instance (not paralleled in Parthian) it reproduces a theme which is strongly echoed in Coptic *Psalm-Book*:

Chinese:

以是義故淨風明使以

(12) 五類魔及五明身二力和合造成世界十天八地如是世

(13) 界即是明身醫療藥堂亦是暗魔禁繫牢獄

For this reason, the Envoy of Light, entitled “Pure Wind” erected the ten heavens and the eight earths of the cosmos, by means of the | five kinds of demons and the five Light-Bodies by combining the power of these two. Thus the cosmos | is the place of healing, where the eight bodies recuperate, but it is at the same time the prison, where the dark demons are chained.⁶⁰

Coptic:

ḆḂΔΛ [ΤΗ]ΡΟΥ ἈΠΠΟΥΝ ΔΥΣΑΡΟΥ ΔΜΗΤΕ ἈΠΕ Μἆ
 ΨΜΟΥΝ ἸΚΑΞ ΔΥΑΤΠΟΥ ΔΥΟΥΝ ΔΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ Ν
 ΟΥΣΗΥ ΔΥΕΕΥ ἸΨΤΕΚΟ ΔΝ ΔΝḂΔΛ ΤΗΡΟΥ [ἈΠΚΕ
 ΚΕ ΕΥΟ ΨΟΥ ἈΜΑΝΤΟΥΒΟ ἸΤΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΑΣ [ΩΜΚ
 ἸḂΗΤΟΥ

He [sc. the Living Spirit] spread out all the powers of abyss to ten heavens and eight earths, he shut them up into this world (κόσμος) once, he made it a prison too for all the powers of Darkness, it is also a place of purification for the Soul that was swallowed (?) in them.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *SLN*, p. 19.

⁶⁰ *Traité* lines 11-13, trans. *Traité* 1911, pp. 514-15 [18-19].

⁶¹ *Ps.-Bk.*, p. 10,25-9, ed. and trans. Allberry.

The two parallel passages, found in texts separated by four centuries and the whole of the Eurasian landmass, testify to the care with which the Manichaeans handled their sacred writings. The *Traité* was translated at the height of the spread of the religion in the T'ang period (early 9th C.) and the translator was well-versed in Manichaean terms in several Middle Iranian dialects or he had access to a polyglottal translator's hand-list to such terms. This does not however prevent him from assimilating an apt Buddhist term if it fits into the Manichaean theological *schema*. On the other hand it will be wrong to argue from his use of Buddhist terms like *san-tsai* and *san-i* that these were borrowed to give a Buddhist guise to the religion in order to assist in its missionary work.⁶² If Buddhist disguise was paramount in the mind of the Manichaean translator of the *Traité* into Chinese, then he or she had many obvious opportunities which he or she seemed content not to have exploited.⁶³ The modern critique of the work of the Manichaean translators into Chinese simply can not overlook the indisputable historical fact that the introduction of Buddhism into China greatly enlarged and enriched Chinese religious vocabulary. A religion like Manichaeism which diffused by stages through Central Asia was bound to have acquired Buddhistic or Buddhicizing terminology.⁶⁴ Chinese Manichaean texts show far less

⁶² For other examples of Buddhist borrowing see H. Schmidt-Glintzer, "Das buddhistische Gewand des Manichäismus. Zur buddhistischen Terminologie in den chinesischen Manichaica" in W. Heissig and H. -J. Klimkeit (edd.) *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens, Ergebnisse eines Kolloquiums vom 25 bis 26 Mai 1983 in St. Augustin bei Bonn*, Studies in Oriental Religions XIII (Wiesbaden, 1987) 76-90, esp. 79-83.

⁶³ E.g. he could have rendered the "four courtyards" *shih-yuan* 四院 as "four enemies" *shih-yuan* 四怨 (the passions and delusion *māras*, death *māra*, the five *skandhas* *māras*, and the supreme *māra-king*; cf. Hodous and Soothill, *op. cit.*, p. 175a) or as *shih-yuan* 四園, the four pleasure gardens outside *Sudaraśana*, the heavenly city of India; cf. *ibid.* p. 181a) or rendered the "three wheels" *san-lun* 三輪 as *san-lun* 三論 i.e. the "three *sastras* translated by *Kumarajīva*, on which the *Sastra School* (*Madhyamika*) bases its doctrines; cf. *op. cit.* p. 76b.

⁶⁴ Parthian was also an important language in the diffusion of Indian Buddhist terms and names in Central Asia. On this see the pioneering article of W. Sundermann, "Die Bedeutung des Parthischen für die Verbreitung buddhistischer Wörter indischer Herkunft", *AoF* 9 (1982) 99-112. See also A. van Tongerloo, "Buddhist Indian terminology in the Manichaean Uygur and Middle Iranian texts", in W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo (edd.) *Middle Iranian Studies, Proceedings of the International Symposium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of May 1982*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta XVI (Leuven, 1984) 243-52, esp. 247-49 and N. Sims-Williams, "Indian elements in Parthian and Sogdian", in K. Röhrborn and W. Veenker (edd.), *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien, Vorträge des Hamburger Symposions vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli, 1981* (Wiesbaden) 132-41, esp. 136-37.

Buddhist influences than Turkish Manichaean texts⁶⁵ and for that we owe a debt to the loyalty of the Manichaean translators who rendered the texts from Parthian into Chinese with skill and imagination and yet true to the injunction laid down for the Elect in the *Traité* “not to tamper with the scriptures by inserting or deleting a word, let alone a sentence”.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ For the many examples of Buddhist borrowings in Turkish Manichaean texts, see H.-J. Klimkeit, “Buddhistische Übernahmen im iranischen und türkischen Manichäismus” in Heissig and Klimkeit (edd.) *op. cit.* 58-75.

⁶⁶ *Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching* line 273: (Third fruit / sign of the Tree of Faith) 三者於聖經典不敢增減一句一字.

III. PRECEPT AND PRACTICE IN MANICHAEAN MONASTICISM*

Augustine in his polemical work on the morals of the Manichaeans (*De moribus Manichaeorum*) described an ill-fated attempt by a rich Manichaean layman to establish a hostel for wandering Manichaean preachers in the city of Rome.¹ This layman, whose name is known to us from *Contra Faustum* as Constantius, had clearly taken seriously to heart the exhortations to Manichaean Hearers to give alms and provide hospitality to the Elect which are so clearly manifest in Manichaean writings.² A Manichaean bishop was found to lead the project and as many of the Elect as there were in Rome were collected in his house and the Rule (*regula vivendi*) as laid down in one of Mani's letters was read out to the gathered assembly. According to

* The original version of this paper (published in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 32/1 (1981) 153-62) was inspired by the pioneering article (in Chinese) of Prof. Keng Shih-min (Geng Shimin) (v. *infra*, n. 51) on a then little known Manichaean document in Old Turkish (Uighur). Since then, Prof. Keng has made available a version of his article in English with transcription and translation of the Uighur document: Geng Shimin, "Notes on an Ancient Uighur Official Decree issued to a Manichaean Monastery", *Central Asiatic Journal* 35 (1991) 209-30. The Uighur document at the heart of the article has now been given major treatment (– critical text, interlinear translation, full concordance and background study) by T. Moriyasu, *A Study on (sic) the history of Uighur Manichaeism - Research on some Manichaean materials and their historical background*, Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters of Osaka University, 31-32, (Osaka, 1991) 35-160 (in Japanese). Besides the unpublished German translation of the late Prof. A. von Gabain, I have been privileged to be allowed to consult the unpublished English translation of Dr. P. Zieme. However, the Uighur text of the document (often misnamed the 'Monastery Scroll' even though it is not strictly speaking in the form of a scroll) presents so many orthographic problems because of damages to the text in the course of mounting that the four existing editions (viz. those of Keng, Moriyasu, von Gabain and Zieme) differ widely with each other on many points of transcription and interpretation. The relative inaccessibility of the text makes a close study of it difficult but a great deal more intensive and collaborative work clearly needs to be done on this unique Manichaean document before an agreed version of the text and translation is available to the Manichaean scholar who is not also an expert in Turkology.

¹ Augustine, *De moribus manichaeorum*, XX (74), ed. J. B. Bauer, CSEL 90 (Vienna, 1992) 154-56; Adam, *Texte*, no. 44a, pp. 129-31; cf. F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne*, ii (Paris, 1978) 12-13 n. 8, and P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1968) 227-9.

² Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, V,5, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 25/1 (Vienna, 1891) 277,21. On almsgiving in Manichaeism see *Traité* 1911, p. 573 which cites related sources in the notes.

Augustine, many who were there thought it intolerable and left.³ Those who decided to remain did not do so for long as they soon fell out with each other amidst mutual incriminations and personality clashes (*rixae creberrimae*).⁴ The bishop was accused of having brought in provisions by stealth, contrary to rule, as he had a private purse which he kept carefully concealed.⁵ Constantius tried to impress upon the community the need to obey the rule as completely as possible through personal example but this was of no avail. In the end the bishop was forced to take to flight in disgrace and Constantius himself was so appalled by this whole affair that he later renounced Manichaeism in favour of Catholicism.⁶ All these altercations and acrimonious bickering were in complete contrast to Augustine's description of communities of true Christian saints which he had come across in Milan and Rome. These were presided over by men of character and learning and whose members lived in Christian charity, sanctity and liberty.⁷

1. *The problem of origins*

Despite Augustine's effort to convince us that Manichaeans did not have what it takes to become good monastics, modern scholars have not refrained from investigating the ascetical practices and organisation of the sect and from assessing its influence on the development of Christian monasticism. Vööbus, for instance, regards Manichaeism as a major stimulus to the growth of asceticism in the Syrian Orient but this has not gone

³ Augustine, *De moribus manichaeorum* XX (74), ed. cit., p. 155,5-9: Quod ubi factum est, eo congregati sunt electi omnes, qui Romae esse potuerunt. Proposita est uiuendi regula de Manichaei epistola, multis intolerabile uisum est; abscesserunt: remanserunt tamen pudore non pauci.

⁴ Ibid., p. 155,12-16: Interea rixae inter electos oriebantur creberrimae, obiciebantur ab inuicem crimina – quae ille (*sc.* Constantius) omnia gemens audiebat, dabatque operam ut seipsos in iurgando incautissime proderent, prodebant nefanda et immania.

⁵ Ibid., p. 155,25-156,4: Post etiam ipse cessit episcopus et cum magno dedecore aufugit; cuius sane cibi praeter regulam clanculo accepti, et saepe inuenti ferebantur, cum ei de proprio sacculo diligenter occultato pecunia copiosa suppeteret.

⁶ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, V,5, CSEL 25/1, p. 277,21-5.

⁷ Idem, *De moribus Ecclesiae catholicae*, XXXIII (70), ed. J. B. Bauer, CSEL 90, (Vienna, 1992) 74,15-75,3: Uidi ego sanctorum diuersorium Mediolani, non paucorum hominum, quibus unus presbyter praeerat uir optimus et doctissimus. Romae etiam plura cognoui, in quibus singuli grauitate atque prudentia et diuina scientia praepollentes ceteris secum habitantibus praesunt Christiana caritate, sanctitate, libertate uiuentibus; ne ipsi quidem cuiquam onerosi sunt, sed orientis more, et Pauli apostoli auctoritate manibus suis se transigunt. On this see J. K. Coyle, *Augustine's "De moribus Ecclesiae catholicae"*, *A Study of the Work, its Composition and its Sources* (Fribourg, 1978) 194-204.

unchallenged.⁸ We know from a Parthian fragment of Manichaean missionary history that Addā, one of the earliest Manichaean missionaries to the Roman Empire from Babylonia, was accredited with the foundation of a number of monasteries (*manestanan*) in the Roman Empire.⁹ However, as the text is Central Asian in origin, one can legitimately argue that a later form of Manichaean institution had been retrojected to an earlier situation.¹⁰ Asmussen has duly warned us: 'For whereas the Central Asian monasteries, *manistanan* actually, in accordance with the Manichaean texts and archaeological evidence, were monasteries, the *daira*, 'umra of the Syrians in the proper sense, this is by no means substantiated in the case of the Western Coptic Manichaeism ... Furthermore the Coptic word for monastery, *sō'uh^es*, is not used as a technical term in the Manichaean texts, but (in the form *sa'uhes*) broadly about the "assembly, *congregatio*" of the Electi.¹¹

Our information on the organisation of the sect in the Roman Empire is not very substantial. The little which we possess shows that the sect was

⁸ A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, i, CSCO, Subsidia 14 (Louvain, 1958) 109-37 and 158-69. [Hereafter Vööbus, *Asceticism* i and ii.] For criticism of Vööbus's view see Jes. P. Asmussen, *X'āstvanīft*, *Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen, 1965) 260-61, n. 14 and A. Adam, review of Vööbus, op. cit., in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 213 (1960) 127-45, see esp. 129-33.

⁹ M2 R I 17-20 edd. F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II", *SPAW* 1933, p. 302 (= Boyce, *Reader*, Text h, 2, p. 40) nš st̄ | ws m' nyst' n' n o | wcyd prhyd wcydgn w | nywš' g' n oo English translation: Jes P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature* (New York, 1975) 21. On this text see also H. H. Schaefer, *Iranica, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften su Göttingen*, Dritte Folge, Nr. 10 (Berlin, 1934), pp. 68-83, and W. Sundermann, "Die mittelpersischen und parthischen Turfantexte als Quellen zur Geschichte des vorislamischen Zentralasien", in *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1978) 145-51.

¹⁰ W. Sundermann, "Iranische Lebensbeschreibungen Manis", *Acta Orientalia* (Copenhagen), 36 (1974) 147-8, has shown, however, that the Iranian Manichaean history-texts, especially those concerning the life of Mani, could have been derived from earlier Syriac originals.

¹¹ Asmussen, op. cit., 260 n. 14. On the mission of Addā see also J. A. L. Vergote, "Der Manichäismus in Ägypten", German trans. by E. Leonardy in G. Widengren, ed., *Der Manichäismus* (Darmstadt, 1977) 384-99, see esp. 397-99 [originally published as "Het Manichäisme in Egypte", *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, "Ex Oriente Lux"*, 9 (1944) 77-83] and L. Koenen, "Manichäische Mission und Klöster in Ägypten" in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 1978 in Trier*, Aegyptiaca Treverensia 2 (Mainz am Rhein, 1983) 93-108. On the etymology of the word mānistān see esp. B. Utas, "Mānistān and Xānaqāh" in A. D. H. Bivar (ed.), *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, ii, *Acta Iranica* 25, *Hommages et Opera Minora* 11 (Téhéran-Liège, 1985) 657.

organised into cells (*conventicula*) each comprising a handful of Electi with their devoted Hearers. In the visit of the *Manichaea* Julia to Gaza where she debated with the local bishop with fatal consequences we can see such a small unit in action.¹² We learn, however, from Augustine that the Manichaean Church did possess a hierarchical organisation topped by twelve *magistri* with a thirteenth whom they called their Head (*princeps*). Below them were seventy-two bishops (*episcopi*) who in turn appointed presbyters and deacons.¹³ These various grades of Manichaean officialdom are sometimes encountered in Western sources. Faustus of Milevis and Fortunatus were referred to by Augustine as *episcopus* and *presbyter* respectively.¹⁴ What we do not know is whether these offices entailed monastic functions and duties and the fact that in the story which we have cited a Manichaean *episcopus* had to be persuaded to lead the hostel-project seems to imply that they did not. Much greater emphasis appears to have been placed on the distinction between Elect and Hearer than among the various grades of the Elect. In the *Fragmenta Tebestina*, the Elect and the Hearer were compared to the two sisters Mary and Martha in the New Testament story (Luke 10,38-43). While one has chosen the “majorem ... Electorum gradum”, the more burdensome and mundane household chores necessarily devolved on the other.¹⁵ The Elect deserved this ministration by the Hearers because the path

¹² Marcus Diaconus, *Vita S. Porphyrii Gazensis*, 85-91, cf. Marc le Diacre, *Vie de Porphyre*, eds. H. Gregoire and M.-A. Kugener (Paris 1930) 66-71. On this story see F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees* (Cambridge 1926) 7-11.

¹³ Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 46,16 (170-74), ed. O. Vander Plaetses and C. Beukers, CCSL 46, p. 318: Nam ex electis suis habent duodecim quos appellant magistros, et tertium decimum principem ipsorum; episcopus autem septuaginta duos, qui ordinatur a magistris, et presbyteros, qui ordinantur ab episcopis indefiniti. Habent etiam episcopi diaconos. Idem, *Ep.* 236, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 57 (Vienna, 1895) p. 524,14-17 : Sed ipsi auditores ante electos genua figunt, ut eis manus supplicibus inponatur non a solis presbyteris vel episcopis aut diaconis eorum sed a quibuslibet electis. See also Prosper of Aquitaine, *Chronicum Integrum*, 2, PL 51.600. The title of *doctor* which Felix possessed, cf. Augustine, *Retractationes*, II,(viii),33,1, ed. P. Knöll, CSEL 36 (Vienna, 1902) p. 141,16, was probably the same as *magister*. See Burkitt, op. cit., p. 106.

¹⁴ Idem, *Confessiones*, V,iii,3 (2-4), ed. L. Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout, 1981) p. 58: Iam uenerat Carthaginem quidam Manichaeorum episcopus, Faustus nomine, magnus laqueus diaboli, et multi implicabantur in eo per inlecebram suauiloquentiae. Idem, *Retractationes*, I, (xvi),15,1, ed. cit., p. 82,1-2: Eodem tempore presbyterii mei, contra Fortunatum quemdam Manichaeorum presbyterum disputaui ...

¹⁵ *Fragmenta Tebestina*, II,2 (= col. 8), ed. R. Merkelbach, “Der manichäische Codex von Tebessa”, in P. Bryder (ed.), *Manichaean Studies; Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5-9, 1987*, Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions 1 (Lund, 1988) 239: Uide | [et u]triusq(ue) grādus| istius forma(m) | [a] duab(us) sororib(us) | euidenter oste(n)|[s]am, quarum

of righteousness is narrow and permits few travellers. Quoting from the Christian scriptures, the *Fragmenta* stress: "multi quidem sunt vocati, pauci autem electi" (Matthew 20,16).¹⁶

The newly discovered *Mani-Codex* has opened some new lines of inquiry on the vexing question of Manichaean monasticism. In the sections of this important document which have so far been published we find Mani referring to himself as "the only begotten one" (μονογενής) which calls to mind the Syriac term ܐܝܢܐ ܝܗܝܕܝܐ (*ihîdāyâ* ("a person who lives singly") which is so fundamental to the vocabulary of early Syrian asceticism.¹⁷ However, one cannot conclude from this that the early Manichaean asceticism manifested itself in the form of wandering monks and solitary hermits. The *Codex* also shows that Mani was brought up in a Judaeo-baptist community in Mesene which possessed some form of hierarchical organisation. Mani, for instance, became the object of affection of a πρεσβύτερος by the name of Sitaïos who was a member of the συνέδριον of the sect, and it was before one of its synodal gatherings that Mani was proscribed by the sect.¹⁸ Although Mani uses the terms "the only begotten one" (μονογενής) and "the only one" (μονήρης) to signify his singleness of mind and to distinguish himself from the rest of the baptists,¹⁹ the organisation of the sect of the Elchasaites of Mesene might have provided some sort of model for Mani's own ascetical ideals.²⁰

al[te]ra quidem elegelrat optimam p[or]l[tio]nem, maiore[m] l [dumt]axat ele[c]l[torum g]radum, all[te]ra uero qu(u)m l officio domus et l ministerio funlgeretur perl[is] tamen di[sc]i pullis inistrare Cf. P. Alfaric, Un manuscrit manichéen", *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, N. S. 6 (1920) 68-9.

¹⁶ *Fragmenta Tebestina*, III,1 (= col. 9), ed. cit., p. 240.

¹⁷ *CMC* 104,8-10, ed. L. Koenen and C. Römer (edd.) *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex, Abbildungen und Diplomatischer Text*, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, 35 (Bonn, 1985) 72: ἐγὼ δὲ μονογενής τε καὶ πένης τούτων. On the term *ihîdāyâ* in Syrian asceticism see Vööbus, op. cit. i, 106-8, R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingsom* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 12-16, and A. Adam, "Grundbegriff des Monchtums in sprachlicher Sicht", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 65 (1953/4) 217-22.

¹⁸ On Sita see *CMC* 74,8-16, ed. cit., p. 50: ἔφη ὁ κ(ύριος) ὀπηνίκα μεταξὺ ἁυτῶν ὠίκουν ἐν μιᾷ ἁτῶν ἡμερῶν κατέσχε ἁ με τῆς χειρὸς Σιταῖος ὁ ἁπρεσβύτερος τοῦ συνειδριου ἁυτῶν ὁ τοῦ Γαρᾶ ἁ υἱὸς διὰ τὸ ετέργειν με ἁ[π]άνυ καὶ ὠε υἱὸν φιλοῦμεινον ἔξειν. see comm. *ad loc.* For Mani's defence of his views before the synhedrion, *CMC*. 88,15-99,8, ed. cit., 62-68. See also Cf. A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780)", *ZPE* 5/2 (1970) 141-60.

¹⁹ One the use of these two terms in the *CMC* see A. Henrichs, "Mani and the Babylonian Baptists : A Historical Confrontation", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 77 (1973) 35-9.

²⁰ Most of the terms used for the various grades of the Manichaean priesthood are attested in the *CMC*. See A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Der Kölner Mani-

Of even greater significance is the title οἰκοδεσπότης which Mani's father Patticius held in the section of the *Codex* attributed to Baraies the Teacher.²¹ The editors of the *Codex*, Henrichs and Koenen, have drawn our attention to its similarity to the Middle Persian term *mansarar* ("head of the house") which features regularly in eastern Manichaean monasticism (= *Fa-t'ang-chu* 法堂主 in Chinese Manichaean parlance).²² On the basis of this discovery, the editors of the *Codex* have argued for an important role for monastic institutions in the early spread of Manichaeism.²³ They even suggest that Mani on his missionary journey to India, which he undertook soon after his break with the Elchasaites, had encountered Buddhist monasteries which influenced his own ideas on organised asceticism.²⁴ Henrichs further demonstrates that Mani's concept of transmigration of souls into plants has an Indian rather than Graeco-Roman origin.²⁵ We know that the Manichaeism came into contact with Buddhism in its eastward diffusion. It was the intermediary through which the story of Buddha came to be adapted by the Christian Church as the saintly legend of Barlaam and Josaphat in the Byzantine period.²⁶ The traffic of ideas and

Kodex (P. Colon inv. nr. 4780), Edition der Seiten 72, 8-99.9", *ZPE* 32 (1978) 167, n. 242.

²¹ *CMC* 89,9, ed. cit., p. 62: ἐκάλεσεν δὲ καὶ τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην Παττίκιον καὶ λέγον αὐτῷ. On his title see Henrichs-Koenen, art. cit., pp. 166-71, n. 242.

²² On the eastern equivalents of the term see Henrichs-Koenen, art. cit., p. 168, n. 242. The closest parallel is *rabbaitā* in Syriac. On this see A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO 266 (Subsidia 26) (Louvain, 1965) 270-71.

²³ Henrichs-Koenen, art. cit., 168-69, n. 242.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 169: "Mani hat die Entwicklung seiner Klosterformen am ehesten nach seiner indischen Missionreise eingeleitet, die ihn mit buddhistischen Klöstern bekannt gemacht haben muß; bei seiner Rückkehr sandte er Pattikios nach Indien." On Patticius's mission to India cf. W. Sundermann, "Zur frühen missionarischen Wirksamkeit Manis", *Acta Orientalia ... Hungaricae*, xxiv (1971) 82-5. On Indian influence on Manichaeism see E. Benz, "Indische Einflüsse auf die frühchristliche Theologie", *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz 1951*, Abh. Nr. 3 (Wiesbaden, 1951) 175-8, and on Buddhist influence on the west in general, see also the often neglected work of J. Kennedy, "The Gospels of the Infancy, the Lalita Vistra and the Vishna Purana: or the Transmission of Religious Legends between India and the West", *JRAS* 1917, 209-43 and esp. W. Sundermann, "Mani, India and the Manichaean Religion", *South Asian Studies* 2 (1986) 11-19.

²⁵ A. Henrichs, "'Thous shalt not kill a tree': Greek, Manichaean and Indian Tales", *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 16/1-2 (1979) 85-108.

²⁶ Jes P. Asmussen, "Der Manichäismus als Vermittler literarischen Gutes", *Temenos*, 2 (1966) 14-21, D. M. Lang, "St Euthymius the Georgian and the Barlaam and Ioasaph Romance", *BSOAS* 17 (1977) 306-25, P. Alfarcic, *Les*

institutions between Manichaeism and Buddhism, in view of the new evidence, therefore might have taken place much earlier and been far more intense than is sometimes suggested.²⁷

2. Manichaean monasticism in Central Asia and China

The precise nature of early Manichaean monasticism will no doubt be the subject of much future investigation and discussion. Why we know so little about it from extant Patristic sources needs explanation. Maybe the watchful eye of the Roman officials and the vigilance of the Christian bishops had nipped the process in the bud and compelled the sect to adopt a cellular structure with self-contained mobile groups which could more easily avoid detection.²⁸ The discovery of genuine Manichaean texts in Greek, Coptic and Syriac, and of letters of the members of the sect, in the private houses at Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis shows beyond doubt that once freed from the fear of persecution in the more populated Nile Valley, Manichaean cells could develop into communities in Roman Egypt. Though not set aside from main centres of population like Pachomian foundations like Tebennesi, the Manichaean community at Kellis must have functioned as a centre for a sedentary group of Manichaean Elect who could pursue their ascetic vocation in the open. Their letters show that there was clearly a hierarchical structure with leaders who had pastoral responsibility over members of the sect in the oasis and elsewhere.²⁹

It was in Central Asia and three centuries after the Justinianic persecutions had effectively exterminated Manichaeism in the West that

écritures manichéennes, ii (Paris, 1919) 211-19 and P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, ed. L. Hambis (Paris 1965) 750-2.

²⁷ For a more cautious view of Indian influence on Manichaeism see H. H. Schaeder, review C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Agypten*, in *Gnomon* 9 (July 1933) 348-51.

²⁸ On the persecution of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire see E. H. Kaden, "Die Edikte gegen die Manichäer von Diokletian bis Justinian", *Festschrift Hans Lewald* (Basle, 1953) 55-68; P. R. L. Brown, "The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire", in *Religion and Society in the Age of St Augustine* (London, 1972) 94-118; and F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne*, i (Paris, 1978) 211-33. Augustine's mention of his meeting Manichaean *electi* in Carthage from different houses seems to indicate the division of the sect into small units within a community. Cf. Augustine, *De moribus manichaeorum*, XIX,68, pp. 149,21-150,1: Non enim erant hi (sc. electi) ex una domo, sed diuerse prorsus habitantes, ex eo loco ubi conuentus omnium factus erat, pariter forte descenderant. The most detailed study of the organisation of the sect in the Roman Empire remains Decret, op. cit., i, pp. 203-10.

²⁹ Cf. my article with I. M. F. Gardner, "From Narmouthis (Mêdinet Mâdi) to Kellis (Ismant El-Kharab): Manichaean Documents from Roman Egypt", *Journal of Roman Studies* 86 (1996) 161-68.

Manichaean monasticism enjoyed its full flowering. A major turning-point in the history of Manichaeism was the conversion to the religion of the Khaghan of the Uighur Turks in 762. Under his patronage and that of his successors Manichaeism flourished in and around the Uighur court at Karabalghasun, and when the First Uighur Empire collapsed after her disastrous war with the Kirghiz in 840, Manichaeism continued to flourish in Turkestan where a new Uighur capital was established at Chotcho (or Qočo, Kao-tsang 高昌 in Chinese).³⁰ Free from persecution and enjoying royal patronage, Manichaeism manifested itself in fully developed cenobitism. Form a polyglottal Manichaean prayer and confessional book we learn that the Manichaean Diocese of the East (*xwr's'n p'ygws*) with its *archegos* at Chotcho was impressively organised into monasteries (*mānestānān*) and assemblies and in them resided heads of houses (*m'ns'r'r'n*), prayer-masters, preachers, hymnodists, and scribes as well as lay brothers and sisters.³¹ It was from the ruins of these monastic sites that German archaeologists at the turn of the last century recovered fragments of exquisite Manichaean frescoes and miniatures as well as a large number of fragments of their texts in a host of different Central Asian languages.³² The Manichaean communities, *hanzaman* (assembly) and *mānestān* (monastery), must have posed as serious rivals to the Buddhist *sangha* in Central Asia until the destruction of the Uighur Kingdom by the Mongols in the thirteenth century.

The structure and organisation of the Manichaean monasteries nevertheless remains opaque. A document which throws some light on the matter is the "Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of Mani the Buddha of Light" (*Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao-fa yi-lueh* 摩尼光佛教法議略) which was translated into Chinese from a Central Asian language, most likely a dialect of Iranian (viz Middle Persian, Parthian, or Sogdian), by imperial commission in 731.³³ This is one of the many thousands of texts recovered

³⁰ The relevant literature on the conversion of the Uighurs to Manichaeism is extensive. For a brief summary of the Uighur-Chinese relationship see P. Zieme, "Die Uiguren und ihre Beziehungen zu China", *Central Asiatic Journal* 17 (1973) 281-93, and my *Manichaeism*², 234-42.

³¹ M801a, pp. 13-14, 217-25; W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet und Beichtbuch*, APAW 1936, no. 10, 24-5 (= Boyce, *Reader*, Texte cu, §§23-4, p. 156): 'wd | wysp'n 'spsg'n | m'ns'r'r'n 'prynsr'n | xrw'xw'n'n zyr'n dbyr'n | nyw'n o mhrs'y'n | zgrw'c'n 'wd wysp'n | brd'dr'n p'k'n w ywjdhr'<n | (pd) qyrbg qyrdg'n 'y'd | hyb bwynd oo wx'r'yn | dwxš'n w ywjdhr'n 'b'g | xwyš hnzmn (w) m'nyst'n | pd qyrbg qyrdg'n 'y(')d | hyb bwynd oo See also M36, Andreas-Henning, op. cit., pp. 323-6, and Boyce, *Reader*, Text cm, pp. 144-5.

³² A. von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan*, trans. by A. Barwell (London, 1928) 61-2. [See also above, pp. 2-9.]

³³ The Chinese text of the *Compendium* is reproduced in T 2121A.1279c17-1281a11 (Vol. 54). Cf. N. Tajadod, *Mani le Bouddha de Lumière – Catéchisme*

from the cave-library at Dunhuang (Tun-huang) which was an important centre of Buddhism. The *Compendium*, however, has a complicated history of publication as it was split into two parts at the time of discovery. The concluding section of the text was published and translated in 1913 by Paul Pelliot, and scholars have come to name it after its discoverer as “Fragment Pelliot” (Don 4502, coll. Pelliot, inv. 3884 in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris).³⁴ The main part of the treatise was later found among the scrolls from Tun-huang in the British Museum (MS. Stein 3969) and was published by Haloun and Henning in 1952.³⁵ Unfortunately these two scholars did not retranslate the “Fragment Pelliot” save for the first eleven characters at the beginning of the “Fragment”. This means that scholars who do not read Chinese have no means of combining the two sections accurately. In fact some still refer to the “Fragment Pelliot” as a separate document in its own right and not as part of the *Compendium*.³⁶

The *Compendium* confirms the order of the Manichaean hierarchy which we find in Augustine’s *De haeresibus*. Its fourth article is entitled “On the style of the five grades (of believers)” which says:

- (70) 五級儀第四
 (71) 第一十二慕闍 譯云承法教道者
 (72) 第二七十二薩波塞 譯云侍法者亦號拂多誕
 (73) 第三三百六十默奚悉德 譯云法堂主
 (74) 第四阿羅緩 譯云一切純善人
 (75) 第五耨沙彥 譯云一切淨信聽者

The First: the twelve *Mu-she* (= Mid. Pers., *mōzak*; Latin, *magister*) when interpreted means “attendant of the Law and teacher of the Way”.

The Second: the seventy-two *Sa-po-sê* (= Mid. Pers., *ispasag*; Latin, *episcopus*), when interpreted means “upholders of the Law” and they are also called *Fu-to-tan* (= Mid. Pers., *aftādān*).

The Third: the three hundred and sixty *Mo-hsi-hsi-te* (= Mid. Pers., *mahistag*; Latin, *presbyter*), when interpreted means “principal of the Hall of Law” (i.e. Mid. Pers., *mānsārār*; Parthian, *mānsārār*)

The Fourth: *A-lo-huan* (= Mid. Pers., *ardawan*; Latin, *electi*), when interpreted means “all immaculately good men”.

manichéen chinois, Sources gnostiques et manichéennes 3 (Paris, 1990). The text is cited in this article by line number of the ms. and not by that of the printed editions. For relevant literature see my *Manichaeism*², p. 246. On the transmission and translation of Manichaean texts across Central Asia see W. Sundermann, “Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und der Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos”, *AoF* 6 (1979) 113-15.

³⁴ *Traité* 1913, pp. 107-16. The *Fragment Pelliot* = *Compendium* ms. lines 83-111.

³⁵ G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, “The Compendium of the Doctrine and Styles of the Teaching of Mani the Buddha of Light”, *Asia Major*, N. S. 3 (1952) 184-212 gives a translation of *Compendium*, ms. lines 1-82 (+83).

³⁶ See, e.g. F. Decret, *Mani et la tradition manichéenne* (Paris, 1974) 82-3.

The Fifth: *Nou-sha-an* (= Parthian, *niγōšagān*, Latin, *auditores*), when interpreted means “all pure and faithful listeners”.³⁷

In addition, the *Compendium* gives a blueprint of a Manichaean monastery as well as a list of its principal officers in its fifth article entitled “On the buildings of the monastery” which says :

- (84) 寺宇儀第五
- (85) 經圖堂一 齋講堂一 禮懺堂一 教授堂一
- (86) 病僧堂一
- (87) 右置五堂法眾共居精修善業不得別立
- (88) 私室廚庫每日齋食儼然待施若無施
- (89) 者乞丐以充唯使聽人勿畜奴婢及六畜
- (90) 等非法之具
- (91) 每寺尊首詮簡三人
- (92) 第一阿拂胤薩 譯云讚願首專知法事
- (93) 第二呼嚙喚 譯云教道首專知獎勸
- (94) 第三遏換健塞波塞
- (95) 譯云月直專知供施皆須依命不得擅意

Fifth Article Rules concerning monastery buildings:

One room for the scriptures and images.

One room for fasting and preaching.

One room for worship and confession.

One room for religious instructions.

One room for sick monks.

In the five rooms set up as above, the community of monks should live in common, practising good works with zeal. The monks should not build individual rooms, kitchens or storehouses. They should eat vegetarian food each day. They should wait for alms in perfect dignity. If no one bestows alms upon them, they could then go and beg to provide for their needs. They should be served by the Hearers and maintain neither male nor female slaves, nor keep the six varieties of domestic animals (i.e. horse, ox, goat, pig, dog and fowl - a purely Chinese category), nor possess anything prohibited by the religion.

³⁷ *Compendium*, ms. lines 70-75; cf. Haloun–Henning, art. cit., p. 195. On Manichaean monastic terminology see esp. A. von Tongerlo, “L’identité de l’Église manichéenne orientale (env. VIII^e sc. ap. J.-C.). La Communauté des Croyants: ir. hnzmn / ’njmn, ouig. ančm(a)n”, *Orientalia Louvaniensia Periodica* 12 (1981) 265-72 and idem, “La structure de la communauté manichéenne dans le Turkestan chinois à la lumière des emprunts moyen-iraniens en ouighur”, *CAJ* 26 (1982) 262-88. On this important passage from the *Compendium* see also Moriyasu, *Study*, pp. 63-4.

At the head of each monastery there should be three *Ch'üan-chien* (lit. to choose or appoint, i.e. *electus*)³⁸

First, the *A-fu-yin-sa* (=Mid. Pers., *āfrinsar*), when interpreted means “choir master” who devotes himself mainly to matters of religion.

Second, the *Hu-lu-han* (= Mid. Pers., *xrōhxwān*), when interpreted means one who teaches the way and devotes himself to commendation and persuasion.

Third, the (*Ng*)*o-huan-chien sê-po-sê* (= Mid. Pers., *ruwanagan ispasig* (?),³⁹ when interpreted means “regulator of the month” (?)⁴⁰ who devotes himself to (administering offerings and alms.

The whole community should conform to the orders (of these three superiors) and no one is allowed to contradict their wishes.⁴¹

Not much, however, is known about the extent to which this blue-print was followed by the Manichaeans in China. A T'ang law which was decreed at the time of the suppression of Uighur Manichaeans in China in 843 speaks of the confiscation of the money and goods from the monasteries.⁴² A strong guard was placed on them to prevent pilfering by “men of whatever race or the rich from the merchant quarters”.⁴³ Manichaean monasteries were probably used as storage centres and banks by Sogdian or Uighur merchants. The fact that the confiscated premises had to be guarded indicates that more than alms for the daily sustenance of the priests was at risk. From another source we learn that one Manichaean priest who escaped the persecution at the capital cities and fled to south China had the title of *hu-lu* 呼祿 which if derived from Parthian *xrōhxwān* shows that the original titles of the offices as laid down in the *Compendium* was still used, albeit with slight modification.⁴⁴

³⁸ On the meaning of the term *ch'üan-chien* 詮簡 see *Traité* 1911, pp. 539-40 n. 3, and *ibid*, 1913, p. 113.

³⁹ The identification of the Iranian origin of this term is based on Boyce, *Word-List*, 22 ('*spsyg*) and p. 78 (*rw'ng'n*). For earlier attempts to identify its Iranian equivalents see E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, “Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten”, *SPAW* 1933, no. 13, 522 n. 136b. I am grateful for help in this from Prof. N. Sims-Williams.

⁴⁰ The Chinese characters for this term are *yueh-chih* and its exact meaning is uncertain, cf. *Traité* 1913, 114.

⁴¹ *Mo-ni kuang-fu yi-lueh*, ms. lines 84-95; cf. *Traité* 1913, pp. 108-14, see also *Decret*, op. cit. (see above, n. 36) 113-16.

⁴² On the persecution of Manichaeism in the Late T'ang Period see Lieu, op. cit., 233-39 and *idem*, “Polemics against Manichaeism as a Subversive Cult in Sung China”, *BJRL* 62/1 (Autumn 1979) 132-67. [See below, pp. 126-76.]

⁴³ *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書, 18A.606, cited in *Traité* 1913, pp. 298-301.

⁴⁴ *Min-shu* 閩書, 7.32a9, cited in P. Pelliot, “Les traditions manichéennes au Foukien”, *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923) 199. The word *xrōhxwān* means ‘preacher’ and

When Manichaeism re-emerged as a secret religion in south China its meeting-places were often disguised as Taoist temples for the purpose of official registration.⁴⁵ In an earlier article I have published in translation an exchange of letters between a former superintendent of one such disguised Manichaean temple by the name of Chang Hsi-sheng 張希聲, with a friend called Huang Chen 黃震. In it Chang confided to Huang his deep sense of guilt in failing to abide by the strict laws of the sect because he had improved his abbatial quarters for his personal comfort which, as we can see, was forbidden by the *Compendium*.⁴⁶ So at least in one instance we find the precepts of Manichean asceticism being acknowledged, if not followed to the letter, as late as the thirteenth century. Chinese archaeologists have reported the discovery of a Manichaean temple in Fukien which was constructed in the Yüan Dynasty (1280-1368) which is also known to us from written sources.⁴⁷ The preliminary report on the site speaks of it having balconies and residential quarters for monks. The latter provision would have been in contradiction to the *Compendium* as the five rooms which were stipulated for the *mānestān* do not include dormitories for priests except for sick ones.⁴⁸ Manichaean priests were probably expected to reside with their Hearers as a means of propagating the religion.

3. *The new document from Chotcho (Qoço)*

Among the documents recovered by Chinese archaeologists from Turfan in the early 1950s is a text in Uighur (an old Turkish language) giving us an unusually detailed picture of Manichaean monasticism at its zenith in the Uighur Kingdom. It provides us with a source of comparison with the precepts as laid down in the *Compendium*. Although nearly three centuries separate the two documents, as we shall see, many of the precepts in the

not 'Electus'. Cf. Coyle, op. cit., pp. 350. It has been pointed out by Prof. Moriyasu in a conference in Berlin in 1997 that *hu-lu* could also be derived from Old Turkish (*h*)*ulur* 'great' and *Hu-lu Fa-shih* 呼祿法師 would have meant the 'Great Teacher'.

⁴⁵ A. Forte, "Deux études sur le Manichéisme chinois", *T'oung Pao* 59 (1972) 233-34.

⁴⁶ "A Lapsed Chinese Manichaean's Correspondence with a Confucian Official in the Late Sung Dynasty", *BJRL* 59/2 (1977) 397-425, see esp. pp. 402-6. [See below, pp. 98-125]

⁴⁷ A preliminary study of the temple, or rustic shrine to be more precise, can be found in Wu Wen-liang 吳文良, *Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-ko* 泉州宗教石刻 (*The Religious Inscriptions on Stone from Ch'üan-chou*, Peking, 1957) 44-5. The literary evidence for the temple is translated in Pelliot, art. cit., pp. 193-208. For a summary in English of work up to date on the discovery see my "Nestorians and Manichaeans on the South China Coast", *Vigiliae Christianae* 34 (1980) 71-88. [See below, pp. 177-95.]

⁴⁸ *Traité* 1913, p. 110 n. 1.

Compendium were still acknowledged in Manichaean writings at the time when the Uighur document was drawn up.

Photographs of the new text were first published in 1954 by Huang Wen-pi 黃文弼 in his report on the expedition.⁴⁹ However, this text remained virtually unknown to Western scholars until 1975, when Peter Zieme published his seminal study "Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich" in which he gives a survey of its contents and translation of some of its more readable parts.⁵⁰ Now we possess a full transcription of the text and a preliminary translation of it into modern Chinese by Dr. (now Prof.) Keng Shih-min (Geng Shimin) 耿世民 of the Central Ethnological Institute of Peking and an abridged version of the article in English.⁵¹

The document (總 *Tsung* (*Zong*) 8782T,82) = Y974 / K7709) measures 270 x 29.5 cm. and contains 125 lines of writing. Both the beginning and end are lost and Zieme and Keng both believe that some sections of the scroll may have been pasted in the wrong order.⁵² It has been stamped eleven times with a seal bearing four lines of Chinese characters which read 'From the Chancellery and Secretariat of the Great and Blessed Uighur Kingdom, the precious seal of the Chief Minister, *Hsieh-yü (?) - chia-ssu-chu* 頡于迦思諸.⁵³ The document is not the *regula* of a particular monastery but a royal charter endorsing certain arrangements pertaining to the relationship between a group of monasteries and lay society in social and economic matters as well as their internal monastic organisation. Three monasteries are mentioned by their location in the text. They were situated at Chotcho (Qočo), the capital city (lines 19, 113), Yar (line 112), and Solmī (line 32). Reference to a larger and a smaller monastery in lines 79-81 seems to imply that the monasteries concerned were not equal in size or importance.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Huang Wen-pi, *Tu-lu-fan k'ao-ku chi* 吐魯番考古記 (Peking, 1954) 63 and pls. 81-6.

⁵⁰ In L. Ligetti (ed.), *Researches in Altaic Languages* (Budapest, 1975) 331-8.

⁵¹ "Hui-heh-wen Mo-ni-chiao ssu-yüan wen-shu ch'u-shih 回鶻文摩尼教寺院初釋 (A preliminary translation of a Uighur Text concerning Manichaean monasteries)", *K'ao-ku hsueh-pao* 考古學報, 51 (1978, pt. 4) 497-516. See introductory note to the article on the English version and more recent editions of the text.

⁵² Keng Shih-min, art. cit., p. 498; Zieme, art. cit., p. 336. For a detailed description of the ms. see esp. Moriyasu, op. cit., p. 37.

⁵³ Keng, art. cit., pp. 497-8; Zieme, art. cit., p. 331. *Hsieh-yü (?) - chia-ssu-chu* is not a personal name. A similar term is attested in the Chinese portion of the Karabalghasun Inscription and F. W. K. Müller has suggested that it is a transliteration of the Uighur title *il ügäsi* which he translates as "Ruhm des Reichs", cf. *Uigurica II*, APAW 1910, 93-4, and *Traité* 1913, p. 182.

⁵⁴ In the original version of the article I drew attention to: "The fact that the monastery at Chotcho acted as the main centre of storage for rent and barter from lands owned by the sect (lines 19 and 113) signifies its greater importance which is not surprising in view of the fact that it was situated in the capital city of the

The need for royal approval of the charter indicates both the important social and economic role which the *mānestānān* played in the Uighur Kingdom and the extent to which the sect relied on patronage for its propagation. This dependence is manifest in other Manichaean documents from Central Asia. The Chinese *Hymnscroll* from Tun-huang in the Stein Collection in the British Museum (Ms. Stein 2659) concludes with an undisguised *captatio benevolentiae* in which special blessings are invoked for the sovereign powers.⁵⁵ We also find in a fragmentary text in Middle Persian a prayer offered by Manichaean priests for peace and long life to be granted to a named Uighur prince.⁵⁶ According to Kardizi it was customary in the Uighur Kingdom for three or four hundred Manichaean priests to gather in the house of a prince to recite the Books of Mani. At the end of the day they would seek blessings for the prince before they departed.⁵⁷

The first few lines of the text are faded and the meaning unclear. They seem to contain regulations concerning the storage of monastic income and especially which officials would be allowed to enter the storage room(s) (lines 1-6). To the officials, *iš ayγucī, mōzak, ilimga, tutuq* (*tutuq* = Chinese : *tu-tu* 都督, a military title),⁵⁸ was entrusted the allocation of the income of the monastery (lines 3-5). The title *iš ayγucī* though known to us from another Uighur text is hitherto unattested in sources on Manichaean

Uighur Kingdom." This is heavily dependent on Keng's reading of lines 18-20: *ayliqqa kirgüsin | ayliqqa qoco äw (?) ... (q)a kirgüsin tükäl | kigürz-ün*. This reading has now been challenged by Moriyasu who is certain that the word read as *qoco* by Keng ends in *-i* and gives therefore *(.)γucī (.)čī(.)//*. Cf. Moriyasu, *Study*, 40 and esp. *ibid.*, comm. *ad loc.*, p. 50, on my earlier error. Moriyasu's caution is shared by Zieme whose unpublished transcription gives [ay]γucī čī and translates: the [ay]γucī should (completely put into storage etc.)

⁵⁵ *Mo-ni-chiao hsia-pu tsan* 摩尼教下部讚, §25, lines 415-22, *T* 2140, vol. liv, p. 1279c8-9. English translations : Tsui Chi, "The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichaean Hymns", *BSOAS* 40/1 (1943) 215. See also E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu in Manichäismus*, *APAW* 1926, no. 4, 8.

⁵⁶ M43, F. W. K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan Chinesisch Turkestan, II", *aus den Anhang zu den APAW*, 1904, 78; Boyce, *Reader*, Text dw, pp. 193-94. On this prayer see also A. Böhlig, "Jacob as an Angel in Gnosticism and Manichaeism", in *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis*, ed. R. McL. Wilson, *NH(M)S* (Leiden, 1978) 129.

⁵⁷ Cited in Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 109. On the relationship between Manichaean priests and Uighur princes see also *idem*, "Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren Königs", *Festschrift Wilhelm Thomsen* (Leipzig, 1912) 207-13; W. Bang and A. von Gabain, "Türkische Turfan-Texte. II, Manichaicha", *SPAW* 1929, 414-19; and J. Marquardt, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903) 90-5.

⁵⁸ The title may well have religious significance, cf. A. von Gabain, *Das uigurische Königreich von Chotscho, 850-1250, Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1961, no. 5, 79-80, n. 51.

monasticism.⁵⁹ It occurs very frequently in this particular text and a tentative translation of it by Keng according to its functions as specified in the text is “*kuan-shih*” (a manager or controller of affairs).⁶⁰ This office has, to the best of my knowledge, no direct equivalent in western Manichaean texts. It may bear some relationship to the office of “Regulator of the Month” who administered the alms received by the monastery in the Fifth Article of the Chinese *Compendium* but this cannot be pressed with certainty. The text proceeds to mention lands which the monastery owned in various parts of the city (by which Chotcho is probably meant), and various monastic officials were assigned to manage these properties (lines 9-10). The officials were forbidden to use as an excuse for their bad management which led to crop-failure that the vineyards stood on dry land. They should make every effort to ensure their being well cultivated and they would suffer punishment for negligence (lines 10-15).

The monasteries derived a number of items of barter from the lands which they owned. In the first place, there was *quanpu* (= Chinese: *kuan-pu* 官布) which were units of cloth used for the payment of rent and a total of 4,125 units (bales) of these contributions were expected from the lands.⁶¹ Some of these units of cloth were to be set aside for the manufacture of monastic garments for the priests as well as winter and summer clothing and shoes for their attendants (lines 38-43). We know from a variety of sources that Manichaean priests wore very plain clothes and they only allowed one new garment each year.⁶² Vööbus thinks that they adopted the custom of dressing themselves in robes sewn up carelessly from rags and tatters and the term *saccofori* which occurs in a law of Theodosius I (A.D. 381) as a name by which Manichaeans in the Roman Empire sometimes preferred themselves to be called might have been a reference to their attire.⁶³ The provisions for the manufacture of clothes in the text from Chotcho gives the impression that the Manichaean priests in the Uighur Kingdom were adequately clothed – a fact which we can also deduce from the

⁵⁹ Zieme, art. cit., p. 333; see also A. von Gabain, *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo* (850-1250), Textband, *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica*, VI (Wiesbaden, 1973) 71-2. The late Professor von Gabain translated *iš ayyuci* as “Adjutant, Sprecher”, and “Verkündiger” in her unpublished translation.

⁶⁰ Keng, art. cit., p. 509.

⁶¹ On *quanpo* see Zieme, art. cit., p. 332.

⁶² *Mo-ni-chiao tsan-ching* 摩尼教殘經, ms. lines 253-5: 年一易衣 Cf. *Traité* 1911, p. 576. See also Vööbus, op. cit., i, p. 118.

⁶³ *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI,5,7.3, ed. P. Kruger and T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1904) 858,7-11: Nec se sub simulatione fallaci eorum scilicet nominum ... maligna fraude defendant; cum praesertim nonnulli ex his Encratitas, Apotactitas, Hydroparastatas vel Saccoforos nominari se velint et varietate nominum diversorum velut religiosae professionis officia mentiantur.

extant Manichaean frescoes from Chotcho in which we often encounter rows of neatly and identically dressed priests.⁶⁴

Manichaean priests were supposed to derive their livelihood entirely from alms. They were not allowed to carry food for more than one day while they were on their missionary travels.⁶⁵ They were allowed to beg and procure food from other sources only when no alms were bestowed upon them.⁶⁶ This precarious existence, however, was eliminated for the priests in the Uighur Kingdom as the monasteries derived regular supplies of foodstuff from their lands. From the lands to the south of the city alone they derived each month as barter 80 *siq* (a unit of measurement which is probably the same as the Chinese *shih* 石 or picul which in modern usage is the equivalent of 133 $\frac{1}{3}$ lb.) of wheat, 7 of sesame, 2 of beans and 3 of millet (lines 26-8). A daily provision for 30 melons to be given to the main monastery and an equal number for its chapter house from the lands of the three Ordos (lines 79-81) shows that the Manichaean preference for melons, because of the exceptionally large number of light particles which they were alleged to hold, was not only theological but culinary.⁶⁷ The priest in the Uighur Kingdom did not eat merely to survive. Special attention was paid to the standard of catering and the quality of cooking. Each month a *xrōhxwān* and an *is ayyuci* would be placed in charge of the catering. Should the food of that month prove to be inadequate these two officials would be punished (lines 44-5). Elsewhere in the text (lines 30-2) it is stipulated that if the *mōzak* and the community of priests did not have enough food, the two *xrōhxwān* would have to provide for them out of their own allocations. Towards the end of the text (line 119) we find that the cooks would be punished if the food for the priests was badly cooked. Augustine had wryly commented on the gastronomical qualities of the so-called vegetarian meals of the Manichaeans.⁶⁸ One of the surviving miniatures from Chotcho shows the occasion of the priests at a meal, probably a Bēma Feast. Two priests are depicted as presenting food to two figures seated above the rest of the assembly who were probably the *mōzaks* and on the table before them we can clearly identify melons, grapes and loaves of bread.⁶⁹ One cannot argue from this that the priests at Chotcho did not observe the statutory

⁶⁴ A von Le Coq, *Die buddistische Spätantike*, ii, *Die manichäischen Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1923) pls. 1, 2, 8b, a and b. See also illustrations in Decret, *Mani*, etc. 73, 110-11, 120-1.

⁶⁵ This injunction is usually given together with the one concerning clothing, see above, n. 62.

⁶⁶ See above, n. 41.

⁶⁷ See also Zieme, art. cit., p. 335. On the Manichaean preference for melons see E. Beck, *Ephräms Polemik gegen Mani und die Manichäer*, CSCO 391, Subsidia 55 (Louvain, 1978) 135-6.

⁶⁸ Augustine, *De moribus manichaeorum*, XIII,29, ed. cit., p. 113.

⁶⁹ von Le Coq, op. cit., pl. 8b, a.

fasts of the religion. A regular and assured food supply must, however, have altered the attitude of the priests to alms and their need of constant support from their Hearers.

The Manichaean Elect was obliged to observe the "Seal of the Hands" (*signaculum manuum*) which prohibited him from hurting both plant and animal life.⁷⁰ We know from the *Mani-Codex* that a source of friction between the young Mani and his fellow baptists was his reluctance to pick fruit because the act of harvesting for Mani was tantamount to murdering the light-particles which were in the plants.⁷¹ Augustine also says that Manichaeans avoided cultivation for fear of murdering the "Cross of Light" (*crux luminis*) which was in the fields. Instead they encouraged usury which in Augustine's eyes was a more serious form of homicide.⁷² Thus it may strike one as incongruous to find Manichaean monasteries owning lands and playing a substantial role in the agrarian economy of the Uighur Kingdom. Some of the lands were devoted to the cultivation of vines which may seem surprising since wine to the Manichaeans was 'choler of the prince of darkness', though they were allowed to drink unfermented grape juice.⁷³ As wine was an important item of trade between China and the lands of Central Asia, the monasteries of Chotcho clearly could not ignore the financial advantages in the cultivation of wine-grapes.⁷⁴

The profit motive was never in doubt with regard to land management as the text makes it clear to the *is ayyuci* that the lands assigned to them should be well managed so that their rent could be raised as a result of increased production (lines 85-90). The text stresses the fact that the management of the lands and the collection of rents were the work of the *is ayyuci* and the *mōzak* (i.e. *magister*), the *aftādān* (i.e. *episcopus*) and the *xrōhxwān* should not be involved in it (lines 92-4). The preoccupation with good crop-management and rent-levels, however, shows that the monasteries

⁷⁰ On the "Seal of the hands" see Augustine, *De moribus manichaeorum*, XVII,54-64, ed. cit., pp. 136-37, and F. Decret, *L'Afrique*, i, pp. 28-9.

⁷¹ *CMC* 6,7-12 ff., ed. cit. p. 4; cf. Henrichs-Koenen, art. cit., pp. 145-60.

⁷² Augustine, *Enarratio in ps.* 140,12 (8-9), ed. edd. E. Dekkers and J. Fairpoint, *CCSL* 40, p. 2034: qui autem, inquit, agricola est, multum laedit crucem luminis.

⁷³ Augustine, *de haeresibus*, 46,11 (115-17), ed. cit., p. 316: Nam et uinum non bibunt, dicentes fel esse principium tenebrarum, cum uescantur uuis. Nec musti aliquid, uel recentissimi, sorbeant. See also M177R, Müller, op. cit., 88-90 (= Boyce, *Reader*, Text w, pp. 57-8).

⁷⁴ On the trade in wine see E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand, A Study in T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963) 140-45. According to Keng, lines 63-4 of the Uighur document mention the use of water instead of wine but this is contested by other scholars. It is interesting to note that in the miniature on the Bēma Feast from Chotcho, see above n. 64, one of the two seated figures holds what looks like a wine goblet in his hand.

at Chotcho had somehow squared the Manichaean ideal of poverty with their being profit-making land-owners. The poverty-ideal is often mentioned in Manichaean texts, both eastern and western. Epiphanius tells us that according to the teachings of the Manichaeans, those who are rich in this world will have the bodies of beggars through the transmigration of souls.⁷⁵ Faustus of Milevis would boast of the fact that he has parted with all gold and silver, and has left off carrying money in his purse; content with daily food; without anxiety about tomorrow; and without concern about how he will be fed or where-withal he will be clothed.⁷⁶ In a Middle Persian fragment of a Manichaean hymn we are reminded that the preachers and the righteous and the Elect do not store up treasures or possess flocks because they live in a deceitful world and because of this they are persecuted.⁷⁷ As in the case of their food, we cannot argue from the new text from Chotcho that the priests there had by the eleventh century, if not earlier, turned their backs individually or as a body to the ideal of poverty. What is clear, however, is that the monasteries had a sound financial basis, and in terms of provisioning they had come a long way from the ideal of living only on alms and sharing all ones possessions as laid down in the *Compendium*. The rules concerning entry to the store rooms and the provisions for storing the produce from the monastic lands (lines 1-9, 18-19, 34-6) indicate that, though the priests were not deprived of a share of the income of the monasteries, its distribution was highly regulated.

Another example of relaxation of the rules of Manichaean monasticism which we can detect in this new text concerns the keeping domestic animals which, as we have seen, is strictly forbidden by the Fifth Article of the *Compendium*. On the occasion of a major split in the sect in Iraq in the eighth century, Mihr, then leader of the sect, was accused by those who eventually broke away for being lax in asceticism, and one of the charges

⁷⁵ Epiphanius, *panarion* LXVI,28,4 (= *Acta Archelai* 10,3); GCS, p. 64,6-8: εἰ τί πάλιν πλούσιος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ [καὶ] ἐάν ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος αὐτοῦ ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν εἰς πτωχοῦ σώμα μεταγγισθῆναι ..., cf. Vööbus, op. cit., i, p. 116.

⁷⁶ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, V,1, ed. cit., p. 271,15-19: Ego aurum argentumque reieci et aes in zonis habere destiti cotidiano contentus cibo nec de crastino curans nec unde uenter impleatur aut corpus operiatur sollicitudinem gerens, et quaeris a me, utrum accipiam euangelium?

⁷⁷ S9 V i,9-14: gw'g'n 'rd'w'n | (')wd wcydg'n cy o lm'n'g hynd 'ndr | šhr oo drwzn gyh w l(x)w'stg ny n(yysp)ynd | [']ym r'y mwrzyhynd Cf. Boyce, *Reader*, Text ar, §2, p. 102. On the concept of poverty and the use of the word 'skwḥ in Iranian Manichaean texts see W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berliner Turfantexte 4 (Berlin, 1973) Text 36 (2006-23) (= M221 V 7-24) 103-04, and idem, "Commendatio pauperum. Eine Angabe der sassanidischen politisch-didaktischen Literatur zur gessellschafthlichen Struktur Irans", *AoF* 4 (1976) 186-89.

brought against him was that he had been seen the back of a mule.⁷⁸ The *Miklāsia* as the splinter group came to be called, took the polemical battle into Central Asia. In a letter in Sogdian a leader of the *Miklāsia* who was probably the *archegos* at Chotcho complained (to higher authorities?) of the newly arrived followers of Mihr. The author of one of these letters was greatly annoyed by certain damnable innovations to, and deviations from, the established rules of the sect for which certain neighbouring communities or members of their own communities had been responsible. A nun (= *Electa*) of the offending party was seen digging the earth with a mattock as well as plucking herbs and cutting wood. This group apparently practised bleeding for curative purposes and had the audacity to wash the surgical instruments (?) in spring-water. When they were reprimanded, they replied that "Water in wells is dead, therefore it is allowed."⁷⁹ Despite the earlier protestation against Mihr, the priests in the Uighur Kingdom had by the eleventh century conceded the necessity of keeping domestic animals. The new text lays down that from the 200 *siq* of bran which was derived from the millet given to the priests for food, 100 *siq* would be used as cattle-feed and the same amount would become provender for the horses (*kawallari*) of the *mōzak* and the *aftādān* (lines 74-6).⁸⁰

Besides prohibiting the keeping of domestic animals, the *Compendium* also decrees that the priests should not have their own slaves or servants and they should be served only by their Hearers.⁸¹ The priests at Chotcho seemed to have been able to give a more liberal interpretation to this prohibition as they had the service of attendants of both sexes and boy pages (lines 58-61). The word used to demote the servant in the text is *aspasi* (from Sogdian 'sp'syh, servant, Mid. Pers. 'sp's, service)⁸² whereas the word for a Hearer in Uighur Manichaean texts is *nyosak* (from Sogdian

⁷⁸ B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadim. A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, ii (New York - London, 1970) 794, see also G. Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Manichäismus. Aus dem Fihrist des Abū'l-faradsch Muhammed ben Ishak al-Warrāk, bekannt unter dem Namen Ibn Abī Ja'kūb an-Nadīm* (Leipzig, 1862) 99 and Vööbus, op. cit., i, p. 119.

⁷⁹ M112 R + M146a + M366c. Cf. W. Sundermann, "Probleme der Interpretation Manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe" *Acta Antiqua ... Hungaricae*, 28 (1983) 305-12. Eng. trans. H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road – Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (San Francisco, 1993) 261-62.

⁸⁰ Keng's reading of line 121 gives further evidence of animal husbandry: "Toyin Yapap Ogli Taz is the shepherd. Yatsin Toyin is the goose-tender (*sic*)."
This has not been accepted by Zieme.

⁸¹ Line 89 (v. *supra*).

⁸² In her unpublished translation the late Prof. A. von Gabain renders the word as "Laienbruder", the word is derived from Sanskrit: *upāsaka*.

nyws'k, Parthian *ngws'g*, Chinese *nou-sha-an* 耨沙嗒).⁸³ It is possible though that the *aspasi* was not merely an ordinary servant but a believer of a low rank or lay brother. The fact that the term in Uighur is borrowed from Iranian strongly suggests that it has religious connotations. However, besides the *aspasi* and the boy-pages (*oylan*) who might have been novice monks, the monasteries enjoyed the service of workers with specific tasks such as cooks and bakers (line 50) and wood-cutters (line 114). The frequent mention of the gifts of clothing material strongly implies there were tailors working in the monastery (lines 39-42).⁸⁴ Also in attendance were a number of physicians (lines 121-22) who were normally resident in the monasteries. If priests of the higher ranks should fall ill, medicine should be procured from the *is ayyuci* in good time (line 107). The use of medicine for illness is again a relaxation of the rules of the sect as we find in the Sogdian part of a polyglottal Manichaean 'Prayer and Confessional Book' from Turfan that it is among a list of errors which priests were required to confess.⁸⁵

The new text also reveals a far stricter hierarchy within the Manichaean priesthood than is often realised. The *Compendium* commands all in the monasteries to obey the three chief officials but it also places considerable emphasis on the fact that any priest, whatever his rank, should be disobeyed if he was known to have violated the commandments of the sect:⁸⁶

阿羅緩犯戒視

(82) 之如死表白眾知逐令出法海雖至廣不

(83) 宿死屍若有覆藏還同破戒

If an *a-lo-huan* violates the commandments, regard him as dead, expose (him) to public knowledge, and expel (him) from the faith. For, although the sea is vast, it does not suffer corpses for long. (Whoever) covers and screens (him) commits the same breach of commandments.

In Augustine's story the Manichaean *episcopus* was forced to flee because he was discovered to have his own private purse and secret supply of provisions.⁸⁷ That this could have happened implies a certain degree of closeness between the ranks within the community. In the monasteries of

⁸³ Cf. W. Bang and A. von Gabain, "Analytischer Index zu den fünf ersten Stücken der Türkischen Turfan-Texte", *SPAW* 1931, 158. See also Haloun-Henning, art. cit., p. 212.

⁸⁴ Keng's translation of *ıyyačči* (in line 111) and *kädizči* (line 122) as "carpenter" and "carpet-maker" has been rejected by Zieme who takes them both as parts of titles.

⁸⁵ M801a, p. 33 (517-18), ed. cit., p. 33, 18-19; see also Vööbus, op. cit., i, p. 121.

⁸⁶ *Mo-ni kuang-fo chiao fa yi-lueh (Compendium)*, ms. lines 81-83, trans. Haloun-Henning, art. cit., pp. 195-96.

⁸⁷ *V. supra.*

the Uighur Kingdom rules had been instituted to maintain the distance between the various grades of the priesthood. At the Feast of the Bēma, two *xrōhxwān* were required to stand and bring food to the *Iwryani zmsatik* (priests of the highest rank ?) and only after the senior priests had been served could they sit down to eat their own meals (lines 51-53). Whoever wanted to approach the *mōzak* and *aftādān* had to present them with his food (lines 71-72). To maintain discipline, punishments were often invoked for failure to perform one's allotted duties. An *is ayyuci* who did not manage the monasteries' lands properly and failed to collect his rent efficiently would be punished by 300 strokes of the rod. But he would be rewarded if he discharged his duties satisfactorily (lines 97-99). Similarly if a person (?) named Yiymis⁸⁸ failed to attend to the sick priests properly, he would also be punished by 300 strokes of the rod and he would have to answer for his failure at an inquiry (lines 106-09). The same number of strokes awaited the cooks should the food for the priests prove to be badly cooked (line 119). These draconian measures together with a well-articulated hierarchy were no doubt designed to prevent the outbreak of *rixae creberrimae* which ruined the attempt to establish the hostel for Manichaeans in fifth-century Rome.

4. Conclusion

'Facite amicos de mammona iniquitatis ...' (Luke 16:9)

The new text from Chotcho attests incontrovertibly the active involvement of the Manichaean monasteries in the social and economic life of the Uighur Kingdom. Although the *is ayyuci* was responsible for the actual management of the lands and the provisioning of the monasteries, the extent of the accommodation between the ascetical ideals of the sect and its position of privilege is shown by the high position which the office of the *is ayyuci* enjoyed in the monastic hierarchy. The text says that, according to the regulations, a *xrōhxwān* may not approach the *mōzak* save in the company of an *is ayyuci* and *vice versa* and they should stand while informing the *mōzak* of their reasons for calling on him (lines 55-8).

Much more could be said about this new document but it would be prudent to do so only after a more secure text had been established. Though the document does not solve the perennial problem of the origins of Manichaean monasticism, it will undoubtedly contribute much to the history of its later development. It highlights, above all, the inherent dilemma of Manichaean asceticism which demanded the complete withdrawal of the Elect from mundane human existence. This means that they became totally reliant on their Hearers and lay-brothers for the provision of their daily sustenance. Thus the anonymous author of the *Fragmenta Tebestina*

⁸⁸ Keng, art. cit., p. 508 [Eng. p. 222, n. 108] translates *yiymis* as 'manager'.

was impelled to explain that the Pauline injunction that those who do not work may not eat (2 Thess. 3:10) did not apply to the Elect-members of the sect.⁸⁹ Since they were pilgrims and aliens in this world, the Electi needed the support of the community of the faithful (*sectarum*).⁹⁰ Using the words of Jesus in Luke 16:9 as a proof-text, the author urged the rich to make friends with the Electi as their wealth is temporal.⁹¹ However, in the case of the monasteries at Chotcho, wealth and prestige brought with it new responsibilities and obligations. In the new text we can see how some of the fundamental principles of Manichaean asceticism had to be relaxed or bypassed by the sect in adjusting itself to a position of privilege which it had not hitherto experienced.

⁸⁹ *Fragmenta Tebestina*, VI,1 (= col. 21), ed. cit., p. 247. The text is very fragmentary see Alfarcic, art. cit., 76-7 and Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu etc.*, 20-21.

⁹⁰ *Fragmenta Tebestina*, I,2 (= col. 4) 1-5, ed. cit. p. 237:] .t .cal[reant] sectaru(m) | [...]ris, quia pel[re]grini et alieni|[g]enae mundo sint. On the duties of the Hearer see also M135 (A ii R) 40-62, cf. W. B. Henning, "Sogdian Tales", *BSOAS* 11 (1946) 469-70.

⁹¹ *Fragmenta Tebestina*, I,2 (= col. 4) 6-18, ed. cit. p. 237: [i]d̄circoq(ue) iubet diluitib(us) – quos et ipsos | secundi ordinis | discipulos app̄e[1]|[a]ri praedixim[us] | [ut e]os sibi amicos | faciant quo.[] | se facultates ist[ae] | defecerint, | quas utiq(ue) isti[c] | relinquere nelcesse est, ad[ver]lus [...]

IV. A LAPSED MANICHAEAN'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH A CONFUCIAN OFFICIAL IN THE SUNG DYNASTY (1264)

A Study of the *Ch'ung-shou-kung chi* 崇壽宮記
of Huang Chen 黃震¹

The history of Manichaeism in the Southern Sung Dynasty of China (1126-1279) is the story of a persecuted sect's struggle for survival. Outlawed in 843 amidst a violent outbreak of xenophobia which affected all foreign religious groups in China, including the Buddhists, Manichaean priests were either expelled from China or driven underground. One of them fled from the capital cities in the north to the cosmopolitan sea-port of Ch'üan-chou 泉州 (the Zaitun of Marco Polo) in the south and spread the doctrine of "Two Principles" and "Three Moments" among the local population². Within a few decades, Manichaeism had joined the ranks of the secret religious societies in China alongside such splinter Buddhist groups as the White Cloud and the White Lotus. The shift of the centre of the sect's activity from north to south meant the complete severance of its contacts with Manichaean communities in Central Asia. Manichaeism in China henceforth developed along very independent lines.

In 1120 a dangerous rebellion under the leadership of Fang La 方臘 broke out in the province of Chekiang (Che-chiang 浙江) and a group of Manichaeans from the prefecture of T'ai 台 was alleged to have joined the rebel forces.³ Consequently, persecution against all religious societies was intensified and Manichaeans were singled out for exceptionally severe

¹ I am indebted to a number of people for ungrudging help in writing this paper: Professor Mou Jun-sun, my late father Mr. T. Y. Lieu, Dr. K. P. H. Ho, Dr I. McMorran and, above all, Professor Glen Dudbridge. A special word of thanks must be said to Professor P. R. L. Brown who has guided my research in Manichaeism in the Roman Empire. A number of changes, especially to the translations, have been made to the first published version (*BJRL* 59/2, 1977, 397-425) after discussion with Professor P. Van der Loon (Oxford) and my Macquarie colleague Dr. Lance Eccles. I am also grateful to Ms. Ida Pu for help with special word-processing.

² *Min-shu* 閩書 7.32a9, compiled by Ho Chiao-yüan 何喬遠, cited in P. Pelliot, "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-kien", *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923) 193-208.

³ Kao Yu-kung, "A Study of the Fang-La Rebellion", *HJAS* 24 (1962-3) 41-33. [Hereafter Kao Yu-kung, *Study*.]

punishments⁴. The chapters on criminal offices in the massive repository of Sung administrative documents, the *Sung hui-yao chi-kao* 宋會要輯稿⁵ are suffused with edicts and approved memorials against Manichaeism. This over-abundance of legal material as a source of the history of Manichaeism in Sung gives the unfortunate impression that Manichaeans in China were nothing more than an administrative inconvenience. It is hardly believable that a religion which had caused an intellectual upheaval in Europe in the Later Roman Empire and had driven some of her best minds like Augustine, Ephraim and Simplicius to compose refutations of it should have no impact on the intellectual scene of the Sung period. For this reason, Huang Chen's account of his correspondence with a lapsed Chinese Manichaean is a document of unique importance, as both the recipient and the sender were scholars of repute in their own time.

The relevance and importance of the *Ch'ung-shou-kung chi* 崇壽宮記 (*An Account of the Ch'ung-shou Taoist Temple*) to the study of Manichaeism in Sung China was first pointed out by Professor Mou Jun-sun 毛潤孫. In his pioneering study of Manichaeism in Sung China published in 1938,⁶ Professor Mou cited several passages from this essay to show the close resemblance of Manichaean places of worship to Taoist temples. The Japanese scholar Noritada Kubo used this document for a very similar purpose in his stimulating study of Taoist and Manichaean interaction in the Sung which published in 1961⁷. To the best of my knowledge, the *Ch'ung-shou-kung chi* has not been studied in its entirety and has not been translated into a European language. This neglect is unfortunate because we rarely have the opportunity to witness an amicable discussion between a Manichaean and another person who did not belong to his sect.⁸ The acts of disputations between Augustine and the various

⁴ *Ch'ing-ch'i k'ou-kuei* 青溪寇軌 (*Traces of the bandits of Ch'ing-ch'i*), 12a2-4, ed. by Fang Shao 方勺 (1614 edn.) in *Chin-hua ts'ung-shu*, tse 12. See Kao Yu-kung, "Source Material on the Fang La Rebellion", *HJAS* 26 (1966) 223. [Hereafter Kao Yu-kung, *Sources*.]

⁵ On the *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* as a source for the history of Manichaeism in China, see A. Forte, "Deux études sur le Manichéisme chinois", *T'oung Pao*, 59 (1972) 228-9.

⁶ "Sung-tai mo-ni-chiao 宋代摩尼教". (Manichaeism in the Sung Dynasty), *Fu-jen hsüeh-chih* 輔仁學記, 7, 1/2 (1938) 125-46. [Reprinted in *Sung-shi yen-chiu che* 宋史研究集, i (Taipei, 1958), 79-100.]

⁷ Noritada Kubo, "Sodai ni okeru dōkyō to manikyō" (Taoism and Manichaeism in the Sung Dynasty), in *Wada hakase koki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* (Tokyo, 1961) 361-71. [German translation by Dr. Renate Herold in H.-J. Klimkeit and H. Schmidt-Glinterz (edd.), *Japanische Studien zum östlichen Manichäismus*, Studies in Oriental Religions 17 (Wiesbaden, 1991) 113-18.]

⁸ For such rare occasions see P. R. L. Brown, "The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire", in *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (1972) 107, n. 1.

Manichaean leaders in North Africa depict their confrontations as trials rather than intellectual debates.⁹ The purpose of this study, therefore, is to rescue this document from oblivion by making the more important parts of it available in English and providing the translated excerpts with background studies to show the importance of their contents.

1. *Huang Chen as scholar and official*

Huang Chen 黃震, who recorded the correspondence, was a prolific writer although he was not a very original thinker. His fame rests on his valiant effort to uphold the teachings of his intellectual mentor Chu Hsi 朱熹, who was without doubt the most outstanding philosopher and teacher of the Sung period. However, Chu Hsi was not always popular with those in high places. He died in disgrace in 1200 and the eventual recovery of his reputation was largely due to the fanatical devotion of a small group of scholars, including men like Huang Chen, to his teachings. From 1313 onwards, Chu Hsi and Ch'eng I's 程頤 interpretations of the Confucian Classics were officially held as orthodox and formed the basis of imperial civil service examinations until 1905, when the examination system was abolished.

Huang Chen defended his spiritual master's teachings both in his writings and the way in which he conducted himself as an official. His most important work, the *Huang-shi jih-ch'ao* 黃氏日抄 (*The Daily Jottings of Master Huang*) is a collection of serious and ephemeral writings on various topics and commentaries on the Confucian Classics. The correctness and validity of Chu Hsi's philosophy was the common theme of Huang Chen's best known works. The biography of Huang Chen in the *Dynastic History of the Sung* (*Sung-shih* 宋史), written long after Chu Hsi had been reinstated as the foremost exponent of the Confucian school of philosophy, tells us that he defended his mentor's social and economic theories by putting them into practice. Chu Hsi was remembered for having devised a system of "communal loan granaries" (*she-ts'ang* 社倉) to combat famines. This operated on the principle that, in times of hardship, free corn doles would be distributed to the needy and, in times of plenty, those who had benefited by the corn doles would make regular contributions in grain to the granaries.¹⁰ When Huang heard that the system was breaking down in the sub-prefecture in which he was serving as an official as a result of

⁹ F. Decret, *Aspects du Manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine* (Paris, 1970) 39-89.

¹⁰ Cf. *Chung-wen ta-tzu tien* 中華大字典, xxiii (Taipei, 1969) 458-59 (10232-33) with relevant texts. On Chu Hsi's political career, see C. M. Shirokauer, "Chu Hsi's political career: a study in ambivalence", in A. F. Wright and D. C. Twitchett (edd.) *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford, 1962) 162-88, esp. 172.

bureaucratic inefficiency and local recalcitrance, he bought some land out of his own pocket and used the rent from it to alleviate those farmers who were burdened with excess repayment.¹¹ In short, his biography depicts him as a model Confucian official who, in turn, modelled himself on his mentor Chu Hsi.

Huang passed his civil service examination in 1256 and obtained the degree of *Chin-shih* 進士 which entitled him to a career in administration. Sometime after 1264 he was appointed to be an archivist in the imperial court and put in charge of the state papers of the years 1195-1264.¹² It was either shortly before or after he had taken up this new post in the temporary capital city of Hang-chou that he received a letter from a friend, Chang Hsi-sheng 張希聲, whom he had not seen for many years.

2. The first letter from the lapsed Manichaean Chang Hsi-sheng

Chang was living in a Taoist temple called Ch'ung-shou-kung 崇壽宮 near Ssu-ming 四明, south of the Yangtze estuary and not far from the modern city of Ningbo 寧波. Huang Chen knew the area well and was particularly impressed by its setting. It is on a small coastal plain by steep mountains which run from east to west. In Huang Chen's words, "Their peaks surge indefatigably skywards as if they were holding the sky in its place."¹³ Pitted with craggy cliffs and towering above the clouds and mists, these mountains give those who ascend them the feeling of "riding through the heavens on the axis of the earth"¹⁴. The plain supported a luxuriant vegetation. The smell of the plants coupled with the humid sea-air gave the place an exotic atmosphere.¹⁵ The temple itself was situated at the confluence of a river with its tributary. Hence it was well watered and wooded. Huang Chen believed that these special topographical features accounted for the unusual number of famous scholars who were associated with the temple. Huang Chen's grand uncle, Huang Chung-ch'ing 黃仲清, once a famous Taoist preacher who later became an equally well known Confucian scholar, lived in this temple for a while.¹⁶ Chang An-kuo 張安國, who was Chang Hsi-sheng's predecessor as supervisor of the temple, was famous for being a

¹¹ *Sung-shih* 438.12992, Chung-hua shu-chü edn. (Peking, 1974) On Huang Chen see also the article by T. Saeki in H. Franke (ed.) *Sung Biographies*, I, Münchener ostasiatische Studien, 16/1 (Wiesbaden, 1976) 445-47.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Huang-shih jih-ch'ao* (hereafter referred to as *HSJC*), Chin-ting shih-fu chüan-shu edition, 86.7a6.

¹⁴ *HSJC*, 86.7b1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 86.7b2-3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 86.7b4-5 and 95.1a4-1b5.

recluse and a scholar. Chang Hsi-sheng himself had an alert mind and his writing possessed both clarity and style.¹⁷

The two scholars had not seen each other for nearly twenty years. As far as Huang Chen could remember, Chang had both ambition and purpose but was not the type of person who would necessarily expend his talents in seeking remunerative office. This recollection may well explain why he became involved with a Taoist temple. Scholars in the Sung often used the office of the resident superintendent of a temple as a sinecure while they continued with their scholarly pursuits. Chu Hsi, for example, was off-and-on a guardian of some temple or monastery, making use of the peace such a post afforded to study, write and talk with the most important scholars of the day.¹⁸ The temple which came under Chang's care was almost three hundred years old. Having decided to make it his permanent home, he set about making it more habitable. When the refurbishing was almost complete, he wrote an extraordinary letter to Huang Chen who has preserved a substantial portion of it in his account of the ensuing correspondence:

- 4a2 且曰吾非求以記吾勤也記吾居之所自始也吾之居
日廣而吾之所自始日狹非所以篤既往昭方來也吾
師老子之入西城也當化為摩尼佛其法於戒行尤嚴
5 日惟一食齋居不出戶不但如今世清淨之云吾所居
初名道院正以奉摩尼香火以其本老子也紹興元年
十一月冲素太師陳立正始請今 賜額嘉定四年
4b1 九月住持道士張悟真始建今三清殿獄祠建於端平
之乙未法堂建於淳祐之壬子藏殿建於寶祐之乙卯
而山門建於景定之癸亥興夫建丈室以集簪佩建筋
齋以列琴書下至庖湑色色粗備則又皆吾銖積以成
未當以千人故雖工役之繁貲費之多皆所不必記獨
5 念新之增者舊之忘身之舒者心之肆摩尼之法之嚴
雖久已莫能行而其法尚存庶幾記之以自警且以警
後之人也

He also said: <In asking you to make a record of the additions which I have made to the temple> I am not asking you to note how hard I have worked. Instead, I would like you to record specially the purpose for which the temple was built. As my dwelling place is becoming more palatial, my beginnings have become less distinct.¹⁹ <This tale> is not one which can be used as an example of the past for the enlightenment of the future. When my teacher

¹⁷ Ibid. 86.7b6-7.

¹⁸ Wing Tsit-chan, ed., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (New Jersey, 1963) 588, n. 1.

¹⁹ A difficult phrase to translate. The author seems to be comparing his own religious observance with the purpose for which the temple was founded. As Ch'ung-shou-kung became less like a Manichaean temple so his devotion also wandered away from its starting point.

Lao-tzu²⁰ went to the region of the West, he became Mani-Buddha.²¹ His rules of self-discipline are particularly strict. The followers of the sect are only allowed to eat one meal a day. On fast days, they are not allowed to be out-of-doors. His rules are certainly stricter than what would nowadays pass for the rules of purity and tranquillity.

My dwelling place was called a Taoist temple from the moment it was built because it was used for the worship of Mani, who was originally Lao-tzu. In the eleventh month of the first year of Shao-hsing [22 Nov. -21 Dec. 1131], Ch'en Li-cheng, who held the office of Ch'ung-su t'ai-shih [The Grand Master of the Essence of Profusion], applied for the grant of the present title. It was not until the ninth month of the fourth year of Chia-ting [9 Oct.-6 Nov. 1211], that the priest in charge, Chang Wu-chen, built the San-ch'ing-t'ien [The Hall of the Three Purities]. The cave shrine was built in the second year of Tuan-p'ing [21 Jan. 1235-28 1235-28 Jan. 1236]. The Hall of the Dharma was built in the twelfth year of Ch'un-yu [12 Feb.-30 Dec.1252]. The Hall of the Scriptures was built in the third year of Pao-yu [9 Feb. 1255-28 Jan. 1256]. The outer gate was completed in the fourth year of Ching-ting [10 Feb. 1263-20 Jan. 1264]. As for the building of the small room, which is used for storing valuable ornaments, and of the study on a barge,²² which is lined with books and musical instruments, as well as the kitchen and bath-house, which are sparsely furnished, I have provided for them out of my own savings. Hence there is no need to record how many people have laboured <on the extension work> or how much money has been spent on it as I have not relied on anyone else's help. But mark this: one can only add the new at the expense of the old. A greater degree of physical comfort also means more chance for the heart to grow lax. The strictness of Mani's rule is such that, although I have not practised it for a long time, it is still alive in my mind. Therefore, I shall be grateful if you would make a record of my story as a warning to yourself and to posterity.²³

3. Taoist and Manichaean Monasticism

Manichaean monasticism was a predominantly Central Asian and Chinese phenomenon. In the West, Manichaeism was a missionary religion par excellence. The early proscription of the sect meant that its priests could not stay long in a populous area for fear of being detected by the watchful eye of the church and of the government officials. Manichaean preachers like Julia,

²⁰ Lao-tzu is generally regarded as the founder of Taoism.

²¹ The technical term for the descent and rebirth of a deity in Buddhism is *avatāra*, or, in its more common Anglicised form, *avatar*.

²² The term "fang-chai 舫齋" which is translated as 'a study on a barge' here, is not, as Noritada Kubo has understood, a hall for eating vegetarian meals. (See Noritada Kubo, op. cit. p. 367 [Germ. trans., p. 123: 'Gesetzeshalle']. Chu Hsi has written a poem on the joys of escaping from the world by seeking refuge in one of these study-boats (*Hui-an hsien-sheng Chu Wen-kung wen-chi* 晦菴先生朱文公文集 (*The Collected Works of Chu Hsi*), SPTK edition, 3.7a4-5.

²³ *HSJC* 86.8a1-8b7.

who disputed with Porphyrius, the Bishop of Gaza,²⁴ and Felix, who disputed with Augustine,²⁵ operated on their own. The Manichaean *conventus* (cells) which they established in centres of population were highly elusive and mobile. From the laws directed against them, we learn that Manichaeans met in ordinary houses which they turned into temporary churches by displaying certain motifs and probably their scriptures.²⁶ They used uninhabited houses with or without the owners' permission.²⁷ The large number of empty houses in North African cities which were declared *caducus* (i.e. unowned) property as a result of imperial confiscation,²⁸ no doubt offered ideal shelter for such groups. Like other heretical groups, Manichaeans might have even occasionally taken over church buildings.²⁹ In this they were at a disadvantage compared to the other sects because Manichaeism was not a schismatic group like the Arians or Donatists, whose clergy, in withdrawing themselves from the Catholic Church, would have taken their churches and congregations with them.

The Church of the Paraclete took the form of a dyarchy of priests and laymen in the West. Mani claimed to be the Apostle of Christ, but he was not known to have delegated his apostolic powers to any of his disciples. His books were the key to salvation. Hence, the Manichaeans did not share the view with the Christians that the church should be an institution. Augustine gave a short account of an attempt by a rich Manichaean *auditor* to provide some sort of a permanent base for the peripatetic Manichaean priests in Rome in his writings.³⁰ As many of the Electi as there were in Rome were collected in his house. The rule of life in the epistle of Mani was laid before them.³¹ Many thought it intolerable and left. They were obviously not accustomed to this kind of taking orders from above. Those

²⁴ Marc le Diacre, *Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza*, edd. H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener (Paris, 1930) 85,16-19.

²⁵ Decret, op. cit., pp. 71-89.

²⁶ *Codex Theodosianus* [hereafter CT], edd. T. Mommsen and P. Meyer (Berlin, 1954), XVI,5,3 (A. D. 372) (= A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus* (Berlin, 1969) [Hereafter Adam, *Texte*] 84, no. 57) and XVI,5,11 (A.D. 383).

²⁷ CT XVI,5,40 (A.D. 407).

²⁸ On empty buildings in Roman North Africa, see R. MacMullen, "Imperial Bureaucrats in the Roman Provinces", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 68 (1964) 310.

²⁹ CT XVI,5,65 (A.D. 428).

³⁰ Augustine, *De moribus Manichaeorum* XX (74), ed. J. B. Bauer, CSEL 90 (Vienna, 1992) 154-56.

³¹ Ibid. p. 155,7-9: "Proposita est uiuendi regula de Manichaei epistola, multis intolerabile uisum est, abscesserunt, remanserunt tamen pudore non pauci."

who stayed did not remain there long, as they could not live in harmony with each other since they were not used to community living.³²

In Central Asia, Manichaeism came under the influence of Buddhism whose chief means of diffusion was the monastery. In a Manichaean prayer book discovered in Chinese Turkestan, we find that the so-called Eastern Ecclesiastical Province of the Manichaean church consisted of dioceses, monasteries and conventicles.³³ After Manichaeism had become the religion of the Uighur Turks in 762, Manichaeism enjoyed the status of a *religio licita* in China for a century because the T'ang government relied heavily on the military prowess of the Uighurs to fight foreign wars and put down rebellions. While the toleration lasted, Manichaeans built temples in the capital cities as well as the strategic town of T'ai-yüan 太原 and four other prefectures in southern China.³⁴

By permitting Manichaeans to build temples, the Chinese government no doubt felt that the religion would be confined within four walls, as Manichaean temples would quickly become centres of expatriate Uighurs and set themselves apart from the indigenous population. However, Manichaean temples differed from Buddhist monasteries in one very important respect. Manichaean temples did not provide living quarters for their priests. According to the *Mo-ni kuang-fu chiao-fa yi-lu* 摩尼光佛教法議略 (*Compendium of Doctrine and Styles of Mani, the Buddha of Light*) - an introductory handbook to Manichaeism in Chinese - a Manichaean temple should comprise five distinct parts: a hall for the sacred books and images, a hall for fasting and preaching, a hall for worship and confession, a hall for teaching and a sick bay.³⁵ As Chavannes and Pelliot have rightly pointed out, there was no provision for the priests or Electi to live in the temple unless they were sick.³⁶ As Manichaean priests often acted as advisers to the Khaghan of the Uighurs and his representatives, they probably took shelter in nearby Uighur diplomatic or commercial compounds.

Manichaean priest had to be provided for by the auditors as they were not allowed to procure and prepare their own food. The *Compendium* describes how the Electi should live their mendicant life:

³² Ibid. p. 155,12-13: "Interea rixae inter electos oriebantur creberrimae, ..." The person who was responsible for gathering these Manichaean priests together in Rome later became a Christian. See Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, V,5, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 25/1, p. 277,21-22.

³³ W. B. Henning, "Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch", APAW 10 (1936), 26.

³⁴ E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, deuxième partie, Fragment Pelliot et textes historiques", *Journal Asiatique*, 11^e ser., 1 (1913) 267-81 and p. 284. [Hereafter *Traité* 1913.]

³⁵ *Compendium*, ms. lines 84-86. French translation in *Traité* 1913, pp. 108-10.

³⁶ *Traité* 1913, p. 110, n. 1.

- (87) 右置五堂法眾共居精修善業不得別立
 (88) 私室廚庫每日齋食儼然待施若無施
 (89) 者乞丐以充唯使聽人勿畜奴婢及六畜
 (90) 等非法之具

In the five rooms set up as above, the assembly of monks lives in common, zealously practising good works. They [the monks] are only to eat light meals without meat. They should expect alms with dignity. If no one bestows alms on them, they should go and beg for their needs. They should be served only by *auditores* and they must not possess male or female slaves or servants or domestic animals or other objects forbidden by the religion.³⁷

A complicated network of *auditores* (Hearers) therefore existed to look after the needs of the Electi in terms of providing food and shelter. This increased contact between the priests and the laity undoubtedly helped the religion to spread and to adapt itself to the social and cultural conditions of China. It also meant that the closing of the Manichaean temples in 843 was not the end of Manichaeism in China, whereas the closing of the Nestorian places of assembly two years later led to the virtual disappearance of the religion until the conquest of China by the Mongols.³⁸ The Nestorian monk from Najran who had gone on a special journey in 980 to inquire into the fate of the Nestorian Church in China reported that in the whole of China he had met with one Christian.³⁹

Manichaeans were not permitted to possess their own temples in the Sung period, nor were the adherents of unorthodox Buddhist teachings, like those of the White Cloud and White Lotus sects. The most common way to bypass the regulation was to register the temples of heretical sects which were built by local patrons or energetic priests as Taoist temples. The Sung government was well disposed towards Taoism and more liberal in granting licences to Taoist than Buddhist temples.⁴⁰ Taoism is an eclectic religion and is accustomed to assimilating new ideas. Moreover, the Taoist sect did not have a highly organized and well-articulated hierarchy of priests to enforce orthodoxy. The late Sung period was the golden age of Buddhist historical writing and the Buddhist chroniclers were uniformly hostile to Manichaeans as well as the heterodox fringe of Buddhism. In 1202 a

³⁷ *Compendium*, ms. lines 87-89, cf. *Traité* 1913, pp. 110-13.

³⁸ Luo Hsiang-lin 羅香林, *T'ang-yüan erh-tai chih Ching-chiao* 唐元二代之景教 (*Nestorianism in the T'ang and Yüan Dynasties*) (Hong Kong, 1966) 175. See also the important study by Chen Yüan, *Western and Central Asians in China under the Mongols*, ed. and trans. Ch'ien Hsing-hai and L. Carrington Goodrich, *Monumenta Serica Monograph 15* (Los Angeles, 1966) 41-57.

³⁹ Cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, ii (Paris, 1963), 727.

⁴⁰ Cf. J. K. Shryock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius* (New York, 1936) 153-54.

Buddhist temple of the White Cloud sect applied for official recognition under the guise of Taoism. This was refused because the real nature of this temple was pointed out to the Emperor by an official who was either a Confucian or an orthodox Buddhist. The temple was charged with encouraging the masses to "vegetarianism and devil worship" (*ch'ih-ts'ai shih-mo* 喫菜事魔), a term which was frequently used to deprecate Manichaeans in the Sung. The temple was dismantled and its abbot exiled.⁴¹

It is truly remarkable that Ch'ung-shou-kung received its licence a mere ten years after the outbreak of the Fang La Rebellion. At the height of the rebellion in 1120, many small groups joined the ranks of the rebels. Among them was a group of Manichaeans from the prefecture of T'ai, which was not far from Ssu-ming.⁴² This led to widespread proscription and persecution against popular religious groups throughout the south of China. Unlicensed vegetarian eating places where Manichaeans met were obvious targets and many of them were dismantled.⁴³ According to the local gazetteer of Ssu-ming, Ch'ung-shou-kung was in the process of applying for a licence in the midst of the most severe persecution against Manichaeism under the Southern Sung Dynasty.⁴⁴ The temple was probably saved from destruction by its respectability and its geographical isolation. A Taoist temple was normally called a *kuan* 觀, but Ch'ung-shou temple had the prestigious title of *kung* 宮 - a term which was used to signify important Taoist temples after A.D. 988. From Chang Hsi-sheng's description of its layout, Ch'ung-shou-kung was a very impressive place and bore little resemblance to the privately built and unlicensed vegetarian eating places which the government associated with seditious and riotous gatherings.

The history of the temple shows that Manichaeism in Sung China embraced all classes of the population, like Buddhism and Taoism. It possessed temples which ranged from the austere, like Ch'ung-shou-kung, to the popular, like the ones prohibited by the edicts. The priests at Ch'ung-shou-kung obviously devoted themselves more to the intellectual and historical aspects of Manichaeism and less to the more popular manifestations of the religion, such as exorcism and healing. The temple had a high reputation for its association with men of learning. As Huang has

⁴¹ *Shih-men cheng-t'ung* 釋門正統, ed. Chung-chien 宗鑑, in *Hsü Tsang-ching* 續藏經, second ser., vol. 3/5, p. 413Aa9-413Ba12. See also P. Pelliot, "La secte du Nuage Blanc", *Bulletin de l'école Française d'Extrême Orient* iii (1903) 304-17.

⁴² Kao Yu-kung, *Study*, p. 33ff.

⁴³ *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* (hereafter referred to as *SHYCK*), ts'e 165, ch. 21778 (= *hsing-fa* 刑法 2).19b10-11 (Edict of 1120). See Forte, art. cit., pp. 252-3. On vegetarian eating-places see M. Topley, "The Great Way of Former Heaven - a group of Chinese Secret Religious Sects", *BSOAS* 26 (1963) 362-92.

⁴⁴ *Pao-ch'ing Ssu-ming chih* 寶慶四明志 15.2. Cited in Mou Jun-sun, op. cit., p. 142 [96].

pointed out, his grand uncle, Huang Chung-ch'ing, was in charge of the temple for a while. He was one of the most famous Taoist teachers of his time, and Huang says that thousands of people from all over the province would flock to hear him preach.⁴⁵ He was a poet of repute and after he had renounced Taoism he became an equally famous Confucian teacher. He personally burnt down a temple devoted to demon-worship in the vicinity of his retirement home as evidence of his zeal. He was Huang Chen's intellectual mentor and Huang Chen felt so indebted to him that he would take the trouble to visit his tomb, which after 1126 lay within territories conquered by the Juchens, and he composed a moving panegyric to commemorate such an occasion.⁴⁶

Taoist monasticism owed its inspiration to Buddhism. Most Chinese Taoist monasteries shared many common features with Buddhist monasteries. Therefore, it was easy to adapt the requirements of a Manichaean monastery, laid down in the *Compendium* along Buddhist lines, to fit the specifications of a Taoist temple. Moreover, in order to have a Manichaean monastery registered as Taoist in the Sung, it was imperative to make its outward appearance as Taoist as possible.⁴⁷ One of the halls of Ch'ung Shou-kung was named the Hall of the Three Purities (三清殿 *San-ch'ing-tien*). The Three Purities are the three pure palaces inhabited by three classes of gods when the mortal world is destroyed forty million years after its inception.⁴⁸ The title of one of the priests of Ch'ung-shou-kung, the Grand Master of the Essence of Profusion (*Ch'ung-su t'ai-shih* 冲素太師), reminds one of Lao-tzu's 老子 teaching on the universe in the *Tao-te-ching* 道德經 – the most important of all Taoist scriptures.⁴⁹

Despite its outward resemblance to Taoism, Manichaeism in the Sung was characterized by its mendicant principles. Ch'ung-shou-kung, prior to the addition of the new rooms, probably did not provide living quarters for the priests. The elaborate cell-structure of the sect, which existed to cater for the needs of the Electi, caught the eye of a Confucian official who says in a treatise.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ HSJC 95.1a7-8.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 95.1a5-1b6.

⁴⁷ Noritada Kubo (op. cit. pp. 361-2 and 367-70) has exaggerated the power which Taoism as a system could wield in the Taoicization of Manichaeism and overlooked the sheer political exigency of registering a Manichaean temple under the guise of Taoism.

⁴⁸ H, Maspero, *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine, II: La Taoisme* (Paris, 1950) 147.

⁴⁹ *Tao-te-ching* 45, ed. Wang Pi, Chung-hwa shu-chueh edition, p. 26, reprinted as appendix to *Konkordanz zum Lao-tzu* (Munich, 1968).

⁵⁰ *Ch'ing-ch'i k'ou-kuei* 12a4-7. English translation in Kao Yu-kung, *Sources*, p. 223.

凡出入經過不必相識黨人皆館穀焉凡物用
 12a6 之無間謂為一家故有無礙披之說以是
 誘惑其眾

Whenever one of the believers goes to or passes through another place, anyone of his sect, not necessarily an acquaintance, will provide board and room for him. Everything is used communally, and they call themselves one family. Therefore, they have the slogan, "nothing heavy to carry"⁵¹ to attract the masses.

This type of mendicancy and communal living was obviously too strenuous for Chang Hsi-sheng, who was trying to find in Manichaeism a way of continuing his scholarly activities instead of becoming an official. He did try to keep to its strict standards but then he yearned for a return to learning. After he had become the superior of the monastery there was little to stop him from converting part of the temple into his own home. According to Huang Chen, Ch'ung-shou-kung, almost three hundred years old at the time of writing, was showing signs of disrepair.⁵² The fierce persecutions might have reduced the number of priests who were associated with the temple. This continuous decline caused a dispirited Chang Hsi-sheng to take to his books although he felt very guilty about it.

Less than thirty years after Chang Hsi-sheng had written to Huang Chen, Marco Polo and his uncle Maffeo came across a group of Manichaeans in Ch'üan-chou 泉州 (Zaitun). They found that the Manichaeans had received very little instructions from their teachers and the Venetian travellers were able to persuade them to believe that they were Christians.⁵³ A Manichaean temple which was built in the fourteenth century, and is still standing on Hua-piao 華表 hill in Ch'üan-chou, could have provided living quarters for one or two monks and/or nuns. By residing on the premises of their temples, Manichaean priests were no longer in constant touch with the laymen and Manichaeism changed from an invading to an inviting force. About the same time we find a much admired Confucian scholar turning to

⁵¹ A variant reading gives 無礙彼 "nothing comes between one another". This is a difficult phrase. Kao Yu-kung, op. cit., p. 223, reads 無礙被 and renders it as "an all-covering blanket". W. Bauer, *China und die Hoffnung auf Glück* (Munich, 1971) 312 has emended the text to give "Ungehindersteins" by leaving out the last character of the phrase.

⁵² H_SJC 86.7b6-7.

⁵³ Marco Polo, *Description of the World*, edd. A.C. Moule and P. Pelliot, ii (London, 1938) p. liv: set multo tempore sine doctrina duerant quare principalia ignorabant tamen istud tenemus a predecessoribus nostris videlicet quod secundum libros nostros celebramus... . On this passage see the excellent study by Olschki, "Manichaeism, Buddhism and Christianity in Marco Polo's China", *Zeitschrift der schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde* 5, 1/2 (1951) 1-21.

Manichaeism for the facilities it could provide him as a hermit.⁵⁴ The evangelical zeal of the religion had been spent. The Manichaean shrine fulfilled the same functions as any other Buddhist or Taoist temple in providing the faithful with a place of prayer and intercession and the occasional opportunity for good works, such as the provision of a new statue of Mani the Buddha of Light in the shrine of Hua-piao hill.⁵⁵

4. *The second and third letters from Chang Hsi-sheng*

Huang Chen was understandably bewildered to find a fellow Confucian scholar living in a Taoist temple which was devoted to the worship of a Buddha of Light. "As these are the words of a learned man", he wrote, "there is no reason to doubt them. However, as a Confucian, I find that I am as irreconcilable to Buddhism and Taoism as ice to charcoal. Furthermore, Buddhism and Taoism are equally irreconcilable to each other. Now he is saying that Lao-tzu is a Buddha and is asking me, a Confucian scholar, to record his story. How can one reconcile the differences and what historical evidence is there of his religion?"⁵⁶ Thereupon, he wrote a letter to Chang demanding an answer to his questions.

The reply came swiftly and in it Chang Shi-sheng paraded an impressive array of references to Manichaeism from the writings of the three major religions of China:

- 2a5 則報曰吾說豈無據者老子化胡經明言我乘自然光
 明道氣飛入西那玉界降為太子捨家入道號末摩尼
 說戒律定惠等法則道經之據如此釋氏古法華經卷
 之八九正興化胡經所載佛法廣大何所不通而限
 於叮哇者始或秘之不以出白樂天晚年酷嗜內典至
 其題摩尼經亦有五佛繼光明之句是必有得於貫通
 之素者矣則釋氏據如此唐憲宗元和元年十一月
 b1 回鶻入貢始以摩尼偕來置寺處之其事載於溫公之
 通鑑述於晦翁之綱目則儒書之據又如此余既審之

⁵⁴ *Chu-hsi-lou chi* 竹西樓記 in *Pu-hsi-chou-yü chi* 不繫舟漁集 by Ch'en Kao 陳高, 12.15a10-16a5. See Appendix to this study for a translation of the essay.

⁵⁵ On the Manichaean shrine on Hua-p'iao hill see Wu Wen-liang 吳文良, *Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-ko* 泉州宗教石刻 (*Religious inscriptions of stone of the prefecture Ch'üan*) (Peking, 1957) 44-47. The inscription on the donation of the statue of Mani is given on p. 44. L. Carrington Goodrich, "Recent Discoveries at Zaitun", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 77 (1957) 164 gives an incorrect translation. See the more accurate version in K. Enoki, "Nestorian Christianity in China in medieval time according to recent historical and archaeological researches", in *L'Oriente Cristiano* (Accademia dei Lincei, anno 361, quaderno 62, Rome, 1964) 64. [See also below pp. 189-91.]

⁵⁶ *HSJC* 86.8b7-9a2.

5. Manichaeism and Taoist Scriptures

The Sūtra on the Conversion of Barbarians (Hua-hu-ching 化胡經), from which Chang quoted his reference to Lao-tzu's prediction of his journey to the West and his birth as Mani, was one of the most proscribed books in the history of sectarian persecutions in China. It originated from a desire to discredit Buddhism by showing that Buddha was an *avatar* (manifestation) of Lao-tzu 老子 and was therefore not unique.⁵⁹ There existed an ancient belief that Lao-tzu never died but went West. This was the springboard for the propagation of the myth that he went to India and converted a Barbarian king to his teaching and came to be regarded as a Buddha. This theory was used in debates between Buddhists and Taoists as early as the second century A.D. In the fourth century a Taoist scholar by the name of Wang Fu 王浮 put flesh and bones to the theory by incorporating details of foreign countries drawn from travel accounts into the existing tales of Lao-tzu's mythical visits to the West. Wang's work was an instant success and became an important weapon in the hands of Taoists.

The Buddhists sought to have this insidious work banned whenever they were in a position to procure the necessary governmental support. No complete version of this work has come down to us but it is fortunate for the study of Manichaeism in China that Pelliot brought back from Dunhuang 敦煌 in the early part of this century fragments of the first and tenth book of the *Hua-hu-ching*.⁶⁰ Towards the end of the fragment of the first book is Lao-tzu's prediction of his journey to Su-lin 蘇鄰 (i.e. northern Syria) where he would become Mani. This particular manifestation of Lao-tzu could not have been the work of Wang Fu in the fourth century as Manichaeism was not known in China then. In fact, the fragments from Dunhuang show many traces of later hands at work. The transliteration of foreign place names, for example, followed that of a popular account of the western regions written by the famous Buddhist monk-traveller Hsuan-tsang which was not completed before 645.⁶¹ The *Hua-hu-ching* was proscribed in 668 and again in 705. Although the ban did not last long on both occasions, it was not unlikely that certain Taoist priests who were deprived of their copies of the *sūtra* had to compile a new version of it from memory and

⁵⁹ The best discussion of the "Hua-hu" theory and how it was used in religious controversies remains E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, i (text only) (Leiden, 1959) 288-320.

⁶⁰ P. Pelliot, "Le Mo-ni et le Houa-hou-king", *BEFEO* 3 (1903), 318-27 and *Traité* 1913, 116-32.

⁶¹ On the use of foreign place-names see P. Pelliot's review of E. Chavannes, "Les Pays d'Occident d'après les Wei-liu", in *BEFEO* 6 (1906) 377-8.

from whatever part of it which had survived the proscription.⁶² As Manichaeism was important in China at that time because of the allegiance of the Uighurs to it, the myth of the conversion of the Barbarians was extended to include Mani.

It was unlikely that the Manichaeans themselves forged this link between Lao-tzu and Mani. In the account of Lao-tzu's transformation into Mani, the emphasis was on Lao-tzu and not Mani. The account concludes with a Taoist and not Manichaean eschatology:

- 摩尼之後年垂五九金氣將
- 25 興我法當盛西方聖象衣彩自然來入中洲
是效也當此之時黃白氣合三教混齊同歸
於我仁祠精舍椽棟連薨翻演後聖大明尊
法中洲道士廣說因緣為世舟航大弘法
事動植含氣普皆救度是名總攝一切法
門

Five times nine(ty) years (i.e. 450 years) after Mani, the metallic vapour (or vital force) will rise and my teaching will prosper. As a sign, holy images of Mani will come spontaneously from the Western Regions to the Middle Continent (i.e. China). This will be a sign of realisation. The two vapours, yellow and white, will coalesce and the Three Schools⁶³ will be united together and return to me. The temples of benevolence and the places of cultivation [will be so numerous] that they will join their beams and link their rafters. The bright and venerable law of the Later Sage will be translated and interpreted. The Taoist masters of the Middle Continent will extensively explain the doctrine of cause and effect (*hetupratyaya*). They will be the ships of the world and enlarge the scope of the service of the law. All that moves, grows or has life will be saved. This is known as the total absorption of all schools.⁶⁴

While the Buddhists were indignant that Buddha should be surpassed by Lao-tzu, the Manichaeans seemed happy to see the founder of their faith being granted honorary Chinese citizenship. This was used in Manichaean writings to show the religion's connection with China before the end of the eleventh century, as the *Compendium*, which was placed in the caves of Tun-huang before the twelfth century, contains a reference to it. Since the

⁶² Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, "Mo-ni-ch'iao ju Chung-kuo kao 摩尼教入中國考" (The Diffusion of Manichaeism in China), *Kuo-hsueh chi-kan* 國學季刊 1/2 (Peking, 1923) 216.

⁶³ The term "three religions" normally implies Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Ch'en Yüan (op. cit. p. 216) has suggested that in this context it may mean Taoism, Buddhism and Manichaeism.

⁶⁴ *Lao-tzu Hua-hu-ching*, T 2139.1267b24-1276c1 (Vol. 54). This is an extremely difficult passage to translate. Readers are advised to compare my translation with that of Chavannes and Pelliot in *Traité* 1913, 120-6, which is also accompanied by detailed notes.

main body of the text of the *Compendium* contains a birth story of Mani which was related in the Buddhist manner, the reference to the birth story in the *Hua-hu-ching* was a clear interpolation. The *Compendium* itself was originally written in a Central Asian language, either Parthian or Sogdian, therefore it is most unlikely that it would have contained something as peculiarly Chinese as the *avatar* of Lao-tzu.⁶⁵ The Manichaeans greatly treasured this reference to Mani in the *Hua-hu-ching*. They referred to it frequently in defence of their doctrines and became more ardent than the Taoists in preserving it from the flames to which it was regularly consigned.

The Emperor Chen-tsung 真宗 of the Sung Dynasty (reigned 998-1022) patronized both Buddhism and Taoism. He initiated the compilation of a canon of Taoist scriptures to match the Buddhist canon, which by the eleventh century contained over two thousand titles. Taoist works like the *Hua-hu-ching* which might give offence to Buddhists were not to be included. However, Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若, a favourite minister of the Emperor and in charge of the compilation, said that an exception should be made of the *Hua-hu-ching* because of its intrinsic importance. He sent an official by the name of Chang Chün-fang 張君房, to supervise the actual collecting of the scriptures.⁶⁶ Chang later wrote in the introductory handbook to the Taoist Canon, the *Yün-chi ts'i-ch'ien* 雲笈七籤, that in 1016 he went to the provinces on the south coast and collected thousands of volumes which belonged to local Taoist libraries. In Fukien, the heartland of Manichaeism, he incorporated into the Taoist Canon scriptures of Mani, the Messenger of Light.⁶⁷

We learn from a Buddhist source that at least two Manichaean scriptures were taken into the Taoist Canon, the *Hua-hu-ching* and the *Erh-tsung-ching* 二宗經 (*Sūtra of the Two Principles*).⁶⁸ However we have no means of verifying Chang Hsi-sheng's claim that Manichaean scriptures were accepted not only in 1016 but on later visits by the commissioners. The *Heng-chien-chi* 衡鑑集 from which he cited the reference is no longer extant. The Taoist

⁶⁵ G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light", *Asia Major*, N. S., 3/2 (1952) 192, n. 40.

⁶⁶ Liu Ts'un-yan, "The Compilation and Historical Value of the *Tao-tsang*", in *Essays on the Sources from Chinese History*, eds. D. Leslie et al. (Canberra, 1973).

⁶⁷ *Yün-chi ts'i-ch'ien*, SPTK edition, preface, 1a6-2a3. Cf. *Traité* 1913, 326-27. See also Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō keitan shiron* (*Historical Studies on the Taoist Scriptures*) (Tokyo, 1955) 148, and Shigematsu Shunsho, "Tō-Sō-jidai no Manikyō to Makyō to mondai (Problems of Manichaeism and other heretical sects in the T'ang and Sung Dynasties)", *Shien* 12 (1936) 108 [German trans. in Klimkeit-Schmidt-Glintzer (edd.), op. cit., p. 88.].

⁶⁸ *Fu-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛祖統記 48, T 2039.431a23-27 (Vol. 49).

Canon was almost completely destroyed by the Mongol emperors of the subsequent Yüan Dynasty. It was reconstituted on a much smaller scale in the fifteenth century. Taoist texts dealing with sexual practices were excluded from it.⁶⁹ This puritanical outlook reflected the dominant Confucianist influence in the Ming court. Moreover, the founding emperor of the dynasty personally disliked Manichaeism.⁷⁰ Modern editions of the Taoist Canon do not contain Manichaean writings.

The inclusion of a work in the Taoist Canon was a seal of approval by the government of the Orthodoxy of its contents. It would be safe from proscription, as edicts which were directed against heretical books usually affected only "uncanonical works".⁷¹ Local officials who knew the connection of this work with Manichaeans were less respectful to the elevated status of the Manichaean scriptures in the Canon. We know of a rich man in the prefecture of T'ai being imprisoned for possessing the *Erh-tsung-ching* sometime between 1115 and the outbreak of the Fang La rebellion in 1120.⁷² At the height of the rebellion in 1121, an edict reminded the local officials that the *Erh-tsung-ching* should not be counted among the books which should be burnt.⁷³ This special mention typifies the ambiguous status of this well known Manichaean scripture.

6. Manichaeism and Buddhist writings

The Buddhists were outspoken critics of Manichaeism in the Sung. Hence it was difficult for Chang Hsi-sheng to find favourable references to Manichaeism in Buddhist works. He mentioned in passing that in either the eighth or the ninth chapter of the *Fa-hua-ching* (*The Lotus Sūtra*) one can also find the story of Lao-tzu's transformation into Mani. *The Sūtra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law*, or *Saddharma Pundarīka Sūtra*, translated by Kumarajiva, was the most important and most commonly read of the sutras in Mahayana Buddhism.⁷⁴ There are many Chinese translations of this work.⁷⁵ However, none of the versions published in the *Taishō shinshū*

⁶⁹ W. Eichhorn, *Die Religionen Chinas* (Stuttgart, 1973) 339.

⁷⁰ *Min-shu*, 7.32b3-4, cited in Pelliot, op. cit., p. 206. On the persecution of Manichaeism in the Ming Dynasty see the celebrated study by Wu Han, 吳晗 "Ming-chiao yü Ta-Ming ti-kuo 明教與大明帝國" ("Manichaeism and the Great Ming Empire") *Ching-hua hsieh-pao* 清華學報, 13 (1941) 49-85. [Reprinted in *Tu-shih cha-chi* 讀史劄記 (Peking, 1956) 235-70.]

⁷¹ SHYCK, fasc. 165, *hsing-fa* 2.4b1 (edict of 1114).

⁷² *Pen-chou wen-chi* 盤州文集 by Hung Kuo 洪适 SPTK edition, 74.1a9-1b4.

⁷³ SHYCK, ts'e 165, *hsing-fa* 2.14a9-14b6 (edict of 1121).

⁷⁴ There is an English translation of this work by W. E. Soothill entitled, *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law* (1930).

⁷⁵ For the various versions see "Tables du Taishō Issaikyō", edited by P. Deméville, in *Hōbōgirin*, fascicule annexe (Tokyo, 1931) 16.

daizōkyō has in its eighth and ninth books anything which reminds one of the *Hua-hu* passage.⁷⁶ The published concordances to the sutra do not list any of the key terms used in that passage. As the Buddhists hated the *Hua-hu-ching* above all Taoist scriptures, it was most unlikely that they would refer to it or borrow any of its key terms in translating their most important *sūtra*.

The Manichaeans in the Sung were frequently accused by their Buddhist and Confucian opponents of pressing the Buddhist scriptures to support Manichaean doctrines.⁷⁷ One Confucian official noted that they took from the *Chin-kang-ching* 金剛經 (*The Diamond Sūtra* or *Vajracchedikā-prājñāpāramitā-sūtra*) the verse "This Dharma [or teaching] is even and has neither elevation nor depression", and by repunctuating it changed its meaning to "In the Dharma there is no evenness, and there is gradation"⁷⁸ - a ruse which features also in Catholic-Manichaean debate in the Roman Empire. According to Augustine, the Manichaeans, like the Gnostics, used 2 Corinthians 4.4: 'The God of this world has blinded the minds of them that believe not ...' to argue for the existence of a malevolent deity who is opposed to God. However, the Catholics often preferred to punctuate the sentence from the Pauline epistle in such a way that it incorporated some words from the previous clause and read: 'in whom God has blinded the minds of the unbelievers of this world ...' to avoid giving too great authority to the power of evil.⁷⁹

Perhaps at the back of Chang Shih-sheng's mind was a passage from the *Lotus Sūtra* which, if taken out of its context or incorrectly punctuated, could be pressed to express some key Manichaean concept. What it was we can only surmise. Chang could afford to be vague on this matter, as he knew that a staunch Confucian like Huang Chen would not be inclined to consult the *Lotus Sūtra*. The *Compendium* contains some examples of how Buddhist texts can be pressed into the service of Manichaeism although correctly quoted. In the excerpts, attention was drawn by the Manichaean glossator to the term "discrimination" (*fen-pieh* 分別).⁸⁰ While most

⁷⁶ The concordance of the *Fa-hua-ching* is in vol. 4 of the index volumes of the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*.

⁷⁷ *Ch'ing-ch'i k'ou-kuei* 13a3-5.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 13a5-6, see Kao Yu-kung, *Sources*, p. 224.

⁷⁹ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, XXI,2, ed. by J. Zycha, CSEL 25/1, p. 569,23-27: quia et apostolus ait : deus saeculi huius excaecavit mentes infidelium. quam quidem sententiam plerique nostrum its distinguunt, ut uerum deum dicunt excaecasse infidelium mentes. cum enim legerint : in quibus deus, suspendunt pronuntiationem; se ac tunc inferunt : saeculi huius excaecavit mentes infidelium. On the Manichaean use of this verse see *Ps.-Bk.*, p. 172,26-27. See also the excellent study on Manichaeism and use of mispunctuation in Decret, *op. cit.* p. 200, n. 5 and Lieu, *Manichaeism*², 165.

⁸⁰ Ms. lines 45-47. See Haloun-Henning, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

Buddhists would take it to mean discernment or the differentiation of knowledge, the Manichaeans implied by it a primordial distinction between good and evil.

In any case, Chang made it clear to Huang Chen that there were not many references to Manichaeism in Buddhist texts because the guardians of Buddhism had made the religion so exclusive that it could not be as all-embracing and universalist as Taoism. The one exception though, he pointed out, was the poem on Manichaeism by Pai (Po) Chü-i 白居易 (772-846), one of the most celebrated poets of the T'ang Dynasty. He cited one line of the poem and fortunately we possess the poem in full because the Buddhist chronicler Chih-p'an 志磐 has preserved it in the section on heresies in his monumental work, the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛祖統記 (*Record of the Lineage of the Buddha and Patriarchs*):

復假稱白樂天詩云
 靜覽蘇鄰傳 摩尼道可驚
 二宗陳寂默 五佛繼光明
 日月為資敬 乾坤認所生
 若論齋潔子 釋子好齊名
 以此八句表於經首

原注：嘗檢樂天長慶集即無蘇鄰之詩
 樂天知佛豈應為此不典之辭

<The Manichaeans> falsely claim that Pai Lo-t'ien was the author of the poem which says:

I calmly examined the account of Su-lin,
 The doctrine of Mani is truly amazing:
 The Two Principles display their dignified silence,
 The Five Buddhas follow the Light,
 The Sun and Moon render their homage,
 The heaven and earth acknowledge their origin,
 In terms of self-discipline and purification,
 They [Manichaeans] are as renowned as the followers of Buddha.⁸¹

They put this poem at the beginning of their scriptures...

Author's note: I [Chih-p'an] have searched through the *Ch'ang-ch'ing-chi* of Pai Lo-t'ien without finding this poem on Su-lin. Lo-t'ien knew the teachings of Buddha, how could he write such unscriptural poetry?⁸²

The *Ch'ang-ch'ing-chi* 長慶集 is the collected works of Pai Chü-i and modern scholars have the same experience as Chih-p'an in trying to trace this poem in the different editions of this work. We know that before Pai

⁸¹ Forte, art. cit., pp. 223-24, gives a slightly different translation of this poem.

⁸² *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 48, T 2039.431a28-b3 (Vol. 49). [Hereafter *FTTC*]

died, his complete works stood at seventy-five books and a total of 3,840 poems were known to be included in them. Modern editions of the *Ch'ang-ch'ing-chi* have seventy-one books and not more than 3,670 poems.⁸³ However, since it was already missing from the *Ch'ang-ch'ing-chi* as early as the thirteenth century, the poem on Manichaeism was probably never in the collection. The fact that a work was included in the modern editions of the *Ch'ang-ch'ing-chi* was not a sure guarantee of its genuineness. Ts'en Chung-mien 岑仲勉, has shown that many of the memorials included in the collection concern events which took place either in Pai Chü-i's very last years, when he was no longer an active political figure, or after his death.⁸⁴ His poems are not so easy to date nor can one easily rule out the claim of a poem to be the work of Pai on stylistic grounds alone, as Chinese scholars have done.⁸⁵ In his last years, Pai became a very devout Buddhist and his religious poems lacked the dash and vigour which characterized the poems of his most productive period of his life. His later poems tend to be popular only within Buddhist circles.⁸⁶ The poem in question could not have been written in the Sung, because Manichaeism was more closely connected to Buddhism in the T'ang than in the Sung. In Pai Chü-i's collected works there is a letter written on behalf of the T'ang emperor to the Uighur Khaghan on the purchase of war horses as well as the establishment of a Manichaean temple at the strategic town of T'ai-yüan.⁸⁷ Pai was, therefore, not uninformed on Manichaeism. He could have prefaced a Manichaean scripture with a poem while visiting the followers of the sect in the capital without keeping a copy of it for inclusion in his collected works. As Forte has pointed out, the poem was not written by a Manichaean as it is not a confession but a token of respect.⁸⁸ That the author was a Buddhist and not a Manichaean is also clear from the fact that he commented on Manichaean terms which were borrowed from Mahayana Buddhism. The five Buddhas which, according to the Manichaean scriptures from Tun-huang, signify the five light elements which accompanied the Primal Man in his fateful journey to the Kingdom of Darkness,⁸⁹ would probably be understood by

⁸³ Hiraoka Takeo, "Haku-shi monju no seritsu" (The Formation of the Collected works of Pai Chü-i) in *Tōhō Gakkai horitsu jūgo shunen kinen, Tohogaku ronshū* (Tokyo, 1962) 273.

⁸⁴ Ts'en Chung-mien, "Pai-shih ch'ang-ch'ing-chi wei-wen 白氏長慶集偽文 ('Some forged compositions in the *Ch'ang-ch'ing-chi*'), *Academia Sinica*, 9 (1947) 515-20.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 483.

⁸⁶ A. Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i* (1949) 204 ff.

⁸⁷ *Pai-shih ch'ang-ch'ing-chi* 白氏長慶集, SPTK edition, tse 40, pp. 35a, 3-36a, 5. Cf. *Traité*, 1913 277-79.

⁸⁸ Forte, art. cit., p. 227.

the Buddhists as the five Dhyāni Buddhas.⁹⁰ The fifth manifestation of the Buddhas was Sākyamuni as incarnation of Nirmānakāya. Chih-p'an thought this was the case and the Manichaeans have substituted Mani for Muni (Sākyamuni).⁹¹

7. Manichaeism and Confucian writings

Bearing in mind that he was writing to a Confucianist official, Chang was impelled to find some favourable references to Manichaeism in Confucian writings. This was no easy task, as the greater part of Confucian writings on Manichaeism was in the form of memorials to the throne in which the officials requested special powers to deal with the threat of secretive groups to public order. Chang put forward an ingenious idea which was completely novel in the history of Manichaeism in China. He turned to the historical works which mentioned Manichaeism when it was still a *religio licita* in China. Chang was aided in this by the Confucian historiographical practice of not commenting or judging the facts. Chih-p'an, on the other hand, added a lengthy note to the account of the arrival of Manichaeism in China reminding the government that they should have destroyed the problem at its roots.⁹²

Chang Shih-sheng quoted from the *Tzu-chi t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 (*Through Mirror in aid of Government*) of Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 (1019-1086) the account of the arrival of Manichaeism with a Uighur tribute mission in 807.⁹³ Ssu-ma Kuang had in turn derived this from the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 (*New T'ang History*).⁹⁴ The *Tzu-chi t'ung-chien* was one of the outstanding works of Chinese historiography even though it was not in the category of dynastic histories, a category to which the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* belonged. Ssu-ma Kuang, its compiler, was dissatisfied with the official practice of arranging historical material on a biographical and subject basis and undertook the compilation of a history of China from the beginning down to his own times on a chronological basis. It is a massive work and Chu Hsi made a summary of it entitled the *Tzu-chi t'ung-chien kang-mu*

⁸⁹ On the Five Light Elements see H.-J. Polotsky, "Manichäismus", in *Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplement VI (Stuttgart, 1935) col. 249.

⁹⁰ W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (1935) 113.

⁹¹ *FTTC* 48, T 2039.431a19-20.

⁹² *Ibid.* 40, T 2039.374c22-29.

⁹³ *Tzu-chi t'ung-chien* 237.7638, Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she edition (Peking, 1956).

⁹⁴ *Hsin T'ang-shu* 217.6126, Chung-hua shu-chü edition.

資治通鑑綱目 which was widely read.⁹⁵ As Huang Chen was a devoted pupil of Chu Hsi, Chang pointed out to him that this important passage was not overlooked in the *kang-mu* (summary). In fact, Chu Hsi's summary of the passage was so brief that the Manichaeans were not mentioned. In modern editions of the work, a later commentator, who had consulted the original passage in the *Tzu-chi t'ung-chien*, added the presence of Manichaeans in the mission.⁹⁶ More interesting is the remark of another commentator who wondered why there should be a record of this mission as it was not the first time that the Uighurs had sent gifts to the T'ang emperor. The reason, this commentator suggested, was that the then reigning emperor, Hsien-tsung 憲宗, harboured false beliefs; that is, he patronized the Buddhist cause. The establishment of a Manichaean temple in China must have marked the beginning of his apostasy.⁹⁷ One can see that if Confucianist historians did not express their personal opinions on events in the main body of the text, like their Buddhist colleagues, they more than amply redressed the balance in the notes.

Manichaeism had become so Sinicized in the Sung that it was extremely uncommon to hear a Manichaean mentioning its connection with the Uighurs. Few people would like to be reminded of the period of chaos and upheaval which followed the An Lu-shan 安祿山 Rebellion in 762. The impotence of the Chinese government to deal with the rebels necessitated the employment of Uighur mercenaries, who behaved more like conquerors than allies to the local population. In Sung it was illegal for a Uighur priest to enter China, let alone to preach Manichaeism.⁹⁸ One wonders what inspired Chang to cull a reference from the *t'ung-chien* which would evoke unpleasant memories. We know that between 771 and 850, the Uighurs maintained a Manichaean temple in the nearby prefecture of Yueh 越.⁹⁹ Its proximity to Ssu-ming might have helped to keep the link alive. However, it is just as probable that the passage on the Uighur mission was the only convenient reference which Chang could readily find in the works of a distinguished Confucian scholar.

⁹⁵ Ch'ien Mu, "Chu Hsi chi *t'ung-chien kang-mu*" ([An Evaluation of] Chu Hsi's *T'ung-chien kang-mu*) in *Lo Hsiang-lin chiao-sho lun-wen-chi* 羅香林博士論文集 (Hong Kong, 1970) 1-11.

⁹⁶ *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu*, compiled by Shih Ying-chen 史應振, 48.41b1-2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 41b4-5.

⁹⁸ W. Eichhorn, *Beitrag zur rechtlichen Stellung des Buddhismus und Taoismus* (Leiden, 1968) 68.

⁹⁹ *FTTC* 54, T 2035.474c19.

8. *Huang Chen and Manichaeism*

The manner in which Chang Hsi-sheng defended the claim of Manichaeism to respectability and legality was very different from that of the Manichaeans in the West. The latter had to defend the apostolicity of Mani as well as the philosophical soundness of dualism.¹⁰⁰ For an inquisitor like Augustine, historicity alone could not gain respectability for a body of doctrines. Manichaeans were asked to show that their leader had received his revelation from the same source as the Apostles. Moreover, because philosophy was the handmaid of religion in Late Antiquity, Manichaeans had to defend the view that evil could exist on its own even though it was not composed of the same material as God, the Father of Life. Therefore, Neo-Platonists like Alexander of Lycopolis¹⁰¹ and Simplicius¹⁰² were as much at odds with Manichaean dualism as the Church Fathers. In China, because Confucianism was both religion and philosophy, the need to prove that a religious doctrine was philosophically sound was not so apparent. Where Manichaeism and Confucianism would come into conflict was in the field of ethics. Here, Huang could rely on a scholar and gentleman like Chang not to be too involved in rebellious groups or over-indulgent in asceticism and magical practices. Chang was not unlike Faustus, whom Augustine described as “clever and eloquent”, except that Faustus’s social attributes could not outweigh the shocking fact that he was a Manichaean.¹⁰³

Metaphysics was a very weak branch of Confucian learning until the advent of Chu Hsi. If Huang Chen were to engage Chang Hsi-sheng in a metaphysical debate on dualism he would find much that would be of help to him in defence of Monism in Chu Hsi’s writings. (The treatise on light and darkness, for example, in which darkness was shown to be the absence of light and not a separate substance could have been written by a seasoned anti-Manichaean like Augustine).¹⁰⁴ However, Huang Chen did not think that it was necessary to probe deeper into Manichaean doctrines. He was sufficiently convinced by Chang’s array of evidence to record not only the purpose for which the temple was founded but the entire correspondence which resulted from the initial request. This was all the more surprising because Huang Chen remained a staunch opponent of Buddhism and Taoism throughout his life. He upheld Confucianism in the face of an unending

¹⁰⁰ Augustine, *Contra Felicem*, I,1, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 25/2, p. 802,1-2.

¹⁰¹ *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opinioniones disputatio*, ed. A. Brinkmann (Leipzig, 1895).

¹⁰² *In Epict. Ench.*, 35 (68), ed. Ilsetraut Hadot, *Simplicius, Commentaire sur le Manuel d’Epictète, Introduction et édition critique du texte grec*, Philosophia Antiqua 66 (Leiden, 1996) 322-27. See also Adam, *Texte*, 71-74.

¹⁰³ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, I,1, ed. cit., p. 251, 4-6.

¹⁰⁴ *Chu-tzu yu-lei* 朱子語類, 65.1-17.

flood of imperial patronage of Buddhism and Taoism. When he made the bold claim that the cause of the troubles of the previous reigns, which included the loss of almost the whole of northern China to the Juchens, was over-indulgence in Buddhism and Taoism, the court could not tolerate him any longer. He was dismissed from his post as archivist and returned to the provincial circuit. Wherever he went as an official he proved himself to be a relentless enemy of popular religious sects whose followers met in unlicensed temples and were prone to cause civil disturbance.¹⁰⁵

However, Huang Chen was more than merely tolerant towards Chang in his dealings with the Manichaeans. He saluted him in his reply for his determination to adhere to the original doctrines of Mani. One can deduce from the eulogistic tone of Huang Chen's reply to Chang that what he objected to most was not adherence to Buddhism and Taoism but the failure to live up to the principles which were laid down by the founders of the religions:¹⁰⁶

夫天下事不過是與非善
與惡兩端而止自古立言乖訓者莫不使人明是而別
非絕惡而修善故能輔人心而裨世教說久而弊始或
10a1 紛之老子寶慈儉而後世事清談釋氏持戒定而後世
譏執著是豈其初然哉老子再化為摩尼而說法獨嚴
於自律如師所云殆其初之未變者師而念之而傳之
則道之初在是釋之初亦在是且有近於吾儒之所謂
a5 敬於以發山川之靈異恢道俗之見聞所琳宮仙館千
萬年憑藉無窮豈徒在今輪奐間

Now the affairs of the world belong to either one of the two extremes, the positive and the negative, the good and the evil. From the ancient times, those who have established doctrines and handed down admonitions have all endeavoured to make men see more clearly what is positive and distinguish it from what is negative, to eschew evil and to cultivate goodness. By this they hope to give succour to human conduct and hence benefit the world. However, when a doctrine has been disseminated for too long, its original principles could become corrupted and confused. Lao-tzu treasured compassion and frugality. Posterity, however, practised "pure conversation".¹⁰⁷ Sakyamuni placed importance upon restraint and composure but posterity laughed at those who took them too seriously. How could this have been so at the beginning? When Lao-tzu reappeared in the person of Mani, he laid down particularly strict laws about self-discipline. As you have said, the original teachings have suffered little change. You follow a teacher, commit the

¹⁰⁵ *Sung-shi*, 438.12993.

¹⁰⁶ *HSJC* 86.9b6-10a6.

¹⁰⁷ "Ch'ing-t'an 清談" (pure or light conversations) is a name given to a Taoist movement which took place between the third and fifth century A.D. It is best exemplified by the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove who met together to converse, drink, make music and write poetry in utter disregard of social convention.

teaching to memory and disseminate it. Both Taoism and Buddhism must have been like this at the beginning and it comes close to the Confucian principle of 'reverence'.¹⁰⁸ With this one can raise the spiritual forces of the hills and rivers as well as extending the knowledge of both priests and laymen! It is through relying on this that 'crystal palaces' (i.e. monasteries) and 'immortal halls' (i.e. Taoist temples) flourish without cease for thousands and ten thousands of years and not only during the present period of renovation.

Chang Hsi-sheng heartily agreed with Huang Chen's diagnosis of the religious ailment of their age and accepted the compliments which were paid to him. The correspondence between the two scholars on the subject of Chung-shou-kung ended some time before the summer of 1264 when Huang Chen wrote his essay on this topic.

APPENDIX

A similar account of a Manichaean temple

Chu-hsi-lou chi 竹西樓記

(An account of the cottage on the western side of the bamboo grove)¹⁰⁹

- 15a1 溫之平陽有地曰焱亭在大海之濱東臨海西南北三面負山
山環之若箕狀其地可三四里居者數百家多以漁為業循山
麓而入峰巒迴抱不復見海其得天平地有田數百畝二十餘
家居之耕焉以給食有潛光院在焉潛光院者明教浮圖之宇
也明教之始相傳以為自蘇鄰國流入中土甌閩人多奉之其
徒齋戒持律頗嚴謹日一食晝夜七持詠膜
拜潛光院東偏石心上人之所居也有樓焉曰竹西樓當山谷
之間下臨溪澗林樹環茂樓之東西竹其木多松檜柏有泉
石煙霞之勝而獨以竹名焉者蓋竹之高標清節學道
者類之故取以自況云鄉之能文之士若章君慶何君岳林君
齊鄭君弼咸賦詩以
歌詠之斯樓之美與竹之幽固不待言而知矣石心修為之暇
游息於是山雨初霽冷風微來如挹琅玕之色聽環珮之音焉
而又仰觀天宇之空曠俯瞰林壑之幽深攸攸然若游於造物
b1 之表而不知人世之為人世也石心素儒家子幼詠六藝百氏
之書趣淡泊而習高尚故能不泊於塵俗而逃夫虛空其學明
教之學者蓋亦托其跡而隱焉者也若其孤介之質清修之操
真可以無愧於竹哉樓建於某年石心之師曰德山寔經營之
石心名道堅至正十一年七月望記

¹⁰⁸ "Ching 敬" (reverence, seriousness, composure, etc.) is an important concept in Neo-Confucian philosophy. See O. Graf, *Tao und Jen, Sein und Sollen in sungchinesischen Monismus* (Wiesbaden, 1971) 104-7.

¹⁰⁹ This passage is taken from *Pu-hsi-chou-yü chi* 不繫舟漁集, by Ch'en Kao 陳高 (1314-1366), 12, in *Ching-hsiang-lou tsung-shu*, first series (Yung Chia, 1928-35), tse 7, 14b10-15b5.

In the county of P'ing-yang in the prefecture of Wen is a place called Yen-t'ing. Bordered by the sea in the east and surrounded by hills on three sides, the plain is shaped like a sieve. Its area is about three of four *li*¹¹⁰ and it has a population of several hundred families whose main form of livelihood is fishing. Following the foot-hills, one reaches the hills and loses the sight of the sea. When one reaches the highest parts, there is level ground with several hundred *mou*¹¹¹ of fields on it. About twenty families live on it and they subsist by farming. This is the location of Ch'ien-kuang-yüan [the temple of the Hidden Light] which belongs to the Manichaeans who are some kind of Buddhists.¹¹² Tradition has it that their doctrine diffused into the Middle Earth [i.e. China] from Su-lin [i.e. Suristan]. It has many followers in the region of Ou and Min [i.e. provinces on the South China coast]. They adhere to very strict commandments and practise vegetarianism zealously. They eat one meal a day and they would pray, chant and prostrate themselves in worship seven times all day and night.¹¹³

On the eastern side of Ch'ien-kuang-yüan is the residence of Shih-hsin shang-ren¹¹⁴ and his cottage is called Chu-hsi-lou [lit. cottage west of the [bamboo] grove. It is situated in the middle of a valley and above a stream and is well wooded. East of the cottage is a bamboo grove but there are also other types of trees including pine, evergreen oak, cypress and juniper. The stream, the rocks, the spray and the mist together make it a delightful spot and it is particularly renowned for its bamboo. The tallness of this plant symbolizes purity and frugality and since these are qualities to which philosophers and scholars aspire, they often liken themselves to bamboo. It is said that men of letters from the village like Chang Ch'ing, Ho Yüe, Lin Ch'i and Cheng Pi have praised this place with poetry so there is no need to elaborate on the beauty of the cottage or the delicacy of the bamboo. Shih-hsin spent his leisure from self-cultivation wandering around this place. When the mountain mist begins to clear and the cool wind starts to blow, the colour of the scenery is like that which is squeezed (lit. ladled) out of red jade and the sound of the wind is like the gentle rattling of the pendants hanging from a girdle. Gazing up at the emptiness of the sky and glancing down at the mysterious depths of the valleys and woods, one can be so overpowered by the scenery that one can imagine oneself walking outside creation and forgetting that the human world actually exists.

Shih-hsin had been the son of a Confucianist family and he was brought up on books concerning the Six Arts and the various schools of

¹¹⁰ One *li* is about 1,890 ft.

¹¹¹ One *mou* is about 0.6 acre.

¹¹² Ch'en Kao obviously thought that Manichaeans were Buddhists.

¹¹³ See *Traité* 1913, p. 338, n. 6.

¹¹⁴ Shih-hsin shang-ren 石心上人 is the hermitic title and not the real name of this recluse.

philosophies.¹¹⁵ However, he showed a liking for simple living and practised noble detachment. Hence he was not corrupted by worldly pleasures and was able to escape to vacuity and was free from distractions. He followed Ming-chiao [the teaching of Light, i.e. Manichaeism] because he could use it to cover up his tracks and conceal himself. His unwillingness to conform to the rest of the world and his practice of pure living are no less than the qualities which are attributed to bamboo. The cottage was built some years ago. Shih-hsin's teacher Te-san was in fact responsible for building it. Shih-hsin's real name was Tao-chien.

This essay is composed on the full moon of the seventh month of the eleventh year of Chih-cheng [7 August 1351].

¹¹⁵ I.e. he had a traditional Confucianist upbringing.

V. POLEMICS AGAINST MANICHAISM AS A SUBVERSIVE CULT IN SUNG CHINA (A.D. c. 960-c.1200)*

The religion of Mani is best remembered for its explanation of the origin of evil through the idea of a primordial struggle between good and evil and for its ability to combine elements of other historic religions into a unified whole. A “Manichee” is defined in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* as “an adherent of a religious system widely accepted from the Third to the Fifth Century, composed of Gnostic Christian, Mazdaean and pagan elements and representing Satan as coeternal with God”. Such a view of Manichaeism is of long standing in the literary and philosophical tradition of the West. A Byzantine scholiast commenting on the term “Manichaeans” which occurs in a law against heresies in general (*Basilica XXI,1,45 = Codex Iustinianus I,5,21*) says:

Manichaeans are disciples of the Mad [Μανέντος]¹ Persian who preach a doctrine of two principles and of two gods, the one good and the other evil. They disregard every form of religious observance, attributing it to the evil deity, and they irreverently empty it of significance. They possess certain spurious gospels which are attributed to Philip and Thomas. They worship the sun and the moon together with the stars and they assert that the Incarnation was illusory.²

* First published in *BJRL* 62 (Autumn, 1979) 151-67, the footnotes have been expanded to take into account more recent works and augmented with material published in *ibid.* 69 (Autumn, 1986) 250-75. I should like to acknowledge the help which I have received in writing this article from Prof. G. Dudbridge and from Dr. S. P. Brock as well as from my wife Judith.

¹ A favourite pun on the name Mani in Greek, especially in its genitive case, as Μάνετος is very close to μανέντος. See below, n. 96.

² Schol. 3. on *Basilica*, XXI,1,45, *Basilicorum Libri LX*, series B, ii, *Scholia in Libris XXI-XXIII*, ed. H. J. Scheltama and N. Van der Wal (Groningen, 1959), p. 1268: Οἱ Μανέντος τοῦ Πέρσου μαθηταὶ δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσάγοντες καὶ δύο θεοὺς, ἀγαθὸν καὶ πονηρὸν, τὴν πᾶσαν θρησκείαν ἀθετοῦσι τῷ πονηρῷ αὐτὴν ἀπονέμοντες καὶ τὴν κενὴν βλασφημοῦσιν. Ἐχουσι δὲ τινα εὐαγγέλια παρέγγραπτα κατὰ Φίλιππον καὶ Θωμᾶν. Σέβουσι [δὲ ἥλιον] καὶ σελήνην σὺν τοῖς ἄστροις καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν κατὰ φαντασίαν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν. See also H. E. Kaden, “Die Edikte gegen die Manichäer von Diokletian bis Justinian”, in *Festschrift Hans Lewald* (Basel, 1953) 55, n. 1. For the Manichaean use of the Gospels of Thomas and Philip see the article by H.-Ch. Puech on “Gospels under the name of an Apostle” in E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, i (ed. W. Schneemelcher; Eng. trans. ed. R. McL. Wilson (London, 1963) 277-80 and 283-84.

Such a definition is formulated in the light of the Byzantine Church's subsequent experience of heresies rather than the genuine teaching of the sect. Hence it magnifies those aspects of heresy which the Church found to be particularly pernicious, namely sorcery, dualism, docetism and even iconoclasm. Similarly in Islamic lands where the brunt of religious controversy was on the question of whether the Godhead could be pictorially represented rather than on the nature of the Trinity, Manichaeans were derided as the followers of the magical leader of the "Chinese School of Painters".³

In China, Manichaeism was also attacked as a foreign religion when it first began to attract local converts in the seventh and eighth centuries. Its interest in astrology and divination gave rise to some concern as the first Manichaean missionaries to China were regarded by the local populace as sorcerers endowed with extraordinary skills.⁴ However, as China was at once a multi-religious and polytheistic society, dualism did not pose such a threat as it did in Byzantium and in the medieval West. Yet the Manichaeans in China were as uncompromising dualists as their co-religionists in the Roman Empire. According to a summary of the doctrines of the sect which was translated into Chinese in 731 (i.e. the *Compendium*), the reader is reminded that "He who asks to enter the faith must know that the two principles of Light and Darkness have absolutely distinct natures : if he does not discern this, how can he put into practice the teachings of the sect?"⁵ From another Manichaean document of the T'ang period (translated before 705) we learn that the Manichaeans in China possessed a version of Mani's myth which is as detailed as any version which we can find in the Roman Empire and in Central Asia.⁶ However, although Manichaeism flourished in China for almost a millennium, it made little impact on her literary and philosophical life and left no lasting impression. After its official expulsion in 843, few officials were aware that remnants of the sect had survived in South China and were gaining in numbers. When it became necessary to

³ Firdausi, *Shâhnâmeh*, cited in K. Kessler, *Mani, Forschungen über die manichäische Religion*, i (Berlin, 1889, only one volume published) 375.

⁴ W. B. Henning, "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte Manichäismus", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 90 (1936) 11-12; cf. E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, deuxième partie, Fragment Pelliot et textes historiques", *Journal Asiatique*, 11^e ser., 1 (1913) 226. [Hereafter *Traité* 1913.]

⁵ *Mo-ni Kuang-fo chiao-fa i-lüeh* 摩尼光佛教法議略, ms. lines 97-99, cf. T 2141A.1280c28-29 (Vol. 54).

⁶ *Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching* ms. lines 8-52, cf. T 2141B.1281a16-1286a29; rans. E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *Journal Asiatique*, 10^e sér., 18 (1911) 499-534 [Hereafter *Traité* 1911.] See also .. Troje, *Die Dreizehn und die Zwölf im Traktat Pelliot* (Leipzig, 1925) 3-98 and Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, 15-19.

take action against them in the course of the Sung Dynasty, hardly any officials bothered to consult their history books to find out for themselves that the followers of Mo-ni, the Envoy of Light, in South China were in any way connected with the Manichaeans of Central Asia. As we shall see, the memory of Manichaeism as a foreign religion in China was kept alive only by Buddhist heresiologists in the Sung period. However, as Buddhism was not the state religion of China, few officials would have recourse to Buddhist writings. Even then the entries on "Mo-ni" or the Light Sect of Buddhist catalogues of heresies are very brief and seem to be applicable to a number of foreign religions. It was not until the discovery of genuine Manichaean scriptures from the ruins of Manichaean monasteries in Central Asia and from the caves of Dunhuang at the turn of this century that scholars were fully convinced that they describe a sect which shared a common origin with the Manichaeans of the Late Antiquity in Europe. As late as 1897 Edouard Chavannes, who was to become a pioneer in Chinese Manichaean studies, could still write: "Pour ma part, je crois que sous l'expression 'Mo-ni' les Chinois désignent les Musulmans.", and "... l'existence de manichéens chinois ne me paraît pas démontrée."⁷

Manichaeism flourished in the Sung Dynasty as a secret religion with an elaborate organization and very strict rules of asceticism. Its followers were accused by the government of anti-social behaviour, demon worship and fomenting rebellion. The philosophical or theological implications of its beliefs are hardly every mentioned in the extant polemical works. In this article an attempt will be made to follow the transformation of Manichaeism from a foreign religion which was associated with foreign merchants and mercenaries into a Chinese secret society and to examine the writings against it by officials who had to deal with its followers in the course of their public duty. These polemical writings will furnish an interesting comparison with the anti-Manichaean works of the Church Fathers in the West and a comparative study of the two will have much to tell us about the similarities and differences in the relationship between state and religion in these two civilizations.

1. *The Hui-ch'ang 會昌 persecution of Manichaeism and of other foreign religions*

In 840 news reached the T'ang court at Ch'ang-an 長安 that Karabalghasun, the capital of the Uighur Turks, had fallen to the Kirghiz as a result of a fratricidal war between the Turkic tribes and that the Khaghan of the Uighurs was killed when the city was stormed. The Uighurs had been the

⁷ E. Chavannes, "Le Nestorianisme et l'inscription de Kara-Balgassoun" *Journal Asiatique*, 9^e ser., 9 (Jan.-Feb. 1897) 76 and 85.

chief patrons of Manichaeism in China. It was at their insistence that Manichaean temples were established in the two capital cities of Ch'ang-an (768) and Lo-yang 洛陽 (807), in the provinces of Ching 荊, Yang 楊, Hung 洪 and Yueh 越 (771) as well as in the strategic town of T'ai-yüan 太原 (807).⁸ For many Chinese these temples were a symbol of foreign arrogance and a reminder of their military weakness. Now that the Uighurs were no longer a major foreign power, the time had come to remove this thorn in the flesh. In 843 several of the temples were closed. Li Te-yü 李德裕, an administrator of great distinction, who was responsible for translating the imperial will into action, gave in a letter to the new Khaghan a very guarded explanation of the closure of the temples:

The teaching of Mani was proscribed prior to the T'ien-pao 天寶 Era [742-756]. Its dissemination has subsequently been permitted because it is practised by the Uighurs. Hence, Manichaean temples were established in Chiang 江, Huei 淮 and several other prefectures. Recently, new has reached us of the collapse of the Uighur Kingdom and because of this, the followers of the sect are apprehensive. Their priests, being foreigners, are bereft of all help and support. To make matters worse for them, the people of Wu 吳 and Ch'u 楚⁹ are mean and uncharitable by nature. If a religion loses its credibility, its propagation is unlikely to be successful. Even as a great a teacher as Buddha would maintain that a religion should be propagated according to the needs of the times. When there is neither need nor reason to propagate a religion, it will be futile to force it on the masses. We are deeply worried about those foreign priests who are far away from home and wish to see them settled safely. We therefore decree that only the Manichaean temples in the two capital cities and in T'ai-yüan should continue to celebrate the rites of the sect. The other temples in the prefectures of Chiang and Huei should be closed for the time being. Once the conditions of the Uighur homeland seem more settled, we shall revert to the former arrangements.¹⁰

The temples in the provinces were never reopened, nor did the ones in the capital cities remain open for long. The Minister of Merits (*Kung-te-shih* 功德使) and his assistants were ordered to take an inventory of the possessions of the temples.¹¹ This *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was the precursor of the complete prohibition of the sect and the confiscation of its property. The latter might have resulted from financial considerations. As foreign merchants were notorious for being extortionate money lenders Manichaean temples could well have been used by them as storehouses for goods and

⁸ *Traité* 1913, 263-69.

⁹ Wu 吳 and Ch'u 楚 are ancient names for southern and central China.

¹⁰ *Hui-ch'ang i-pien chi* 會昌一品集, ed. Li Te-yü (CFTS edition) 5.4a4-10; cf. *Traité* 1913, pp. 291-93.

¹¹ *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, 217B.6133; cf. *Traité* 1913, pp. 296-8.

money.¹² Public hostility gathered momentum once it was realized that the Uighurs had no power to resist. Idols and images were burnt in the streets and the Uighur priests were ordered to wear Chinese dress.¹³ It was at the height of the campaign against the Manichaeans in the late spring of 843 that Ennin 仁圓, a pilgrim from Japan, arrived at Ch'ang-an. In his well-kept diary covering the period of mid-May 843 he recorded:

An imperial edict was issued ordering the Manichaeian priests of the Empire to be killed. Their heads are to be shaved, and they are to be dressed in Buddhist robes and made to look like Buddhist shamans before being executed.¹⁴

We are not fully informed as to the extent of the massacre. Chih-p'an 志磐, the great Buddhist chronicler of the Sung Dynasty, recorded that seventy-two women priests perished.¹⁵ The other priests were rounded up and exiled to the border provinces of Kansu where remnants of the Uighur tribes had established themselves. Chih-p'an added that about half of the priests died from the hardships of the journey.¹⁶

The proscription of the Manichaeism in 843 paved the way for a full-scale onslaught on Buddhism two years later. The nature of this attack was very different from that of the persecution of the Christians in the Roman Empire. It was not an attempt to stamp out Buddhism but drastically to limit its spread. A total of 4,600 monasteries was destroyed, 260,500 monks and nuns were returned to lay life and more than 40,000 temples and shrines were destroyed.¹⁷ The government also felt that as Buddhism, the chief foreign religion, was under censure, other minor foreign sects should not be exempt. About three thousand Nestorian and Zoroastrian priests were laicized. Those of Chinese origin were told to return to their place of origin and restart their payment of taxes, while the foreign ones were exiled on the grounds that they refused to wear Chinese dress and adopt Chinese habits.¹⁸

¹² Cf. P. Zieme, "Die Uiguren und ihre Beziehungen zu China", *Central Asiatic Journal*, 17 (1973) 285-6; see also D. C. Twitchett, *Financial Administration under the T'ang*. (1970) 296, n. 53.

¹³ *Hsin T'ang-shu*, 217 (v. *supra* n. 10).

¹⁴ Ennin, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyū*, ed. Katsutoshi Ono, iii (Tokyo, 1968) 491. See also E. O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China* (New York, 1955) 232 and Tasaka Kodo, "Kaikotsu ni okeru Manikyō hakugaiundo" (The Persecution of Uighur Manichaeans) *Tōhō Gakuho*, 11/1 (1940) 223-32.

¹⁵ *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛祖統記 (hereafter referred to as *FTTC*) 42, T 2039. 385c26-28 (Vol. 49); cf. *Traité* 1913, pp. 301-2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書, 18A.605; on the Persecution of 845 in general see Kenneth Ch'en, "The Hui-ch'ang Persecution of Buddhism", *HJAS*, 19 (1956) 67-109.

¹⁸ *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 18A.605-06.

The events of 843-45 marked the end of an era of about five hundred years during which China experienced an unprecedented amount of contact with foreign peoples and their cultures and religions. The turning point had begun with the rebellion of An Lu-shan 安祿山 in 755 which had occasioned widespread dislocations and social upheaval. Foreign religions and culture had become a ready scapegoat and the presence of foreign mercenaries in major cities had led to a chorus of discontent against everything foreign. In the following centuries Chinese society turned in upon itself and the Chinese intelligentsia became intensely introspective and xenophobic. A direct corollary of the attack on Buddhism was a revival of Confucianist learning which was to blossom in the Sung Dynasty (960-1278). It is against this background that we have to place the writings of the Confucianist officials against the Manichaeans when they re-emerged in South China under the Sung as a secret religion.

2. *The Survival of Manichaeism in the Five Dynasties (906-960)*

Manichaeism survived the persecution of 843 by the skin of its teeth. A priest who held the title of "Hu-lu Fa-shih 呼祿法師" (*hu-lu* from Middle Persian: *xrwhxw'n* (preacher), cf. Latin: *electus*, or from Turkish (*h*)*uluy* (great)¹⁹) managed to slip away to the port of Ch'üan-chou in South China.²⁰ The cosmopolitan nature of the port with its proliferation of foreign cults no doubt afforded an ideal cover for his missionary work. However, the position of foreigners was never secure in China after the persecution of Buddhism in the Hui-ch'ang period. The Arab historian Abu Said gives a frightening account of the slaughter of 120,000 Muslim, Jewish and Christian merchants and their families by rebel troops under the command of Huang Chao 黃巢 at the siege of Canton in 878.²¹ It was therefore unsafe to seek converts among the foreign settlers in South China and the Hu-lu directed his missionary effort to the Chinese with conspicuous success, which may well imply that he himself was of Chinese origin. Despite the political unrest, Manichaeism gained a lasting foothold in South China and began to spread into the neighbouring provinces. In the Tse-tao 至道 period a follower of the sect found a statue of Mani in a soothsayer's shop in the Sung capital of Kaifeng. He bought it for 50,000

¹⁹ I am grateful to Professor Takeo Moriyasu for the second derivation.

²⁰ *Min-shu* 閩書, 7.32a8-9b, compiled by Ho Chiao-yüan 何喬遠, cited in P. Pelliot, "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-kien", *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923) 198-9. On the significance of the word *xrwhxw'n* see H. H. Schaeder, "Urform und Fortbildung des manichäischen Systems", in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, Vorträge 1924-5* (Leipzig, 1926) 129-30.

²¹ Cited in the *Biography of Huang Chao*, ed. and trans. by H. S. Levy (Los Angeles, 1955) 117.

cash-pieces and brought it back to Fukien. The statue probably came from a Manichaeian temple which was closed in the Hui-tsang period. "And thus", says a local historian, "his [*sc.* Mani's] false image began to be circulated in the Province of Min".²²

In the course of the tenth century Manichaeism became thoroughly Sinicized. So much so that few people were aware of the fact that it was once the religion of the detested Uighurs. Manichaeism found ready entry into popular religious life, which was steeped in superstition and magic, because its followers were skilled in sorcery and astrology. Already in the T'ang they had established their reputation in such activities and, at least on one occasion, the court requested their priests to pray for rain.²³ We have a story of how, in the period of the Five Dynasties, a Manichaeian priest armed with his scriptures was able to exorcise a house from the spells of a particularly pugnacious evil spirit which had defied the efforts of Taoist priests to be rid of it.²⁴

The Buddhist chroniclers accused the Manichaeians of playing an important part in a rebellion led by Wu I 毋乙 in 902 in the prefecture of Ch'en 陳. Our knowledge of this rebellion is extremely meagre and the extant secular sources do not suspect any Manichaeian connection. However, the fact that contemporary Buddhist writers were ready to pin the blame for the rebellion on the Manichaeians is a clear attestation to the growing importance of the sect as a secret society. It also indicates a growing trend in Buddhism towards a more rigid definition of orthodoxy. Although Buddhism also enjoyed a revival in this period, the memory of the Hui-ch'ang persecution was never too distant. To prevent a recurrence of the events of 845, Buddhist authorities endeavoured to prove to the government that Buddhists were loyal and law-abiding citizens. In so doing they had to clamp down on the more nefarious offshoots of their religion like the White Lotus and White Cloud sects which indulged in strict asceticism and magical practices. Manichaeism came under the same censure.²⁵ It is interesting to note that Buddhist heresiologists made the most of the foreign connections of the sect in their polemical writings and stressed the fact that it was proscribed by the T'ang Emperors. By so doing they no doubt hoped

²² *Min-shu*, 7.32b1-2, cf. Pelliot, art. cit., p. 199.

²³ *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, 49.864, cf. *Traité* 1913, 226.

²⁴ *Tai-ping kuang-chi* 太平廣記, 355.2812. *Traité* 1913, pp. 324-5, gives only a very brief summary of this fascinating story.

²⁵ On the relationship between Manichaeism and the White Lotus sect under the Sung and Ming dynasties see esp. B. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, (Leiden, 1992) 48-55.

to draw attention away from the fact that Buddhists too were followers of a foreign religion which had been proscribed on more than one occasion.²⁶

3. *The Revival of Manichaeism in the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1126)*

The Emperors of the Northern Sung were mostly patrons of Taoism, which was fortunate for Manichaeism as Taoism was less exclusive than Buddhism and more syncretistic in its approach to other religions. In the heyday of Manichaeism as a foreign religion under the T'ang, the Taoists circulated a legend that Mani, like Buddha, was merely a manifestation of Lao-tzu, the traditional founder of Taoism. Although the Manichaeans in the T'ang might have taken this as an affront, in the Sung they treasured it as a vital link with a major Chinese religion.²⁷ Armed with this they were able to build their own places of worship and register them as Taoist temples. In 1016 Manichaeans in Fukien even managed to induce the compilers of the Taoist Canon to accept some of their scriptures into the Canon, which was the most effective way of preventing them from being confiscated and burnt by the secular authorities.²⁸

Manichaeans in the Sung called themselves the followers of Mo-ni (*Mo-ni-chiao* 摩尼教) or members of the Light Sect (*Ming-chiao* 明教). However, they were known to their enemies by the derogatory title of "Vegetarian Demon Worshipers" (*ch'ih-ts'ai shih-mo* 喫菜事魔). Its use was not exclusive to the Manichaeans as it was also applied to several other esoteric Buddhist and Taoist sects. However, it is safe to assume that it was first coined to deride the Manichaeans. The Chinese word for a devil or demon is "mo 魔" which has the same sound as the "mo 摩" of "Mo-ni 摩尼", the Chinese transliteration of Mani's name.²⁹ This pun on the name

²⁶ On the long-standing rivalry between the two sects see H.-J. Klimkeit, "Manichäische und buddhistische Beichtformeln", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 29/3 (1977) 222.

²⁷ On this see my article "A Lapsed Chinese Manichaean's Correspondence with a Confucian Official in the Late Sung Dynasty (1264)", in *BJRL* 59 (1976-7) 397-425, esp. pp. 412-13. [See revised version above, pp. 98-125.]

²⁸ *Yün-chi ts'i-ch'ien* 雲笈七籤, SPTK edition, Preface, 1,6-2,3; cf. *Traité* 1913, pp. 326-27.

²⁹ The characters for Mani's name in Chinese (mo-ni 摩尼) are the same as those which are usually used from translating the Buddhist Sanskrit word for a jewel, *maṇi*. On the various meanings of the name see O. Klíma, *Manis Zeit und Leben* (Prague, 1962) 260-77. It is commonly assumed that the character *mo* 魔 (Demon) in the term *Ch'ih-ts'ai* (or *Shih-ts'ai*) *shih-mo* 喫菜(食菜)事魔 (Vegetarian Demon Worshipers) might have been a derogatory pun on Mani's name which in Chinese is Mo-ni 摩尼. This view was first suggested by Ch'en Yüan (Ch'en Yüan 陳垣 (cf. "Mo-ni-ch'iao ju chung-kuo kao 摩尼教入中國考" ("The Diffusion of Manichaeism in China") *Kuo-hsüeh hi-kan* 國學季刊, 1/2 (1923) 230) and Shigematsu Shunsho ("To-So jidai no Manikyo to Makyō

of Mani in Chinese reminds one of the fate of his name in Greek (Μάνης) which is close in sound and spelling to the word for a mad man (μανείς). As Epiphanius says, it was providential that he should call himself Mani.³⁰ Indeed, few Christian fathers could resist this heaven-sent opportunity to make fun of their opponents. A very early instance of this is to be found in a circular letter by a bishop of Alexandria in the late third century which is now in the papyrus collection in the Rylands.³¹ Augustine tells us that in order to avoid being called the followers of a mad man, the Manichaeans doubled the "n" in "Manichaeus" to make it sound like someone who pours out manna, as χέω in Greek means to pour.³² The Chinese Manichaeans were certainly anxious to escape from the stigma of demon-worship. From a hostile source we learn that the y sometimes preferred to call their leaders "Ma-huang 麻黃" instead of "Mo-wang 魔王" (King Devils).³³ The

mondai (Problems of Manichaeism and other heretical sects in the T'ang and Sung Dynasties)", *Shien* 12 (1936) 129 [Germ. trans. by Dr. Renate Herold in H.-J. Klimkeit and H. Schmidt-Glitzler (edd.), *Japanische Studien zum östlichen Manichäismus*, Studies in Oriental Religions 17 (Wiesbaden, 1991) 79]) supports it by drawing our attention to the passage from the *I-chien chih* cited in the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* (48.431a-b, see above notes 31-33 and 36-37) which gives a version of Mani's full title in Chinese, i.e. Mo-mo-ni 末摩尼 (= Mar Mani) with the second character substituted by the word for "demon", i.e. 末魔尼. However Shigematsu Shunsho did not give the edition of the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* from which he had derived this unique and intriguing piece of evidence. The editions in the *Taishō shinsho daizōkyō*, the *Ta tsang-ching* 大藏經 and the *Hsü tsang-ching* 續藏經, do not give the reading of Shigematsu Shunsho nor indicate a textual variant. However, a modern Japanese translation of the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* (in *Kokuyaku issaikyo* 國釋一切經, Vol. 73, Tokyo, 1941) which is based on a wide collation of early editions, gives the unique reading of Shigematsu Shunsho (cf. p. 839) but gives no indication of the variant adopted by the other three standard Chinese editions. In view of the textual uncertainties, no great weight can be given to this example and we must also remember that the word *mo* 魔 (demon) occurs so frequently in Buddhist writings that its polemical use need not have an anti-Manichaean origin. Cf. Masaaki Chikusa, "*Kitsusaijima* (*Ch'ih-ts'ain shih-mo*) ni tsuite", in *Aoyama hakushi koki Sodaishi ronso* (Tokyo, 1974) 261, n. 9. German translation by Herold in Klimkeit-Schmidt-Glitzler (edd.), op. cit., p. 45]

³⁰ Epiphanius, *Panarion*, LXVI,1,4, ed. K. Holl, rev. J. Dummer, GCS, p. 15,1-2: τάχα οἶμαι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομίας τὸ μανιῶδες ἑαυτῷ ἐπισπασάμενος ὄνομα.

³¹ *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, ed. C. H. Roberts, vol. 3 (1938) no. 469, lines 29-30: ταῦτα ... παρεθέμην ἀπὸ τοῦ παρεμπροσθέντος ἐγγράφου τῆς μανίας τῶν Μανιχέων.

³² Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 46,1 (4-6), ed. O. Vander Plaetses and C. Beukers, CCSL 46, p. 313: Vnde quidam eorum quasi doctiores et eo ipso mendaciores geminata N littera Mannicheum vocant, quasi manna fundentem.

³³ *Ch'ing-ch'i k'ou-kuei* 青溪寇軌 (*Traces of the bandits of Ch'ing-ch'i*), 13a6-7, ed. by Fang Shao 方勺 (1614 edn.) in *Chin-hua ts'ung-shu*, ts'e 12. The

Manichaeans were clearly trying to make a tonal variation on the word “mo” of “Mo-ni” to lessen the charge of Demon Worship. However, the word “ma 麻”, though it is a more accurate transliteration for the first syllable of Mani, is also the name for a common plant *ephedra vulgaris* and “Ma-ni” in Chinese simply does not have the same effect as “Mannichaeus” in Latin.

4. Manichaeism and the Fang La Rebellion (1120-1122)

The revival of Manichaeism in South China coincided with a rising tide of popular discontent against the government. The Emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗 (reigned 1101-26) was noted more for his gifts as a scholar and artist than as a ruler. He was given to stylish living and entrusted the government of his realm to rapacious ministers who were bent on self-aggrandisement. The peasants were subjected to burdensome taxation and onerous forms of corvée. Of the many imposts, one which was resented by all was the provision of rare plants and fine rockery for the imperial gardens and of lacquer wood for furnishing the palace. The Emperor had a special fondness for stately gardens and at his instigation a new imperial garden was built on an artificial hill called Ken-yo 艮嶽. It was designed to give an exuberant Taoist atmosphere and it featured paradise-like landscaping. For the building of this garden the search for rare plants, fine stones and high quality lacquer wood was intensified. Officials were empowered to dig up graves and pull down houses in their search for hidden treasure.³⁴ This soon became licensed profiteering, as bribery was the only means of avoiding the confiscation of one's treasured possessions.

Fang La was the owner of a lacquer grove who had good reason to feel resentful towards the government. He was a popular figure in the locality and he won the loyalty of many poor people through his generosity. In 1120 he and his retinue rose in revolt. His immediate aim was to win local autonomy and to put an end to the debilitating taxes. In hostile sources he was portrayed as having strong pretensions to the throne.³⁵ The revolt quickly spread from its base in the prefecture of Mu 睦 to other parts of south and south-east China. At one stage it came near to toppling the Sung government completely. Two years of bitter fighting was needed before the government forces gained the upper hand and forced the rebels into hiding.

Ch'ing-ch'i k'ou-kuei (hereafter CCKK) is an extremely important source for the history of Manichaeism in the Sung. A translation of the complete treatise is given by Kao Yu-kung in “Source Material on the Fang La Rebellion”, *HJAS* 26 (1966) 211-25. [Hereafter Kao Yu-kung, *Sources*.]

³⁴ Kao Yu-kung, “A Study of the Fang-La Rebellion”, *HJAS* 24 (1962-3) 41-44. [Hereafter Kao Yu-kung, *Study*.]

³⁵ CCKK 8b5-6; trans. Kao Yu-kung, *Sources*, 219.

Our sources reckon that almost two million people perished in the resulting wars and famine.³⁶

Support for Fang La's uprising came mostly from the prefectures of Wen 溫, T'ai 台 and Yueh 越, where Manichaeism had considerable following, and the timing of the revolt coincided with a growing concern on the part of the officials regarding the popularity and ubiquity of the sect. They were handicapped by a lack of clear directive from the central government as to how to deal with the practice of Vegetarianism and Demon Worship. As early as 1019 a law was issued banning the wearing of white dress, a Manichaean practice, in attending religious meetings and people were encouraged to inform on the leaders of such gatherings.³⁷ However, this law must have fallen into disuse by the twelfth century. Even after the outbreak of the rebellion we find one official remarking in a memorial that, although there were laws prohibiting the dissemination of books on witchcraft and sorcery, he could not find anything which dealt specifically with the practices of the Vegetarian Demon Worshipers.³⁸ In actual fact an important edict proscribing the practices of the followers of the sect was issued in 1120, a few months before the outbreak of the rebellion. It gives a detailed description of the activities of the sect and a long list of their scriptures.³⁹ It was possible, however, for some officials not to realize that the Light Sect to which the edict referred practised Vegetarianism and Demon Worship, as the edict was not sufficiently explicit as to how to identify the sect. It is interesting to note that the *Index Librorum* attached to the Edict of 1120 clearly shows that the Manichaeans in South China in the Sung period possessed works with titles which suggest the various aspects of the myth. A title such as *The Sutra of the Coming of the Prince Royal* (*T'ai-tzu hsia-sheng ching* 太子下生經) suggests the sending of the Primal Man from the Kingdom of Light to do battle with the forces of Darkness – a fundamental theme in the Manichaean cosmogonic myth.⁴⁰ The salvific role of the Jesus of Light was also celebrated by the sect as evidenced by their possession of a *Portrait of Jesus the Buddha* (*I-shu fo cheng* 夷數佛幀).⁴¹ The four-fold nature of the chief deity of the Manichaean pantheon, the Father of Light, was also commemorated by a *Portrait of the Four Kings of Heaven* (*Ssu t'ien-wang cheng* 四天王幀). As pointed out by Klimkeit, this method of depiction

³⁶ CCKK 3b2-3; trans. cit., p. 215.

³⁷ *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* 宋會要輯稿 [hereafter SHYCK], ts'e 165, ch. 21778 (= *hsing-fa* 刑法 2).4a10-11.

³⁸ SHYCK, ts'e 165, *hsing-fa* 2.22b7-11.

³⁹ Ibid. 19a9-20a, 2; cf. A. Forte, "Deux études sur le Manichéisme chinois", *T'oung Pao*, 59 (1972) 227-53.

⁴⁰ SHYCK, ts'e 165, *hsing-fa* 2.78b.

⁴¹ Ibid. 78b.

was a Manichaean appropriation of a Hindu religious motif and an exquisitely beautiful example of it from Central Asia is preserved in a Manichaean miniature, once part of a book, and now housed in the Museum für indische Kunst in Berlin.⁴² As for the oddly titled *Ch'i-ssu ching* 訖思經, it might have been a work containing transliterated verses from Parthian.⁴³ In a memorial of 1166, to which we shall return in due course, we find that the scriptures of the Religion of Light contain names of deities like the "Buddha of Flesh", the "Buddha of Bones" and the "Buddha of Blood" - terms which readily remind us of the important concept of the "Suffering Jesus" (*Jesus patibilis*), the "life and salvation of Man" who was mystically crucified on every tree, herb, fruit vegetable and stone.⁴⁴

The authorities were quick to pin the blame for the Fang La Rebellion on the popular religious sects. Since the followers of these sects had always gathered to practise their religions under the shadow of illegality, it was easy to see in their organization the platform from which rebellions could be launched. The officials held the view, too, that the widespread use of magical charms, divination and faith-healing by these sects was the means by which their leaders gained the devotion of their followers, thus creating a potentially rebellious situation as people flocked to join them ostensibly for material benefits. In the eyes of the government the sectarian leaders could not have held sway over their followers by any rightful authority or proper means of government. Magical practices, therefore, must have been their only source of power. In the legislation the leaders of the sects were accused of *ku-huo* 蠱惑, which literally means that they used magic and sorcery to confound and pervert the masses. The laws also made clear that the reason for burning books on magic and divination was not only to uphold the

⁴² Ibid.78b. Cf. A. von Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, II, Die manichäischen Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1923) plate 8a and pp. 50-52; H.-J. Klimkeit, "Hindu Deities in Manichaean Art", *Zentralasiatische Studien* 14/2 (1980) 179-99; idem, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (Leiden 1982) figs. 22-23 and pp. 34-37; idem, "Manichaean Kingship : Gnosis at home in the world", *Numen* 29/1 (1982) 26-27; and my *Manichaeism*², pp. 276-77.

⁴³ Forte (art. cit. p. 239) translates *Ch'i-ssu ching* 訖思經 literally as *Livre sacré de l'arrêt des pensées*, but admits that it can be transcriptions of the title of a foreign work. My view is that *Ch'i-ssu* is an abridgement of *Ho-ssu-na* 喝思哪, an important Manichaean liturgical term which is a transcription for the Middle Persian word *hsyng*, cf. E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, "Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus", *APAW* 1926, no. 4, p. 85. The ancient pronunciation of *ho* 喝 is *xát*, which can be easily altered to *ch'i* 訖. On the term *hsyng* in Manichaean usage see F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan, III", *SPAW* 1934, no. 27, p. 901.

⁴⁴ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, XX,2, ed. Zycha, CSEL 25/1, p. 536,19-21: "... cuius [sc. spiritus sancti] ex uiribus ac spiritali profusione terram quoque concipientem gignere patibilem Iesum, qui est uita ac salus hominum, omni suspensus ex ligno".

ethical standards of society but to prevent the masses from being tricked into participating in rebellious activities.⁴⁵

The part which popular religious beliefs played in Chinese peasant rebellions is a complex issue and one which cannot be adequately discussed in the context of an article which is solely devoted to Manichaeism.⁴⁶ The fact that Manichaeism was a persecuted religion in China does not imply that its tenets were subversive and that people joined it as a form of social protest. The assumption that the Manichaeans might have used their belief in the polarity of good and evil as a justification for revolt is certainly not borne out by the sources.⁴⁷

The Manichaeans did not preach any doctrine of earthly Utopia or social reform. They did, however, adhere to a very distinctive life-style which was necessitated by the food taboos imposed by their beliefs. The Manichaean Electi were not allowed to prepare their own food because the act of harvesting and cooking was regarded as murdering the Light-particles in the earth and the fruit.⁴⁸ Food for the Electi was prepared for them by their Hearers. The author of *P. Rylands Greek 469* tells us that before an *electus* could sit down to his meal he had to deny his part in its preparation by saying: "Neither have I cast it [sc. the bread] into the oven: another hath brought me this and I have eaten it without guilt."⁴⁹ A Manichaean *conventus* would normally consist of several Electi who were ministered to by their retinue of Hearers. Germane to the original teaching of the sect was that their Electi should not remain in one place but assume the role of the wandering preacher. This was a feature of Syriac monasticism and the young Mani too considered himself an *ihīdāyā* (ܝܗܝܕܝܐ) when he was a member of a Baptist sect.⁵⁰ It is possible that in some cases the Electi might have

⁴⁵ *T'ang-lu so-yi* 唐律疏義, 5, TSCC edition, i, 91.

⁴⁶ Those interested in this wider question will find an excellent introduction to it in Yuji Muramatsu, "Some Themes in Chinese Rebel Ideologies" in *The Confucian Persuasion*, ed. A. F. Wright (Stanford, 1960) 243-56.

⁴⁷ E.g. Kao Yu-kung, *Study*, p. 53, maintains: "From its beginning Manichaeism was considered subversive in nature because of its doctrine of dualism and its hostile attitude towards authority." Such a view, I believe, is based on a complete misunderstanding of Manichaean ethics.

⁴⁸ Augustine, *Enarratio in ps.* 140,12 (8-9), edd. E. Dekkers and J. Fairpoint, CCSL 40, p. 2034: *dei membra vexat, qui terram sulco discindit.*

⁴⁹ *P. Rylands Greek 469*, ed. cit. lines 25-26: [...οὐδ]ὲ εἰς κλείβα[νον] ἔβαλον, ἀλλ]ος μοι ἦνε[γχε ταῦτα, ἐγὼ] ἀν[α][τίω]ς ἔφαγον. See also [Hegemonius], *Acta Archelai*, 10,6 (ed. C. H. Beeson, GCS 15, pp. 16,29-17,15): *et cum voluerint manducare panem, orant primo, ista dicentes ad panem: Neque ego te messui neque molui nec tribulavi nec in clibanum te misi; alius te fecit et detulit te mihi; ego innocenter te manduco.*

⁵⁰ A. Henrichs, "Mani and the Babylonian Baptists: A Historical Confrontation," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 77 (1973) 35-37. On the

travelled with their whole retinue but, as persecution mounted, it is more likely that they would have moved from one *conventus* to the next with the Hearers carrying on with their normal occupation. In China Manichaeans were noted for the elaborate cell-structure of their sect. A believer could move with exceptional ease from one place to another, relying on his co-religionists in each to provide him with food and shelter.⁵¹ The call to wander was laid down in the *Peking Treatise* (i.e. *Traité*), which was translated into Chinese from Parthian in the eighth century. It says: "A true believer is likened to a king who does not remain forever in one place but has occasion to go on a tour of inspection. His guards and soldiers should have all their weapons and equipment ready so that they can subdue all fierce beasts and jealous enemies."⁵²

The Manichaean cells in China soon became self-help societies with important social consequences. From a hostile source we learn that the Devil Mother (i.e. *Electa*) collected from each of the members forty-nine cash pieces as incense money on the first and fifteenth of each month as a form of monthly subscription. Thus it was commonly alleged that one became rich by joining the sect, as those members who were very poor when they first joined became men of some means through these small gifts and contributions from other members of the sect.⁵³ According to a memorial which was submitted towards the end of the century (1198), the Vegetarians and Demon Worshipers, who pretended to be Taoists, built local shrines and repaired local roads and bridges as a sign of merit. If any of their members got involved in a legal suit the others would contribute towards the necessary bribes to win the case. They had many skilled artisans within their ranks and also kept caches of food and equipment.⁵⁴

Throughout the Sung period Manichaean cells were the nuclei around which new social ties were forged and economic links established at the expense of the traditional structure of the society and economy. At times of political crisis their organization, which was originally designed for the preservation of the religion and for looking after the welfare of its members, could take on the appearance of a state within a state. The sect prospered on the social breakdown of the last years of the Northern Sung Dynasty and its growing popularity hastened the process of disintegration. Its twice-monthly

term *ihīdāyā* see the important discussion in Robert Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom, A Study in early Syriac Traditions* (Cambridge, 1975) 12-15.

⁵¹ CCKK 12a4-8; cf. Lieu, art. cit. p. 409 (see above pp. 105-06).

⁵² *Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching* 摩尼教殘經, ms. lines 230-31 (= T2141. 1284b21-24); cf. E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine", *Journal Asiatique*, 10th ser., 18 (Nov.-Dec. 1911) 572-73 (hereafter referred to as *Traité* 1911). On the Parthian versions see above, pp. 59-75.

⁵³ CCKK 13a.1-2; Kao Yu-kung, *Sources*, pp. 223-4.

⁵⁴ SHYCK, ts'e 165, *hsing-fa* 2.30A7a-B4b.

subscriptions no doubt came to have the same significance for its members as official taxation, and the repair work which the sect carried out on local bridges and roads became an alternative form of imperial corvée. The sect, in short, gave its members incentive for association and community living which inevitably challenged the authority of the state. As one official investigating the causes of the Fang La Rebellion and its horrific aftermath points out to the Emperor, the Manichaeans had inherited the art of government from the Sage Kings of the bygone past but had corrupted it for their own selfish ends:

Your humble servant has heard that those who practise Vegetarianism and Demon Worship have at each village or hamlet one or two gang leaders whom they call Demon Chiefs (*mo-tao* 魔頭). They keep a record of all the names of the inhabitants of the village or hamlet and form them up into groups and swear them into illegal societies for the purpose of Demon Worship. Those who follow the sect do not eat meat and, whenever one of the families in their midst gets into trouble, other members of the sect will make every effort to help. Since they do not eat meat, they make substantial savings and therefore they are easily satisfied. Furthermore, the members of the sect regard each other as relatives. They are willing to help each other and so they do well economically. Your humble servant believes that the Sage Kings of old exercised their rule by bringing the people closer to each other and encouraging them to help each other. The simple life-style and thriftiness of the followers of this sect therefore have ancient and celebrated precedence. Now that the lawful leaders of the people do not govern according to the right precepts, the Demon Chiefs have usurped them for their own ends and used them to mislead their followers and caused them to sing their praises. They then proceed to impart to them their pernicious and dangerous teachings. The common people are not very sophisticated. They claim that since joining the sect they have enough to eat and are doing well in life. Hearing this others begin to pay heed to the teachings of the Demon Chiefs and rush to join the sect. Although the laws against them are increasingly harsh, they are nevertheless not succeeding in eradicating the problem.⁵⁵

5. Manichaeism and rebellion in T'ai-chou 台州

We are exceptionally well-informed as to the activities of the sect at T'ai-chou, where it clearly had substantial following. A few years prior to the outbreak of the rebellion, an official by the name of Hung Kua 洪适 sentenced a rich man to jail for possessing a copy of the *Sutra of the Two Principles*.⁵⁶ The culprit was implicated by an informer who joined the sect under false pretences. At that time the *Sutra of Two Principles* was still listed in the Taoist Canon and was thus theoretically immune from confiscation. The fact that a man could be sentenced to jail for possessing it

⁵⁵ *Chien-yen i-lai hsi-nien yao-lu* 建炎以來繫年要錄, 76, compiled by Li Hsin-ch'uan 李心傳, CHSC edition, ii, 1248.13-1249.6.

⁵⁶ *Pen-chou wen-chi* 盤州文集, by Hung Hao 洪皓, SPTK edition, 74.1a9-b4.

is a good indication of the general feeling of uneasiness, and that conscientious officials like Hung were ready to take matters into their own hands.

Soon after Fang La raised his "standard of righteousness", which signalled the beginning of his revolt, his forces were joined by Lu Shih-nang 呂師囊, who was leader of a secret religious sect from T'ai-chou 台州, and his retinue. Lu's decision to throw in his lot with Fang La drew T'ai-chou into the maelstrom of the revolt and because he was a leader of the cult of "Vegetarians and Demon Worshipers" he strengthened the already existing link between sectarianism and revolt in the minds of the officials.

Sources hostile to the rebels allege that the teaching of the secret sects condoned killing. One could even attain Buddhahood through it because death was the ultimate form of deliverance from earthly suffering. Those who adhered to such a view inevitably found themselves to be at loggerheads with the Buddhists, who preached the opposite view on the subject of killing.⁵⁷ This allegation, if true, would cast considerable doubt on Lu Shih-nang's connection with Manichaeism. The latter's prohibition of killing was quite unequivocal. According to a Manichaean confessional manual in Turkish, the Hearers had to atone for their crimes if they had damaged or killed any living organism:

If we ever, my God, somehow should have inspired with fear or scared these five kinds of living beings [i.e. men, beasts, birds, fishes and reptiles] from the biggest to the smallest, if we somehow should have beaten or cut them, somehow have pained and tortured them, indeed, somehow should have killed them, then we to the same degree owe life to living beings. Therefore we now, my God, pray that we may be liberated from sin. Forgive my sin.⁵⁸

In the West Manichaeans were known to adhere unflinchingly to the precept of non-violence.⁵⁹ One of the most frequently discussed passages from Augustine's *Contra Faustum* is that concerning the "Just War" in which the Bishop of Hippo tries to persuade the Manichaean leader whom he once admired that it is no sin to bear arms for righteous causes.⁶⁰ The literal understanding with which the Manichaeans viewed the prohibition

⁵⁷ CCKK, 13b7-14a2; Kao Yu-kung, *Sources*, p. 225.

⁵⁸ Jes. P. Asmussen, *X^aastvānTft*, *Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen, 1965) 195.

⁵⁹ An exception to this rule, however, is Anna Comnena's comment in *Alexiados*, VI,14,2, ed. B. Leib, ii (Paris, 1967) 82,13-15: Γένος γὰρ οἱ Μανιχαῖοι φύσει μαχιμώτατον καὶ αἵμασιν ἀνθρώπων λαφύσειν καθάπερ εἰ κύνες αἰεὶ ἱμειρόμενον. However, by Anna's time (twelfth century) the term "Manichaean" has taken on a number of pejorative meanings and Anna is here using it to describe a tribe of Barbarians rather than an heretical sect.

⁶⁰ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, XXII,74-76,CSEL, 25/1, ed. J. Zycha (Vienna, 1891) 671,24-676,20.

against killing is borne out by a story from the *Acts of the Persian Martyrs*. A Manichaean was once captured by Persian authorities. Under torture he renounced his allegiance to Mani and his religion. The officials brought him to Aeithala, a Christian holy man, and requested him to verify the genuineness of his renunciation. Aeithala gave the prisoner an ant and told him to kill it, as he knew that if he had not truly recanted of his beliefs he would not harm it. Much to Aeithala's pleasure, the Manichaean killed the ant without the slightest hesitation.⁶¹

If the followers of Fang La and Lu Shih-nang in fact believed that one could attain Buddhahood through wanton killing, they certainly did not derive this from the teachings of Mani. Even as staunch an opponent to Manichaeism as Chih-p'an, the most important Buddhist chronicler of this period, admits that Manichaeans were very strict in their prohibition of killing and of the eating of meat and drinking of wine.⁶² It has been argued that as Manichaeism was syncretistic in nature, it could have assimilated new ideas in the attempt to adjust itself to a new social and religious conditions.⁶³ However, our growing body of evidence concerning the activities of the sect in the Sung seems to suggest that the Manichaeans, although masquerading as Taoists and Buddhists to deceive officials, did their utmost to preserve the original teachings of the sect. Of the nineteen titles of Manichaean works brought to the notice of the officials in 1120 which we have mentioned earlier, at least fifteen remind us of works which were translated from Central Asian languages in the T'ang Dynasty.⁶⁴ The official who actually confiscated the books added that they were neither Taoist nor Buddhist in nature, as most of them spoke of "The Envoy of Light at this moment",⁶⁵ which incidentally is an introductory formula of the *Peking Treatise (Traité)*, one of the earliest Manichaean works to be translated into Chinese.⁶⁶

It is more probable that rebel leaders like Lu Shi-nang derived their doctrine of salvation through killing from some other esoteric sects. The Great Vehicle Sect (*Ta-ch'eng-chiao* 大乘教), for instance, which was founded in the sixth century, preached that for each person one kills one would advance one stage in one's Buddhahood.⁶⁷ The followers of the sect

⁶¹ H. Delehayé, "Les versions grecques des Actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II", *PO* 2 (1907) 511,13-512, 6.

⁶² *FTTC*, 39, *T* 2039.370a23 (Vol. 49); cf. *Traité* 1913, p. 361.

⁶³ Cf. Kao Yu-kung, *Study*, p. 60.

⁶⁴ *SHYCK*, ts'e 165, *hsing-fa* 2.19a9-20a2; Forte, art. cit. pp. 229-253.

⁶⁵ *SHYCK*, ts'e 165, *hsing-fa* 2.19b7-8; Forte, art. cit. p. 239.

⁶⁶ *Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching*, ms. line 5 (= *T* 2141B.1218a23): 爾時明使; cf. *Traité* 1911, p. 509.

⁶⁷ *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, 148, cited in Wu Han, 吳晗 "Ming-chiao yü Ta-Ming ti-kuo 明教與大明帝國" ("Manichaeism and the Great Ming Empire")

dabbled in magic and attacked the monasteries of the more orthodox Buddhists. An extreme sect like this would, by the Sung Dynasty, have become a secret religious society and practised vegetarianism and other forms of asceticism which could make it indistinguishable from the Manichaeans in the eyes of government officials.

The rebels at T'ai-chou were dealt with severely by the authorities after the collapse of the revolt. Several hundred "Vegetarians and Demon Worshippers" were brought before Hung. He tried to show leniency towards them but his law officers and police chiefs insisted on wholesale execution. Hung protested to no avail and the prisoners were eventually all executed.⁶⁸ In the minds of most officials there could be no doubt that "Vegetarians and Demon Worshippers" were bandits intent on overthrowing the rightful government and as such they were the successors of Chang Chüeh 張角, one of the most famous rebel-bandits in Chinese history (fl. latter half of second century A. D.). There is a story that a Prefect (*shou-kuan* 守官) of T'ai-chou by the name of Ho Chih-chung 何執中 devised an ingenious method of extracting confessions of duplicity from prisoners which was based on their alleged connection with Chang Chüeh. He displayed in front of the accused hundreds of different objects and asked them to name them. Among the objects to be named was the horn of a sheep. The Chinese word for horn is *chüeh* 角, which happens to be the same character used in Chang Chüeh's name. According to the story the accused named every article except the horn, thus proving to the prosecution the connection between them and the rebels of old.⁶⁹

6. *Ten poems against the Manichaeans by Li (Shou) Hsien* 李(守)謙

The severe punishments which were meted out to those who practised "Vegetarianism and Demon Worship" served as a strong warning to members of secret religious societies and the officials did not hesitate to remind the common people of the fate of rebels in their effort to bring those societies under control. One official, by the name of Li Hsien 李謙, put his warning against joining secret religious societies in general and Manichaeans in particular in ten short and poignant poems. We know very little about Li Hsien. His poems are found in the local gazetteer of Ch'ih-ch'eng 赤城 in the commandery of Chia-t'ing 嘉定 (*Chia-t'ing Ch'ih-ch'eng-chih* 嘉定赤城志) which was not far from T'ai-chou. We learn from other local sources of an official by the name of Li Hsien who was admired for his

Ching-hua hsüeh-pao 清華學報, 13 (1941) 49-85. [Reprinted in *Tu-shih cha-chi* 讀史劄記 (Peking, 1956) 235-70.] 61 [repr. p. 248].

⁶⁸ *Pen-chou wen-chi*, 74.1b6-7.

⁶⁹ CCKK, 13b.3-6; cf. Kao Yu-kung, *Sources*, p. 225.

learning and thriftiness and who died in 1208.⁷⁰ If he were the same person as the author of the poems, then it would place their date of composition in the second half of the twelfth century. The memory of the Fang La Rebellion was still fresh in the minds of most people and Li Hsien makes frequent reference in his poems to the fate of the rebels. His reason for putting his polemics against the Manichaeans in verse was no doubt the same as that of Augustine, who wrote an *Abecearian Psalm* against the Donatists in order “to reach the attention of the humble masses and of the ignorant and unlettered, and to fix the matter in their memories as much as we can”.⁷¹ The use of poetry for didactic purposes in China was not limited to preventing the common people from joining secret religious societies. Li’s poems against the Manichaeans are found together with a collection of ten poems of similar length urging the common people not to neglect their agricultural duties.

勸爾編民莫事魔	魔成剷地禍殃多
家財破蕩身狼藉	看取胡忠季子和

[1] I implore you, common people, not to follow the wiles of the Demon. Countless troubles will befall you if you become a Demon Worshipper: You will lose all your earthly possessions and be branded as a criminal. You should learn from the example of Wu Chung and Kuei Chi-wu.⁷²

Wu Chung and Kuei Chi-wu were probably inhabitants of Ch’ih-ch’eng who were singled out for severe punishment for being “Vegetarians and Demon Worshipers” as a warning to others. Li Hsien, like many other officials, did not hesitate to use the threat of corporal punishment to give added weight to his polemical writings. Although laws against Manichaeans in the Later Roman Empire were in many ways just as harsh, we seldom find the Church Fathers referring to them in their anti-Manichaean works. For Augustine the *error* of the Manichaeans was not merely a secular offence. The state could threaten the *Electi* with exceptionally harsh

⁷⁰ Chia-t’ing *Ch’ih-ch’eng-chih* 9.22a10-b1 (hereafter *CTCCC*) cited in Mou Jun-sun 毛潤孫, “Sung-tai mo-ni-chiao 宋代摩尼教 (Manichaeism in the Sung Dynasty)” *Fu-jen hsüeh-chih* 輔仁學記, 7, 1/2 (1938) 139. [Reprinted in *Sung-shi yen-chiu che* 宋史研究, 集, i (Taipei, 1958) 92-93.]

⁷¹ Augustine, *Retractationes*, I, 20, *PL* 32.617: “*Psalmus contra partem Donati*. Volens etiam causam Donatistarum ad ipsius humillimi vulgi et omnino imperitorum atque idiotarum notitiam pervenire, et eorum quantum fieri posset per nos inhaerere memoriae, Psalmum qui eis cantaretur, per Latinas litteras feci.”

⁷² *CTCCC*, 37.20b8-9.

punishment but the *extremum supplicium* which was most to be feared would be that of the Final Judgement.⁷³

白衣夜會說無根 到曉奔逃各出門
此是邪魔名外道 自投刑辟害兒孫

[2] Meeting at night in white dress to listen to profane teaching and fleeing in every direction at day-break; these are the hall-marks of the unorthodox and pernicious teaching of the Devil. If you were to take part in such activities, you would certainly end up in jail and your children would be left uncared for.⁷⁴

Manichaeans met at dusk because the rules of the sect prescribed seven sets of prayers which they had to begin reciting after sunset.⁷⁵ Darkness provided ideal cover for the persecuted sect but it also enhanced the secretive nature of their gatherings, which led to charges of immorality. Authorities in China were particularly disturbed by the fact that the meetings were attended by members of both sexes, which was a serious act of impropriety. Contemporary laws forbade the holding of unsegregated religious meetings and this prohibition even applied to properly ordained monks and nuns.⁷⁶ The Manichaeans vehemently denied this charge of impropriety. They maintained that unsegregated meetings were a sign of "Demon Worship", but the followers of the Light Sect (*Ming-chiao*) observed such strict rules of propriety that their leaders would not even accept food which was cooked for them by their womenfolk.⁷⁷

The elusive nature of the sect imposed considerable strain on the police forces of Sung China. The same was true of the Later Roman Empire. Consequently, the anti-Manichaean legislation in both empires permitted people to inform on those joining the sect. In China the inducement for people to come forward and give information which could lead to the capture and indictment of Vegetarian and Demon Worshippers was as much as half of the confiscated property of the accused.⁷⁸ In the Later Roman Empire, the laws against the Manichaeans granted informers special immunity from

⁷³ Augustine, *Contra epistulam Manichaei quam vocant "Fundamenti"*, 1, CSEL 25/1, p. 193,12-16: "Et quicquid diuinitus ante illud ultimum iudicium uindicatur, siue per improbos siue per iustos siue per nescientes siue per scientes siue occulte siue palam: non ad interitum hominum, sed ad medicinam ualere credendum est; quam qui respuerint, extremo supplicio praepearantur."

⁷⁴ CTCCC, 37.20b10-21a1.

⁷⁵ *Traité* 1913, p. 338, n. 6 and Forte, art. cit. p. 241.

⁷⁶ *Ch'ing-yüan tiao-fa shih-lei* 慶元條法事類, 51; text given in *Beitrag zur rechtlichen Stellung des Buddhismus und Taoismus*, ed. and trans. W. Eichhorn (Leiden, 1968) 68.

⁷⁷ *Lao-hsüeh-yen pi-chi* 老學菴筆記, 10.90b7-12 [v. *infra* pp. 155-57].

⁷⁸ SHYCK, ts'e 165, *hsing-fa* 2.53b9-54a3.

prosecution.⁷⁹ The Emperor Justinian decreed that those Manichaeans who had been converted to orthodox Christianity should inform on their former co-religionists as an indication of the genuineness of their conversion.⁸⁰ The laws of Rome are less explicit on the nature of rewards for informers. The emperors were, after all, hailed as suppressors of *delatores* by the Senate.⁸¹ If, however, the practices of the High Empire were still in vogue by the fourth century, the informer could expect about a quarter of the confiscated property.⁸²

金鍼引透白蓮池	此語欺人亦自欺
何似田桑家五畝	雞豚狗彘勿違時

[3] “The Golden Needle pierces through the White Lotus Pond.”
Sayings like this deceive both the speaker and the listener.
How can one compare them with sayings like: “Mulberry trees should be
planted in homesteads of five acres
and the breeding times of chicken, pigs, dogs and swine be not neglected”?⁸³

The “White Lotus Pond” is obviously a reference to the White Lotus Sect, which was one of the most important secret religious societies in Sung China and would play an important part in the expulsion of the Mongols from China in the fourteenth century. As for the saying about the Golden Needle piercing through the White Lotus Pond, there is little in contemporary Manichaean and non-Manichaean literature which can throw any light on its real meaning. The term “Golden Needle” occurs in the *Peking Treatise (Traité)* but in a totally different context and with a somewhat different meaning. There it is used to mean a gold ingot which requires refining (an imagery which strongly echoes 1 Peter 1:7 in the New Testament) and is translated by Chavannes and Pelliot as “mineral d’or”,⁸⁴ Wu Han 吳晗, the only modern scholar to have commented on this poem, believes that Li Hsien was trying to warn his readers that becoming a Manichaean could lead to one being accused as a member of the White

⁷⁹ CT XVI,5,9 (Edict of 382) : “Sublimitas itaque tua det inquisitores, aperiat forum, indices denuntiatoresque sine invidia delationis accipiat.”

⁸⁰ CJ I,5,16 (Edict of 527/9): διὰ τούτου γὰρ μόνου δείξουσιν ἅπανιν, ὡς οὐ κατὰ τινα δυσσεβῆ προσποιήσιν, ἀλλ’ ὀρθῆ διανοίᾳ τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ προσκυνητῷ δόγματι προσκεχωρήκασιν.

⁸¹ CT *Gesta Senatus*, 5, ed. cit. vol. 1/2, p. 2,48: extinctores delatorum, extinctores calumniarum. Dictum XXVIII.

⁸² Tacitus, *Annales*, IV,20, ed. C. D. Fisher (Oxford, 1906): Contra M’. Lepidus quartam accusatoribus secundum necessitudinem legis, cetera liberis concessit.

⁸³ CTCCC 37.21a2-3.

⁸⁴ *Mo-ni chiao ts’an-ching*, ms. lines 63-64, (= T.2141B.1282a13); cf. *Traité* 1911, p. 537: 喻若金師其疑留而云匿猶如金針其彼饑魔即是猛火鍊五分身。

Lotus Sect.⁸⁵ However, it is equally possible that Li Hsien conjured up this saying from a host of esoteric terms and phrases associated with secret religious societies in order to compare it unfavourably with traditional Confucianist ethical sayings. The exhortation to tend to one's mulberry trees was derived from the writings of Mencius (Meng-tzu 孟子), which form part of the Confucianist Canon.⁸⁶ The accusation that monks and nuns, by renouncing the normal way of life, caused hardship for others through their resultant neglect of the essential occupations of farming and weaving, was an age-old one and features prominently in the Edict of Persecution against Buddhist monks in 845.⁸⁷ The government evidently chose to overlook the fact that Buddhist monasteries were important centres of economic activities, as were the Manichaeian cells which we have already noted.⁸⁸ A frequent complaint in the laws of the Sung Dynasty was that common people became self-ordained monks in order to avoid their fiscal duties. A law of 1209 recommends that all those monks who could not produce a certificate showing that their ordination was approved by the state should be deprived of their monastic status and sent back to their former occupations.⁸⁹

莫念雙宗二會經	官中條令至分明
罪流更溢三千里	白佛安能救爾生

[4] You must not recite the *Sutra of Dual Principles and Two Sacrifices*.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Wu Han, art. cit. pp. 68-69 [repr. p. 257].

⁸⁶ Meng-tzu, ed. and trans. James Legge, *The Works of Mencius in The Four Books* (Oxford, 1893) 438-9.

⁸⁷ See above, n. 17.

⁸⁸ On the economic activities of Buddhist temples in China see the fundamental work by J. Gernet, *Les aspects économiques du Bouddhisme dans la société chinoise du v^e au x^e siècle* (Hanoi, 1956).

⁸⁹ SHYCK, ts'e 165, *hsing-fa* 2.136b1-2.

⁹⁰ The title of the sutra is given as *Shuang-tsung erh-hui-ching* in the poem whereas the work to which it is referring is normally called the *Ehr-tsung-ching* ("The Sutra of Two Principles") The confusion is caused by the fact that the Manichaeians called themselves the "Ehr-hui-tzu" ("The followers of the Two Sacrifices"). Although the character "hui" is translated as "sacrifice" here, it must be pointed out that the word can also mean "to pay one's respect". The Manichaeians did not practise any form of ritual sacrifice which involved the taking of life. Cf. Libanius, *Epistula*, 1253 (ed. R. Förster, xi, 329), trans. in Lieu, op. cit., 2nd edn. p. 137. The word "hui" has given considerable problems to Manichaeian scholars as the form in which Chavannes and Pelliot first encountered it means "a juniper tree". Cf. *Traité* 1913, p. 345. Ch'en Yüan, art. cit., p. 231) believes that the term "erh-hui 二檜" is related to the phrase "erh-si 二祀" ("Two Sacrifices or Ancestral Principles") of the Inscription of Karabalghasun, cf. *Traité* 1913, pp. 190-1. However, the word "juniper" does occur in Manichaeian documents in Middle Persian ('bwrs) cf. M101 (h) and

nor the writings of the mad Mani,⁹⁶
 nor the *Book of the Horrible Mysteries* of Bar Daisan.
 The Two Testaments of the King and his Son
 are placed in your ark.⁹⁷

This poem, when juxtaposed with that of Li Hsien, reveals a subtle but important difference between what the two societies saw as the reason for banning the books of Mani. In the West they were proscribed because they contained views on the Creation and the nature of Christ which were at variance with the doctrines of the Church on such matters. In China, however, the main reason for proscribing Manichaean scriptures was that they would turn their readers into criminals and rebels.

To be exiled to a place at least three thousand *li* from one's home was the normal punishment in Sung law for those who were accused of dabbling in magic and causing panic by spreading false rumours of impending disaster.⁹⁸ A similar fate awaited Manichaeans who were apprehended in the city of Rome, as they would be exiled beyond the hundredth milestone,⁹⁹ which in the days of the Republic would signify the loss of one's rights as a citizen. Augustine, however, had serious doubts about the effectiveness of exile as a means of dampening the zeal of the heretics. He was indignant when he heard that Faustus, the Manichaean *electus* of Milevis, was merely sentenced to exile on an island by the secular authorities, "for it is what God's servants do of their own accord everyday when they wish to retire from the tumult of the world. Besides, earthly sovereigns often by a public decree give release from this punishment as an act of mercy".¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ The phrase "šanyā' Mamī ܡܡܝ" which occurs frequently in anti-Manichaean literature, is clearly a Syriac adaptation of the Greek pun on Mani's name.

⁹⁷ Ephraim of Nisibis, *Hymni contra haereses*, 61,9, ed. E. Beck, CSCO, Scr. Syr. 78 (Louvain, 1957) *Textus*, p. 211,19-23:

ܡܡܝ ܡܡܝ ܡܡܝ ܡܡܝ ܡܡܝ ܡܡܝ
 ܡܡܝ ܡܡܝ ܡܡܝ ܡܡܝ ܡܡܝ ܡܡܝ

⁹⁸ SHYCK, ts'e 165, *hsing-fa* 2.53a9-b4 (Edict of 1141).

⁹⁹ CT XVI,5,62 (Edict of 17 July 425): "His conventionione praemissa viginti dierum condonavimus indutias, intra quos nisi ad communione redierint unitatem, expulsi usque as centesimum lapidem solitudine quam eligunt macerentur."

¹⁰⁰ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, V,8, ed. cit. p. 280,15-22: Faustus autem convictus ... in insulam relegatus est: quod sua sponte cotidie serui dei faciunt se a turbulento strepitu populorum remouere cupientes, et unde publica terrenorum

生兒只遣事犁鋤 有智宜令早讀書
莫被胡輝相引誘 此人決脊尚囚拘

[5] When you have sons, just send them to work in the fields
If they are intelligent, you should order them to make an early start with
their studies.

You must not let them be misled by men like Wu Hui -
people such as he are liable to be jailed and flogged.¹⁰¹

As one who had gained his officialdom through his knowledge of the Confucian Classics, Li Hsien strongly advocates in this poem the traditional virtues of hard work and good learning as the best means of safeguarding young people from drifting into the ranks of "Vegetarians and Demon Worshippers". This was also expressed in contemporary laws which, like the famous edict of Diocletian against the Manichaeans (A. D. 302), reason that excessive idleness (*otia maxima*) caused people to turn to newfangled religions and ideas.¹⁰² As the central theme of Confucianist teaching was propriety, Li Hsien and other officials no doubt hoped that those who were well brought up in it would not turn to such unsocial activities as meeting at night and indulging in extreme forms of asceticism and dabbling in magic. However, in an earlier article, I have shown that Manichaeism and Confucianist learning were not always seen as utterly incompatible extremes. Chang Hsi-sheng, a much admired Confucianist scholar of the Sung, was for many years the superintendent of a Manichaean shrine.¹⁰³ During the Yüan dynasty (1280-1368) we find a Confucianist scholar taking residence and practising the religion in a well-secluded shrine.¹⁰⁴

蚩蚩女婦太無知 喫菜何須自苦為
料想阿童鞭背後 心中雖悔不能追

principium uota per indulgentiam solent relaxare damnatos. On this see T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899) 600.

¹⁰¹ CTCCC, 37.21a6-7.

¹⁰² Cf. SHYCK, ts'e 166, *hsing-fa* 3.133a11. The Edict of Diocletian is to be found under Tit. XV of the *Lex Dei sive Mosaicarum et Romanorum legum collatio* in *Fontes Iuris Romani antejustiniani*, ii (ed. J. Baviera et al., Florence, 1940) 580-81. Its prologue reads: *Otia maxima interdum homines in comunione condicionis naturae humanae modum excedere hortantur ... ut sui erroris arbitrio petrahere et alios multos uideantur*. On dating this edict to A. D. 302/3 see the important study by T. D. Barnes, "Imperial Campaigns, 285-311 A.D.", *Phoenix* 30/2 (1976) 174-93 and J. D. Thomas, "The Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus", *ZPE* 22 (1976) 261-62.

¹⁰³ Lieu, art. cit. pp. 400-24 [above pp. 98-123].

¹⁰⁴ *Pu-hsi-chou-yü chi* 不繫舟漁集, cf. Lieu, art. cit. pp. 424-5 [above 123-25].

貴賤家家必有尊 如何毀祖事魔神
細思父母恩難報 早轉頭來孝爾親

[8] Every family, rich or poor should revere its ancestors.
Why, therefore, desert them and turn to the worship of demons?
Consider how hard it is to repay the kindness of your parents,
you should swiftly return to your filial duties.¹¹¹

Filial piety is one of the cardinal virtues of Confucianist teaching on morality. The accusation that by joining a religious order or by involving oneself with a secret religious society one would neglect one's filial duties, was frequently mentioned in imperial edicts against Buddhism.¹¹² The secular authorities assumed that once a person became a monk his monastic vows would cause him to sever his ties with his family. We have no clear information about the Manichaean attitude towards filial piety in China, but since members of the Light Sect called each other "Righteous Friends" (*shan-you* 善友) it can be safely assumed that the ties of the society were very strong. The opening words of a document recovered from Dunhuang which describes the formation of a lay Buddhist religious society (c. A. D. 959) give us some idea of the dilemma which each initiate had to face with regards to his devotion to his parents and his duty towards the sect. The prologue reads:

Our parents give us life, but friends enhance its value;
they sustain us in time of danger, rescue us from calamity.¹¹³

However, as Buddhism became more Sinicized it placed more stress on filial piety and tried to minimize the domestic upheaval which was entailed when one became a monk. The Manichaeans, too, seem to have followed a similar course in this respect. In the courtyard of a Manichaean shrine on Hau-piao 華表 Hill which was built in the thirteenth century, visitors can still see an inscription recording the gift of a statue of Mani the Buddha of Light by a believer in the hope that his deceased mother would soon attain Nirvana.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Ibid. 37.21b2-3.

¹¹² Cf. Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China* (Princeton, 1964) 208-9. See also Michibata Ryoshu, "Tōdai sōni fuhai kunshinron (Study of the Filial Impiety of T'ang Monks and Nuns)", *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 2/2 (1954) 54-64..

¹¹³ The document is no. 7572 in *Catalogue of Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*, ed. L. Giles (London, 1957) and is listed as a "She-ssu chuan-t'ieh" (circular notice sent out by the committee of a club). Eng. trans. by L. Giles in *Six Centuries of Tunhuang* (London, 1944) 38.

¹¹⁴ Wu Wen-liang 吳文良, *Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-ko* 泉州宗教石刻 (*Religious inscriptions of stone of the prefecture Ch'üan*) (Peking, 1957) 44. See my article, "Nestorians and Manichaeans on the South China Coast", *Vigiliae Christianae* 34 (1980) 71-88. [See below pp. 178-88.]

肉味魚腥喫不妨 隨宜茶飯守家常
朝昏但莫為諸惡 底用金鑪爇乳香

[9] Why abstain from the taste of meat and the smell of fish?
You should adhere to a more common diet.
At dawn and dusk you must not follow the evil ones
who secretly warm frankincense on golden stoves.¹¹⁵

Vegetarianism was regarded as anti-social by more conservatively minded scholars and officials in China and was often used as a justification for banning sects which practised it. Such a manifestation of asceticism was harder to condemn in the West since those who led a *vita solitaria* were expected to fast regularly and to eat only very simple food. However, Christian ascetics were not necessarily vegetarians and the Patriarch Timotheus of Alexandria was able to ferret out some Manichaeans among a group of monks by administering a food test.¹¹⁶ Augustine found it necessary to admonish his congregation to distinguish between true Christian asceticism and that of the Manichaeans. He points out that the so-called vegetarian meals of the Manichaeans were in actual fact gastronomical occasions with a fine display of non-meat dishes and delicious food drinks.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, Christian monks in the Egyptian desert took to fasting and abstinence so seriously that some people thought that they should be restrained.¹¹⁸

官家為是愛斯民 臨遣知州誨爾諄
願爾進知庠序教 怕嫌爾做事魔人

[10] The duty of the government is to care for the common people
Officials have therefore been dispatched to correct your errors.
Our wish is that you should know the ancestral teachings
and our fear is that you may become a Demon Worshipper.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ CTCCC 37.21b4-5.

¹¹⁶ *Das Annalenwerk des Euty chius von Alexandria*, 213-15, ed. and trans. M. Breydey, CSCO 472, Ser. Arab. 45 (Louvain, 1985), *Textus* 83-4, *Versio* 68-9. See also Euty chius, *Annales*, trans. Lat., E. Poccocke, *PG* 111.1023A.

¹¹⁷ Augustine, *De moribus Manichaeorum*, XIII (29), ed. J. B. Bauer, CSEL 90 (Vienna, 1992) p. 113,7-11 (cf. *PL* 32.1357): "alius uero ex alia parte nihil gustans carniū, nihil uini, exquisitas et peregrinas fruges multis ferculis variatas et largo pipere aspersas nona hora libenter assumat, noctis etiam principio talia coenaturus."

¹¹⁸ Augustine, *De moribus Ecclesiae catholicae*, XXI (66), ed. J. B. Bauer, CSEL 90 (Vienna, 1992) p. 70,12-16 (cf. *PL* 32.1338): "Tantum isti [sc. Manichaei] admonendi sunt, qui sese inaniter iactant, in tantum processisse restringenda nonnullis, et quasi ad humanos fines revocanda videatur..."

¹¹⁹ CTCCC 37.21b6-7.

This is not the first time that the Manichaeans were confronted with the claim that they were persecuted for the sake of the common good. The Emperor Diocletian asserted in his edict of 302 that it was necessary to burn Manichaean books and execute their leaders so that the general peace and tranquillity of the reign would not be infected by the poison of their teachings.¹²⁰ He also regarded Manichaeism as an enemy of the ancestral religion (“*vetus religio*”) of the Empire.¹²¹ The Emperor Justinian proclaimed in his edict of 527 that to make every provision for enabling his subjects to be orthodox Christians was the most important duty of the government,¹²² words which are strikingly similar to those of Li’s poem.

Li Hsien’s remarks and observations on the customs and practices of the Manichaeans in South China are corroborated by the writings of many other Confucianist officials, and especially by those of Lu Yu, an official of the Southern Sung Dynasty (*v. infra*, pp. 155-56). At the time when he wrote (1163) the Sung government had lost virtually the whole of North China and the Central Plains to the Juchens and the capital had been moved from Kaifeng southwards to Hang-chou. As a result of this move, the government was brought much closer to Fukien, the heartland of Manichaeism in this period. In a memorial devoted to the subject of the followers of the Light Sect, he mentioned that the Manichaeans wore white dress when attending meetings and that their insatiable need for frankincense and red mushrooms had caused a dramatic rise in the price of these two commodities. He, too, was of the opinion that the Manichaeans were the successors of the Yellow Turbans of Chang Chüeh who laid waste to much of China in the closing years of the Han Dynasty.¹²³

7. Orthodoxy and Orthopraxy

Manichaeism in China somehow managed to survive the traumatic aftermath of the Fang La Rebellion and was able to come into the open under the more tolerant régime of the Mongols. It was active enough in the early years of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) for a severe persecution to be

¹²⁰ *Coll.* XV,3,4: et uerendum est, ... accedenti tempore conentur per execrandas consuetudines, et scaeuas leges Persarum innocentioris naturae homines, Romanam gentem modestam atque tranquillam, et uniuersum orbem nostrum ueluti uenenis de suis maliuolis inficere.

¹²¹ *Coll.* XV,3,2: ... quibus nec obuiam ire nec resistere fas est, neque reprehendi a noua uetus religio deberet.

¹²² *CJ* I,5,18 (Edict of 527-9): Πάντων ποιούντων πρόνοιαν τῶν συμφερόντων τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὑπηκόοις ἐκείνου μάλιστα πάντων ... πεφροντίκαμεν τοῦ τὰς αὐτῶν σώζειν ψυχὰς διὰ τοῦ τὴν ὁρθοδόξου πίστιν ἄπαντας καθαρῶς διανοίᾳ πρεσβεύειν.

¹²³ *Wei-nan wen-chi* 5.8a3-b3; cf. *Traité* 1913, 343-52

unleashed against its followers.¹²⁴ Thereafter, Manichaeism faded from Chinese history. When Ho Chiao-yüan was writing his account of the Manichaean shrine on Hua-piao Hill in Ch'üan-chou at the beginning of the seventeenth century, he stated that there were still a few people practising that religion in Fuken although they would not do so publicly.¹²⁵

Confucianism, the state cult of traditional China, was primarily a highly developed code of ethics governing the relationship between man and man. Its main upholders were officials who were trained in the Confucianist scriptures, which, since the end of the T'ang Dynasty, had been the main subject of the civil service examinations. Their encounter with Manichaeism was not through theological disputations like the Church Fathers but in the course of their administrative duties, especially in the maintenance of public order. Their reasons for castigating Manichaeism were well represented in the well-known memorial of Lu Yu 陸游, which was presented to the throne c. 1166:

Since ancient time, the rise or cessation of banditry has been the result of famine caused by floods or drought. Pressed by cold and hunger, men would assemble by a whistle to attack and pillage, but if appropriate steps are taken, they could easily be calmed and pacified and will certainly not become a source of worry to the court. However, perverse people practising demonic sorcery deceive and beguile decent people during times of peace. They form into associations and remain settled, awaiting the right moment to rise. The harm which they cause is harder to fathom.

Your servant humbly thinks that this type of people can be found everywhere. In Huai-nan 淮南 they are called "People of Two Knots (?)" (*Er-hui-tzu* 二檉子).¹²⁶ In the two Che 浙 they are called the [followers of] the doctrine of Mu-ni 牟尼. In Chiang-tung 江東, they are called the "Four Fruits", (*Ssu-kuo* 四果) and in Chiang-hsi 江西 they are called the "Diamond Dhyana" (*Chin-kang ch'an* 金剛禪). In Fukien they are called followers of the "Religion of Light" (*Ming-chiao* 明教) or ["those who observe] the Gati Fast (?)" (*Chieh-ti chai* 揭諦齋) and by various other titles. The Religion of Light is particularly prominent to the extent that it is practised and disseminated by scholars, magistrates and soldiers. Its deity is called the "Messenger of Light" and it also has names (of deities) like the "Buddha of Flesh", the "Buddha of Bones" and the "Buddha of Blood". Its followers wear white garments and black caps. They form into associations wherever they are. They possess false scriptures and demonic images and they even go to the extent of engraving print-blocks for the dissemination of their scriptures. They falsely borrowed (the names) of the officials in charge of Taoism (*Tao-kuan* 道官) like Ch'eng Jo-ch'ing 程若清 and others of the Cheng-ho 政和 period (1111-8) as revisers of their texts and (they also named) the Prefect of Fu-chou, Huang Shang 黃裳 as supervisor of the engraving (of the print blocks).

¹²⁴ Wu Han, art. cit. pp. 78-81 [repr. 267-70].

¹²⁵ *Min-shu* 7.32b5-6; cf. Pelliot, art. cit., p. 207.

¹²⁶ The meaning and significance of this term are both uncertain. Cf. Ch'en Yüan, art. cit., pp. 231-32.

They regard the sacrifices to deceased grandfathers and fathers as an invocation to the (evil) spirits. They abstain completely from food which contains blood. They consider urine as holy water and use it for their ablutions. Their other demonic excesses cannot be easily enumerated. Since they burn frankincense, frankincense has risen in price. Since they eat ground-mushrooms (*chün* 蕈) and tree-fungi (*chün* 菌), these too have risen in price. Furthermore, because they practise these things together they are like glue and lacquer. If perchance they should stealthily rise (up in revolt) they would make one's heart go cold (with fright). Chang Chüeh 張角 of the Han period, Sun En 孫恩¹²⁷ of the Tsin 晉 dynasty (265-419) and Fang La 方臘 of more recent times are all men of this sort¹²⁸

The fact that Lu Yu's warning covers a number of sects of diverse origins shows that his concern was for the rebellious potential which they all shared. Manichaeism featured prominently in his memorial because its followers were particularly numerous in areas where he had once been an official. Beside their being potential rebels, Lu Yu was worried by the way in which they tried to give an air of respectability to their religion through appropriating names of functionaries as revisers and printing supervisors of their scriptures. However, since we know that in 1025 one or even two major Manichaeic works were accepted into the Taoist Canon, there is a strong possibility that the official involvement in the revision and printing of some of the Manichaeic scriptures, so much vaunted by the sect, was genuine. Of the several names mentioned in the memorial we know at least one, that of Huang Shang, to be genuine. He was Prefect of Fu-chou in the Cheng-ho period.¹²⁹ It was not unlikely that Taoist works which were accepted into the Canon carried some sort of colophon with the names of the officials in charge of the collation.

In our examination of the major polemical writings against the Manichaeans by government officials down to the end of the Sung Dynasty, an important point of contrast with the anti-Manichaeic writings of the Christian Fathers which emerges is that at no time in China were the Manichaeans there persecuted on doctrinal issues. There is no mention of dualism in the memorials, and the view of the officials towards Manichaeic writings was that their contents were fantastic or seditious rather than erroneous or heretical. The offence under which the Manichaeans and members of other secret religious sects were prosecuted was "tso-tao 左道",

¹²⁷ Sun En (d. 402 A.D.) was a leader of a sect known as the Five Pecks of Rice (Wu-tou-mi tao 五斗米道) which caused a great deal of trouble to the Tsin government. Cf. *Traité* 1913, p. 350, n.1.

¹²⁸ *Wei-nan wen-chi* 5.7b-8b. Cf. French translation of this passage in *Traité* 1913, pp. 344-50. On taking the term *Chieh-ti* 揭諦 as transliteration for Sanskrit *gati* see Shigematsu Shunsho, art. cit., p. 111 [Germ. trans. p. 90].

¹²⁹ Cf. Ch'ang Pi-te 昌彼德 *et al.*, ed., *Sung-jen ch'uan-chi tzu-liao so-yin* 宋人傳記資料索引, iv (Taipei, 1976) 2867.

which means literally “the left of the correct (or right) way”.¹³⁰ Although it is often rendered into English as “heresy” or “heterodoxy”, it is a far cry from how the Church Fathers would have defined these terms. As Confucianism was essentially a code of ethical behaviour, those who upheld it felt less threatened by the novel cosmogonic theories of Manichaeism than by their accompanying customs and practices. The Buddhists, on the other hand, were more conscious of the doctrinal differences between them and the Manichaeans whom they accused of practising a “wai-tao 外道”. The latter means “an outside way” and is foreign in origin.¹³¹ It comes much closer in meaning to the Patristic concept of heresy, but its usage seldom extends beyond Buddhist literature.

In the *Book of Rites* (*Li-chi* 禮記), which is an important Confucianist manual on rules of propriety, “tso-tao” is listed with crimes such as undermining the forces of law through devious forms of interpretation, sorcery, soothsaying and dispensing of magical portions.¹³² The relevant passage was referred to by a Confucianist official in a memorial against Manichaeans and other similar sects. The memorial is worth quoting as it gives us some idea as to why the officials saw the Manichaeans as guilty of “tso-tao”:

Your humble servant bases his request on the chapter “On Rulership” in the *Book of Rites* which says that those who mislead the masses into rebellious activities by incorrect ways (*tso-tao*) should be executed. The Vegetarian Demon Worshipers of today are precisely such people. Your servant has heard that this practice was widespread in the two Che and the Two Chiang Provinces. It was started by one man and it is now practised by hundreds and thousands of people who swear themselves into gangs with very close ties.¹³³ If any one of them is arrested, the rest of the gang will offer bribes in the region of five hundred to one thousand cash pieces. When one of them dies, others will gather firewood and burn his corpse. Thus they dispense with the need for a proper coffin and shroud, and save themselves from mourning and other funerary ceremonies. Such behaviour is a depreciation of ethical values and how will such people be able to discern the difference between

¹³⁰ The term “tso-tao” is very difficult to render into English, or, for that matter, German. Werner Eichhorn leaves it as “Linksbahn” in *Die Religionen Chinas* (Stuttgart, 1973) 126.

¹³¹ On the foreign origins of the term “wai-tao 外道” and the occurrence of terms with similar meanings in other Central Asian languages see S. Levi, “Le Tocharian B’ langue de Koutcha”, *Journal Asiatique*, 2nd ser., 2 (Sept-Oct. 1913) 379.

¹³² *Li-chi* 禮記, in *Shih-san-ching chu-shu* 十三經注疏, (Shanghai, n. d.) 1344; cf. *The Li Ki or Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usage*, trans. James Legge (Oxford, 1885) 257-8.

¹³³ The mention of the Vegetarian and Demon-Worship Sect being founded by one person confirms Ho Ch’iao-yuan’s account of the “Hu-lu Fa-shih” bringing Manichaeism from the capital cities to Fukien. Cf. Pelliot, *Les traditions*, p. 205.

master and servant? If such practices are not removed at the cost of some pain, they will breed rebellions and then soldiers will have to be used to extirpate them, bringing death and destruction to countless people.¹³⁴

The tone of this memorial is much closer to that of the Edict of Diocletian and of the anti-Christian writings of pagan Romans than to that of the laws of the Christian Emperors against the Manichaeans. The sentiments of Lu Yu's memorial are reflected by many other submissions to the throne in connection with Vegetarian Demon Worshippers. As examples of legal/polemical writings against the sect they have significantly more in common with the famous anti-Manichaean edict of the pagan Roman Emperor Diocletian and his colleagues than with the anti-heretical legislations of the Christian Roman Emperors and the polemical writings of the Church Fathers. Diocletian accused the Manichaeans of "maleficium" and his edict puts a strong emphasis on the harm which this group of foreign "evil-doers" could inflict on Roman society through their magical books and clandestine activities.¹³⁵ The main target of his attack, then, was a group of people suspected of subversive and unethical practices rather than a body of ideas which needed to be condemned because they were contrary to the teaching of a particular school of thought or belief. Cumont has justifiably surmised that Diocletian's motives for prohibiting Manichaeism were mainly social and pragmatic. Diocletian would not have had much patience with its pessimistic asceticism at a time when he was trying to rejuvenate the fortunes of the Empire. Manichaean condemnation of procreation was contrary to governmental attempts to halt the steady decline of population. The sect's negative attitude towards agriculture would, if it became widely accepted, cause a drastic fall in fiscal revenue to the state. In an atmosphere of financial crisis, the call to share one's possessions with the other members of the sect could not but generate fear among officials who relied on the private wealth of the curial class to make up for shortfalls in taxation. Furthermore, the sect's prohibition of killing, if widely observed, would have emptied the ranks of the army. "Rien d'étonnant", concludes Cumont, "à ce que le grand réorganisateur de l'Empire, Dioclétien, ait immédiatement frappé les anarchistes qui propageaient ces théories subversives".¹³⁶ These possible fears which might have lurked behind the minds of Diocletian and his colleagues are, as we have seen, some of the main reasons for the persecution of the sect in China as

¹³⁴ *Kao-feng wen-chi* 高峰文集, 2, cited in Ch'en Yüan, art. cit. p. 237.

¹³⁵ *Coll.*, XV, 3,5, ed. cit., p. 581 : "Et quia omnia, quae pandit prudentia tua [sc. Julianus] in relatione religionis illorum genera maleficiorum statuis evidentissime sunt exquisita et inventa commenta ideo aerumnas atque poenas debitas et condignas illis statuimus".

¹³⁶ F. Cumont, "La propagation du manichéisme dans l'Empire romain", *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuse*, N. S., 1 (1910) 42.

expressed by Confucian officials in their memorials and polemical writings. It is interesting to note that a later Christian commentator of the Late Empire, the so-called "Ambrosiaster", in quoting Diocletian's Edict had to make a few subtle but significant alterations in the wording to give it a more doctrinal flavour.¹³⁷ Manichaeans in China, like Christians in pagan Rome, were not persecuted for the substance of their belief but for the outward practice which such belief entailed.

We must not assume, though, that the Chinese were totally disinterested in cosmogony and metaphysics. Since monotheism was never a predominant feature of the religious life of traditional China, the dualist challenge of Manichaeism which was so strongly felt in the West did not have the same impact in China. It would, however, be wrong to suggest that the origin of evil was not an important philosophical issue for Chinese intellectuals. A common point of debate among Confucianist thinkers was whether a man is born good or evil. If he is born evil, then it could be argued that evil exists as a distinctive entity against which human effort to improve man's nature might in the end prove futile. The leading contributor to the debate in the Southern Sung Dynasty was Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200) who devoted a considerable amount of his voluminous writings to discussing the problem on a metaphysical level. The similarity of some of his arguments to those of the Christian Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries on theodicy has not gone unnoticed.¹³⁸

Chu Hsi admits to the observable fact that good is the opposite of evil but this does not imply that the existence of good necessitates that of evil in the same way that light is the necessary corollary of darkness, nor good with light. Light and darkness succeed each other according to a fixed law of nature. When the laws of nature are both precise and subtle, they can undergo endless transformation without conflicting with each other. "Therefore", says Chu Hsi, "if we are to discuss light and darkness in the same context as good and evil then the correct succession of light and darkness is good and its aberration, evil".¹³⁹ Like the Christian Fathers, Chu Hsi believes that evil is to be found in human behaviour rather than human nature. He likens a good man to water which does not become turbid on its journey to the sea. As clear water is, by definition, water with nothing added to it, turbid water is derived from it and not a separate entity.

¹³⁷ Ambrosiaster, *In ep. ad Timotheum II*, III,7,2, CSEL, 8113, ed. H. I. Vogels (Vienna, 1969) p. 312,17-20: "Quippe cum Diocletianus imperator constitutione sua designet dicens: sordidam hanc et impuram *haeresim*, quae nuper, inquit, egressa est de Persida [my italics]."

¹³⁸ Cf. O. Graft, *Tao und Jen, Sein und Sollen in sungchinesischen Monismus* (Wiesbaden, 1971) 272-81.

¹³⁹ *Hui-an hsien-sheng Chu Wen-kung wen-chi* 晦菴先生朱文公文集 49.9b, SPTK edition.

Since one cannot say that turbid water is the absolute opposite of clear water, so one cannot say that evil stands in contrast to good on equal terms.¹⁴⁰ The same contrast between clear and turbid water was, in fact, used by Augustine in his anti-Manichaean writings in which he asserts that, although one may be justified in disliking turbid water for its muddiness, one should nevertheless praise it as far it possesses the form and quality of water and sustains life in it.¹⁴¹

The problem which confronted Chu Hsi was not so much the cosmic or metaphysical origin of evil as why some people were more prone to doing evil than others; or, to state the question in a typical Confucianist manner: Why is everyone not a sage? The answer, according to Chi Hsi, is partly to be found in the way in which everyone is endowed differently by nature. Thus, a person who is born when the sun and moon are clear and bright, and when the climate is temperate and reasonable, is endowed with a vital force (*ch'i* 氣) which is pure and bright, sincere and honest. But if the sun and moon are darkened and the temperature unreasonable, a person born under such circumstances will possess more adverse qualities than the person born under more salubrious conditions.¹⁴² However, man is not the victim of a natural conspiracy. Because he is born good, Chu Hsi believes that he is capable of overcoming evil, except that the person who is endowed with less salutary qualities will have to work harder at self-improvement in order to reach the desired norm of human conduct (*chung* 中).¹⁴³ Like the Fathers, Chu Hsi puts great emphasis on the value of education and self-cultivation in combating evil. Their common faith in an orderly universe caused them to reject the suggestion that the visible world was merely a conglomeration of forces and that chaos and evil can not ultimately be mastered by the powers of good and other. As Severus of Antioch has pointed out in his homily : how is it that the seasons follow each other in orderly succession, the earth is watered and seeded, and the sea knows its boundaries and controls its more extreme vagaries, unless the creator is stable and all-powerful? If the creation was brought about by a cosmic rebellion, as the Manichaeans had suggested, everything would cease to move in an orderly fashion and the result would be utter chaos.¹⁴⁴

Our brief survey of Chu Hsi's teaching on good and evil is intended to show that, although the Chinese were not seriously bothered by the problem of theodicy, they were not unused to discussing philosophically the

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.19a. Cf. Ch'ien Mu 錢穆, *Chu-tzu hsin hsueh-an* 朱子新學案, i (Taipei, 1972) 395-405.

¹⁴¹ *C. ep. fund.* 30, ed. cit., p. 231,5-9.

¹⁴² *Chu-tzi ch'uan-shu* 朱子全書, 43.4b, compiled by Li Kuang-ti 李光地 *et al.* (Peking, 1713).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 43.5a.

¹⁴⁴ *Hom.*, 123, *PO* 29, p. 176,15-24, ed. Brière.

problem of evil. A thinker like Chu Hsi would have found much to disagree with in Manichaeism. However, the problem of evil never entered into the known polemical writings against the Manichaeans in China. Confucianist officials regarded it basically as an enemy of public order and a corruptor of public morals. The irony is that Chu Hsi himself was accused by his enemies as a Vegetarian Demon Worshipper on the grounds that he was over-ascetic and that his circle of friends could become a nucleus of subversive activities.¹⁴⁵ In subsequent periods, if Chu Hsi is quoted at all in laws against secret religious sects, it is his writings on ethics which are cited.¹⁴⁶

One would expect Buddhist writers in China to take a greater interest in the cosmogonic teaching of Mani and its philosophical implications since metaphysics and cosmology were more important to Buddhism than Confucianism. However, the few passages we possess on Manichaeism from sections devoted to heterodoxy in Buddhist historical works bear no resemblance to the systematic refutation of Mani's cosmogony, especially of its dualism, which we associate with the anti-Manichaeism writings of both the pagan philosophers and the Christian Fathers in the West. One of the earliest Buddhist historical works to contain a section on Manichaeism is the *Ta Sung seng shih lueh* 大宋僧史略 completed in about 999 and compiled by the monk Tsan-ning 贊寧 (919-1002).¹⁴⁷ The brief entry on Manichaeism informs the readers of the foreign nature of this sect and its close association with Zoroastrianism. It reminds them that its diffusion among the indigenous Chinese population was proscribed by the imperial edict of 732. Although Manichaeism was later established in China as a concession to the Uighurs, the religion was officially banned and its priests exiled in 843. The text goes on to say that the official expulsion of the religion did not remove it entirely from China and in 920 followers of Mo-ni caused an uprising in Ch'en-chou 陳州 in North China. These rebels established their own Buddhist sect, which they called the Superior Vehicle (*shang-shang-ch'eng* 上上乘), and they practised vegetarianism.¹⁴⁸ It is

¹⁴⁵ *Ssu-ch'ao wen-chien lu* 四朝聞見錄, 4.115, compiled by Yeh Shao-weng 葉紹翁, Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng edition.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Edict of the Emperor Kao-tung against sectarianism (A.D. 1724) ed. and trans. J. J. M. de Groot, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China*, i (Amsterdam, 1903) 246.

¹⁴⁷ *Ta Sung seng shih lueh* 3, T 2126.253b-c (Vol. 54). A partial French translation of the relevant passage may be found in E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine* (Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1913) 345-47. (N.B. The translation is found only in the off-print edition of the article and not in the original edition in the *Journal Asiatique*.) On the *Ta Sung seng-shih lueh* see the article by Katsumura Tetsuya (trans. F. Martin) in Y. Hervouet ed., *A Sung Bibliography* (Hong Kong, 1978) 356-57.

¹⁴⁸ *Ta Sung seng shih lueh*, 3.253c.

important to note that a virtually identical account of the rebellion is found in a secular source, the *Chiu Wu-tai-shih* 舊五代史 (*Old History of the Five Dynasties*), which describes the rebels as Buddhists but does not mention the name Mo-ni.¹⁴⁹ Tsan-ning's account also links the Manichaeans with another uprising which took place in the Posterior T'ang Dynasty (923-936). Finally, the reader is warned of the danger of mistaking the cult of the rebels as genuine Buddhism :

They painted the Demon King in a squatting position with the Buddha washing his feet. They say that Buddhism is the Great Vehicle (*ta-ch'eng* 大乘) but this is the Superior Vehicle. Their teaching is a shadow and a derivative of Buddhism and they say it is the Way of Approximation (*hsiang-sso tao* 相似道). Some Buddhist monks, driven by cold and famine, joined them from a profit motive. Those who are informed should stay away from it. This lures one straight to the lower regions. You should therefore be on guard against it.¹⁵⁰

We know of a heterodox Buddhist sect called the Great Vehicle and we shall have occasion to mention it later when we discuss the relationship between Manichaeism and popular uprising. The fact that the secular account does not mention Manichaean involvement in the uprising in Ch'en-chou strongly suggests that Tsan-ning had assimilated the Manichaeans with a heterodox and potentially rebellious Buddhist sect for polemical purposes. The account was written within fifty years of the uprising, which implies that by the tenth century Manichaeism had already acquired a reputation for the vegetarianism, secretive nocturnal assemblies and "demon worship" which made it possible for Buddhist polemicists to identify it closely with illegal religious groups known to be rebellious.

The second Buddhist historical work to mention Manichaeism is the *Shih-men cheng-t'ung* 釋門正統 which was completed in about 1237. The compilation was begun by Wu K'o-chi 吳克久 who died in 1208, and the work was completed by the monk Tsung-chien 宗鑑.¹⁵¹ The section on heterodoxy in this work was regarded by a later Buddhist historian Chih-p'an as the work of Tsung-chien.¹⁵² It contains a verbatim quotation of the account on Manichaeism from the *Ta Sung seng shih lüeh*. This was cited as additional support for his condemnation of Vegetarian Demon Worshippers who adhered to the teaching of the *Sūtra of the Two*

¹⁴⁹ *Chiu Wu-tai-shih*, 10.144, Chung-hua shu-chü edition. Cf. Ch'en Yüan, art. cit., pp. 220-22 and Shigematsu Shunsho, art. cit., pp. 106-10 [Germ. trans. pp. 73-78.]

¹⁵⁰ *Ta Sung seng shih lüeh*, 3.253c.

¹⁵¹ On the *Shih-men cheng-t'ung* see esp. Jan Yün-hua, "Buddhist historiography in Sung China", *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 114 (1964) 363.

¹⁵² *FTTC* 54, T 2039.475a (Vol. 49).

Principles. The section on heterodoxy begins with the reminder that the (Manichaeic?) *Sūtra of the Two Principles* and other works not included in the Buddhist or Taoist canons were banned by the laws of the state, especially if these works were used for seditious purposes. According to Tsung-chen, or his sources, the *Sūtra of the two Principles* lays down the prohibition of marriage, the ban on conversation between the sexes, the naked burial of corpses, and the refusal to take medicine for one's illness. This last refusal is attested also in Manichaeic texts from Central Asia and originated from the acceptance of Mani as the ultimate healer.¹⁵³

The compiler proceeds to give a list of what he would class as uncanonical scriptures and it includes such fascinating titles as *Buddha the Master who discloses affection* (*Fo t'u lüan shih* 佛吐戀師), *The Buddha who speaks in tears* (*Fo shuo ti-lei* 佛說涕淚經), *The Sūtra on the coming into the world of the Greater and Lesser Kings of Light at the Beginning* (*Ta hsiao ming-wang ch'u-shih k'ai-yüan ching* 大小明王出開元經) and the *Chant of the Five Comings* (*Wu lai ch'u* 五來曲).¹⁵⁴ This list was later reproduced by Chih-p'an in his great work on the history of Buddhism, the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛租統記 (completed in 1265) with some minor modifications, and, because this modified list was translated into French by Chavannes and Pelliot, these titles have been the cause of some speculation by western scholars as to their approximate equivalents among Manichaeic scriptures in the West and Central Asia.¹⁵⁵ However, an almost identical list with the titles in exactly the same order can be found in an essay by a Confucian official called Wang Chih 王質 (c. 1135-1189) on potentially rebellious religious groups in Chian-hsi 江西 and he attributed these titles to a heterodox Buddhist sect known as the Diamond Dhyana (*chin-kang ch'an* 金剛禪).¹⁵⁶ The suspicion that Tsung-chien has confused two heterodox religious groups is heightened by the fact that after he has given us the list and warned us that the followers of the sect had the potential to become rebels like Fang La and Lu Ang 呂昂 (Lu Shih-nang 呂師囊), he tells us that in their teaching they claimed that all those members of the Dhyana (Meditation) School who propagate the teaching of *acarín* Lu (Lu Hsing-che 呂行者, ie Lu Hui-nang 呂慧能, who became the fifth patriarch of the Dhyana School in 721),¹⁵⁷ are among the twelve classes of the false Dhyana, but those who follow their own teaching are the true members of

¹⁵³ M801a (517-18) ed. and trans. W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet und Beichtbuch*, APAW 1926, p 33.

¹⁵⁴ *Shih-men cheng-t'ung* 4.412Ab (*Hsü Tsang-ching* 續藏經, second ser., B, III/5).

¹⁵⁵ *Traité* 1913, pp. 353-62. Cf. P. Alfarcic, *Les écritures manichéennes*, ii (Paris 1919) 221-22, and Klíma, op. cit., p. 481, nn. 15-17.

¹⁵⁶ *Hsüeh-shan chi* 雪山集, 3.26, Ts'ung-shu chi ch'eng edition.

¹⁵⁷ On Lu Hui-nang see *Traité* 1913, 358-59.

the Dhyana School.¹⁵⁸ This specific mention of the Dhyana School underlines the possibility that thus far this passage from the *Shih-men cheng-t'ung*, with the exception of the introduction which mentions the banning of the *Sūtra of the Two Principles*, is in the main devoted to polemizing against a heterodox Buddhist sect and not against Manichaeans. It is worth noting that according to Wang Chih one of the technical terms of the Diamond Dhyana sect was *shuang-hsiu* 雙修 (two cultivations) which could well have been confused with the important Manichaean term of *erh-tsung* 二宗 (two principles).¹⁵⁹ The compiler of this section of the *Shih-men cheng-t'ung*, namely Tsung-chien, goes on to say that the sect which he has described was a Demon-worshipping, magical religion and to support this claim he quotes verbatim the relevant section from the *Ta Sung seng shih lüeh* which we have already discussed.¹⁶⁰

Chih-p'an 志磐 (1220-1275), by far the most important Buddhist historian of the Sung, mentions Manichaeans several times in his great work of Buddhist history, the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛祖統記.¹⁶¹ For his sources he relies heavily on the *Shih-men cheng-t'ung* and the *Ta Sung seng shih lüeh*.¹⁶² In addition to substantial citations from these two earlier Buddhist historical works, Chih-p'an also cites from the *I-chien chih* 夷堅志, a large collection of popular stories compiled by Hung Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202), a passage devoted to Manichaeism which is now no longer to be found in the extant version of this particular work.¹⁶³ It begins by saying that Vegetarian Demon Worshipers were particularly numerous in Fukien. After describing the way in which the followers of the sect were dressed, Hung Mai says that, because the Buddha they worshipped was clothed in white, they cited in support of this white Buddha the literary formula, "Addressing the Buddha, he [a disciple] said: 'Oh Venerable Lord of the World' (*Pai fo yen shih chuan* 白佛言世尊)" which often occurs in Chinese translations of Buddhist texts.¹⁶⁴ The Manichaeans were probably

¹⁵⁸ *Shih-men cheng-t'ung* 4.412Ab.

¹⁵⁹ *Hsüeh-shan chi* 3.26. Cf. Masaaki Chikusa, art. cit., p. 257. [Germ. trans. p. 59.]

¹⁶⁰ *Shih-men cheng-t'ung*, 4.412Ba/b = *Ta Sung seng shih lüeh*, 3.253b/c.

¹⁶¹ On this famous work of Buddhist history see the article by Chan Hing-ho (trans. J. Lévi) in Hervouet (ed.), op. cit., pp. 353-54 and Jan Yün-hua, art. cit., pp. 371-72, and idem, "The *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*, a biographical and bibliographical study", *Oriens Extremus*, 10 (1963) 61-82.

¹⁶² *FTTC* 54, T 2039.474c is an abridgment of *Ta Sung seng shih lüeh* 3.253bc. *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 39.370a is an abridgment of *Shih-men cheng t'ung* 4.412Ab-Bb.

¹⁶³ *FTTC* 48, T 2039.431a-b. Cf. *Traité* 1913, pp. 330-39.

¹⁶⁴ *FTTC* 48, T 2039.431a. On the phrase "*Pai fo yen shih chuan*" see *Traité* 1913, pp. 333-34, n. 3 and Shigematsu Shunsho, art. cit., p. 117. [Germ. trans., p. 87.]

taking advantage of the fact that the word *pai* (*po*) 白 means both “white” and (when pronounced *po*) “to speak” and they would like the phrase to be understood as “The White Buddha also called the Venerable Lord of the World”. According to Hung Mai they also took from the *Diamond Sūtra* the Five Dhyani Buddhas and named Mani as the Fifth Buddha.¹⁶⁵ In Buddhism the fifth Dhyani Buddha was Sakyamuni whose name in Chinese was often abridged as Mu-ni which, as we have seen, was sometimes confused with Mani’s name in Chinese: Mo-ni.¹⁶⁶

Hung Mai makes a passing reference to the use by the Manichaeans of the *Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians* to show that Mo-mo-ni was *avatara* of Lao-tzu. He also says that the scriptures Mo-mo-ni revealed were those of the “Two Principles” and “Three Moments”. The “Two Principles” were Light and Darkness and the “Three Moments” were past, present and future.¹⁶⁷ Without further elaboration, Hung Mai passes on to the accusation that a rich man bribed the officials in charge of compiling the Taoist Canon in the Ta-chung hsiang-fu 太宗祥符 period (1008-1016) so that they would include the *Sūtra of the Two Principles and Three Moments* in the Canon. These same followers of the Religion of Light also falsely claimed, according to Hung Mai, that the great T’ang poet Pai Chū-i had written a short poem in which he paid deep respect to Manichaeism and even asserted that in matters of discipline and purity the Manichaeans were the equal of Buddhists. The Manichaeans used this poem of eight lines to preface their scriptures.¹⁶⁸ The quotation from the *I-chien chih* concludes with the remark that those who observed this religion ate only one meal in the middle of the day, they buried corpses naked and they prayed seven times each day. All these, according to the author of the passage, were the practises handed down by the Yellow Turbans, namely the archetypal rebels in Chinese history.¹⁶⁹ A Christian Father like Augustine would undoubtedly have seized upon the theological significance of the “Two Principles” and “Three Moments” for refutation. In fact, the two concepts were vehemently debated in Augustine’s disputation with Felix the Manichaean.¹⁷⁰ Chih-p’an probably saw no need to refute the doctrines and

¹⁶⁵ On the five Dhyani Buddhas see W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London, 1937) 113.

¹⁶⁶ A well-known example is to be found in *Ming lü chi-chieh fu li* 明律集解附例, 11.10b, in Ming-tai shih-chi hui-k’an (Taipei, 1970), trans. *Traité* 1913, pp. 367-68.

¹⁶⁷ *FTTC* 48, T 2039.431a.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 431a-b, trans. *Traité* 1913, pp. 336-38. See also the important observations and re-translation by A. Forte, “Deux études sur le Manichéisme chinois”, *T’oung Pao* 59 (1972) 220-29.

¹⁶⁹ *FTTC* 48, T 2039.431b.

¹⁷⁰ Augustine, *Contra Felicem*, I,6, ed. Zycha, CSEL 25/2, p.807,17-19 : Aug. dixit: Si legeris hoc dixisse dominum : mitto uobis spiritum sanctum, qui uos

practices of the Manichaeans as it was sufficiently disparaging that they were equated in the passage with the Yellow Turbans. The only note he added to the citation was to dissociate the name of Pai Chü-i from the Manichaeans: "I have examined the *Ch'ang-ch'ing chi* 長慶集 of [Pai] Lo-t'ien 白樂天 [i.e. the collected works of Pai Chü-i] and it does not contain the poem on Su-lin (ie the poem about Manichaeism). Lo-t'ien (i.e. Pai Chü-i) knew Buddhism. How would he have written such impious verses?"¹⁷¹

The Manichaeans in Sung China, judging from the passage from the *I-chien chih* as preserved by Chih-p'an used both Buddhist and Taoist scripture to give an air of authenticity and historicity to their religion. The primary task of the Buddhist writers, therefore, was to show that Manichaeans were not genuine Buddhists. The Taoists, too, were anxious to reject the claim that Manichaeism was a form of Taoism because Mani was claimed to have been a latter-day manifestation of Lao-tzu, the traditional founder of Taoism, by the followers of his sect in China.¹⁷² The anxiety of the Taoists is evidenced by a passage from the collected sayings of a famous Taoist teacher Pai Yü-ch'an 白玉蟾 (*fl.* 1215), whose real name was Ko Ch'eng-keng 葛長庚¹⁷³ a native of Fukien - the province which saw most Manichaean activities during the Sung period. The relevant passage, which has never been discussed by modern scholars in relation to the history of Manichaeism in China, is our only example to date of Taoist polemics against Manichaeism, and I am grateful to Prof. P. van der Loon of Oxford University for first drawing my attention to it. Pai was asked by one of his disciples whether the followers of the Religion of Light who practised vegetarianism and were skilled in exorcism were genuine followers of Lao-tzu. In his reply, Pai told the story that the propagator of the Religion of Light was a certain Mu-she 慕闍 (= Middle Persian: *Mozak*, the highest rank of the Manichaean priestly hierarchy) from the country of Su-lin 蘇鄰 (i.e. Sassanian Assuristan) who turned to the religion of a certain Envoy of

doceat initium, medium, finem, bene me astringis, ut ostendam, quos docuerit spiritus sanctus. See also *ibid.*, II,3, p. 831,2-7: Aug. dixit: ... unde quid respondeas non inueniendo commemorasti diuinarum scripturarum capitula, ubi de peccatoribus dictum est, quia non pertinent ad beatam uitam, quam bonis et fidelibus donat deus, et has uelut duas naturas accipi uoluisti secundum deliramenta Manichaei.

¹⁷¹ *FTTC*, 48.431b.

¹⁷² On this see my article, "A Lapsed Chinese Manichaean's Correspondence with a Confucian official in the Late Sung Dynasty", in *BJRL*, 59 (1976-77) 412-16. [See above, pp. 117-19.].

¹⁷³ On Pai Yü-ch'an see Ch'ang Pi-te *et al.*, ed., *op. cit.*, v (Taipei, 1976) 3267.

Light after he had failed to acquire Taoist immortality or Buddhist philosophy.¹⁷⁴

In Chinese Manichaean sources, a *Mozak* featured prominently in the diffusion of the religion in China. He visited the Middle Kingdom in the reign of Kao-tsung of the T'ang Dynasty (650-83) for the propagation of the religion and subsequently one of his most distinguished pupils the *fu-to-tan* (= Middle Persian: *aftādan*, "seventy", i.e. one of the seventy bishops) Mihr Ormuzd found favour with the notorious Empress Wu Tse-t'ien 武則天 (684-704).¹⁷⁵ Pai's story of the *Mozak* as a failed Taoist and Buddhist is an interesting parallel to the version of Mani as a rogue prophet in the *Acta Archelai* which was widely disseminated in the Later Roman Empire. Both stories were concocted to undermine the religion of denigrating the credentials of a leading historical figure of the sect. However, while the polemical version of Mani's life in the *Acta Archelai* was well known to churchmen from the fourth century onwards, Pai's uncomplimentary account of the *Mozak* is unique. The greater part of anti-Manichaean writings in China was the work of Confucian officials whose main concern was the sect's potential as a focus of political subversion. The historical roots of the religion were of little interest to them. After the persecutions of the early Ming Dynasty (c. 1370) had drastically reduced the influence of the sect on the social and religious life of South China, a Confucian official with an antiquarian interest like Ho Ch'iao-yüan 何喬遠 (1558-1632) could give us a reasonably accurate account of the early history of Manichaeism without resorting to polemics.¹⁷⁶ Whereas in Europe, the genuineness of the version of Mani's life in the *Acta Archelai* was not seriously challenged until the Enlightenment, i.e. nearly a millennium after the extinction of the sect.

After casting aspersions on the founding figure of Manichaeism in China, Pai Yü-ch'an then proceeds to criticize one aspect of the sect's teaching, namely, the belief that all the plains, mountains, rivers, plants, trees, water and fire are the *P'i-lu-she-na* 毗盧遮那 (= Sanskrit: *vairocana*) Sacred Body (*fa-shen* 法身 = Sanskrit: *Dharmakaya*). One therefore must not trample on them or direct one's action against them in any way.¹⁷⁷ As Prof. Klimkeit has so admirably demonstrated, *Vairocana* being the symbol of

¹⁷⁴ *Hai-ch'iuung Pai chen-jen ju-lu* 海瓊白真人語錄, 1.11a-12a, compiled by Hsieh Hsien-tao 謝顯道 in *Tao-tsang* 道藏, fasc. 1016.

¹⁷⁵ *Min-shu* 7.32a3-4, cf. Pelliot, art. cit., p. 199. On Su-lin = Assuristan see E. Honigmann and A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Brussels, 1952) 43-44.

¹⁷⁶ *Min-shu*, 7.31b5-32b2. On Ho Ch'iao-yüan see L. C. Goodrich et al., ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, i (New York, 1976) 597a-509b.

¹⁷⁷ *Hai-ch'iuung Po chen-jen jü-lu*, 1.11b. A full translation of the passage can be found in *Manichaeism*², pp. 291-92.

light which pervades everywhere in Buddhism, was the obvious one for the Manichaeans in Central Asia to adopt to express the Cross of Light, the mystical symbol for the captivity of Light in Matter.¹⁷⁸ The statement of Pai is strongly parallel by a manuscript fragment in Turkish from Turfan of either Buddhist or Manichaean origin, the relevant part of which I cite from the most recent translation by Zieme :

Und *Mayak Tarmadan* sagt folgendes : Das Wesen des Buddha Vairocana ist alles: Erde, Berge, Steine, Sand, das Wasser von Bächen und Flüssen, alle Tümpel, Rinnsale und Gewässer, alle Pflanzen und Bäume, alle Lebewesen und Menschen. Es gibt überhaupt keinen Ort, der nicht von dem Wesen des Vairocana erfüllt wäre. Wenn ein mönchischer Mensch seine Hand gegen irgend etwas erhebt oder nach irgend etwas ausstreckt, so ist er gegen das Wesen des Buddha Vairocana sündig geworden.¹⁷⁹

Although Pai Yü-ch'an quoted an interesting and doctrinally significant statement from a Manichaean source which preserved an interesting example of the type of cultural adaptation which characterised Manichaeism in Central Asia, he clearly did not intend to refute it systematically in the same way that Augustine in one of his anti-Manichaean works refuted the opening chapters of the famous *Epistula Fundamenti* of Mani verse by verse. Pai merely asserts that the views of the sect as presented by him were not those of an educated person. There are also a number of technical phrases in the concluding part of the passage which are unattested in Chinese Manichaean sources and Pai does not elaborate on them nor does he explain why they were irrational.

The fears of the Confucianists for Vegetarian Demon Worshipers remind us more of pagan attitudes towards the Christians than of Christian polemics against Manichaeans. The Manichaeans in China, like the Christians of pagan Rome, were not persecuted for the theological contents of their belief but for its legal and social implications. The opening words of Celsus' work against the Christians as preserved for us by Origen : "Societies that are public are allowed by the laws, but secret societies are illegal",¹⁸⁰ would have found ready assent among Confucian officials in China who had to deal with the threat to law and order posed by illegal religious sects like the Manichaeans. The readiness of the so-called "Vegetarian Demon Worshipers" to band together to help raise bribes to

¹⁷⁸ On the Manichaean use of the Buddhist divinity *Vairocana* see esp. H.-J. Klimkeit, "Vairocana und das Lichtkreuz, manichäische Elemente in der Kunst von Alchi (West-Tibet)", *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 13 (1979) 357-99.

¹⁷⁹ T I D 200 (Mainz 774) 15-21, trans. P. Zieme, "Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster", *AoF* 8 (1981) 242, n. 46.

¹⁸⁰ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, ed. Koetschau, 1,1, GCS 2, p. 56,3-5: ὅτι τῶν συνθηκῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσι φάνερα, ὅσαι κατὰ νόμους γίγνονται, αἱ δὲ ἀφανεῖς, ὅσαι παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα συντελοῦνται.

secure the release of their imprisoned co-religionists, which annoyed Confucian officials, reminds one of the pagan Roman Lucian's satirical portrayal of Christians lingering about the prison where a Christian was held and even bribing the guards to be allowed to sleep with him.¹⁸¹ One of the first attacks made on the Christians by the pagan Emperor Licinius was the rescinding of their privilege to visit those of their faith who were in jail.¹⁸²

Although the Christian Roman authorities were not over-concerned about the subversive potential of a sect which was "very diffused in the land and few in numbers everywhere",¹⁸³ they did not turn a blind eye to it as a corrupting influence in the matter of morals. As the Manichaean myth abounds in accounts of grotesque sexual practices and is rich in astrological details, it was logical that charges of immorality and magical practices should be brought regularly against a sect which indulged in telling such stories. Its secretiveness lay it open to charges of gross moral turpitude. When such a group was arrested in Carthage sometime between 421 and 428, two of its female members confessed to having been violated by the Elect members of the sect.¹⁸⁴ They also confessed that flour was sprinkled under the copulating pair so that the semen could be mixed and consumed in what Augustine preferred to be called an "Exsecrument" rather than a "Sacrament".¹⁸⁵ Some of the accusations against the immoral behaviour of the Manichaeans border on the fantastic. The author of *P. Rylands Greek* 469, for instance, warned the faithful in his diocese that the Manichaeans extracted menstrual blood from the Electae for sacramental use.¹⁸⁶ This, however, seems to be a charge which the Church authorities were accustomed to hurl at more than one heretical sect. Epiphanius, the heresiologist from Salamis, claimed that this was also practised by the "Barbelognostics" of Alexandria.¹⁸⁷ The *Longer Greek Abjuration Formula* anathematizes those (sc. Manichaeans, but more precisely Paulicians) who

¹⁸¹ *De morte Peregrini*, 12, ed. Harmon. Cf. W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (Oxford, 1965) 273-74.

¹⁸² Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, X,8,11, ed. Schwartz, GCS 9, p. 896,5-10.

¹⁸³ The words of Libanius, *Ep.* 1253, ed. cit., p. 329,5-6: πολλαχού μὲν εἶσι τῆς γῆς, πανταχοῦ δὲ ὀλίγοι.

¹⁸⁴ Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 46,9 (67-80), ed. cit., p. 315.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, (77-80).

¹⁸⁶ *P. Rylands Greek*, 469, ed. cit., lines 33-35 : ὅς (sc. ἐλεκτάς) ἐν τιμῇ ἔχουσιν διὰ τὸ δηλονότι χρῆζειν αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφ᾽ ἑδρου αἵματος αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ τῆς μανίας αὐτῶν μυσάγματα.

¹⁸⁷ Epiphanius, *Panarion*, XXVI,4,8, ed. K. Holl, GCS, 25 (Leipzig, 1915), p. 281,13-17: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ὅταν γένηται αὐτὴν γενέσθαι ἐν ῥύσει τοῦ αἵματος, τὸ καταμήνιον συναχθὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς αἷμα τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας ὡσαύτως λαβόντες κοινῇ ἐσθίουσι, καὶ "τοῦτο, φασίν, ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ".

“have intercourse with (their) sister and mother-in-law and daughter-in-law” and those who “assemble for some sort of a feast on the first of January [the Feast of the Bēma?], who, after an evening of drinking, extinguish the light and couple with each other physically, without the slightest regard for sex, kinship or age”.¹⁸⁸ Again, we can find parallels to this in Byzantine polemical writings, especially those directed against Zoroastrians.¹⁸⁹ A strikingly similar passage, albeit in Syriac rather than Greek, may be found in the *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* of Bar Hebraeus (Gregorius Abul-l-Farag) when describing the Messalians, an ascetical sect from Mesopotamia, which the author regarded as a branch of Manichaeism.¹⁹⁰

Such horror stories have a natural tendency to become more horrific in the course of the dissemination. An extreme example is a story found in a Nestorian Syriac chronicle composed between 670 and 680 about a group of Manichaeans who were seized in a village called Satru (?) in the region of Behkawadh (i.e. the Victorious Kawad, Sassanian Emperor from 488 to 498). It was discovered that the members of the sect would shut a man at the start of the year in a house under the ground. He would be given everything he would desire to eat and they would kill him at the end of the year as a sacrifice for the demons. His skull would be used for the purpose of divination. Furthermore, they would find a virgin and all would sleep with her. The child born of her would then be immediately boiled by them until its flesh and bones were like oil. They would then grind it with flour and make little cakes out of it. These would be given to the new recruits of the sect to eat and because of this act of cannibalism they would not dare to renounce their allegiance to Mani. The group had tried to seize a student, who managed to escape and raised the alarm.¹⁹¹ The horrific details of this story undoubtedly relate to the account of the devouring of the off-spring of the Abortions by the male and female devils, Saclas and Nebroel, in the Manichaean myth.¹⁹² The same story would later be retold by the great Nestorian patriarch and historian, Dionysius of Tell-Mahre (patriarch from

¹⁸⁸ *The Greater Greek Abjuration formula*, PG 1.1469C: 'Ανάθεμα τοῖς συμφθειρομένοις ἀδελφῆ καὶ πενθερᾶ καὶ νύμφῃ· καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πρῶτην τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς εἰς ἑορτὴν δῆθεν ἀθροιζομένοις, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσπερινὴν μέθην ἀποσβεन्नύουσι τὰ φῶτα σαρκικῶς τε ἀλλήλοις ἐνασελγαίνουσι καὶ μηδεμιᾶς ὄλως φειδομένοις φύσεως ἢ συγγενείας ἢ ἡλικίας.

¹⁸⁹ See e.g. Agathias, *Historiae*, II,24,1, ed. R. Keydell, CFHB 2 (Berlin, 1967) 71,25-30. Cf. A. Cameron, “Agathias on the Sassanians”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23 (1969) 92.

¹⁹⁰ Ed. and trans. J. B. Abbeloos and Th. Lamy, i (Louvain, 1872) cols. 219-221.

¹⁹¹ *Chronicon Anonymum*, ed. and trans. I. Guidi, in *Chronica Minora*, CSCO 1, *Textus*, pp. 33,14-34,2 and CSCO 2, *Versio*, p. 28, 7-23.

¹⁹² See eg Theodor bar Khonai, *Liber Scholiorum*, CSCO 55, p. 317,3-14.

818 to 845), while describing the “Manichaeans” (or more probably Sabians) of Harran (ie Roman Carrhae).¹⁹³

Augustine denounced the Manichaeans for double standards in matter of sexual morality. He asserted that while they preached the “seal of the womb” (*signaculum sinus*) to avoid procreation, many of their Elect led lives of wantonness and debauchery. Moreover, an important point of Christian ethics is involved. By prohibiting marriage in order that they might prevent the god whom they bewailed as confined to the seeds from suffering still closer confinement in the womb and yet allowing themselves to commit sexual intercourse, the Manichaeans were turning “the bed-chamber into a brothel”.¹⁹⁴ The same point is made in a Greek anathema text composed probably by Zacharias of Mitylene :

(I anathematize) those who refrain from legitimate cohabitation with women, concerning which the holy Apostle says to those who refuse to preserve chastity : “Let marriage be held in honour and the marriage bed be undefiled, for the Lord will judge the immoral and the adulterous” (Hebrews 13:4), and “But because of immorality, each man should have his own wife and each woman her own husband” (1 Cor. 7:2) - clearly referring to child-bearing which the Manichaeans detest, so as not to, as they say, drag souls into the mire of human bodies and because of this “they commit shameless acts” against nature with men and women (Romans 1:27), even as do the women among them.¹⁹⁵

Christian and Manichaean asceticism had so much in common in terms of practice that any serious attack on Manichaean ascetical practices *per se* would almost certainly back-fire on the Christians. As Ephraim of Nisibis warned: “their [*sc.* the Manichaeans’] works are similar to our works, as their fasting is similar to our fasting, but their faith is not similar to our faith”.¹⁹⁶ A Manichaean who adhered to the ascetical teaching of the sect or

¹⁹³ *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, quatrième partie, ed. and trans. J.-B Chabot (Paris, 1895) *Textus*, pp. 80,1-82,2, *Versio*, pp. 68-70.

¹⁹⁴ Augustine. *Contra Faustum*, XV,7, ed. cit., p. 430, 6-8.

¹⁹⁵ *Capita vii contra Manichaeos*, ed. Richard, CCSG 1, pp. xxxviii,204-xxxix,213: (Ἀναθεματίζω) ... καὶ τῆς νενομισμένης πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας συνουσίας ἀπεχομένους, περὶ ἧς ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος λέγει τοῖς μὴ ἀνεχομένοις τὴν παρθενίαν φυλάττειν “Τίμιος ὁ γάμος καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος· πόρνος δὲ καὶ μοιχοὺς κρινεῖ ὁ θεός” καὶ “Διὰ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω καὶ ἐκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα”, δηλαδὴ πρὸς παιδοποιῖαν, ἣν οἱ Μανιχαῖοι βδελύττονται, ἵνα μὴ ψυχὰς, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασιν, εἰς τὸν βόρβορον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν κατάγωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ἄρρεσι καὶ γυναίξιν παρὰ φύσιν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ αἱ παρ’ αὐτῶν γυναῖκες, “τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι” ...

¹⁹⁶ *Ephraim's Prose Refutations against Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, ed. cit., i (text) 184,28-34 (trans. p. cxix):

ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ

chaean prohibition of killing of animals for food, Augustine believed that it was derived from an erroneous doctrine of creation which presupposed that meat, being heavy with Matter, which is evil, was not created by God.²⁰¹

The Late Roman church saw the polemical battle against Manichaeism not as a conflict between right and wrong practices, legal or illegal associations, but principally between orthodoxy and heresy. Orthodoxy for the church rested on creed, apostolic succession and the authority of the scriptures. In claiming that Mani was an Apostle of Jesus Christ and that his writings were canonical and that the greater part of the Old Testament was contrary to the teaching of the New, the Manichaeans made a strong challenge to all these three supports of orthodoxy. So much so, in fact, that Manichaeism was attacked not only by Christian leaders who subscribed to the articles of faith of the ecumenical councils of Nicaea and of Chalcedon, but also by Arians, Monophysites and Nestorians. A typical statement of the *error* of Manichaeans made by a Christian Father would concentrate on dualism, docetic Christology and the rejection of the Old Testament like this one of Rufinus in his *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed* :

What Mani teaches is a Council of Vanity : first in that he calls himself the Paraclete, then he says that the world was made by an evil God, denies God as creator, rejects the Old Testament, asserts two natures, one good and the other evil, are coeternal and opposed to each other, (and) that like the Pythagoreans, the souls of men return through diverse circles of nativity into cattle and animals and beasts. (He) denies the resurrection of our flesh and maintains that the passion and nativity of the Lord were not in the verity of flesh but in appearance.²⁰²

Unlike the memorial of Lu Yu of the Sung Dynasty which we have cited earlier as a typical example of Confucianist polemical writing against the Manichaeans, the statement by Rufinus draws no attention to the unethical practices or the illegal behaviour of the sect. As we have seen, the brunt of the polemical attack in China by Confucian officials was directed against these two areas. The Buddhists, out of their desire to show that, though they themselves were followers of a foreign religion, they were nevertheless law-abiding citizens, were content to attack the Manichaeans along the same lines as the Confucianist, and even borrowed copiously from

²⁰¹ Augustine, *De moribus Manichaeorum*, XVIII (65-66), pp. 146-48.

²⁰² Rufinus, *Expositio symboli* 37, ed. Simonetti CCSL 20, p. 172,24-32: Concilium vanitatis est quod Manichaeus docet, primo qui seipsum paracletum nominavit; tum deinde qui mundum a malo factum dicit; Deum creatorem negat; Testamentum vetus repudiat; unam bonam aliam malam naturam sibi invicem adserit coaeternas; animas hominum, secundum Pythagoricos, in pecudes et animalia et bestias redire per diversos nascendi circulos adstruit; resurrectionem carnis nostrae negat; passionem Domini et nativitatem non in veritate carnis sed in phantasiis fuisse confirmat.

their writings. The Taoists resented the fact that the Manichaeans revered Mani as a latter-day manifestation of Lao-tzu but, judging from the statement of Pai Yü-chan on the subject which we mentioned earlier, they made no real attempt to refute the sect's teaching on cosmogony. In fact, there is possibility that some Manichaean terms which are peculiar to one of the sect's principal works the *Šābuhragān* were borrowed by Taoist writers even before Manichaeism was fully established in China.²⁰³

In the Later Roman Empire, because of the tenor of the debate between Christianity and Manichaeism was predominantly philosophical, and also because Manichaean writings were cast in a pictorial and mythical language, the Christian polemicist often had to be the spokesman for the Manichaeans. An interesting example of this was Zacharias of Mitylene who, in 527, wrote an *Antirrēsis* (ie refutation) against the Manichaean dualism, apparently at the request of an irate book-seller (βιβλιοπράτης) of Constantinople who had picked up a pamphlet left by a Manichaean in protest at the new harsh measures against the sect declared by Justinian which contains a philosophical proof of dualism.²⁰⁴ Honigmann has rightly drawn attention to the fact that the motif of finding heretical books and pamphlets requiring refutation in the imperial library or palace also occurs in the *Life of Severus of Antioch* by Zacharias, and one would be well advised to regard it as a standard literary topos.²⁰⁵ The pamphlet which Zacharias cited *in extenso* at the beginning of his refutation was most probably his own composition.²⁰⁶ In it he pressed his skills in syllogism to the limit to argue for the metaphysical viability of dualism so that his refutation would appear more impressive and convincing. The nature of the debate in the Later Roman Empire demanded a comprehensible presentation of the Manichaean system on a philosophical level, whereas in China the absence of the metaphysical element in the polemics means that there was little need for the Manichaean position to be rendered logical or coherent by its opponents. In the place of a state-church after the Byzantine model China possessed a state cult of ethics, and the enforcement of correct behaviour had a similar religious force to the extirpation of heresy in the medieval West.

²⁰³ Cf. Liu Ts'un-yen, "Traces of Zoroastrian and Manichaean activities in pre-T'ang China", in idem, *Selected Papers from the Hall of Harmonious Winds* (Leiden, 1976) 2-55, esp. pp. 30 *ad fin.* On this see my reservations expressed in my article "New Light on Manichaeism in China" in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, Acta Iranica, Hommages et opera minora 11 (Leiden, 1985) 411-13.

²⁰⁴ The text of the prologue of the *Antirrēsis* can be found in A. Dematrapoulos ed., *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, i (Leipzig, 1866) γ'-δ'.

²⁰⁵ E. Honigmann, "Zacharias of Mitylene", in idem, *Patristic Studies*, Studi e testi 173 (Rome, 1953) 200.

²⁰⁶ The text of the "Manichaean" *protasis* may be found in Dematrapoulos ed., op. cit., pp. 1-2.

That Manichaeism could fall a victim to orthopraxy in China is a significant reminder that its precepts and practices were very closely linked. It emphasizes the fact too that in traditional China, religion was never merely a matter of intellectual assent. It was first and foremost the acceptance of a distinctive way of life. For the Chinese follower of Mani, membership of the sect, however, not only entailed the intellectual assent to Mani's mythological explanation of the origins and function of the visible universe but also the active participation in a distinctive lifestyle. In the Christian Roman Empire, however, being a true Christian for a theologian like Augustine was not merely to be pure in heart and to bear persecution for righteousness's sake - a goal in life which the Manichaean leader Faustus would like to impress on his listeners. "If to justify oneself were to be just", replies Augustine to Faustus' claim to discipleship, "Faustus would have flown to heaven while uttering these words".²⁰⁷ For Augustine, ethical considerations were secondary, his main concern being to live in a manner which was rendered logically necessary by his solution of theological problems.²⁰⁸ Thus, right actions alone could not save the Manichaeans, as their faith was based on a wrong solution to the problem of theodicy. When a Manichaean leader called Fortunatus wanted to debate with Augustine (who was then not yet bishop) on the subject of Manichaean morals rather than doctrines. Augustine sternly refused to comply on the grounds that he himself had only been a Hearer and therefore had no first hand information on the practices of the Manichaean Elect. To avoid incriminating himself, he added a telling rejoinder that he saw nothing unseemly at the prayer-meetings of the Hearers.²⁰⁹ He was all too aware that Manichaean teachers like Faustus, who claimed to be authentic Christians by ostentatiously adhering to Christ's teaching and commandments on ethical matters, could turn such debates on ethical issues to their advantage. Furthermore, charges of immorality, even if they could be made to stick, would only apply to individual Manichaeans rather than to the philosophical and theological implications of Mani's teaching on cosmogony which he regarded as the core of the heresy. As orthodoxy alone is true, Augustine could not see how true charity could come from an

²⁰⁷ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, V,7, p. 279,2-4 : "Si hoc esset iustum esse, iustificare se ipsum, uerbis suis uolasset in caelum homo iste [sc. Faustus], cum haec loqueretur".

²⁰⁸ Cf. A.D. Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933) 262.

²⁰⁹ Augustine, *Contra Fortunatum disputatio*, 3, ed. Zycha, CSEL 25/1, p. 85, 3-6: Ego tamen in oratione, in qua interfui, nihil turpe fieri uidi, sed solum contra fidem animaduerti, quam postea didici et probaui, quod contra solem facitis orationem. Praeter hoc in illa oratione uestra nihil noui comperi. Cf. F. Decret, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine. Les controverses de Fortunatus, Faustus et Felix avec saint Augustin*, Études Augustiniennes (Paris, 1970) 44.

“ingens fabula et longum mendacium” like Manichaeism.²¹⁰ “For where the faith itself is false, he who hypocritically professes it acts deceitfully, while he who truly believes is deceived. Such a faith cannot produce a good life, for everyman’s life is good or bad according as his heart is engaged.”²¹¹

²¹⁰ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, V,5, pp. 276,21-278,8. The phrase “ingens fabula etc.” comes from idem, *Confessiones*, IV,viii,13, ed. L. Verheijen, CCSL 27, p. 47.

²¹¹ Idem, *Contra Faustum*, V,11, p. 284,2-6: Ubi enim fides ipsa ficta est, et qui ea simulate utitur, fallit et qui eam ueram existimat, fallitur; nec ex ea potest existere bona uita, quia ex amore suo quisque uiuit uel bene uel male. Trans. cit., p. 167.

VI. NESTORIANS AND MANICHAEANS ON THE SOUTH CHINA COAST*

The city of Ch'üan-chou (Quanzhou) 泉州, or Zaitun as it was more commonly known to western visitors, was the most important trading post on the South China Coast from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries A. D. When Marco Polo visited it in 1292, he was impressed by its prosperity and especially by the sight of the exotic goods which it handled. "I tell you", he said, "one of these shiploads of pepper might even go as far as Alexandria or to other places to be carried into Christian lands."¹ This maritime trade between South China and the Persian Gulf began as early as the fifth century A. D.,² but it took on new importance for the Chinese at the turn of the millennium as the approaches to the overland silk route fell into the hands of the hostile Juchens and Mongols. As a result of this commercial activity, foreign enclaves grew up in the more frequented ports of the South China coast. The city of Ch'üan-chou has to this day one of the finest built mosques in China. The medieval Arab historian Abu Said says that in a civil disturbance in that part of China in 878, rebel troops under the command of Huang Chao killed 120,000 Moslem, Jewish and Christian merchants and their families in the nearby port of Canton (Guangzhou).³

When the Mongols became masters of all Asia and parts of Europe in the thirteenth century, the overland route to China from the Caucasus once more became a highway for commerce. It was this route which the Venetian travellers took to go to China. However, the importance of Ch'üan-chou as a port was by no means diminished as a result of this revival in overland trade since it was so much more economical to transport cargo by sea. Ch'üan-chou was also more strategically situated for the spice-trade with the South Sea Islands and India than the more northerly overland route. As Marco Polo says, "Great trade in pearls and other precious stones is done

* This is an expanded and up-dated version of an article originally published in *Vigiliae Christianae* 34 (1980) 71-88. I am grateful to the staff of the Quanzhou Museum of Overseas Maritime Relations, esp. Mr. Li Yukun and Mr. Wang Lianmao, for their kind hospitality to myself and my family when we visited the site of the Manichaean shrine on Huabiao Hill and inspected the bilingual inscription now in the Museum in 1993.

¹ Marcus Paulus Venetus, *De diversis hominum generibus et diversitatibus regionum mundanarum*, ed. A. C. Moule, *Marco Polo, The Description of the World*, ii (London, 1938) p. lv; Et per unam navem de pipere honeratam qua de Alexandria in Christianitate ducatur.

² Cf. D. Whitehouse and A. Williamson, "Sasanian Maritime Trade", *Iran* 2 (1973) 20-49.

³ Cited in *The Biography of Huang Chao*, trans. H. S. Levy (Los Angeles, 1955) 117.

there (i.e. Zaitun), and this is because the ships in India come there in numbers with much merchandise and with many merchants who frequent the islands of India."⁴ The government was not unaware of the potential of this lucrative trade as a source of revenue. Kublai Khan levied a ten per cent duty on all the goods which passed through the port. In this he was only following the practice of the Sung government. An Inspectorate of Maritime Trade (*Shih-po-ssu*) was already in existence in Ch'üan-chou since 1087.⁵

Under the Mongol rule, it was only logical that non-Chinese should be appointed to handle the affairs of this cosmopolitan community. Some of these appointees were Nestorians as the Mongols had considerable respect for the members of "The Church of the East". Kublai Khan himself was the son of a Nestorian princess.⁶ Like their predecessors in the Sassanian court, Nestorian priests were closely associated with the Mongol rulers through their being excellent physicians and able administrators. The expulsion of the Mongols in late fifteenth-century marked the end of Nestorianism in China. The Ming government which succeeded the Mongols was intensely xenophobic and had little love for foreign and esoteric religions.⁷ As Europe looked to the Atlantic for commercial and colonial opportunities, a gradual decline in maritime trade inevitably followed. Ch'üan-chou began to lose its foreign residents as its importance as a port was soon overshadowed by Canton which was more conveniently situated for the growing trade with Chinese colonies in South East Asia. The harbour of Ch'üan-chou was silted up and until recently many European scholars did not believe that the present day city of Ch'üan-chou was in fact Marco Polo's Zaitun.⁸

1. *Foreign religious inscriptions in Ch'üan-chou*

The cosmopolitan outlook of the city when it was an important port left its legacy in a large number of tomb-stones with inscriptions in non-Chinese scripts. The building of roads and the construction of a railway in the early part of this century have brought a number of these tomb-stones to light. Most of them have Arabic inscriptions which is not surprising as the

⁴ Marco Polo, op. cit., p.l.v: Et in ista civitate est portus ad quem omnes naves de India cum mercimoniis multis caris descendunt videlicet lapidibus preciosis magni valoris et cum multis perlis grosis ad istum portum ducuntur...

⁵ P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i (Paris, 1958) 589.

⁶ L. Olschki, "Manichaeism, Buddhism and Christianity in Marco Polo's China", *Zeitschrift der schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde* 5, pt. 1/2 (1951) 7.

⁷ Helmut Wilhelm, "On Ming Orthodoxy", *Monumenta Serica*, 29 (1970-1) 1-26; see also Emilio Botazzi, "Un episodio di intolleranza ideologica all'inizio della dinastia Ming", *Annali* (Istituto orientale di Napoli) 34, N. S. 24, (1974) 73-86.

⁸ Pelliot, op. cit., i, pp. 589-95.

mosque itself in Ch'üan-chou has some magnificent Arabic inscriptions on its walls. More relevant to scholars of Eastern Christianity are the famous Nestorian Crosses which are funerary decorations. They were noted as early as the seventeenth century by the Jesuit priest Emmanuel Diaz.⁹ They attracted a great deal of attention in the hey-day of Christian missions in China as they provided the *novum prodigium* with some tenuous links with the historical past. Events of the Second World War unexpectedly added further traces of this first Christian mission to China. In 1941, the Chinese government realising that it would be impossible to defend Ch'üan-chou against a seaborne invasion by the Japanese, ordered the city walls to be breached in several places so as to make the city less easy to defend against guerilla attacks after its occupation by the enemy. The work of demolition recovered many more inscribed tombstones which had been used for repairing the city walls. The ones which survived the chaos of the war years have been collected and placed under the custody of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Xiamen (Amoy) and many are now exhibited in the Quanzhou Museum of Overseas Maritime Relations. Among them are tombstones with inscriptions in Syriac (Estrangela) script. Some of these inscriptions are of considerable length but their content still eludes us as the main body of these texts beyond the greeting is not written in Syriac but, though still in Estrangela script, in some Turkic language with possibly some Chinese words in transliteration. Many of these tombstones bear an elaborate motif of a cross on a lotus flower, the symbol of the Nestorian Church in China, flanked by angels in flowing robes.¹⁰

Bilingual inscriptions among these recently discovered tombstones are rare but one which deserves our attention is dedicated to a Nestorian priest. This tombstone was not recovered from the walls but was found beside a pond. Inside the pond there were more tombstones which can be seen in dry weather.¹¹ The stone, which is now in the Quanzhou Museum of Overseas Maritime Relations carries a bilingual inscription in Chinese and in Turkish. The Chinese reads¹² :

⁹ P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Relics and Documents in China* (Tokyo, 1937) 436; On Arabic inscriptions see G. Arnaiz and M. van Berchem, "Memoire sur les antiquités Musulmans de Ts'iu-tcheou", *T'oung Pao* 12/5 (Dec. 1911) 677-727.

¹⁰ Wu Wen-liang 吳文良, *Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-ko* 泉州宗教石刻, (Peking, 1957) 45-6.

¹¹ Chiang Wei-chi 蔣為璣, "T'an tsui-chin fa-hsien ti Ch'üan-chou chung-wai chiao-tung ti shih-chi 談最近發現的泉州中外交通的史蹟 (Discourse on the recently discovered evidence on the relations between China and the outside world via Ch'üan-chou)", *Kao-ku t'ung-hsün* 考古通訊, 1956, pt. 3, 46.

¹² Wu Wen-liang, op. cit., p. 44 and accompanying plate. See also the earlier report of Wu's findings in J. Foster, "Crosses from the walls of Zaitun", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S. 1954, 1-25, with plates.

1. 官令江南諸路明教秦教等也里可溫馬里失里門阿必思古八馬里哈昔牙
2. 皇慶二年歲在癸丑八月十五日帖迷荅掃馬等泣血謹志

{Line 1} To the Administrator of the Manichaeans (Ming-chiao) and Nestorians (Chin-chiao) etc. in the Circuit of Chiang-nan, the Most Reverend (Ma-li Ha-shi-ya) Christian (Ye-li-ko-wen) Bishop (a-pi-ssu-ku-pa) Mar Solomon (Ma-li Shi-li-men),¹³ Timothy Sauma (Tien-mi-ta Sao-ma) and others have mournfully and respectfully dedicated this tombstone {Line 2} in the second year of Huang-ch'ing, Kuei-ch'ou, on the fifteenth day of the eighth month (5th September, 1313).¹⁴

The Turkish version which is in Estrangela Syriac script and has earlier been transcribed by Murayama reads:¹⁵

1. maḥi ail-lar-niṅ mar-i ḥasya mar-i šlimun episqupa-niṅ qabra-sī ol.
2. ut kui yīl säk(i)z(n)č ai-niṅ on pis-tä başlap keliu Zauama biti-miš.

and which Murayama translates into German as follows:¹⁶

1. Das ist das Grab des Herrn Priesters, des Herrn Episkopus Šlimun der Religionsbezirke (?)
2. Am fünfzehnten des achten Monats (August) des Jahres Ochs, Kui (der letzte der zehn Stämme) hat Zauama, der (eine Delegation) führend gekommen, (diese Inschrift) geschrieben.

The title of Mar Solomon's office is intriguing for a number of reasons. Firstly, Nestorians are not known to have been very friendly towards

¹³ There is considerable confusion on the decipherment of the proper names and titles in this inscription as the relevant clause is unpunctuated. L. Carrington Goodrich, one of the first Western scholars to know of this inscription, consulted W. B. Henning on its decipherment and the two scholars arrived at the view that the tombstone was dedicated to two people, Mar Solomon the Bishop and Mar Isaiah (Mali Hashiya), cf. L. C. Goodrich, "Recent Discoveries at Zayton", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 77 (1957) 164. Their interpretation is accepted by K. Enoki, "The Nestorian Christianity in China in Medieval times", *L'Oriente Cristiano*, Accademia dei Lincei, anno 361, quaderno 62 (Rome, 1964) 62. Professor Mary Boyce however, has asked me to reconsider the views of these scholars as it seems more sensible that a tombstone should be dedicated to one person. I owe an immeasurable debt to my wife Judith who drew my attention to the fact that Mali Hashiya is the transliteration of the Syriac Mari Hasia ܡܪܝ ܗܫܝܐ which is a common title for a saint or bishop. Mali Hashiya, therefore, is not the name of a person but an additional title of Mar Solomon.

¹⁴ Wu Wen-liang, op. cit., p. 44. His printed text of the inscription is wrongly punctuated.

¹⁵ S. Murayama, "Eine nestorianische Grabinschrift in türkischer Sprache aus Zaiton", *Ural-altaistische Jahrbücher* 35 (1969) 394. This important article was not known to me when I wrote the first version of this article. I am grateful to Prof. P. Van der Loon (Oxford) for drawing my attention to it.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 395.

Manichaeans at any time in the history of the sect. Nestorius himself was labelled a Manichaean by his opponents. In the so-called *Bazaar of Heracleides*, Nestorius vehemently denounced Manichaeism.¹⁷ The relationship between the two sects in the Far East may have been more cordial but we know that even in Sassanian Persia, persecution did not forge a closer link between Christians and Manichaeans. In the Acts of the Persian Martyrs we find a holy man by the name of Aeithala being asked by Persian officials to act as an inquisitor in the trial of a Manichaean.¹⁸ The only occasion of Nestorians having something in common with Manichaeans in China other than the title of Mar Solomon's office is the inclusion of two or three Manichaean scriptures in a list of Nestorian scriptures which were translated by the Bishop Ching-ching 景淨.¹⁹ This, however, should not lead us into thinking that Nestorians were more tolerant towards their rivals when they found themselves in a strange environment. Rather, since both Manichaeans and Nestorians were active in translating their holy writings into Chinese, it is very probable that Ching-ching kept the Manichaean scriptures to see how they did their work.

The second reason why it is strange to find someone being put in charge of both Manichaeans and Nestorians is that whereas Nestorianism was inseparably linked to resident aliens in China, Manichaeism had by the thirteenth century become completely Sinicized. Nestorianism first came to China in the seventh century when the Sassanian Empire succumbed to Islamic invaders. The T'ang government allowed it to be practised in China but its priests were mostly Syrians or Sogdians and the religion as a whole attracted few followers from the Chinese population. It was expelled in the ninth century together with many other foreign religions. The religion was so thoroughly uprooted by this expulsion that the Nestorian monk from Najran who in 980 had gone on a special journey to inquire into the fate of the Christian church in China reported that in the whole of China he had met with only one Christian.²⁰ Nestorianism was re-introduced into China by the Mongols in the thirteenth century but again it was staffed by foreign priests and it won few converts from the indigenous population.

¹⁷ Nestorius, *The Bazaar of Heracleides*, trans. G. R. Driver and L. Hodgson, (Oxford, 1925) 24-5.

¹⁸ H. Delahaye, "Les versions grecques des Actes des Martyrs Persans sous Sapor II", *PO* 2 (1907) 511,13-15: Μανιχαῖος δέ τις ἦν ἐκεῖ δεδεμένος· ὃν ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Ἀειθαλᾶν ἐκέλευσεν κατενεχθῆναι, ὅπως ἴδῃ τὸν Μανιχαῖον ἀρνούμενον τὴν πίστιν ἑαυτοῦ.

¹⁹ A. C. Moule, *Christians in China before the year 1550* (London, 1930) 56, n. 63.

²⁰ Pelliot, op. cit., ii (Paris, 1963) 727; cf. Moule, op. cit., p. 75.

Manichaeism on the other had was fervently evangelistic from the very moment it arrived in China. The Sogdian priests who brought the religion to China in the seventh century disseminated it among the local population as well as ministering to the needs of the foreign merchants in China.²¹ They aroused so much concern among the authorities, especially the Buddhist priests at court, that in the eighth century an edict was issued to delimit its spread.²² In the ninth century, by a stroke of good fortune, they managed to convert the leader of the Uighur Turks to Manichaeism. He was the most important military ally of the T'ang government and with his political backing and that of his immediate successors, Manichaean temples were established in about half a dozen cities in China. However, these temples only had a brief existence. In 840, the Eastern Uighur Empire was supplanted by the Kirghiz, one of their subject peoples, as the dominant foreign power in the North. Seeing that Manichaeism was deprived of political support in China, the T'ang government ordered the closure of the Manichaean temples. A few years later all the Uighur and Sogdian priests were expelled from China in a wave of xenophobia which culminated in a wholesale attack on all foreign religions including Buddhism. Expulsion orders were also served on Nestorians, Muslims and Zoroastrians. Manichaean priests were rounded up and sent to the border region of Kansu where the remnants of the Uighurs had established themselves. According to a Buddhist chronicle, many of the priests and nuns died on the way because of the hardship of the journey.²³ However, this expulsion of foreign priests did not mean the complete cessation of Manichaean mission in China as it did for Nestorianism. One Manichaean priest managed to escape to the South and found shelter among the foreign enclaves in Ch'üan-chou and he soon attracted followers.

We owe our knowledge of the history of the sect after the mid-ninth century persecution to a seventeenth century *savant* by the name of Ho Ch'iao-Yüan 何喬遠.²⁴ He has given us a description of a Manichaean temple in Ch'üan-chou and a brief history of the sect. His knowledge of both the tenets of Manichaeism and its history in China was remarkably

²¹ O. Menchen-Helfen, "Manichaeans in Siberia", in J. Fischel (ed.), *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 11 (Los Angeles, 1951) 407-9.

²² E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un Traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," Deuxième partie, *Journal Asiatique*, 11^e ser. 1 (Jan.-Feb. and Mar.-Apr. 1913) 154-5. [Hereafter *Traité* 1913.]

²³ *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛租統記 42, T 2035.385c26-28 (Vol. 49), cf. *Traité* 1913, pp. 301-3.

²⁴ Ho Chiao-yüan's account of Manichaeism in South China has been translated into French by P. Pelliot in his very important article, "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-kien", *T'oung Pao* 22 (1934) 206. See also below, pp. 193-95.

accurate as there were still a few practising Manichaeans in the vicinity of Ch'üan-chou whose books he could consult at the time when he wrote his account of the temple. In telling us that the Manichaeism in South China was brought there by a refugee priest from the North, he has provided us with the vital link between the two stages of the history of the religion in China which discounts the common assumption that the Manichaeism in South China was imported by sea from the Persian Gulf.²⁵ The Manichaeans in the South preserved some of the writings of the sect which were translated into Chinese when the religion was essentially Central Asian in outlook.²⁶ They used many of the religious terms of their former co-religionists in the North which implies that they did not receive their religion from foreign priests who came to Ch'üan-chou by sea and who set up their own translation project to render the Manichaean scriptures into Chinese. Moreover, ever since the sixth century, Manichaeism was increasingly tied to the Silk Route for its dissemination and propagation and became a largely Central Asian religion. The Manichaeans who still resided in Mesopotamia were mostly intellectuals and scholars, not the type who would become ardent missionaries. They were accused by the Manichaeans in Central Asia for their liberal views especially on ascetic matters. When some of them actually fled to Turkestan in the face of a Muslim persecution, they were looked down upon by a local Manichaean leader as "Damn Syrians".²⁷

The Manichaeans in South China endeavoured to make their religion blend into the cultural and religious life of China since they were now deprived of the political support of the Uighur Turks. They claimed that Mani was a re-incarnation of Lao-tzu, the founder of Taoism, an honour which was lavished upon Manichaeism by the Taoists, when it was still a *religio licita* and protected by the military power of the Uighurs. In 1120, Manichaeans in South China were severely persecuted for the alleged part which some of them played in the so-called Fang La rebellion which came dangerously close to complete success.²⁸ Despite this set back, the sect

²⁵ Chiang Wei-chi, art. cit., p. 47.

²⁶ A. Forte, "Deux études sur le manichéisme chinois", *T'oung Pao* 59 (1972) 238-53.

²⁷ W. B. Henning, "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 90 (1936) 16. The term does not mean 'the damned Syrians' as suggested by P. R. L. Brown, cf., "The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire", *Religion and Society in the age of St. Augustine* (London, 1972) 117. On this text see the more recent study of W. Sundermann, "Probleme der Interpretation manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe" *Acta Antiqua ... Hungaricae*, 28 (1983) 305-12. Eng. trans. H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road - Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (San Francisco, 1993) 261-62.

²⁸ Kao Yu-Kung, "A Study of the Fang La Rebellion", *HJAS* 24 (1962-3) 33ff.

continued to gain converts among the local population including the educated and the wealthy. In an exchange of letters between a Manichaean and a Confucian official which I have published, we find a scholar of considerable repute becoming the resident superintendent of a Manichaean temple. He tried to adhere to the very strict ascetic rules of the sect but then found them too demanding. He confessed his failings to a friend who was a Confucian official. Instead of receiving a reprimand for following a heterodox and illegal religion, he was praised by his friend for having tried to adhere to the original teachings of the sect.²⁹

The Mongols who became the masters of the whole of China in the thirteenth century were considerably more tolerant in religious matters than the Sung government which they had ousted. The Mongol Khan ruled over a multitude of races and faiths and he required the loyalty of all his subjects in his military ventures. It would therefore have been unwise to cause division among the peoples of his vast empire by showing special favour towards any one particular religion. Instead there was a place for every major religion in the court of the Khan. William of Rubruck, a contemporary of Marco Polo and himself an intrepid traveller, was drawn into the lively debates and dialogues between the leaders of the various sects at the court of Khan at Kharakorum which he visited in the early years of the fourteenth century. Marco Polo too witnessed these lively discussions at the Mongol court on his overland journey to Asia and his impression was that "these Tartars do not care what God is worshipped in their lands. If only they are faithful to the Lord Khan and quite obedient, and give therefore the appointed tribute, and justice is well kept, thou mayest do what pleaseth thee with the soul."³⁰

Kublai Khan had decreed that the three main foreign religions in China – Buddhism, Nestorianism and Islam, should be accorded freedom of worship provided that their leaders registered their religion with the Board of Rites (禮部 *li-po*). Failure to do so would be deemed an offence. It was unlikely, however, that the Manichaeans who had gone underground for almost four centuries in South China would come to the open and register themselves as followers of a foreign religion and thus be placed under the supervision of Nestorian priests. William of Rubruck claimed that at Kharakorum he

²⁹ S. N. C. Lieu, "A Lapsed Chinese Manichaean's Correspondence with a Confucian Official in the Late Sung Dynasty (1264)", *BJRL*, 59 (Spring 1977) 397-425. [See above, pp. 98-125]

³⁰ Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, XXI, ed. L. F. Benedetto (Florence, 1928) 14: *Isti Tartari non curant quis deus in terris eorum abhoretur ... Dummodo omnes sint Domino Cani et fideles et bene obedientes et dent igitur tributum ordinatum et bene servetur iustitia, de anima facias tibi placet.* This quotation originates from Manuscript I and *not* Z as suggested by Olschki, art. cit., p. 8, n. 25. I have spent many fruitless hours looking for this quotation in A. C. Moule's transcription of Z only to find it later in I.

debated with genuine Manichaeans who believed in the "Two Principles" and the transmigration of souls.³¹ However, like most medieval churchmen, he was well-versed in the doctrines of Manichaeism as described by heresiologists like [Hegemonius] and Ephiphanius, and was therefore inclined to detect a Manichaean substratum in any heresy which smacked of dualism. Although the Mongols had incorporated into their Empire the kingdom of the Western Uighurs at Chotcho, the only state to make Manichaeism an official religion, one cannot say with certainty that Manichaeism was still a living force in Central Asia at that time.³² The Western Uighurs embraced Islam as readily as their Eastern kinsfolk took to Buddhism. Moreover, even if the Mongols knew enough about Manichaeism from the few Manichaean priests at their court, they were not likely to be able to see the link between the Manichaeism of the Western Uighurs and the very Sinicized version of the religion which was practised in South China, especially if they had to do their investigations via interpreters. The Chinese officials working under the Mongols would not know enough about Christianity to detect the close association between Manichaeism and Nestorianism. They were more likely to label Manichaeism as a form of Buddhism because of its very strict rules on asceticism.

The Nestorian priest to whom the inscription at Ch'üan-chou was dedicated was clearly non-Chinese. We are fortunate to know something about him and his role in the history of Nestorianism in South China from an account of the sect written by a Confucianist scholar, a Director of Classics (Jü-hsüeh chiao-su 儒學教授), by the name of Liang Hsiang 梁相. According to this account, the Nestorians who disseminated their religion in South China were associated with the Patriarchate of Samarkand. Genghis Khan incorporated Samarkand and Buchara into his empire around 1221 when Mar Elijah was patriarch. The Nestorians soon distinguished themselves as court physicians. When Genghis' son, Tului, fell ill, they restored him to health by prayer and administration of sherbet. The monks were led in their intercessory prayers by a "most reverend bishop" (Mari

³¹ Willelmus de Rubruguis, *Itinerarium* (Recueil des voyages, iv), eds: J. Michael and T. Wright (Paris, 1839) 356: Sunt enim omnes istius heresis Manichaeorum, quod medietas rerum sit mala, et alia bona, et quod adminus sunt duo principia; et de animabus sentiunt omnes quod transeant de corpore in corpus.

³² On Manichaeism in West Turkestan see A. von Gabain, *Das uigurische Königreich von Chotscho, 850-1250, Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1961, nr. 5, passim. For the view that Manichaeism was still an active force at the time of the Islamic invasion see the evidences collected in P. Alfarcic, *Les écritures manichéennes*, i (Paris, 1918) 127-8. See also the brilliant refutation of this view in Jes P. Asmussen, *X^uästvänft Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen, 1965) 161-2, n. 111.

Hasia, *Ma-li Ha-shi-ya* 馬里哈昔牙). In 1268, Kublai Khan, learning of the fame of Mar Elijah invited him to China and bestowed high honours on him. Although he enjoyed high office and imperial patronage, the propagation of the Christian religion was still very much in his heart. Inspired by a vision which told him that he should found seven monasteries, he resigned his imperial offices and dedicated himself to this task. Grants of land and imperial authorization for the founding of the monasteries soon followed. A high water mark in his missionary effort was the arrival from the West of the Bishop Mar Solomon whom he invited to expound the Christian doctrine.³³ The latter was probably the bishop who led the intercessory prayers over the Mongol prince Tului, and was certainly the same Bishop Mar Solomon to whom the inscription was dedicated. As Mar Elijah did not begin his missionary work before 1277 – the date of the conferment of his last major imperial office – Mar Solomon probably came to China in the 1280's. From the inscription, we learn that he died in 1313 and was buried by his disciples in South China. It is unlikely that within such a short time he would be able to learn enough Chinese and about Chinese religion to find out for himself the presence of Manichaeans in his new field of mission who were doing their best to avoid the powers-that-be by masquerading as Taoists or Buddhists.

A well-known and much discussed incident in the *Il Milione* of Marco Polo may shed some light on how the Manichaeans in South China came to be placed in the same administrative category as the Christians by the Mongol rulers even though they had long considered themselves to be a superior form of Buddhism.³⁴ Marco Polo visited Ch'üan-chou in the company of his uncle Maffeo in 1292 and they stopped on their way at the city of Fou-chou (Fugiu) which was also an important port. The two ports, Fou-chou and Ch'üan-chou was once called Fou-chou.³⁵ There a wise Saracen (*sapiens saracenus*) told them of a sect whose religion nobody seemed to be able to identify. They neither worshipped fire nor Christ nor Buddha nor Muhammed. He would be pleased if the Polos would visit them and find out who they were.³⁶ The members of this unidentified sect were understandably apprehensive when the Polos were introduced to them. They

³³ *Chih-shun chen-chiang chih* 志順鎮江志, English translation in Moule, op. cit., pp. 145-150.

³⁴ This famous account is unique to Manuscript Z of Marco Polo. As a full transcription of this Latin version of *Il Milione* was not published until 1928, this account is not included in editions and translations of the travels of Marco Polo which were published before that date.

³⁵ P. Pelliot, op. cit., ii, pp. 589-595.

³⁶ Marco Polo, op. cit., p. liii: nam idolatria non est quia idola non retinent non adorant ignem non profitetur Macometum nec etiam habere videtur ordinem Christianum placat vobis ut eamus ad eos et loqui cum eis...

thought that the Venetians were the agents of the Khan who had come to deprive them of their religion.³⁷ However, the Polos were not deterred by this initial cold reception as they were eager to impress upon them the Khan's toleration in matters of religion. They visited the sect a few more times to gain the confidence of its members. The barriers soon came down and the Polos were even allowed to inspect their wall-decorations and their holy books. With the help of a translator, the visitors were able to identify a Psalter.³⁸ From this they concluded that the members of the unknown sect were Christians and they should send a delegation to the Khan to procure for themselves the privileges which were granted to the Christians.

Two members of this so-called Christian sect duly arrived at the court of the Khan and made themselves known to the head of the Nestorians. He took their case to the Khan and requested that these people should be granted the privileges which were due to the Christians. However, the head of the Buddhists argued that this sect should not be placed under the rule of the Christians as they were idolaters and had always known to be idolaters.³⁹ Bored by the arguments put forward by the religious leaders of both sides, Kublai Khan summoned the delegation to his presence and asked them whether they would like to live under the law of the Christians or the law of the Buddhists. They replied that if it should please the Khan and were not contrary to his majesty, they wished to be classed as Christians as their ancestors had been. Their wish was duly granted and Kublai Khan ordered that they should be addressed as Christians and allowed to keep the law of the Christians.

Most scholars are agreed that the Polos had stumbled across a secretive group of Manichaeans. In the course of their journey to China they would have learnt that Nestorian Christianity had penetrated into China in the Seventh Century and for a brief period enjoyed the patronage of the T'ang court. They were unlikely to have learnt that Manichaeism too came to China about the same time. Not being a trained theologian like William of Rubruck, Marco Polo could not easily distinguish between Manichaeism and orthodox Christianity, especially if his investigations had to be conducted via interpreters. Marco Polo estimated the number of people belonging to this sect in South China (Manci) to be 700,000 families. This figure, even if we accept an element of exaggeration, precludes their being Nestorian Christians as our sources are extremely silent on the presence of

³⁷ *Ibid.*: Illi vero videbantur quasi timere ne ipsos examinarent propter auferendam eis legem eorum ... timebant itaque ne fuissent per magnum Dominum delegati ad hanc examinationem faciendam.

³⁸ On the importance of psalms and hymns among Manichaeans see Olschki, *art. cit.*, p. 14.

³⁹ Marco Polo, *op. cit.*, p. liv: Nam supradicti erant idolatri et fuerunt semper et pro idolatris habebantur.

any large communities of Christians in South China prior to the Mongol period, whereas both Confucianist and Buddhist accounts are unanimous on the "subversive" activities of the Manichaeans in this area.⁴⁰ In their zeal to show that the Christian Church in China was of long standing, the Polos had mistaken Manichaeans to be orthodox Christians and somehow managed to convince them that they were so. As the Buddhists had been the most consistent and outspoken critics of Manichaeism throughout its history in China, it was to the advantage of the Manichaeans not to be placed under their rule.⁴¹

2. The Manichaean Shrine near Ch'üan-chou

As far as the Manichaeans were concerned, their new ties with Christians was a *marriage de convenance*. The long history of persecution which characterises Manichaeism had taught its members not to become over-reliant on secular support. Although Manichaeism was able to enjoy freedom from persecution under the Mongols, the laws against them were not completely abrogated. The Yüan Code contains a law against those who attended secret meetings in white ceremonial dress.⁴² This was no doubt kept to appease the Confucianist officials whom the Mongol rulers had to rely on for governing the indigenous population. The situation is not unlike that of the African Church under the Vandal rulers in Late Antiquity. The Vandals, though they themselves were heretics, nevertheless found the power of the Catholic Church to be so strong and pervasive that they had to burn a few Manichaeans in order to please the subject people.⁴³

The Manichaeans in South China did not become more Christian as a result of their new classification. A Manichaean shrine which was built in the vicinity of Ch'üan-chou during this period differed little in appearance from other Buddhist shrines and temples in the area. This was the shrine which in the early years of the seventeenth century sparked off Ho Ch'iao-yüan's interest in the sect. His account of the shrine and his brief history of the sect laid unnoticed in his vast work on the topography and antiquities of South China, the *Min-shu* 閩書, until the discovery of original Manichaean texts in Chinese in Turkestan in the early parts of this century. Chinese

⁴⁰ *Traité* 1913, 329-353.

⁴¹ On Buddhist hostility towards Manichaeism see S. N. C. Lieu, *art. cit.*, 416-420. [See above, pp. 161-66.]

⁴² *Yüan-shih* 元史 (*The Dynastic History of Yuan*) 105.2684, Chung-hua shu-chü edition (repeat of a Sung law of 1202).

⁴³ Victoris Vitensis, *Historia de persecutione Vandalica*, II,1, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 7 (Vienna, 1881) 24,7-9: Et (sc. Huniricus) ut se religiosum ostenderet, statuit sollicitus requirendos hereticos Manicheos; ex quibus multos incendit plurimos autem distraxit navibus transmarinis.

scholars immediately tried to look for this shrine in Ch'üan-chou. Unfortunately, Ho did not give sufficiently clear indication to its whereabouts in his text. He says that it was situated on Hua-piao Hill but this still left the scholars with a large area in which to search for this shrine. At one time most scholars thought that the shrine was no longer extant but one scholar by the name of Wu Wen-liang did not give up the search in the firm belief that if it was still standing in the seventeenth century there is a good chance for it to have survived. In 1957 he was able to announce that the shrine had definitely been located in the south-eastern outskirts of the city and, as Ho had said, on the slopes of Hua-piao 華表 Hill.

For nearly three decades only one photograph of the building was available outside the People's Republic of China.⁴⁴ It shows a very ordinary looking Buddhist rustic shrine. No wonder the scholars in the 1920's and 30's had difficulty in trying to find it.⁴⁵ It has two storeys with the main hall for worship on ground level and living quarters for a very small number of monks or priests on the upper floor. According to Wu Wen-liang, the shrine was built entirely in granite. In the hall was a statue of Mani as the Buddha of Light measuring 154 cm. in height. It was backed by a gold-plated halo with a diameter of 168 cm. An inscription on a stone in the courtyard exhorts the worshippers to repeat (or memorize):

勸念
清淨光明
大力智慧
無上至真
摩尼光佛
正統己丑年九月

⁴⁴ Wu Wen-liang, op. cit., pp. 44-6, see accompanying plate. An unsuccessful attempt has been made to reproduce this rather faint photograph in a Western periodical, see the plate accompanying the article of K. Enoki (supra note 13). The inscription was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution but the same words have now been reinscribed on a rock face to the side of the shrine. The same words have also been found inscribed on two stone slabs, a photograph of which is exhibited in the Quanzhou Museum of Overseas Maritime Relations which clearly indicates that they were the motto of the sect in South China.

⁴⁵ On the shrine see now P. Bryder, "... Where the faint traces of Manichaeism disappear", *AoF* 15 (1988) 201-08. Material on other Manichaean temple-sites in Fu-chien are collected in B. Stöcker-Parnian, "Ein manichäischer Fund an der Südostküste Chinas", *China-Blätter* 18 (Nov. 1991, In Memoriam Achim Hilderbrand) 211-21.

Purity, Light, Great Power, Wisdom,⁴⁶ the highest and unsurpassable truth, Mani the Buddha of Light. Inscribed in the ninth month of the Chih-ch'ou year of the Cheng-tung period (1445).⁴⁷

Wu Wen-liang was told by the local people that this was an ordinary Buddhist shrine and the "Mani" of the inscription (i.e. Mo-ni 摩尼) is merely a mis-transliteration of "Mou-ni 牟尼", the shortened version of Buddha's real name, Sakyamuni. However, Wu, on closer examination of the shrine, suggests four reasons why it is not a Buddhist temple but the Manichaean shrine which is described by Ho Ch'iao-yüan. Firstly, Buddhists would not normally be so careless as to confuse "Mani" with "Muni", especially in a religious inscription although the two names are very close in sound. Secondly, the statue of Mani differs from the ordinary statues of Buddha in several respects. The latter normally depict Buddha as having downcast eyes, curly hair and without a beard. The statue of Mani in this shrine, despite its Buddha-like pose and backed by a halo, stares straight at the spectator. He is bearded and does not have any curly hair on his head. Wu also says that there are perceptible differences in the design of the halo with those which normally accompany the statues of Buddha. However, Wu does not list the differences and the photographic reproductions of this statue which have appeared so far are not sufficiently clear for us to pick these differences out for ourselves. Thirdly, most Buddhist temples have inscriptions exhorting the worshippers to repeat Buddhist devotional formulae and incantations like "Nan-mo a-mi-t'o-fu 南無阿彌陀佛" (Sanskrit: Namah Amitabha) but not words like "Mani the Buddha of Light, etc." Fourthly, the Buddhists in Ch'üan-chou celebrate the birthday of Buddha on the nineteenth day of the second month of the Chinese year. However, beside the south entrance of the shrine is an inscription which gives the birthday of the Buddha in the hall as the sixteenth day of the fourth month.⁴⁸

These are of course the observations of a scholar. It is very possible that many of the worshippers who frequented the shrine in the fourteenth and

⁴⁶ Purity (i.e. divinity), Light, Great Power, Wisdom are the four attributes of the "Four-faced" Father of Greatness in the Manichaean pantheon.

⁴⁷ Wu Wen-liang, *op. cit.*, p. 44, the translation given by Goodrich, *art. cit.*, is incomplete.

⁴⁸ Wu Wen-liang, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-5. The date for Mani's birthday according to a text from Eastern Turkestan was the eighth day of the second month of the thirteenth year of the period of Chien-an (March 12, A.D. 208). Cf. W. B. Henning and G. Haloun, "The Compendium of the doctrines and styles of Mani, the Buddha of Light", *Asia Major*, N. S. 3/2 (1952) 190-1 and 196-201. The date given in the shrine at Ch'üan-chou is probably a local variation. For the dates of Mani's life see the important study by A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex", *ZPE* 5 (1970) 116-132.

fifteenth centuries thought that Manichaeism was merely a variant of Buddhism. This was probably not the view of the person who donated the money for the statue of Mani. The dedicatory inscription reads:

謝店市信士陳真澤善舍本師聖像祈荐考妣早生佛地者至元年戒月[...]日記

Ch'en Chi-tse, a believer of the town of Hsieh-tien presented this holy image, praying earnestly for his deceased mother, hoping that she will soon attain Buddhahood. Inscribed in the [...] day of the month of discipline (i.e. the twelfth month)⁴⁹ of the fifth year of Chih-yüan (1339).⁵⁰

The records of the Ch'en family in this locality says that Ch'en Chi-tse was well thought of by the local inhabitants for his generous provision for a statue of Buddha in a local shrine. His immediate relatives were probably also unaware of the true nature of the shrine.⁵¹ The priests, however, who still had access to Manichaean scriptures had clearer idea on the origins of the Buddha to whom the shrine was dedicated. We must not forget that Ho Ch'iao-yüan would not have been able to write an account of how Manichaeism came to South China from Persia unless he was able to consult the priests about the history of the sect and to examine their scriptures. The fact that the priests in the shrine on Hua-piao Hill possessed original Manichaean scriptures is attested by the inscription which says "Please repeat: Mani the Buddha of Light, etc." It is a partial quotation from a Manichaean scripture called the *Ning-yen Sūtra*. According to W. B. Henning, "Ning-yen" is the transliteration for the Middle Persian word *dewan* which means archive or a collection of letters. The *Ning-wen* 寧萬 or *Ni-wen* 泥萬 *Sūtra* is therefore the *Epistles of Mani* in Chinese translation.⁵² This work is no longer extant but we find excerpts from it in other Chinese Manichaean writings. The excerpt from which the inscription

⁴⁹ I am grateful to Prof. Takao Moriyasu for informing me that this very peculiar month-title "chieh-yüeh 戒月" is derived from *čxšapt ay* in the Uighur calendar (= Chin. la yue 臘月) – a legacy perhaps of Uighur patronage of the Manichaeism under the T'ang. Cf. T. Moriyasu, "L'origine du bouddhisme chez les Turcs et l'apparition des textes bouddhiques" in A. Haneda (ed.) *Documents et Archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale* (Kyoto, 1990) 157

⁵⁰ Originally published in Wu Wen-liang, op. cit., p. 44, a fuller version of this inscription can now, be found in Li Yu-kuan 李玉昆, "Fu-chien Chün-chiang chao-an Mo-ni-chiao wei-ch'i tan-shu 福建晉江草窠摩尼教遺蹟探索 (Investigations into the remains of the Manichaean remains in the rustic shrine at Chün-chiang in Fu-chien)", *Shih-chieh chung-chiao yen-chiu* 世界宗教研究 24 (1986, pt. 2) 134. The abridged translation of the inscription given by Goodrich (art. cit., p. 164) is based on a wrongly transcribed text.

⁵¹ "Fu-chien Chün-chiang Hua-piao Mo-ni-chiao wei-ch'i 福建晉江摩尼華表摩尼教遺蹟 (Manichaean Remains on Hua-p'iao Hill in Fukien)", *Wen-wu ts'an-kao tzu-liao* 文物參考資料 69 (1958, pt. 4) 28 (The article is unsigned).

⁵² Haloun-Henning, art. cit., p. 207.

is adapted reads: "If the true worshipper (*tien-na-wu* 電那勿, from Pth. dyn'br, Sogd. δyn'βr⁵³) comes to a full realization of the Righteous Law, then he will receive the most pure Light and the great and powerful Wisdom."⁵⁴

Manichaean temples were not intended to be monasteries in the Christian or Buddhist sense as the priests were not allowed to reside in them unless they were ill.⁵⁵ Since the procurement and preparation of food by the Manichaean Electi were prohibited by the teachings of the sect, the priests had to rely on the lay brothers for food and accommodation. In China, as in Augustine's North Africa, the Manichaeans developed an elaborate system of cells which the Electi visited on circuit.⁵⁶ This encouraged contact between the clergy and the laity which was vital to the success of Manichaeism as a missionary religion. It is significant that the Manichaean shrine on Huapiao Hill in Ch'üan-chou provided living quarters for a few priests which is more in line with other Buddhist monasteries. The severe persecution of the sect in the Sung Dynasty must have irreversibly weakened the cell-structure of the sect and turned the cells into isolated pockets with little contact with each other.

When the persecution was lifted with the ousting of the Sung government by the Mongols, the Manichaeans were able to come out to the open once more. However, there was no immediate attempt to restore the cell-structure which had characterized the sect as a secret religion par excellence under the Sung. Instead individual Manichaean communities erected their own shrines which housed their own priests and scriptures. This turned Manichaeism from an invading to an inviting force with inevitable diminution in contact between the clergy and the laymen. Manichaeism began to acquire a reputation for being an other worldly religion and we find a Confucian scholar turning to Manichaeism in this period in order to become a hermit.⁵⁷

The Manichaeans whom the Polos met had clearly been deprived of the teaching of their priests. They had little idea of what they believed in except

⁵³ On the meaning and significance of the term *dynwr* see M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Brill 1975)3-4 and 41, n. 6; see also F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaeica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan, II", *SPAW* 1933, vii, 304-5.

⁵⁴ *Mo-ni-chiao ts'an-ching* 摩尼教殘經, ms. lines 134-35 (= T 2141B. 1283a15-17, Vol. 54): 若電那勿具善法者清淨光明大力智惠皆備在身即是新人功德具足; cf. *Traité* 1911, p. 556.

⁵⁵ On Manichaean monasticism in general see Asmussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-1, n. 14.

⁵⁶ P. R. L. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo, A Biography* (Faber, 1967) 46; see also Lieu, *art. cit.*, pp. 403-410. [See above, pp. 103-09.]

⁵⁷ *Pu-hsi-chou-yü chi* 不繫舟漁集, by Ch'en Kao 陳高, 12; trans. in Lieu, *art. cit.*, 424-5. [See above, pp. 123-25.]

the little they could learn from the few books which had been passed on to them by their ancestors.⁵⁸ Thus it was not difficult for the Polos to persuade them to believe that they were Christians: “Vos estis Christiani et nos sumus similiter Christiani.”⁵⁹ However, although they might have been glad to be classed as a recognized religious group together with the Christians, they did not totally lose their self-identity. Although Manichaeans could be as changeable as a chameleon and as adaptable as a polypus, as a Byzantine heresiologist puts it,⁶⁰ nevertheless those in Ch’üan-chou remained loyal to what they knew of the teaching of Mani albeit in a Chinese guise. It did not take the authorities long to realise that the 700,000 or so families which Marco Polo had labelled as Christian were not Christians at all but members of a detested heresy. However, since Nestorian priests were also administrators whose duty it was to maintain the religious peace desired by the Khan, they were obliged to look after the interests of the Manichaeans. The title of Mar Solomon’s office as the chief administrator of Christians and Manichaeans attests to their unique ecumenical role.

APPENDIX

Account of the Manichaean Temple on Hua-piao Hill

I feel it appropriate to append Ho Ch’iao-yüan’s essay on the Manichaean shrine at Hua-piao hill which is discussed in part of my article. Ho was an antiquarian who lived at the turn of the seventeenth century. His essay not only gives us a description of the shrine but also a brief history of the sect in China from its arrival to its gradual disappearance in the Ming Dynasty.⁶¹ It is a document of considerable value to the historian of Manichaeism. It has been translated into French by Paul Pelliot and into English by T. A. Bisson at the beginning of this century.⁶² My own translation is based on that of Mr. Bisson:

⁵⁸ Marco Polo, op. cit., p. liv: set multo tempore sine doctrina fuerant quare principalia ignorabant tamen istud tenemus a predecessoribus nostris videlicet quod secundum libros nostros celebramus...

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. liv.

⁶⁰ Petrus Siculus, *Historia Manichaeorum*, 16,5-6, cf. Ch. Astruc et al. (edd.), “Les sources grecques pour l’histoire des Pauliciens d’Asie Mineure”, *Travaux et Memoires* 4 (1970) 13: καὶ ἀλλῶς δίχην πολύποδος ἢ χαμαιλέοντος τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ συµμεταβάλλονται, ...

⁶¹ On Ho Ch’iao-yüan, see *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644*, ed. L. D. Goodrich et al. (New York 1976) 507a-509b).

⁶² Pelliot, art. cit., pp. 193-208; T. A. Bisson, “Some Chinese Records of Manichaeism in China”, *The Chinese Recorder* 60 (Shanghai, 1929, Pt. 7) 425-27.

Description of Hua-piao Hill in *Min-shu* 閩書 7.31b2-32b7⁶³

The Hua-piao Hill of the county of Chin-kiang prefecture of Ch'üan-chou is joined to the Ling-yüan Hills. Its two peaks stand up like *hua-piao* (i.e. twin columns placed at entrance of tombs). On the ridge slope back of the hill is a rustic shrine dating from the Yüan period. There reverence is paid to Buddha Mani. The Buddha Mani has for name "Brilliant Buddha Mo-mo-ni". He came from Su-lin (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 Lao-tzu travelled to the shifting sands of the West, in the Wu-tzu year of the Chien-an period of emperor Hsien of the Han (208 A.D.),⁶⁴ he was transformed into a *nai-yün* (i.e. pomegranate). The queen of the king Pa-ti ate and liked it, upon which she became pregnant. The time having come, the child came forth through her breast. The Nai-yün 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.⁶⁵ His (Lao-tzu'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 Lao-tzu (i.e. Taoism). He propagated [his religion] in the countries of the Arabs, the Roman Empire,⁶⁶ Tokharestan, and Persia. In the year Ping-ssu of the T'ai-shih period of emperor Wu of the Chin (A.D. 266) he died in Persia. He entrusted his doctrine to a chief *mu-che*.⁶⁷ The *mu-che* in the reign of Kao-tsung of T'ang (650-683) propagated his religion in the Middle Kingdom. Then, in the time of Wu Tse-t'ien (684-704) an eminent disciple of the *mu-che*, the *fu-to-tan*⁶⁸ Mi-wu-mo-ssu (Mihir Ormezd) came in turn to the court. The Buddhist monks were jealous of him and calumniated him, and there were mutual struggles and difficulties; but Tse-t'ien (i.e. Empress Wu) was pleased with his words, and kept the envoy to explain his Scriptures to her.

⁶³ The Chinese text is given in Pelliot, art. cit.

⁶⁴ On the Chinese dates of Mani's life see Haloun-Henning, art. cit., pp. 196-204.

⁶⁵ Referring to Lao-tzu's miraculous birth; based on similar story of Buddha's birth when Maya grasped the *asoka tree*.

⁶⁶ The Chinese term here is Fu-lin = Middle Persian *hrwm*, cf. H.H. Schaeder, "Iranica, Pt.2, Fu-lin," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 10 (Berlin 1934)24-68.

⁶⁷ *Mu-che* = Middle Persian *mozag* (i.e. *magister*), cf., Haloun-Henning, art. cit., p. 195, note 65.

⁶⁸ *Fu-to-tan* = Middle Persian (*a)ftādān* (i.e. *episcopus*), cf. Haloun-Henning, art. cit., p. 188, n. 1.

In the period K'ai-yüan (713-741) a Ta-yün-kuang-ming-ssu (Temple of the Light of the Great Clouds) was established for the worship (of Mani). He himself (the *fu-to-tan*) said that in his country there had been in the beginning two sages, called Hsien-yi (Primordial Thought)⁶⁹ and I-ssu (Jesus);⁷⁰ as we in the Middle Kingdom speak of P'an Ku.⁷¹ The word *mo* means large.⁷² Of their sacred books there are seven works. They have [also] the *Hua-hu-ching*, where is told the story of Lao-tzu entering the shifting sands of the West to be born in Syria.⁷³ In the period Hui-ch'ang (841-846) when (Buddhist) monks were suppressed in great numbers, the religion of the light was included in the suppression. However, a *Hu-lu* fa-shi came to Fou-t'ang (south of Fou-chou), and taught his disciples at San-shan (in Fou-chou). He came to the prefecture of Ch'üan in his travels and died (there) and was buried at the foot of a mountain to the north of the prefecture. In the period Chih-tao (995-997) a scholar of Huai-an, Li T'ing-yü, found an image of the Buddha (Mani) in a soothsayer's shop at the capital; it was sold to him for 50,000 cash-pieces, and this his auspicious image was circulated in Fukien. In the reign of Chen-tsung (998-1022) a Fukien scholar, Lin Shih-ch'ang, presented his (i.e. Manichaean) scriptures for sake-keeping to the Official College of Fou-chou. When T'ai-tsu of the Ming Dynasty established his rule, he wanted the people to be guided by the Three Religions (i.e. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism). He was further displeased by the fact that [the Manichaeans] in the name of their religion (i.e. Ming) usurped the dynastic title. He expelled their followers (from their shrines) and destroyed their shrines.⁷⁴ The President of the Board of Finance, Yu Hsin, and the president of the Board of Rites, Yang Lung, 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 graven on the rocks (by visitors)."

⁶⁹ *Sien-yi* 先意 = Middle Persian *hndyšyšn nrxwstyn* which approximates to ἐνθύμησις in Gnostic-Manichaean parlance. Here the reference is probably made to the Primal Man. Cf. W. B. Henning, "Two Manichaean Magical Texts with an excursus on the Parthian ending *-endeh*", *BSOAS* 12/1 (1947) 277-8.

⁷⁰ On Jesus in Chinese Manichaeism see E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, *APAW*, Jahrgang 1926, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Nr. 4 (Berlin, 1926) 97-111.

⁷¹ P'an Ku 盤古 is a demiurge figure in Chinese mythology

⁷² *Mo* 末 = Syriac *Mar*, Mani's title.

⁷³ On this see Lieu, art. cit., pp. 412-6. [See above, pp. 112-15.]

⁷⁴ On the Hui-chang Suppression of Buddhism see my article "Polemics against Manichaeism as a Subversive Religion in Sung China", *BJRL* 62 (Autumn, 1979) 151-67. [See above, pp. 128-131.]

VII. WORKING CATALOGUE OF PUBLISHED MANICHAEAN TEXTS

Author's note: An electronic corpus of published Manichaean texts (Database of Manichaean Texts) was compiled under my direction with financial assistance from *inter alia* the British Academy and the Leverhulme Trust (U.K.) between 1990 to 1994 which has since then been up-dated whenever resources could be found. (See my article in H. Preißler and H. Seiwert (edd.) *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte, Festschrift für Prof. Kurt Rudolph* (Marburg, 1995) 155-66.) The catalogue of this electronic corpus is published here for the first time in the hope that it will serve as the basis for a future hand-list of all Manichaean texts, published and unpublished, arranged by language and by their country of preservation. The catalogue of Mary Boyce of the Iranian text-fragments in Manichaean script in the Berlin Turfansammlung (*A Catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan collection*, Berlin, 1960) remains indispensable to the researcher on Iranian fragments in Berlin but the work is now in serious need of expansion and revision. The important article by L. Clark, 'The Turkic Manichaean Literature' in P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn (edd.), *Emerging from Darkness, Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (Leiden, 1997) 89-141 has been of immeasurable help to the author in elucidating the contents of many of the Turkish fragments stored in the electronic corpus.

Information on the availability of published photographs and on students' editions and translations (esp. in English) of the texts are given between { }. These are not available in the electronic corpus.

Abbreviations

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| Abced. = M. Boyce, 'Some Parthian abecedarian hymns', <i>BSOAS</i> 14 (1952) 435-50. | und Kultur des Alten Orients XXIII, (Berlin, 1991) 171-74. |
| abced. = abcedary | Äsop = P. Zieme, 'Äsop in Zentralasien', <i>Das Altertum</i> 17/1 (1971) 40-42. |
| Anmerkungen = W. Sundermann, 'Anmerkungen zu: Th.Thilo, Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei chinesisch-manichäischen Textfragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung' in H. Klengel & W. Sundermann (eds.), <i>Ägypten - Vorderasien - Turfan; Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften</i> , Schriften zur Geschichte | AR = Angad Rōšnān, cf. MHC, 113-78 and MHC(S). |
| | Bäzäklik = W. Sundermann and Y. Yoshida, 'Bäzäklik, Berlin and Kyoto - Manichaean Parthian hymn transcribed in Sogdian script' (in Japanese), <i>Oriente</i> 35/2 (1992) 119-34. |
| | biling. = bilingual. |

- Bráhmán = W. B. Henning, 'Bráhmán', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1944, 108-18.
- Briefe = 'Probleme der Interpretation Manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe' *Acta Antiqua ... Hungaricae*, 28 (1983) 289-316.
- Bryder (ed.) = P. Bryder (ed.) *Manichaean Studies. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism*, Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions, 1 (Lund, 1988).
- calend. = calendrical (text).
- cantil. = cantillated.
- Cat. = *A Catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan collection*, Berlin, 1960.
- Chinese Fragments = Y. Yoshida, 'On the recently discovered Manichaean Chinese fragments', *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, 12 (1997) 35-39.
- Chuastvanift = A. von Le Coq, *Chuastvanift, ein Sündbekenntnis der manichäischen Auditores. Gefunden in Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan)*, APAW 1910, Anhang, Abh. IV, 1910.
- Citations = J. C. Reeves, 'Manichaean Citations from the Prose Refutations of Ephrem', in *Emerging from Darkness*, 217-88.
- Commandments = N. Sims-Williams, 'The Manichaean commandments: a survey of the sources', in *Papers*, 573-82.
- conf. = confessional (text).
- cosm. = cosmogonic (text).
- Cosmogony = P. Zieme, 'A Turkish text on Manichaean Cosmogony' in *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di studi "Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico", Arcavacata de Rende - Amantea 31 agosto - 5 settembre 1993*, a cura di L. Cirillo and A. van Tongerloo, *Manichaean Studies* 3 (Turnhout, 1997) 395-409.
- crucif. = crucifixion.
- DbMT Database of Manichaean Texts from Central Asia and Roman Egypt (see introductory note).
- DNM = D. N. MacKenzie *Emerging from Darkness* = P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn (edd.), *Emerging from Darkness, Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources* (Leiden, 1997)
- Erzähler = W. Bang, 'Manichäische Erzähler', *Le Muséon* 44 (1931) 1-36.
- eschat. = eschatological (text).
- Evang. = W. Sundermann, 'Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-Manichäischen Literatur', *MIO*, 14 (1968) 386-405.
- Fasts = W. B. Henning, 'The Manichaean Fasts', *JRAS* 1945, 146-64.
- frag. = fragment or fragmentary (text).
- Gi = W. B. Henning, 'The Book of the Giants', *BSOAS* 11/1 (1943) 52-74.
- Gi(S) = W. Sundermann, 'Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch', *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata*, *Acta Iranica* 23, 2nd Ser. 9 (1984) 491-505.
- GSR = H.-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road, Gnostic Parables, Hymns and Prayers from Central Asia* (San Francisco, 1994)
- H = Huyadagrman, cf. MHC, 67-111 and MHC(S).
- Henochbuch = W. B. Henning, 'Ein Manichäisches Henochbuch', *SPAW*, 1934, 27-35.

- Hermas = F. W. K. Müller, 'Eine Hermas-Stelle in manichäischer Version', *SPAW* 1905, 1077-83.
- Herrschartitel = R. R. Arat, 'Der Herrschertitel Iduq-quit' *UAJb* 35 (1963) 150-57.
- HG = H.-J. Klimkeit, *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts. Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 79 (Opladen, 1989).
- hist. = historical (text).
- hom. = homiletic (text).
- HR i = F. W. K. Müller, 'Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan, I', *SPAW* 1904, 348-52
- HR ii = F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan. II. Teil*, *APAW* 1904, Anhang, Nr. 2.
- hym. = hymn (text).
- hym. cyc. = hymn cycle (see also AR and H).
- Hymnen = W. Bang, 'Manichäische Hymnen', *Le Muséon* 38 (1925) 1-55.
- I, Mani ... = D. N. MacKenzie, 'I, Mani ...' in H. Preißler and H. Seiwert (edd.) *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte, Festschrift für Prof. Kurt Rudolph* (Marburg, 1995) 183-198.
- IMTT = W. Sundermann (ed.), *Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts in early publications (1904-1934)*, Photo Edition, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Suppl. Ser. III (London, 1996)
- interl. = interlinear.
- invoc. = invocation.
- Iran und Turfan* = C. Reck and P. Zieme (edd.), *Iran und Turfan, Beiträge Berliner Wissenschaftler, Werner Sundermann zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Wiesbaden, 1995).
- KG = W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berliner Turfantexte XI (Berlin, 1990).
- KLT i = *Kellis Literary Texts*, Vol. 1, ed. I. M. F. Gardner, Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 4 = Oxbow Monograph 69 (Oxford, 1996)
- KMS = M. Hutter, *Manis kosmogonische Säbuhrağn-Texte. Edition, Kommentar und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M98/99 I und M7980-7984*, *Studies in Oriental Religions* XXI (Wiesbaden, 1992)
- Köktürkisches = A. von Le Coq., 'Köktürkisches aus Turfan', *SPAW* 1909, 1047-61.
- KPT = W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berliner Turfantexte IV (Berlin, 1973).
- liturg. = liturgical (text).
- Liturgical Codex = I. M. F. Gardner, 'A Manichaean Liturgical Codex found at Kellis', *Orientalia*, 62/2 (1993) 30-59.
- LJ = W. E. Henning, 'Mani's Last Journey', *BSOAS* 10/4 (1942) 941-53.
- Lost frgm. = 'On a Manichaean Middle Iranian fragment lost from the Ötani collection', Y. Yoshida, 'On a Manichaean Middle Iranian fragment lost from the Ötani collection' in O.

- Sakiyama and A. Sato (edd.), *Asian Lanugages and General Linguistics* (Tokyo, Sanseido, 1990) 175-81 .
- M i & iii = C. Salemann, 'Manichaeica I', *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, (1908) 175-84 and idem, 'Manichaeica III', *ibid.*, (1912) 1-32.
- Magical = W. B. Henning, 'Two Manichaeic magical texts with an excursus on the Parthian ending -ēndēh', *BSOAS* 12, (1947) 39-66.
- Magical Spell = P. Mirecki, I. M. F. Gardner and A. Alcock, 'Magical spell, Manichaeic letter' in *Emerging from Darkness*, 1-32.
- Manuscripts ouïgours = J. Hamilton, *Manuscripts ouïgours du ix^e-x^e siècle de Touen-houang*, 2 vols. (Paris 1986).
- MCPCBL = *The Manichaeic Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library*, ed. S. Giversen, Facsimile Edition, 4 vols., Cahiers D'Orientalisme XIV-XVII, Geneva, 1986-88)
- MHC = M. Boyce, *Manichaeic Hymn-Cycles in Parthian*, London Oriental Series III (Oxford, 1954).
- MHC(S) = W. Sundermann, *The Manichaeic Hymn cycles Huyadagrān and Angad Rōšnān in Parthian and Sogdian*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary Series, II, (London, 1990).
- Miniatures = A. von Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike II, Die Manichäische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1923).
- Mitteliranisch = W. B. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, 4, 1 (Leiden-Köln) 1958, 20-130.
- ML = Jes P. Asmussen, *Manichaeic Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*, Persian Heritage Series, XXII, (New York, 1975).
- MM i-iii = F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaeica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I*, SPAW 1932, 10, 175-222; *II, ibid.* 1933, 7, 294-363 and *III, ibid.* 1924, 27, 848-912.
- Mnmg. = F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahr-nāmag)* APAW, 1912.
- Mo-ni chia = Lin Wu-shu 林梧殊, *Mo-ni chiao chi ch'i tung-ch'ien*, 摩尼教及其東漸 (Beijing, 1987).
- Montagshymnus = C. Reck, "Ein weiterer parthischer Montagshymnus?", *AoF* 19/2 (Berlin, 1992) 342-49
- Moriyasu = Moriyasu Takao, *A Study on the history of Uighur Manichaeism- Research on some Manichaeic materials and their historical background*, Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters of Osaka University, 31-32 (Osaka, 1991). (In Japanese).
- MSt. = C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien, I, Die mittelpersischen Texte in revidierter transcription, mit glossar and grammatischen bemerkungen*, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg (St. Petersburg, 1908).
- Murder = W. B. Henning, 'The Murder of the Magi', *JRAS* 1944, 133-44.
- n.p.ph. = no published photograph (known to the author) .

- Papers = A. D. H. Bivar, (ed.) *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, Acta Iranica, Hommages et Opera Minora X-XI (Leiden, 1985).
- Parabelbuch = W. Sundermann, *Ein manichäisch-sogdisches Parabelbuch*, mit einem Anhang von Friedmar Geissler† über Erzählmotive in der Geschichte von den zwei Schlangen, Berliner Turfantexte 15 (Berlin, 1985)
- Paris = J. de Menasce, 'Fragments manichéens de Paris', in E. M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (edd.), *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London, 1970) 303-06.
- Pe. = Middle Persian.
- ph. = photograph
- poet. = poetical (text)
- Poetical = W. B. Henning, 'Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rūdaki', in idem and E. Yarshater (edd.), *A Locust's Leg, Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh* (London, 1962) 89-104.
- polem. = polemical (text).
- PPbS = I. Colditz, 'Bruchstücke manichäisch-parthischer Parabelsammlungen', *AoF* 14/2 (1987) 274-313.
- pr. = prose (-text).
- pray. = prayer (-text).
- ps. = psalm (-text).
- Pth. = Parthian.
- R = Recto.
- Ragoza = A. N. Ragoza, *Sogdijskie fragmenty central'no-aziatskogo sobranija Instituta Vostokovedenija* (Moscow, 1980)
- Rd. = M. Boyce (ed.), *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Acta Iranica 9 (Tehran-Liège, 1975)
- Religion = F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees* (Cambridge, 1925).
- Report = Y. Yoshida, 'A report on some Middle Iranian fragments in Sogdian script from the Ōtani collection', *Oriente* 28 (1985) 50-65 (in Japanese).
- RM = A. V. W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism, with special reference to the Turfan fragments*, Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series (New York, 1932).
- Runenschrift = O. F. Sertkaya, 'Fragmente in alttürkischer Runenschrift aus den Turfan-Funden' in K. Rührborn and W. Veenker (edd.), *Runen, Tamgas und Graffiti aus Asien und Osteuropa* (Wiesbaden, 1985) 133-62.
- Runic Manuscript = T. Moriyasu, 'A Manichaean Runic Manuscript with miniature (Kao.0107) housed in the British Library' (in Japanese), *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, 12 (1997) 41-72.
- Runic script = V. Thomsen, 'Dr. M. A. Stein's manuscripts in Turkish "Runic" script from Miran and Tunhuang', *JRAS* 1912, 181-227.
- Sadwēs = M. Boyce, 'Sadwēs and Pētūs', *BSOAS* 13 (1951), 908-15.
- Sammelhandschrift = C. Reck, 'Annäherung an eine soghdische manichäische Sammelhandschrift' in *Iran und Turfan*, 193-205.
- serm. = sermon (text).
- Sgd. = Sogdian.
- Sgd. Frags. BL. = N. Sims-Williams, 'The Sogdian Fragments of the British Library (with an appendix by I. Gershevitch)', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18 (1976) 43-82.

- Sgd. Hymns = E. Morano, 'The Sogdian hymns of *Stellung Jesu*', *East and West*, 32 (1982) 9-43.
- Shahanshah = N. Sims-Williams, 'The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad II: Mani at the court of the Shahanshah', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 4 (1990) 281-88.
- SLN = W. Sundermann, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous, Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus, Edition der parthischen und soghdischen Version*, Berliner Turfantexte XVII (Berlin, 1992).
- SLN Review = Y. Yoshida, Review of Sunderman, SLN in *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 9 (1994) 105-111.
- SLN Sgd. = Sogdian fragments of the Sermon of the Light-Nous.
- SLN Turk. = Turkish fragments of the Sermon of the Light-Nous.
- Stein X^u. = A. von Le Coq, 'Dr. Stein's Turkish Khuastuanift from Tunhuang, being a Confession-Prayer of the Manichæan Auditores', *JRAS* 1911, 277-314.
- STParis = W. B. Henning, 'The Sogdian texts of Paris', *BSOAS* 11/4 (1946) 713-40.
- Šad-Ohrmezd = I. Colditz, 'Hymnen an Šad-Ohrmezd. Ein Beitrag zur frühen Geschichte der Dīnāwariya in Transoxanien', *AoF* 19 (1992) 322-23.
- Šb. = *Sābuhragān*, ed. D. N. MacKenzie, 'Mani's *Sābuhragān*', *BSOAS* 42 (1979), pp. 500-34 and 'Mani's *Sābuhragān* - II', *ibid.* 43 (1980), pp. 288-310.
- Tales = W. B. Henning, 'Sogdian Tales', *BSOAS* 11/3 (1945), 465-87.
- TM I-III = A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, APAW, 1911, II, *ibid.* 1919 and III, *ibid.* 1922.
- TMT = P. Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, Berliner Turfantexte V (Berlin, 1975).
- T'a-li-mu = Huang Wen-pi, *T'a-li-mu-p'en-ti k'ao-ku-chi* (An account of the Archaeological Expedition to the Tarim Basin), (Beijing, 1968).
- Texte = A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, 175, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1969).
- tr. = translation (only).
- TT II-III = W. Bang and A. von Gabain, 'Türkische Turfantexte II', SPAW, 1929, 441-30 and III, *ibid.*, 1930, 183-211.
- TT IX = A. von Gabain and W. Winter, *Türkische Turfantexte IX, Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf 'Tocharisch' B mit alttürkischer Übersetzung*, ADAW, Berlin, 1956.
- Turfan Region = W. Sundermann, 'Iranian Manichean Turfan Texts Concerning the Turfan Region', in A. Cadonna (ed.), *Turfan and Tunhuang, the Texts: Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route*, *Orientalia Ventiana* IV (Florence, 1992) 63-84.
- Turk. = (Old) Turkish (or Uighur).
- Two Sgd. H. Frags. = D. N. MacKenzie, 'Two Sogdian *Hwydg-m'n* Fragments', in *Papers*, 421-28.
- V = Verso.
- Vanity = Y. Yoshida, 'On a Manichaean Sogdian fragment expounding vanity of earthly life', *Oriente*, 37/2 (1995) 16-32.

- W.-L. i and ii = E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, APAW 1926, 4 and 'Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten', *SPAW*, 13, 480-607.
- Wirksamkeit = W. Sundermann, 'Zur frühen missionarischen Wirksamkeit Manis', *Acta Orientalia ... Hungaricae*, 24/1 (1971) 79-125.
- WS = Werner Sundermann.
- X^uästväñf = Jes P. Asmussen, *X^uästväñf. Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen, 1965).
- X^u = X^uästväñf (confessional for Hearers)
- Yimki = W. Sundermann, 'Überreste manichäischer Yimki-Homilien in mittelpersischer Sprache?' in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg II*, *Acta Iranica V* (Leiden, 1975) 297-312.
- Zarathustra = W. Sundermann, 'Bruchstücke einer manichäischen Zarathustralegende', in R. Schmitt and P. O. Skjaervø (edd.) *Studia Grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach* (Munich, 1986) 461-82 .
- Zieme, Neue Frag. = P. Zieme, 'Neue Fragmente des alttürkischen Sermons vom Licht-Nous', in *Iran und Turfan*, 251-76.
- Bodl. Syr. d 13 (P), (6 small fragments) Religion 117-19
- Bodl. Syr. d 14 (P), (3 strips) Religion 115-17
- Brit. Mus. Or. 6201 c (1), Religion 112-13
- Crum fragments, (5 fragments) Religion 113-14

b. Fragments in Egypt

- TKell. Syr./Copt. 1 (inv. # A/5/239) (glossary of terms from liturgical texts) KLT, i, 105-07 {ph. 17}
- TKell. Syr./Copt. 2 (inv. # A/5/196) (glossary of terms from cosmogonic and/or eschatological texts) KLT, i, 112-18 {ph. 18}
- PKell. Syr. 1 (inv. # P 11+ P 10 + P92.15a) (fragments, a few legible words and half lines only) KLT, i, 127-28 {ph. 19}
- PKell. Syr. / Gr. 1 (inv. # A/5/26) (v. frag., part of a canonical work?) KLT, i, 129-130 {ph. 20}

c. Citations of Manichaean writings found in polemical writings

- Ephraim, *Discourse 1*: ed. J. J. Overbeck, *S. Ephraem Syri, Rabulae, Balaei etc.* (Oxford, 1865) pp. 21-58; the rest: C. W. Mitchell et al. ed., *S. Ephraim's, Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, 2 vols. (London, 1912-21). [DbMT text is based on the selection in Citations, 225-66.]
- Severus Antiochenus, *Homilia CXXIII*, ed. M. Brière, *Les Homiliae Cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche*, *PO* 29 (1961) pp. 124-88 (trans. of

(1) Texts and references in Syriac

a. Fragments in British libraries

Fragmenta Manichaica Syriaca (mainly in London and Oxford):

Jacob of Edessa), ed. I. Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca* IV (Beirut, 1909) pp. mh-pt (trans. of Paul of Callinicum). [NB The work was originally written in Greek.]

Theodorus bar Koni, *Liber Scholiorum*, ed. A. Scher, CSCO LXIX (1912) 311-318.

Titus Bostrenus, *syriace et graece*, ed. P. de Lagarde (Leipzig, 1859, repr. Harrasowitz, 1967) Passages as indicated by A. Baumstark, *Der Texte der Mani-Zitate in der syrischen Übersetzung als Titus von Bostra, Oriens Christianus*, 3 ser. 6 (1931) 23-42.

(2) Texts and references in Greek

a. Text in the Federal Republic of Germany

PColon. inv. nr. 4780 (*Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis*): edd. L. Koenen and C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex, Kritische Edition* (Opladen, 1988). Note: The version on DbMT is a diplomatic version which includes emendations published by the editors and their Cologne colleagues since 1988. It is also accompanied by an English translation by J. M. and S. N. C. Lieu and M. Vermes. {ph. L. Koenen and C. Römer (edd.), *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex, Abbildungen und Diplomatischer Text, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 35, Bonn 1985.}

b. Texts in Egypt

TKell. Gr. 22 Εὐχὴ τῶν Προβολῶν (Prayer of the Emanations) R. G. Jenkins, 'The Prayer of the Emanations in Greek from Kellis (T Kellis 22)', *Le Muséon*, 108/3-4 (1995) {ph. p. 247}

PKell. Gr. 91 (inv. # A/3/19) (prayer of praise) KLT, i, 132-34 {ph. 21}

PKell. Gr. 92 (inv. # P56J) (hymn of priase) KLT, i, 137-39 {ph. 22}

PKell. Gr. 93 (inv. # P92.13) (Sethian? text) KLT, i, 141-42 {ph. 23}

PKell. Gr. 94 (inv. # A/5/92) (eulogy, religious context uncertain) 142 {ph. 24}

PKellis 96 (old numbering) (inv. # A/3/24 + A/3/31 + P. 92.12) (frags. from codex, Frag. A shows similarity to *Acta Ioannis* 85,9-10, 106,6-12 and 19,1-2; Frag. B contains part of a cosmogonic text) I. M. F. Gardner and K. A. Worp, 'Leaves from a Manichaean Codex', *ZPE*, 117 (1997) 142-52 {ph. VII-X}

c. Summaries of Manichaean teachings given by Greek pagan and Christian authors

(Abjuration formula, the longer Greek) *Quo modo haeresim suam scriptis oporteat anathematizare eos qui e Manichaeis accedunt ad sanctam Dei*

- catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam*, PG 1.1461-71.
- (Abjuration formula, the Shorter Greek) *Qualiter oporteat a Manichaeorum haeresi ad sanctam Dei Ecclesiam accedentes scriptis (errorem) abjurare*, PG 100.1217-25.
- Alexander Lycopolitanus, *contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio* 2-5, ed. A. Brinkmann (Leipzig, 1895) 4,8-8,4.
- Acta Archelai* (Greek text from the excerpts of the Greek version of the *Acta* in Epiphanius, *de haeresibus (Panarion)* LXVI,6 and 25,2-31,8, ed. K. Holl, GCS 37 (Leipzig, 1915-33), rev. J. Dummer (1984) 25,14-27,16, Latin version from [Hege-monius], *Acta Archelai* 5 and 7-13, ed. C. H. Beeson, GCS 16 (Leipzig, 1906) 5,25-8,4 and 9,18-22,15.
- [Manes], *frag. ep.*, as collected in *Texte* 33-34.
- PRylands Greek* 469, ed. C. H. Roberts, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, III (Manchester, 1938) 41-43.
- Serapion Thmuitanus, *contra Manichaeos*, ed. R. P. Casey, *Serapion of Thmuis against the Manichees*, Harvard Theological Studies XV, (Camb., Mass., 1931). [Citations only]
- Severus Antiochenus, *hom. cath.* 123. See above §1.b.
- Titus Bostrensis, *adversus Manichaeos* I-III,7, ed. P. A. de Lagarde, *Titi Bostrensi quae ex opere contra Manichaeos edito in codice Hamburgensis servata sunt* (Berlin, 1859); III, 7-29, ed. P. Nagel, 'Neues griechisches Material zu Titus von Bostra', in H. Ibscher (ed.), *Studia Byzantina*, Folge II (Berlin, 1973) 285-350. [Citations only]
- <Zacharias Mitylenensis>, *capita vii contra Manichaeos*, ed. M. Richard, CCSG I (1977) pp. xxxiii-xxxix.

(3) Texts and references in Latin

a. Text in France

[Bibliothèque nationale] Nouvelles acquisitions latines 1114 (*Codex Tebestina*) ed. R. Merkelbach, 'Der manichäische Codex von Tebessa', in P. Bryder (ed.), *Manichaean Studies* (Lund, 1988) 228-264. {ph. (Col. 4 (I 2) and 5 (II, 1) only), H. Omont, 'Fragments d'un très ancien manuscrit latin provenant de l'Afrique du nord', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1918, fold out between pp. 241 and 242}

b. Manichaean writings as preserved in the writings of Augustine

Frag. Epistulae ... Fundamenti, ed. E. Fledmann, *Die "Epistula Fundamenti" der nordafrikanischen Manichäer. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion* (Altenberg, 1987) 10-22

Frag. Epistulae ad Menoch, ap. Aug., *Opus imperf. c. Jul.* III, cf. *Texte*, 31-33

Thesaurus (frag.), ap. Aug., c. *Fel.* II, *nat. bon.*, p. 881ff., cf. *Texte* 2-4.

c. Citations from Manichaean writings and summaries of Manichaean teaching found in Latin polemical writings (mainly Augustine)

- Augustinus, *contra Adimantum*, 26
 —, *contra adversarium Legis et Prophetarum*, 1,1
 —, *de agone Christiano* 4
 —, *confessiones* II, vi, 10, XIII, xxx, 45
 —, *de duabus animabus* 1
 —, *enarrationes in Psalmos* 25 and 140
 —, *epistulae* 55 and 236
 —, *contra epistulam Manichaei quam vocant 'fundamenti'* 5, 12-13, 15, 21, 24, 28
 —, *contra Faustum* 2,3-4, 5,11, 11,3, 13,4, 6, 18, 15,5-6, 20,3, 9, 10, 17, 21,1, 4, 14, 24,2, 28,4-5, 31,4 and 32,19
 —, *contra Felicem* I,1, 9, 14, 19, II,2
 —, *contra Fortunatum, initio* and I,3, 14, 22, II, 26-27
 —, *de Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2,25
 —, *de haeresibus* 46
 —, *contra Iulianum* 1,5, 6,22
 —, *contra Iulianum opus imperfectum* 1,49, 3,186
 —, *de moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 10 and 33
de moribus Manichaeorum 3, 8-9, 11-12, 16-17, 19
 —, *de natura boni* 18, 44 and 46-47
 —, *retractationes* 1,15
 —, *sermones* 12,11-12
 —, *de vera religione* 9 and 49
 Evodius, *de fide*, 3 and 49.

(4) Texts in Coptic

a. Texts in the Federal Republic of Germany (Berlin)

- P. 15996 (the 'Berlin-*Kephalaia*) (pp. 1-291) ed. H.-J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin (Seite 1-243) (Stuttgart, 1940); A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, Manichäische Handschriften der staatlichen Museen Berlin, Zweite Hälfte, Lieferung 11/12 (Seite 244-291) (Stuttgart, 1966) and A. Böhlig, 'Ja und Amen in manichäischer Deutung' (Seite 290.29-292.32), *ZPE* 58 (1985) 59-70 {ph. p. 31 only, in Polotsky-Böhlig, ed. cit., after title-page; p. 33 only in Mani-Fund, pl. 1; tr. (pp. 1-295) I. M. F. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (Leiden, 1995)}.
- P 15997 (pages of an untitled historical work, manuscript sent to Dublin in error at the end of the Second World War) *MCPCBL* II, pl. 99, lines 21-34 only, ed. and trans. M. Tardieu, 'L'arrivée des manichéens à al-Ḥīra', in P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (edd.), *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam VIIe-VIIIe siècles*, Actes du Colloque international Lyon-Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, Paris, Institut du Monde Arabe 11-15 Sept. 1990 (Damas, 1992, publ. 1994) 16-17 {ph. *MCPCBL* II (Ser. Vol. 15), pl. 99-100}

b. Texts in the Republic of Ireland (Dublin)

Codex A (the *Psalm-Book*) ed. C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II, Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection Vol. II, (Stuttgart, 1938) {ph. *MCPCBL* IV (Ser. Vol. 17)}

Codex C (the 'Dublin-*Kephalaia*') *MCPCBL* I, pl. 299,2-12 (only), ed. M. Tardieu, 'La diffusion du Bouddhisme dans l'Empire Kouchan, l'Iran et la Chine d'après un Kephalaion manichéen inédit', *Studia Iranica* 17/2 (1988) 163-64 {ph. *MCPCBL* I (Ser. Vol. 16)}

Codex D (the *Homilies*) ed. H.-J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, *Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A*. Chester Beatty, Bd. I, (Stuttgart, 1934) {ph. *MCPCBL* II (Ser. Vol. 15) 1-98}

c. Texts in Egypt

PKell. Copt. 1 (inv. # P 82A + P64B + P77 B) (psalms, a1-15 parallels *Ps.-Bk.* 55,3-15) KLT, i, 55-58, 60-61 {ph. 8}

PKell. Copt. 2 (inv. # P82Bi and P82Bii) (psalms, text C parallels *Ps.-Bk.* 1, pl. 277-78) KLT, i, 63-66, 72-74 {ph. 9a,b}

PKell. Copt. 3 (inv. # P92.17a) (devotional text) 76 {ph. 10}

PKell. Copt. 4 (inv. # P82C + P82A/B) (text very faded) KLT, i, 78 {ph. 11}

PKell. Copt. 5 (inv. # P27B) (few lines only) KLT, i, 79 {ph. 12}

PKell. Copt. 6 (inv. P75A + P85A/D) (text of *Romans* 2: 6-29 found in the

midst of Manichaean material) KLT, i, 82-84 (ph. 13)

PKell. Copt. 7 (inv. # P4A) (divination text ?) KLT, i, 91-92 {ph. 14}

PKell. Copt. 8 (inv. # A/2/88) (discourse of Mani?) KLT, i, 94-96 {ph. 15}

PKell. Copt. 9 (inv. # P85Fi + P93B) (central strip of text of Hebrews 12: 4-13, used by the Manichaeans?) KLT, i, 99 {ph. 16}

PKell. Copt. 35 (inv. # P88 (+ P77B + P79 + P92.49)) (letter-roll, address and greeting in Greek, magical spell and letter) *Magical Spell*, 11-15.

TKell. Copt. 1 (inv. # A/5/346, formerly P. Kellis 19) (pr. catechetical text) KLT i, 2 {ph. 1}

TKell. Copt. 2 (inv. # A/5/53B) (psalms) KLT, i, 9-16, cf. *Liturgical Codex*, 38-45 {ph. KLT, i, 2}

TKell. Copt. 4 (inv.#A/5/6) (part lines of Psalms) KLT, i, 33-35, *Liturgical Codex*, 35-36 {ph. KLT, i, 4}

TKell. Copt. 5 (inv. # A/5/107) (possibly from a psalm, few lines only) KLT, i, 42 {ph. 5}

TKell. Copt. 6 (inv. # A/5/195) (psalm, parallels *Ps.-Bk.* 75,10-76,25) KLT, i, 43-44 {ph. 6}

TKell. Copt. 7 (inv. # A/6/14) (psalm with devotional postscript) KLT, i, 50-52 {ph. 7}

TKell. Syr./Copt. 1 (inv. # A/5/239) (glossary of terms from liturgical texts) KLT, i, 105-07 {ph. 17}

TKell. Syr./Copt. 2 (inv. # A/5/196) (glossary of terms from cosmogonic and/or eschatological texts) KLT, i, 112-18 {ph. 18}

- (5) **Texts and text-fragments in Middle Iranian**
- a. Texts and text-fragments in the Federal Republic of Germany (Berlin)**
- (1) Texts with M-numbers
- M? (from old photo. no signature, Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §8 {ph. XXVII-XXVIII}
- M1 (Pe. hymn-book index and colophon) Mnmg., 7-28, cf. Turfan Region, 72, for correct sequence of the sheets {ph. b/w IMTT 1-2, colour, Moriyasu, XXI-XXII; Rd. §§, 52-53 = 160-227 only}; tr. ML 53, sel. lines only, HG 181 (160-227), 196-97 (1-159), GSR 170-75 (25-445)}
- M2 (now lost) I: (Pe. pr. hist.) MM ii, 301-06 {ph. IMTT 3; Rd. §h, 39-42; tr. ML 21-23, GSR 202, §1.1A and 203-05, §1.2.A}; II: (Pth. pr. eschat.) MM iii, §a, 849-53 {ph. IMTT 4; Rd. §ac, 84-87; tr. ML 135-37, GSR 254-55}
- M3 (+ ex-T i D 51) (Pe. pr. hist.) LJ 949-50 {ph. IMTT 5-6, KG 70-71; Rd. §n, 44-45, add. comm. KG §23, 130-31; tr. ML 54-55, GSR 213-14}
- M4a + M4b (Cat. entry needs revision) 2 double sheets containing: (1) M4b I R, V - M4a I R, V (Pth. hym.) HR ii 52-54, 50-51, cf. MSt 5 (4b-4c), 4 (4-4a) {ph. IMTT 7 (I R, II V) - 8 (I V, II R); Rd. §cv, 160-62; tr. ML 8-9 (II V 4-15 only), HG 186-88, GSR 147-48}; (2) M4a II R, V - M4 b II R, V (Pe. hym.) HR ii, 57-59, 55-57, cf. MSt. 6-7 (4f-4g), 6 (4d-4e) {ph. IMTT 9 (M4b I R, II V) - 10 (M4b I V, II R); Rd. §dt, 190-91; tr. HG 198-201}
- M5 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §d, 862-65 {ph. IMTT 11-12; Rd. §ce, 136-37; tr. ML 56-57, HG, 126-27, GSR 85-86}
- M6 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §e, 865-67 {ph. IMTT 13-14; Rd. §ch, 139-40; tr. ML 31-2, HG, 129-30, GSR 87-88}
- M7 I and II (now lost) (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §g, 870-75 {ph. IMTT 15-16; Rd. §§aw-az, 106-09; §av = II R II 23 - V I 24 (g 169-200) with new readings supplied by M496a R 2-14 (unpubl. see Cat. 33), §aw = II V I 27 - V II 30 (g 201-234), §ax = I R I 1 - II 4, 43 - V I 3, (g 1-34, 43-63, 72-81), §ay = I V I 24 - II 30 (g 82-118), §az = II R I 1 - II 4, II 15 - 20 (g 119-152, 163-168); tr. ML 47-9 (selection); HG 77-8 (g 169-200), GSR 45-46 (ditto), HG 78-9 (g 201-34), GSR 46, HG 79-80 (g 1-80), GSR 46-47 (ditto), HG 81-2 (g 82-118), GSR 47-48 (ditto), HG 82-3 (g 119-168), GSR 48 (ditto)}
- M8 (Pe. hym.) R i 1-7, HR ii 47-48, MSt. 7 {ph. IMTT 17}
- M9 I: (Pe., pr. fom a work of Mani) MM ii, 297-99 {ph. IMTT 18; Rd. §ad, 88-89; tr. ML 7-8, GSR 251}; II: (Pe., pr. fom a work of Mani) MM ii, 299-300 {ph. IMTT 19; Rd. §ae, 89-90; tr. ML 8, GSR 252}
- M10 (Pth. hym.) R 1-2, W.-L. ii, 580, R 11 - V 22, W.-L. i, 126, DbMT gives the complete text of the frgm. {ph. IMTT 20-21; Rd. §at, 104-05; tr. ML 120 (R 11-V 22 only), HG 75-76 (ditto), GSR 44 (ditto). The version in DbMT is fuller}

- M11 (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 556-57 {ph. IMTT 22-23; Rd. §cn, 146; tr. HG 134-35, GSR 93-94}
- M12 (Pe. pr.) W. Sundermann, 'Die vierzehn Wunden der Lebendigen Seele', *AoF* 12/2 (Berlin, 1985), 291-95 {ph. with art., Abb. I-II}
- M13 I: (Pe. angels' names) HR ii 45 n., MSt. 7; II: (Turk. see below)
- M14 (Sgd. with Pth. words, pr.) W.-L. ii, 547-8 {ph. IMTT 14; Rd. §bz, 132 (V 7-12 only); tr. HG 118-19, GSR 78-79}
- M16 (Pe. pr.) HR ii, 93-94, MSt. 8 {ph. IMTT 25 ; Rd. §dn, 183-84 }
- M17 (Pe. pr., from Mani's, Evangelion) I, Mani ..., 184, cf. HR ii 25-27, MSt. 8 {ph. IMTT 26-27, I, Mani ... 194-95; Rd. §c (+ M172 I), 32-33; tr. HG 184-85, GSR 146}
- M18 with M 2753 (Pth. hym.) HR ii 34-36, MSt. 9 {ph. IMTT 28-29; Rd. §bw, 126-27, HG 108-09, GSR 70-71 }
- M20 (Pe. hym.) HR ii 45, MSt. 9, cf. Cat., p. 3, essential {ph. IMTT 30; Rd. §du, 192; tr. HG 201-02}
- M21 (Pth. pr. cosm.) MM iii, §p, 890-91 (see also M211) {ph. IMTT 31; Rd. §x, 59-60; tr. ML 122, GSR 224}
- M22 R? 5-6 (= M32b) (Pe. hym.) Henochbuch, 28, n. 7 {n.p.ph.}
- M22 V? 17-20 (Cat. R corrected to V?) W.-L. ii, 586 {n.p.ph.}
- M24 R 4-8 (= M812 V 1-4) (Pth. crucif. hym.), Bráhman, 112 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 103}
- M26 II (Pe. hym.) STParis, 723, hdl. from W.-L.i, 40, as M26 I {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 138}
- M27 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <m>, 50 {ph. XI}
- M28 I: (Pe. hym.) R I 5-13, 16-17, R I 33 - R II 13, R II 24-37, V I 7, 9, 19, 32-36, V II 28-32, MM ii, 311, n. 2, HR ii 94-95, MSt. 10 (both give fewer lines than version in DbMT) {ph. IMTT 32 (I R, II V), 33 (I V, II R), Rd. §dg, 174-75; tr. ML 14, HG 161-62 (R I 5-13, R I 33 - R II 4, R II 24-37), GSR 126-27 (ditto)}; II: (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 312-26 {32 (I R, II V), 33 (I V, II R); Rd. §bt, 123-24 = R i 1 - V i 27, §bu, 125 = V i 32- ii 37; tr. HG 103 (R I - V), GSR 67 (ditto), HG 104-05 (M28 II V I - II and M612 V), GSR 66}
- M31 I and II (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 327-30 {ph. IMTT 34; Rd. §co, 147 = I R 2-19, §cp, 147 = I V 1-21, §cq, 148 = I V 1-20; tr. ML 107-09, HG 136 (I R), GSR 94-95 (I R), HG 136-37 (I V), GSR 94 (I V)}
- M32a (Pth. hym.) HR ii 62-63, MSt. p. 10, {ph. IMTT 35; Rd. §bv = R, bo = V; tr. HG 98 (V), GSR 59-60, HG 105-06 (R), GSR 67}
- M33 I and II (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §h, 875-78 {ph. IMTT 36-37; Rd. §ba = I R I 2-12, II 2-8 (h 2-12, 14-20) bb = I R II 11-14, V I 1-14, V II 1-11 (h 21-24, 27-40, 43-53), bc = II R I 1-14 (h 54-67), bd = II R II 1-16, V I 1-16, II 2-11 (h 68-83, 85-100, 103-112); tr. ML 49, HG 83-85, GSR 48-49 (h 21-53), 49 (h 55-66 and M912), 49-50 (h 68-83, 85-100, 103-112)}
- M34 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ad>, 55-56 {ph. SLN XXVI-XXVII, IMTT 38; Rd. §ca, 132-33 = R 6-15, HG 119 (both based on text in HR ii, 44), GSR 79}

- M35 V 3-18 (Pth. pr. cosm.) Gi N (as lines 21-36), 71-72 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §ab}
- M36 (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 323-26 {ph. IMTT 39-40; Rd. §cm; tr. ML 29-31, HG (wrongly given as M35) 133, GSR 92-93}
- M38 V (Pth. pray.) HR ii 77, MSt. 11 {ph. IMTT 41; Rd. §dz; tr. HG 205-06}
- M39 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §m, 883-86 {ph. IMTT 42; Rd. §bk = R I 2 - II 11 (m 2-37), GSR 57-58, bl = R II 13 - V I 5 (m 38-49), GSR 58, bm = V I 7-19 (m 50-62), GSR 59, bn = V II 4-27 (m 4-89); tr. HG 96-97 (V I), 97 (V II 4-27), GSR 8}.
- M40 V (Pth. psalm) HR ii 48, MSt. 11 {ph. IMTT 45a-b; Rd. §af (where the text is given as M40 R; tr. HG 58, GSR 30)}
- M42 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §i, 878-81 {ph. IMTT 43-44; Rd. §dc = R I 4 - V II 26 (i 4-101); tr., ML 110-11; HG 157-58, GSR 124-25}
- M43 (Pe. pray.) HR ii 78, MSt. 12 {ph. IMTT 45c-d; Rd. §dw, HG 197-98}
- M44 (Pth. with Sgd. caption pr. parab.; end of an epimythion ?) PPbS, *ap.* §1.5, 300 {ph. X- XI; tr. GSR 187}
- M45 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §26.1, 90 {ph. IMTT 46, KG 61, KPT XLIII-XLIV; add. comm. KG §16, Rd. §dm, 183; tr. ML 33, GSR 92-93, 16 §§12 & 13}
- M46 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §24.1, 84-88 {ph. XL-XLI, tr. ML 99-101, GSR 188-89}
- M47 I: (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §10, 101-103 {Rd. §f, 37-38; tr. ML 20, GSR 211-12}; II: (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §25, 86-89 {ph. XLII; Rd. §dj, 179-80; tr. ML 33, GSR 190} {ph. IMTT 47-48, KG 52-53}
- M48 I = KG §2.2 II R 4-12, V 4-12; II = KG §2.2 II R 1-4, V 1-4, I R 1-4, V 1-4 (see under M871b) {Rd. §e, 34-37; tr. ML 19 (both based on version of text in *Wirksamkeit*, 371-76), GSR 207-08, §§1.3.A, B}
- M49 I: (Pe. pr.) MM ii, 306-07 {add. comm. KG §5.1, ph. IMTT 51a, 52a; Rd. §t, 54; tr. ML 28, GSR 264}; II: (Pe. pr.) MM ii, 307-08 {ph. IMTT; 51a, 52a; Rd. §b, 31-32; tr. ML 10, GSR 216}
- M64 (Pth. cantil. hym. with Sgd. caption) HR ii 92-3, MSt. 14 {ph. IMTT 51b, 52b; tr. ML 53}
- M67 R II 24 - V II 22 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §o, 888-90 {ph. IMTT 53-54; Rd. §bg, 115-16; tr. ML 141-42, HG 90-92, GSR 55-56}
- M74 (I): (Pe. pray. with Turk. caption) HR ii 75-76, MSt. 14-15 {ph. IMTT 55a, 56a; Rd. §dx, 194-95; tr. HG 203-04}
- M75 (Pth. psalm) HR ii 70-71, MSt. 15-16, (for line numbering see *Cat.* p. 7) {ph. IMTT 55b, 56b, Rd. §ag 4-5, p. 92; tr. HG 59, GSR 36}
- M77 (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §n, 886-88 {ph. IMTT 57-58; Rd. §bh, 116-17 = R 1-15 (n 1-15), GSR 56-57, §bj, 117 = R 17 - V 15 (n 16-36); tr. ML 139-40; HG 92-95, GSR 57-58}.
- M82 R 1 - V 6 see under M83 I
- M83 I R 1 - I V 14 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.i, 116, 117 {ph. IMTT, 59-60; Rd. §au, 105 = R 6 - V 3; tr. HG 76 (ditto), GSR 44-45 (I R 6 - V 3 + M105a + M200 + M234); I V 15-19 + M82 R 1 - V 6 and M235 R 8 - V 12 (M235 R 8-9 = M83 I V 15-16, R

- 11 - V 12 = M 82 R 2 - V 6) (Pe. hym.) W. B. Henning, 'The disintegration of the Avestic Studies', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1942, 56 {ph. IMTT 60; Rd. §dgb, 176-77 = M83 I V 15-18, M82 R 2 - V 5; tr. HG 164-65, GSR 128}; II R, V, (Pth. Sermon of the Soul) unpubl. {ph. IMTT 59-60}
- M87 V 4-5 (Pe. hym.) (Cat. corrects from 14a-15a, WS), Bráḥman, 111-12 {n.p.ph.}
- M88 I (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VI 51-58, 61-68 {ph. MHC(S) 8, 9}
- M89 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VIII 1-7, 11-17 {ph. MHC(S) 1a-1b}
- M90 (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 555 {ph. IMTT 61a, 62a; tr. HG 165-66, GSR 129}
- M91 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VI 71-73, VII 1-4, 11-12 (follows M88 I) {ph. MHC(S) 10, 11; Rd. §cz, 166-68 = M91 + M175 ; tr. *ap.* GSR 110-17}
- M93 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) H I 22-26, 32-36 {ph. MHC(S) 2a, 2b}; II + M289a (Pth. hym. cyc.) H VIc 1-5, 11-15 {ph. MHC(S) 2a, 2b; Rd. §cx, 164-65; tr. *ap.* GSR 100-110}
- M94 + M173 + M3703 (T I D 51 (14 p.) d) + M5315 (T II D 67 (2 p.) a + M6726 (= T II K (5 p.) (Pth. hym.) Abced.,A, 437-40 {ph. M 94 with art., pl. 4, facing p. 437, M173 IMTT 78; Rd. §as, 102-03 = M173 R + M94 R; tr. HG 62 (M94 V and M173 V), GSR 32 (ditto), HG 72 (M173R and M94 R), GSR 40-41 (ditto)}
- M95 (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 318-21 {ph. IMTT 61b, 62b; Rd. §be.1-12; tr. ML 80, HG 85-86, GSR 50}
- M96 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 2-4, 12-14 {ph. MHC(S) 44, 45; Rd. §cy, 165-66; tr. *ap.* GSR 110-17}
- M97 (Pe. pr. eschat.) Hermas, 1077-81 {ph. IMTT 63; Rd. §dh}
- M98 I + M99 I (Pe. pr. cosm., part of Sb.?) HR ii 37-43, cf. MSt. 16-17, RM, 30-73, {ph. IMTT 64-67; KMS 10-23, Rd. §y.1-5, GSR 225-27}
- M99 I (see under M98 I)
- M99 II R 8-9 (Pth. hym.) HR ii 44, MSt. 17-18 {ph. IMTT 67}
- M100 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §2, 37-41 {ph. XVII-XVIII; tr. ML 134}
- M101 a-n (Pe. pr. cosm.) Gi A, 56-65 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 29, M101f only}
- M102 (Pe. / Pth. hym.) HR ii, 64-6, MSt. 17-18 {ph. IMTT 68-69; tr. ML 117, R 1-8 only}
- M104 + M459e + M891b + M7734 R (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §k, 881-83 {ph. M104 + M459e (only) IMTT 70-71; Rd. §bx, 127 = §k 1-17 and §by, 127-28 = §k 18-44; tr. HG 110 (k 1-17), GSR 71 §2 (ditto), loc. cit. §3 (M104 + M734 R and M459c)}
- M105a (Pth. hym. to the Living Self) V 1-5 = M83 I R 1-7 (see above), W-L i, 117 {ph. IMTT 72a-b}
- M109 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, a, 16 {n.p.ph.}
- M111 + M725 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, b, 21 {n.p.ph.}
- M112 R + M146a + M366c (Sgd. letter) Briefe I (14-42), 305-06 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 262}; M112 V (Turk., see below)
- M113 (Sgd. conf.) BBB §a, 41-42 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 189, GSR 148}
- M114 (Sgd. with Pe. and Pth. liturg.) BBB §d, 46-47 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 192-93, GSR 151}

- M118 I V 11-18 (Sgd. pr.) W.-L. i, 40 {n.p.ph.}
- M119 (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (5-19) 309-10 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 262}
- M119a (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (4-6) 309 {n.p.ph.}
- M119b (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (19-20) 310 {n.p.ph.}
- M124 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, e, 29 {n.p.ph.}
- M127 R 8-14 (Sgd. pr.) Tales C, 471 {n.p.ph.}
- M131 (Sgd. conf.) BBB §b I A and I B, 42-45 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 191 (M131 + M395 + M5865), GSR 149-50, 13§4 & 5 (ditto)}
- M132a + M5861 (Pth. crucif. hym.) Evang. 394-95 and HR ii 37, MSt. 19. {ph. M132a, IMTT 73, M5861, Evang. pl. 3, figs. 3-4; Rd. §byc, 139; tr. ML 102 (based on earlier version of text), HG 115, GSR 72-73} Paralleled by M734 (q.v.)
- M133 (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ak>, 128-30 {ph. SLN XXXVIII-XXXIX, IMTT, 74-75}
- M135 A (Sgd. pr.) Tales A and B, 466-70 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML (A) 42, (B) 29, GSR 194-96}
- M137 I R I 5-8, Tales, 485, n. 7
- M139 I: (Sgd. pr. conf.) BBB f 49-50 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 193-94, GSR 151-52}; II: (Sgd. liturg.) BBB f 50-51 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 151}
- M145 + M1521 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, o, 46 {n.p.ph.}
- M147 (Sgd. calendar tables) Fasts, 153 {n.p.ph.}
- M148 (Sgd. calendar tables) Fasts, 149-50 {n.p.ph.}
- M157 (Turk.) See below (7) Texts and fragments in Turkish.
- M162a (Sgd. letter) Briefe I (38-40), 306 {n.p.ph.}
- M168 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §32, 98 {ph. XLV-XLVI}
- M171 V 9-17 (Pth. pr. cosm.) Gi 63, n. 6 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 29}
- M172 (MIK III 196) I: (Pe. and Sgd. interl., pr. from Mani's Evangelion) Pe. : I, Mani ... 185, cf. HR ii, 100-01, MSt. 19, Sgd.: W.-L. i, 23 {ph. I, Mani ..., 196-97; Rd. §c (Pe. only); tr. HG 184-85, GSR 146}; II: (Turk. conf. see below (7) Texts and fragments in Turkish.)
- M173 see under M94
- M174 (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 555-56 {ph. IMTT 79; Rd. §dy, 195-96; tr. HG 203-04}
- M175 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VI 62-71, 72-73, VII 1-7 {ph. MHC(S) 5c, 5d; Rd. §cy, 165-66 = M96 + M175, §cz, 166-68 = M91 + M175}
- M176 (Pe. and Pth. hym.) HR ii 60, cf. MSt. 21 {ph. IMTT 80; Rd. §dv, 192-93; tr. HG 202-03}
- M177 R: (Pe. pr.) HR ii 88-90, MSt. 72 {ph. IMTT 81a; Rd. §w, 57-58; tr. GSR 267}; V: (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §15, 117-19 {ph. IMTT 82a; Rd. §g, 38-39; tr. GSR 212}
- M178 (Sgd. pr. cosm.) W. B. Henning, 'A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony', *BSOAS* 12 (1948) 307 and 311-12 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 235-36}
- M182 + M182a + M450 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, e (Cat.: + M252c, end of lines) {n.p.ph.}
- M183 + M3404 (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §11, 61-64 {ph. XXIX-XXX; tr. ML (456-65) 134-35, (1174-1202) 118-19}

- M189 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 95-96 (= M680 R 4-7 and V 3-8) {ph. IMTT 81b, 82b; Rd. §br, 122 = M680 + M189; tr. HG 101 (ditto), GSR 64 (ditto)}
- M194 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 549-51 {ph. IMTT 83-84}
- M200 (pth. hymn to the Living Soul) V 3-13 = M83 I R 1-17, W.-L. i, 117 {ph. IMTT 85a, 86a}
- M197 (Sgd. liturg.) Fasts, 154 {n.p.ph.}
- M198a V 1-7 (Pe. and Pth. hym.) Šad-Ohrmezd, 334 {ph. III, Abb. 3-4}
- M204 (Pe. pr. serm.) Tales, 480 = R 2-8, complete text of frgm. in DbMT. {n.p.ph.}
- M208 (see under M638)
- M210 R 2-8 (Pe. conf.) Bráhman, 114 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 77}
- M211 (= KPT §4.3 R 8-13, V 8-13) + M500g + M2203 + M2205 + M3840, KPT §4.3, pp. 51 (text continues after a break on M21) {ph. XXIII-XXIV}
- M215 R 11-15, V 3-15 (Pth. hym.) Mitteliranisch, 103-04 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §db}
- M216a (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.6, 26-27 {ph. 6}
- M216b (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.3, 24-25 {ph. 6; Rd. §j, 42 (V 1-5 only); tr. ML 21, GSR 206}
- M216c = KG §2.5 R 8-13, V 7-13, (see under M1750) {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 21, GSR 203, §§1.1.B and 1.2.B}
- M219 (Pe. pr. polem.) MM ii 311-12 {ph. IMTT 85b, 86b; Rd. §dl, 182; tr. ML 13}
- M221 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §36, 102-04 {ph. L-LI; tr. ML 36, GSR 192-93}
- M224 I (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 322 {ph. IMTT 87a, 87b; Rd. §cl, 142; tr. ML 52, HG 125, GSR 84-85}
- M229 (Pth. hym.) Montagshymnus, 345-47 {ph. with art., pls. I-II}
- M233 (Pth. hym. cyc.) H I 1-4 {ph. MHC(S) 39b, 40a}
- M234 I: R1 -V 8 (Pth. hymn to Living Self = Rd. §au, 105 strophes b - end) W.-L. i, 117; II: V 9-16 (Pe.) unpubl. {ph. IMTT 87b, 89b}
- M235 I R 5 (Pe. hym) W. B. Henning, 'An astronomical chapter of the Bundahishn', *JRAS* (1942) 230, n. 7; R 11 - V 12 (see under M83) {n.p.ph.; Rd. §dgb; tr. see under M83 I V 15-19 etc.}
- M236 (= KG §24.2 R 6-20, V 6-19) (see under M8180)
- M240 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <g>, 47-48 {ph. VI, VII}
- M246 (Turk.) See under U105 in (7) Texts and fragments in Turkish.
- M252b (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, n, 46 {n.p.ph.}
- M256 (Pth. hym. cyc.) *H VIIIa 1-3, AR I 1-4 {ph. MHC(S) 51, 52a}
- M259c (R): (Pth. hymn) part. ed. W. L. i, 85-93; (V): (Sgd. hym.) Sogdian Hymns, p. 12 (V 1-5), 17-28, 33 (V 7-11), 40, version in DbMT gives WS's reading for V {ph. IMTT 89}
- M263f (= KPT §3.3 R? I 1-6, V? II 1-7) + M292 + M5228 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §3.3, 46-49 {ph. XIX, XX; tr. ML (905-912 only) 126}
- M267b = KG §11.2 R i 4,9-27 and ii, 4-27, V i 4-27 and ii 9-27 (see under M314)
- M270a (I: = KG §2.9 I R 1-3, V 1-3, II: = KG §2.9 II) + M869 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.9, 29-30 {ph. 7}
- M270b (see under M2070)

- M273 R 4-7 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 10, complete text of frgm. in DbMT {n.p.ph.}
- M281 V ii 3-6 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 35 and 85 {n.p.ph.}
- M284a R 9-14 (Pth. pr.) Hermas, 1082 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 68}
- M284b R i 1-9 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 61, R ii 7-10 (as 156) STParis, 716 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 68}
- M287 + M1223 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = aa: AR VII 17-22, 27-32 {ph. MHC(S) 7e, 7f}
- M291a (Pth. pr. cosm.) Gi T, 73 {n.p.ph.}
- M291b V 4-7 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 74 (Cat. corrects 'M291c' to 'M291b') {n.p.ph.}
- M292 I = KPT §3.3 R? 3-15, V? I 1-15; II = KPT §3.3 R? II 1-15, V? II 4-16 (see under M263f)
- M299a R 1-10 (Pe. pr. prophology) Henochbuch 27 {ph. IMT, 90a-b; tr. ML 12}
- M304 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <p>, 51 {ph. XIII}
- M306 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.i, 119 {ph. IMTT 90c-d}
- M307a + M307b (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ai>, 58 {ph. XXXIV-XXXV}
- M307b = SLN <aj> (see under M307a)
- M308a + M308b (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §7, 57-59 {ph. XXVII, XXVIII}
- M308b see under M308a
- M309a (Sgd., Pe. hym.) HR ii, 47, MSt. 22 {ph. IMTT 91}
- M311 R 5-16, V 10-17 (Pe. & Pth. hym. with Pe. and Pth., Sgd. captions) HR ii, 66-67, cf. MSt. 22-23, DbMT version checked and supplemented by DNM {ph. IMTT 92a-b; tr. ML 52 and 107}
- M312 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <af>, 56-57 {ph. XXX-XXXI}
- M313 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <t>, 51-52 {ph. XV}
- M314 (= KG §11.2 R i 1-8, ii, 1-5, V i 1-5, ii 9-27) + M267b (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §11.2, 105-113 {ph. 55-56}
- M315 (Pe. and Pth. hym.) Šad-Ohrmezd, 330-33 {ph. I-II, Abb. 1-2; Rd. §cj, 141 = I R 9-21; tr. HG 131, GSR 88}
- M316 (= KPT §4.1 R 1-10, V 1-10) + M801d (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §4.1, 50-51 {ph. XXI, XXII}
- M320 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.14, 32-33 {ph. 9}
- M324 R: (Pe. hym.) HR ii, 74, MSt. 23; V: (blank) {ph. IMTT 92c}.
- M326 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VI 38-40, 48-10 {ph. MHC(S) 52b-c}
- M330 (= KG §22.1 R hdl. and 1-11, V hdl., and 1-11) + M 2238 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §22.1, 127-28 {ph. 67}
- M331 (Pth. ps.) HR ii, 71-72, MSt. 23 {ph. IMTT 95a, 96a}.
- M332 (= PPbS §1.1 R hdl. and 1-9, V hdl. and 1-9) + M724 (Pth. pr. parab.) PPbS §1.1, 277-78 {ph. I-II; tr. GSR 183-84}
- M333 (Pth. pr. parab.) PPbS §1.3, 289-90 {ph. V-VI; tr. GSR 185}
- M334a (Pth. pr. parab.) PPbS §1.4, 293 {ph. VII-VIII; tr. GSR 186}
- M334b + M706 = PPbS §1.2 R 9-18, V 9-18 (see under M499)
- M336a (Sgd. letter) Briefe I (1-13), 305 {n.p.ph.}
- M336b (Sgd. letter) Briefe I (33-37), 306 {n.p.ph.}
- M338 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §39.1, 108-09 {ph. LII, LIII}

- M344a (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.15, 33 {ph. 9}
- M349 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <o>, 50-51 {ph. XIII}
- M351 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <a>, 45-46; cf. KPT §8, 59-60 {ph. SLN I, KPT XXVII, XXVIII; tr. GSR 67-68}
- M352 (Pth. hym.) Abced., I, 450 {n.p.ph.}
- M354 (Pth. pr. cosm.) contains parallel material to M183 + M3404 cf. KPT §11, 61-64 {ph. XXIX, XXX}
- M363 (Sgd. pr. cosm.) Gi K, 70-71 {n.p.ph.}
- M366 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ae>, 55-56 {ph. XXVIII-XXIX}
- M367 V (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §h 54-63 (= M33) {tr. see under M33}
- M369 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 118 {ph. IMTT 95b, 96b; Rd. §bs, 123; tr. GSR 64}
- M371 R 4 (Pe.) W.-L. i, 22 {n.p.ph.}
- M378 (Sgd. pr. hist., Mani autobiog.?) KG §25.1, 137-68 {ph. 78}
- M380a-b (Pe. pr. hist., Mani's death) KG §26, 139-40 {ph. 78}
- M382 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §26.2, 90-91 {ph. XLIII-XLIV}
- M384 + M2067 + M4517 + M5190 + M5682 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN , 44-46, cf. KPT §6, 56-57 {ph. II-III; KPT XXV, XXVI}
- M387 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §16,2, p. 20 {ph. MHC(S) 24e, 24f}
- M388 (Pe. hym., Sgd. caption) HR ii, 28-9, MSt. 23-4 {ph. IMTT 97a-b}.
- M395 (Sgd. pr.) BBB frgm. II B, 44 {n.p.ph.; tr. see under M131}
- M399 (Sgd. vers. of Lk. XII:24) Evang. 403-04 {ph. with art. pl. 8, fig. 12}
- M403 see under M877.
- M410 (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §25.2, 138-39 {ph. 78}
- M413 + M2086 (Pth. pr. parab.) PPbS §1.5, 297-99 {ph. IX}
- M422 (Pe. pr. hist., small frag.) KG§28.1, 141 {ph. 79}
- M428c (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <i>, 48 {ph. VIII}
- M433a (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 1.S 1-7, 2.S 1-7, 298-99 {n.p.ph.}
- M439 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 3-6, 13-16 (joins with M690) {ph. MHC(S) 47a, 47b}
- M442 V 1a (Pe. hym.) HR ii, 30, MSt. 24 {n.p.ph.}
- M448 (Pth. and Pe. hym.) Šad-Ohrmezd, 334-35 {ph. IV, 5-6}
- M449b (Pth. hym. cyc.) = frgm. D (not localizable) MHC 175 (joins with M503[α]c) {ph. MHC(S) 38a, 38b, 38e, 39a}
- M452 V 2 see M6450
- M453c (text identical to that on M529) (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 552, Sgd. Hymns, 14, 40 {ph. IMTT 97c-d}
- M454 I & II (Pe. pr. hist.) I: MM iii, §q, 891-92, cf. KG §24.3 R 1-15, V 1-15 (with add. comm. but text not given); II + M881, KG §24.3, 135-36 (Version in DbMT emended by WS) {ph. IMTT 98-99, KG 76-77; Rd. §o = I R 2 - V 13 (= MM iii, o 2-26); tr. ML 55, GSR 214}
- M455 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §21.1, 125-26 {ph. 66}
- M457 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <n>, 50-51 {ph. XII}
- M459e see under M104

- M460b V I 1-6 (Pth. hym.), Bráhmán, 111 (Cat. corrects '12sqq.' to I V 1-6, but read V I) {n.p.ph.}
- M464a (Pe. pr. hist., autobiog. of Mani) KG §5.3, 95 {ph. 43}
- M464c (Pe. pr. cosm.) *ap.* KPT §1, p. 13 {ph. XIII, XIV}
- M466a (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §34.1, 100 {ph. XLVIII, IL}
- M468a R II 5-12 (Pth. hym.) Abced., 443, n.3 {n.p.ph.}
- M470a + M497b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. G R hdl. and (289-312), V hdl. and (313-36), 514-19 {ph. IMTT 100, Šb. V}
- M470b (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap) Šb. fa , 299 {n.p.ph.}
- M470c (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. H R (352-60), V (376-84) {ph. V}
- M472 + M87b(1) I: (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. E R hdl. and (193-213), V hdl. and (217-38), 512-14; II: *ibid.* M R (533-48), V (557-68), 289 {ph. IMTT 101-02 (= F + M), Šb. IV (= F), VII (= M)}
- M473a + M473b + M519 + M537 (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. A R (4-24), V (28-48), 504-05; Q R (727-30), V (751-54), 291-92 {ph. IMTT 103-04 (= A + Q), Šb. I (= A), IX (= Q)}
- M473c = Šb. a R 18-24, V 42-48 (see under M537a I)
- M475 II (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. P R (690-92), V (714-16) {ph. VIII-IX}
- M475a (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. B R hdl. and (49-72), V hdl. and (73-96), 506-08 (joins with M475b see below) {ph. IMTT 105-06 (with M475b), Šb. I, II (= B)}
- M475b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. P R (679-89), V (703-13) 290-91 {ph. IMTT 105-06 (with M475a), Šb. VIII, IX (= P)}
- M475c (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. J R (400-408) and V (424-26), cf. KG §5.4 R 21-24 and V 16-17 { ph. KG 46-47}
- M477 I: (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. C R hdl. and (97-120), V hdl. and (121-144); II: Šb. O R hdl. and (625-35) and P R hdl. and (673-82), V hdl. and (649-58) and V hdl. and (697-706) {ph. IMTT 107-08, Šb. VIII}
- M477b (see under M482)
- M482 + M477b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. D R hdl. (145-68), V hdl. and (169-92) {ph. IMTT 109, Šb. III}
- M487 (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap, letters only) Šb. fb , 299 {n.p.ph.}
- M487b (1) (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. E (208-16) and V (232-39)
- M487b (2) = Šb. F R (256-63), V (280-84) (see under M535)
- M489a (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 15-17, 25-27 {ph. MHC(S) 6c, 6d}
- M489b (Pth. hym. cyc.) H Vb 1, 11 {ph. MHC(S) 40b, 40c}
- M491 + M3417 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <aj>, 57-59 {ph. XXXVI-XXXVII}
- M495a (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 23-25, 33-35 (joins with M817) {ph. MHC(S) 43c, 43d}
- M496a (see under M7)
- M496c V (only) E. Wellesz, 'Probleme der musikalischen Orientforschung' *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1917* (Leipzig, 1918) 16 {ph. IMTT 110b}
- M497a (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. fc {ph. XI}
- M497b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. G R (303-10), V (328-33) {ph. V}
- M499 (= PPbS §1.2 R hdl. and 1-9, V hdl. and 1-9) + M706 + M334b (Pth. pr. parab.) 284-85 {ph. III-IV; tr. GSR 184-85}

- M500a (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ϣ>, 51-52 {ph. XIV}
- M500c (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ε>, 46-47, cf. KPT §29, 95-96 {ph. SLN 5; KPT, XLV, XLVI; tr. ML 99, based on KPT 1838-45}
- M500g = KPT §4.3 R 7-12, V 7-12 (see under M211)
- M500k see under M752a
- M500n R (Sgd. pr. cosm.) Gi I, 70 {n.p.ph.}
- M501b (Pth. and Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 552-53 {ph. IMTT 110c-d}
- M501c (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 561 {ph. IMTT 110e-f }
- M501n (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, k, 44 {n.p.ph.}
- M502[α]b (Pth. hym. cyc.) H VIIb 11-12, 21-22 {ph. MHC(S) 3g, 3h}
- M503[α]c (Pth. hym. cyc.) = frgm. O (not localizable) MHC 177 (joins with M449b) {ph. MHC(S) 38c, 38d, 38e, 39a}
- M502[βa] (Pth. hym. cyc.) = 502h: *H VIII 2-3, 12-13 (joins with M2751) {ph. MHC(S) 49c, 49d; 50c, 50d}
- M502d (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §21.2, 126 {ph. 66 }
- M502e (Pth. pr. hist., Mani biog.?) KG §17, 119-120 {ph. 61}
- M503q (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, s, 52 {n.p.ph.}
- M505a (= Šb. H R hdl. and (337-57), V hdl. and (361-79)) + M542b I + M1745 + M470c (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. H (336-84) 518-20 {ph. V-VI}
- M505b (= Šb. J R hdl. and (385-404), V hdl. and (409-24), cf. KG §5.4 R 1-20, V 1-20, 95-96) + M542b II + M457c (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. J (385-426) 520-22 {ph. Šb. VI-VII, KG 46}
- M506 (R): (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §16, 68-69, cf. MM i, 188-89 {ph. XXXIII, XXXIV}
- M507 (Pth. hym.) Abced.,B, 440-42 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §am, 96-97; tr. ML 119, HG 65-66, GSR 36}
- M509 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <x>, 52-53 {ph. XIX}
- M510a (Pe. pr. eschat., letters only) Šb. fd, 299 {n.p.ph.}
- M510b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. fe, 299 {ph. XI}
- M510c (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap, letters and words only) Šb. fg, 300 {ph. XI}
- M516 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ϣ>, 51-52 {ph. XIV}
- M517 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 8-11, 18-21 {ph. MHC(S) 27a, 27b}
- M518 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR Ia 1-5, 11-15, hl. {ph. MHC(S) 41a, 41b}
- M519 I: = Šb. A R hdl. and 1-3, V hdl. and (25-27); II: = Šb. Q R hdl. and (721-23), V hdl. and (745-48) (see under M473a)
- M523a-c (Pth. pr. hist., biog. of Mani) KG §13.2, 115-17 (c = R (?) 1-12, b = V (?) 1-6, a = V (?) 7-13) {ph. 59}
- M526 = KPT §24.2 R 9-13, V 9-13 (see under M652)
- M528 I (Sgd. conf.) BBB e, 48 {n.p.ph.}
- M528 II (Sgd. pr. cosm.) BBB e, 48 {n.p.ph.}
- M529 R (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 552, Sgd. Hymns, 13 {ph. IMTT 111a, 112a}
- M533 (Pth. hym.) Abced.,C, 442-44 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §al = M533 V; tr. ML 118, HG 65 (V), GSR 36 (V)}
- M535 (= Šb. F R hdl. and (241-44), V hdl. and (264-68)) + M536 +

- MM487b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. F (241-88) 514-16 {ph. IV}
- M536 = Šb. F R (245-64), V (264-68) (see under M535)
- M537a I (= Šb. a R 15-24, V (39-48)) + M473c (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. a, 295-96 {ph. X}
- M537a II (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. q R 11-24, V (35-48) {ph. X}
- M537b (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. b (R contains only mirror-writing from M537 a I, V only a few words legible) {ph. X}
- M537c (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap, letters from headline only) Šb. fh, 300 {n.p.ph.}
- M538 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 548-49 {ph. IMTT 113a, 114a; Rd. §ag, 1-3, 91-92; tr. HG 59, GSR 30-31}
- M540b (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §9, 60 {ph. XXVII, XXVIII}
- M542b I: = Šb. H R (340-47), V (364-71), (see under M505a), cf. KG §5.4 V 1-20, 95-96 {ph. KG 46-47}; II: = Šb. J R (386-95), V (424-46) (see under M505b), cf. KG §5.4, 94-95.
- M543 (Pe. hym.) HR ii, 79, MSt. 28, Cat. p. 39 (containing text of R 1) {ph. IMTT 113a, 114a; Rd. §cqa, 149; tr. HG 138, GSR 95}
- M544 (Pth. ps.) HR ii, 72-3, MSt. 29 {ph. IMTT 115c-d}
- M549 II (Sgd. pr.) Murder, 142-44 {n.p.ph.}
- M551 R ii and V i (Pth. hym.) HR ii, 67-68, MSt. 29 (with V I printed interlinearly with M789 R) {ph. IMTT 115a-b}
- M554 (Pe. hym.) HR ii, 69, MSt. 29, {ph. IMTT 115c-d; Rd. §dd, 173; tr. ML 38, HG 159-60, GSR 126}
- M555 R = M442; V 3-4 (Pe. hym.) HR ii 74, MSt. 29 {n.p.ph.}
- M564 (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 321 {ph. IMTT 115e-f; Rd. §be 14-18, 113; tr. HG 87, GSR 50-51}
- M566 = KG §2.2 II R 25-28, V 25-28, I R 16-21, I V 17-21 (see under M871b) {Rd. §d; tr. ML (107-111 and 125-29 only) 9, GSR 208 (I R 15-19 only)}
- M570 A 2-4 (Pe. hym.) W. B. Henning, 'A Farewell to Khagan of the Aq-Aqātaran', *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 516 {n.p.ph.}
- M572 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §27, 91-93 {ph. XLIII, XLIV}
- M578 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 24-26, 34-36 {ph. MHC(S) 46a, 46b}
- M580 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §37, 104-06 {ph. L-LI; tr. GSR 193-94}
- M581 (NB New Pe. in Manich. script poet.) Poetical, 94-98 {ph. with art. pl. IV (A V and B R only)}
- M583 (Sgd. hym.) W.-L.ii, 545-47 {ph. IMTT 116}
- M588 (Pth. hym. cyc.) H VIII 8-10, 18-20 {ph. MHC(S) 42c, 42d}
- M603 (Pth. hym. cyc.) H I 18-19, 28-29 {ph. MHC(S) 56c, 56d}
- M612 R 10-15, V 4-18 (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 313, nn. 10-11, 314, nn. 3 and 11, 316, n. 1, 318, n. 3 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §bu, 125 = R 12 - V 8; tr. HG 104-05} (complete text of fragment in DbMT)
- M614 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, f, 31-2 {n.p.ph.}
- M620 + M667 + M918a + M2604 = bz: (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VIIa1-7, 11-17 {ph. MHC(S) 18c, 19a}
- M624a (Pe. pr. hist., small frag.) KG §28.2, 141, cf. Šad-Ohrmezd, 336 {ph. KG 80}
- M624b (Pe. pr. hist.?, sml frag.) KG §28.3, 142 {ph. 80}

- M625b (Pth. hym. cyc.) H I 1-2, 6-8
{ph. MHC(S) 12e, 12f}
- M625c (Pe. pr. cosm.) Henochbuch
29, Gi D, 66 (transl. only, ditto
DbMT) {ph. IMTT 117a, 118a}
- M626 (Pe. hym.) R 8-9, W.-L. ii, 596
{n.p.ph.}
- M627 (Pe. hym.) R I 6-13, W.-L. ii,
602 {n.p.ph.}
- M631 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §20, 124
{ph. 66}
- M638 + M208 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.)
SLN <j>, 48 {ph. IX}
- M644 (Pe. pr., from Mani's
Evangelion) I, Mani ..., 190-91
{ph. 198}
- M648 (Sgd. pr. cosm.) Gi C, 65-66
{n.p.ph.}
- M651 R 5-6 (= T ii T 10, 3) (Pe. pr.)
Tales, 485 {n.p.ph.}
- M652 (= KPT §24.2 R 1-8, V 1-8) +
M526 (Pth. pr. parab.) {ph. XL,
XLI; tr. ML (1634-83 only) 99-101,
GSR 189}
- M667 (see under M620)
- M673 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I 15-20,
25-30 {ph. MHC(S) 14a, 14b}
- M675 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VI 42-46,
52-56 {ph. MHC(S) 5a, 5b}
- M679 V 8-15 (Pth. ps.) Bráhman, 112
(Cat. 46, corrected from '27 sqq.')
- {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 142}
- M680 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.i, 94-97 {ph.
IMTT 122; Rd. §br, 112 = M680 +
M189; tr. see under M189}
- M688 (Pe. / Pth. and Sgd. glossary)
Sogdica, p, 47-48 {n.p.ph.}
- M689 (Pth. hym. cyc.) HVIII 1-2, 11-
12 {ph. MHC(S) 4e, 4f}
- M690 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 2-4, 12-
14 (joins with M439) {ph. MHC(S)
46c, 46d; 47c, 48a}
- M692 (Sgd. pr. story of Yima) Gi V,
74 {n.p.ph.}
- M698 (Pth. hym. cyc.) frgm. L (not
localizable) MHC 176 {ph. MHC(S)
53a, 53b}
- M706 + M334b (Pth. pr. parab.) PPbS
§1.2 R 9-18, V 9-18 (see under
M499)
- M710 + M5877 (= T II D 138 (3 p.) c)
(Pth. hym.) Abced.,D, 444-46
{n.p.ph.; Rd. §an, 97-98; tr. ML
122, HG 66-67, GSR 37}
- M715d (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §17, 69-
70 {ph. XXXIII, XXXIV}
- M719 (Pe. hym.) R 5, W.-L. ii, 595
(complete text of frgm. in DbMT)
{n.p.ph.}
- M720a (Pth. pr. hist.? scrap) KG
§22.7, 130 {ph. 69}
- M722 (Pth. hym.), Abced.,E, 446-47
{n.p.ph.}
- M724 = PPbS §1.1 R 9-18, V 9-18,
(see under M332)
- M725 see M111
- M727a V (Pe. hym.) W. B. Henning,
'Two Central Asian Words', *Trans-
actions of the Philological Society*,
1945 (1946) 152 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §de,
173; tr. HG 160, GSR 126}
- M727b (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN
<s>, 51-52 {ph. XV}
- M729 I and II (Pe. hym.) MM ii, 330-
33 {ph. IMTT 119a, 120a; Rd. §cr,
149-151; HG 139-40, GSR 95-96}
- M730 (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 553-54
{ph. IMTT 119b, 120b; Rd. §ah, 93
= R I and V II; tr. HG 60-61 (ditto),
GSR 31 (ditto)}
- M731 (Pe., pr., sayings of Mani) HR
ii, 32-33, MSt. 30 {ph. IMTT 121;
Rd. §dp, 185; tr. GSR 258}
- M733 (Pe., pr. citations from Mani's
letters and Evangel.) HR ii 31, MSt.

- 31 {ph. IMTT 122; Rd. §do, 184-85, cf. Cat. p. 49, essential, tr. GSR 258}
- M734 R 7-9 (Pth. crucif. hym.) LJ 949, n. 4, V = M104 (q.v.); V 1-11 (Pth. crucif. hym.) Evang. 397 {ph. with art. pls. 5-6, figs. 7-8; Rd. §bya, 128; tr. ML 102}. See also M132a + M5861
- M737 (Pth. hym.) Sadwēs, 915 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §bp, 120; tr. ML 137-38, GSR 60}
- M738 (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, p.561-562 {ph. IMTT 123a, 124a; Rd. §cd, 134-35; tr. HG 122, GSR 80}
- M741 (Pth. hym.) Sadwēs, 911-14 {ph. with art., pl. 26; Rd. §ao, 98-99 = R, ap. 99-100 = V; tr. ML 132, HG 67 (R), 68-69 (V); GSR 37-38 (R), 38 (V)}
- M742 (Pe. pr. hist.) KG §18, 120-23 {ph. 62-63 }
- M752a,b,c + M500k + M1340 and M4164 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, h, 38-39 {M1340 and M4164, both unpublished}
- M763 R II 4-27, V I 3-26 (Pth. hym), Poem, 646 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §dga, 176; tr. HG 163}
- M765i (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §3.4, 49 {ph. XIX, XX}
- M774 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 8-14, 18-24 {ph. MHC(S) 6a,6b}
- M776 R 5 (Cat. R 4 corrected to R 5), V 1-2 W.-L. ii, 574 {n.p.ph.}
- M779 (Pth. hym.) Bāzāklik 121-25 (V?, text c), 128 (R?) {ph. with art., p. 133}
- M780 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I 11-17, 21-17 (joins with M889) {ph. MHC(S) 58, 59}
- M781 + M1314 + M1315 (Pe. pr. spell) Magical 39-40 {ph. with art., pl. I (i R and ii V only); Rd. §dr, 187; tr. ML 45, HG 206-07}
- M785 R 2, 7-9 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 60 (DbMT contains also R 11) MM ii, 322, n. 3; V (Pe. hym.) 2, ibid. 318, 9-10, ibid. 331, n. 5 and 10-11, STParis, 726) {n.p.ph.}
- M786 (NB New Pe. poet. in Manich. script) Poetical, 100-03 {ph. with art., pl. V ; tr. ML 38-39, HG 89, GSR 52-53}
- M788 R 2-8 (Pe. pr.) Murder, 142, n. 1 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 12-13}
- M789 (Pth. hym.) HR ii, 68, MSt. 29 (R = M551 V i) and 31 (V) {ph. IMTT 123b, 124b; Rd. §df 175 (V only); tr. HG 161 (V only), GSR 126 (ditto)}
- M796 (Sgd. calendar tables) Fasts, 153-54 {n.p.ph.}
- M798a (Pe. hym.) W.-L. ii, 559-60 {ph. IMTT 125a, 126a; Rd. §cc, 134 = R II - V II; tr. HG 121 (R II - V II), GSR 80 (ditto)}
- M801a (contains (1): Pe. and Pth. Bē ma liturgy) and (2): Sgd. conf.) BBB 18-41 {ph. p. 1 (= lines 1-18) and p. 40 (= lines 612-29) only, H. Härtel and M. Yaldiz, *Die Seidenstraße, Malereien und Plastiken aus buddhistischen Höhlentempeln* (Berlin, 1987) 154, p. 13 (= lines 200-217) and 26 (= lines 390-406) Miniaturen, 4d; Rd. §cu, 153-59 = I only; tr. ML (1-199, 218-67, 299-307, 310-67 and 390-475 only) 63-68, HG 167-79 (1-767 only), GSR 134-39 (1-475), 139-43 (476-767)} (see also L A 1-2 and L B 1-5 below)
- M801d = KPT §4.1 R 6-12, V 6-23 (see under M316)

- M805a (= KG §5.4 R 1-14, V 1-14) and M2070 + M270b (Pe. pr. eschat.) KG 5.4, 96-97 {ph. 44-45}
- M805b (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.8, 28 {ph. 7}
- M812 V 1-4 see under M24 R 4-8
- M815 (Pth. and Sgd. biling. hym. cyc.) AR Ia 7-8, 12-13 {ph. MHC(S) 23a, 23b}
- M817 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR VII 20-23, 30-33 (joins with M495a) {ph. MHC(S) 43a, 43b; 43e, 43f}
- M818 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ab>, 54-55 {ph. XXIV, XXV}
- M819 (= KPT §3.1 R 1-18, V 1-18) + M2154 (Pe. pr. cosm.) {ph. XIX, XX; tr. ML (797-805 only) 121}
- M822 (= KG §11.1 R i 1-2 and ii 1-5, V i 1-5 and ii 1-3) + M1964 (M314 + M267b appear to be from the same ms. codex) (Pth. pr. hist.) {ph. 54}
- M825 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §30, 96-97 {ph. XLV, XLVI}
- M831 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I 18-20, 29-30 {ph. MHC(S) 63a, 63b}
- M835 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, g, 35-3 {n.p.ph.}
- M842 R 1-4, 7-9, 18 - V 13 (Pe. hym., prob. by Mani) Mitteliranisch 103-04 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §da, 169; tr. HG 156-57, GSR 124}
- M853 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §3.2, 45-46 {ph. XIX, XX}
- M855 (Pth. hym. cyc.) H VIIIa 1-3, AR I 1-3 {ph. MHC(S) 7c, 7d}
- M858e (Pth. hym. cyc.) H IVb 3-V 1, V 9-11 {ph. MHC(S) 3c, 3d}
- M859 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) frgm. B, MHC 174 {ph. MHC(S) 65a, 65b}
- M863 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR II 1-3, 11-3 {ph. MHC(S) 26a, 26b}
- M869 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.9 I R 1-5, V 1-5 (see under M270a)
- M871b (= KG §2.2 II R 1-5, V 1-5) + M2401 + M28 I & II + M1306 I & II + M5911 + M1307 + M566 + M2231 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.2, 19-24 {ph. 3-4}
- M871f (Pth. hym. cyc.) H VII 1-2, 11-12 {ph. MHC(S) 4c, 4d}
- M871i (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §13, 65-66 {ph. XXXI, XXXII}
- M875 + M699 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, c, 24-25 {n.p.ph.}
- M877 + M403 (New Pe. in Manich. script, pr. conf.) W. Sundermann, 'Ein manichäischer Bekenntnistext in neupersischer Sprache', in C.-H. de Fouchécour and P. Gignoux (edd.) *Études Trano-Aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard, Studia Iranica, Cahier 7* (Paris, 1989) 356-58
- M881 = KG § 24.3 R 15-20, V 15-20 (see under M454 II)
- M882a (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 4, 301 {n.p.ph.}
- M888a (Pth. hym.) Abced.,F, 448 {n.p.ph.}
- M889 (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I 11-15, 21-25 (joins with M780) {ph. MHC(S) 57c, 57d; 60, 61}
- M891b see under M104
- M895a (Pth. hym. cyc.) H V 2-3, 12-13 (joins with M2224) {ph. MHC(S) 35e, 35f; 36a, 36b}
- M903 (Pe. pr. hist., small frag.) KG §28.4 {ph. 81}
- M904 (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <y>, 60-61 {ph. XX, XXI}
- M905 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ah> 57-58 {ph. XXXII, XXXIII}
- M906 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <h>, 47-48 {ph. VIII}

- M911 (Pe. pr. cosm.) Gi A 266-75, 60
{n.p.ph.}
- M918a see under M620
- M1001 I: = KPT §1.1 R II 8-13, V I 9-21; II: = KPT §1.1 R III 10-21, V II 10-21 (see under M1031)
- M1001 III (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.1 R IV 6-18, V III 8-11 (see under M1031)
- M1002 I: = KPT §1.8 R I 3-13, V II 6-13; II: = KPT §1.8 R II 2-10, V III 6-13 (see under M1023)
- M1002 III (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.8 R III 3-11, V IV 6-12 (see under M1023)
- M1003 I: (= KPT §1.2 R? I 1-4 and 6-10, V? I 1-6); II: (= KPT §1.2 R? II 1-13 and V? III 1-4); (III): (= KPT §1.2 R? III 1-6, V? III 6-11 + M1025) (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.2, 18-21 {ph. III-IV}
- M1004 I: (= KPT §1.7 R I 1-15, V III 1-9) + II: (= KPT §1.7 R II 1-9, V IV 1-14) + (III): (= KPT §1.7 R III 1-12) + M1010 + M1005 I & II + M1008 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.7, 25-29 {ph. VII-VIII; tr. ML 134 (363-68 only)}
- M1005 I: = KPT §1.7 R I 21-22, V II 1-12; II: = KPT §1.7 R II 10-16, V III 10-16; III: KPT §1.7 V IV 18-20 (see under M1004)
- M1006 I: = KPT §1.8 R III 7-11, V V I 1-6; II: = KPT §1.8 R IV 1-8, V II 6-13 (see under M1023)
- M1007 I: (= KPT §1.5 1.S I 1-6, 2.S II 1-8) + II: (= KPT §1.5 1.S II 1-8, 2.S III 1-5) + M1027 I & II (Pe. pr. cosm.) §1.5, 23-24 {ph. V, VI}
- M1008 I: = KPT §1.7 R III 1-8, V I 1-7; II: = KPT §1.7 R IV 1-7, V II 5-10 (see under M1004)
- M1009 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.6, 24-25 {ph. V, VI}
- M1010 = KPT §1.7 R I 14-22, V IV 13-21 (see under M1004)
- M1011 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.9, 33-34 {ph. XI, XII}
- M1012 I: = KPT §1.1 R III 1-9, V I 1-4; II: = KPT §1.1 R IV 1, V II 1-9 (see under M1031)
- M1013 I: KPT §1.1 R II 1-8, V II 3-10; II: = KPT §1.1 R III 2-9, V III 1-7 (see under M1031)
- M1014 (= KPT §1.4 1.S 1-9, 2.S 1-8) + M1021 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.4, 21-22 {ph. V, VI}
- M1015 I: = KPT §1.1 R I 1-7, V III 1-7; II: = KPT §1.1 R II 2-8, V IV 1-8 (see under M1031)
- M1016 = KPT §1.1 R IV 1-5, V V I 1-8 (see under M1031)
- M1017 I: = KPT §1.8 R II 1-2, V II 1-5; II: KPT §1.8 R III 1-3, V III 1-5 (see under M1023)
- M1018 = KPT §1.1 R I 1-7, V IV 2-8 (see under M1031)
- M1019 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.11, 35 {ph. XI, XII}
- M1020 I: = KPT §1.10 V I 1-4; II: = KPT §1.10 R I 4-9 (see under M1022)
- M1021 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.3, 21 {ph. V, VI}
- M1022 (= KPT §1.10 V II 1-5) + M1020 I & II (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.10, 34 {ph. XI, XII}
- M1023 (KPT §1.8 R I 1-3, V IV 1-2) + M1002 I & II + M1028 I & II + M1017 I & II + M1006 I & II + M9000 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.8, 29-33 {{tr. ML 135 (456-65 only), ph. IX-XX}
- M1024 = KPT §1.1 R II 13-18, V III 11-16 (see under M1031)

- M1025 = KPT §1.2 R? II 3-17, V? III 3-18 (see under M1003)
- M1026 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.12, 35-36 {ph. XIII, XIV}
- M1027 I: = KPT §1.5 1.S II 5-6, 2.S I 1-7; II: = KPT §1.5 1.S III 1-7, 2.S II 4-6 (see under M1007)
- M1028 I: = KPT §1.8 R II 1; II: = KPT §1.8 V IV 1-5 (see under M1023)
- M1029 = KPT §1.1 R I 7-10, V IV 9 (see under M1031)
- M1030 = KPT §1.4 1.S 10-16, 2.S 8-14 (see under M1014)
- M1031 (= KPT §1.1 R I 2-6, V IV 2-8) + M1018 + M1015 I & II + M1029 + M1013 + M1001 I-III + M1024 + M1016 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.1, 13-18 {ph. I-II}
- M1063 (Pe. glossary, words only) Sogdica, w, 54 {n.p.ph.}
- M1115 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ay: AR VIIa1, 11 MHC(S) §13.17, p. 19 (M1115 + M620 etc. AR VIIa 1-7, 11-17) {ph. MHC(S) 19b, 19c}
- M1118 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §21.3, 126 {ph. 66}
- M1183 see under M6240
- M1202 (T i alpha) (Pth. amulet) Magical, 50 {ph. with art., pl. II (R only); Rd. §ds, 188-89; tr. ML 45, HG 208-10}
- M1208 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §15, 66-68 {ph. XXXIII, XXXIV}
- M1223 see under M287
- M1225 (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (1-4) 309
- M1306 I = KG §2.2 II R 4-13, V 4-13, I R 4-13, I V 4-13; II: = KG §2.2 II R 13-21 (see under M871b)
- M1307 = KG §2.2 II R 21-27, V 21-24 (see under M871b)
- M1314 (T I) see under M781
- M1315 (T I) see under M781
- M1340 see under M752a
- M1343 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.7, 28 {ph. 6}
- M1344 (= KG §2.1 R 1-6, V 1-6) (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.1, 18-19 {ph. 2}
- M1345 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.16, 33 {ph. 9}
- M1367 (T I α) (Pe. and Pth. hym.) W.-L. ii, 551 {ph. IMTT 125b, 126b}
- M1502 (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap) Šb. fk , 300 {n.p.ph.}
- M1508 (Pe. pr. eschat., scrap) Šb. fl , 300 {n.p.ph.}
- M1514 (Pth. pr. hist., v. fragmentary) KG §2.17, 33-34 {ph. 9}
- M1521 see under M145
- M1530 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ad: AR IV 21-23, 31-33; II (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ae: AR 41-43, 51-53 {ph. MHC(S) 18a, 18b}
- M1531 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = af: AR IV 1-3, 11-13; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ag: AR IV 61-63, 71-73 {ph. MHC(S) 17f, 17g}
- M1532 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ah: AR III 59-61, 69-71; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ai: AR V 1-3, 11-13 {ph. MHC(S) 17d, 17e}
- M1533 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = aj: AR III 59-61, 69-71; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ak: AR V 21-22, 31-33 {ph. MHC(S) 17b, 17c}
- M1534 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = al: AR III 19-21, 29-31; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = am: AR V 41-43, 51-53 (M1534 II + M5586: AR V 41-44, 51-54) {ph. MHC(S) 16e, 17a}
- M1535 II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ao: AR V 61-63, VI 7-9 {ph. MHC(S) 15m, 15n}
- M1536 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ap: AR IIa30-32, 40-42; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = aq: AR VI 17-19, 27-29 {ph. MHC(S) 15k, 15l}

- M1537 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ar: AR IIa10-12, 20-22; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = as: AR VI 38-39, 48-49 {ph. MHC(S) 15i, 15j}
- M1538 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = at: AR I 58-59, IIa1-2; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = au: AR VI 57-59, 67-69 {ph. MHC(S) 15g, 15h}
- M1539 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = av: AR I 38-39, 48-49; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = aw: AR VII 4-5, 14-15 {ph. MHC(S) 15e, 15f}
- M1540 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ax: AR I 18-19, 28-29; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ay: AR VII 23-24, 33-35 {ph. MHC(S) 15c, 15d}
- M1541 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = az: frgm. E (not localizable) MHC 175; II: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ba: frgm. F (not localizable) MHC 175 {ph. MHC(S) 16e, 17a}
- M1542 I: (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bb: frgm. G (not localizable) MHC 175; II (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bc: frgm. J (not localizable) MHC 176 {ph. MHC(S) 20b, 20c}
- M1543 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bd: frgm. K (not localizable) MHC 176 {ph. MHC(S) 22a, 22b}
- M1544 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = be: *H IVa3-4, 13-14 {ph. MHC(S) 14e, 14f}
- M1591 (Pth. pr. hist.?) KG §22.6, 130 {ph. 69}
- M1603 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <k>, 49 {ph. X}
- M1607 (T I D 51) (1.S 4 and 2.S 1) (Pe. hym.) Šad-Ohrmezd 335 {ph. V, fig. 7-8}
- M1608 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §8, 100 {ph. 49}
- M1663 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cb: H 58-60, 68-69 {ph. MHC(S) 24c, 24d}
- M1668 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cd.: frgm. P (not localizable) MHC 178 {ph. MHC(S) 13c, 13d}
- M1669 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §32.11, p. 21 {ph. 66a, 66b}
- M1671 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §30.7, p. 21 {ph. MHC(S) 53c, 53d}
- M1673 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cg: AR IIIb10-12, 20-22 {ph. MHC(S) 64c, 64d}
- M1738 (Pe. Jesus hym.?) Evang. 404 {ph. with art. pl. 10, fig. 15}
- M1741 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §3.5, 49 {ph. XIX, XX}
- M1745 (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. H R (351-55), V (375-79) {ph. V (R only)}
- M1750 (= KG §2.5 R 1-7, V 1-7) + M216c {ph. 5; tr. GSR 203, §§1.1.B and 1.2.B}
- M1828 (Sgd. pr.) W. Sundermann, 'Der Paraklet in der ostmanichäischen Überlieferung', in P. Bryder (ed.), *Manichaean Studies; Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5-9, 1987*, Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions I (Lund, 1988) 204-05 {n.p.ph.}
- M1838 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bh AR VI 55-56, 65-66 {ph. MHC(S) 66e, 66f}
- M1848 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <w>, 53-53 {ph. XVIII}
- M1859 (Pe. or Pth. pr. cosm., scrap) KPT §21, 77 {ph. XXXVII, XXXVIII}
- M1867a (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (19-21) 310 {n.p.ph.}
- M1867b (Sgd. letter) Briefe II (18-19), 310 {n.p.ph.}

- M1876 + M1877 (Pe. hym., M1876R + M1877 R = M95 R 6a-7b; M1876 V + M1877 V = M95 V 6) Rd. §be.6-7 and 12, p. 13 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 86, GSR 50 (both from M95)}
- M1890 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bj: *AR Ib 1-4, 11-14 {ph. MHC(S) 66e, 66f}
- M1891 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bk: frgm. C (not localizable) MHC 174 {ph. MHC(S) 37a, 37b}
- M1892 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bi: AR I 18-20, 29-30 {ph. MHC(S) 64a, 64b}
- M1901 (Pth. hym. cyc.) localizable possibly to H {ph. MHC(S) 24g, 24h}
- M1916 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §39.2, 109 {ph. LI, LII}
- M1926 (Pe. pr. parab.?, cosm.? scrap) KPT §34.2, 100 {ph. XLVIII, IL}
- M1953 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bl: H VIb 1-3, 11-13 {ph. MHC(S) 13e, 13f}
- M1964 = KG §11.1 R i 1-4 and ii 4, V i 4 and ii 1-4 (see under M822)
- M2023 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 3, 300 {n.p.ph.}
- M2026 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, i, 43 {n.p.ph.}
- M2056 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §35, 101 {ph. XLVIII, IL}
- M2061 (Pth. pr. hist. with Pe. captions) KG §22.2, 128 {ph. 68}
- M2066 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, x, 54 {n.p.ph.}
- M2067 (see under M384)
- M2070 + M270b = KG §5.4 R 15-16, V 15-16 (see under M805a)
- M2078 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bs (not localizable) frgm. M, MHC 176 {ph. MHC(S) 42a, 42b}
- M2082 (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §4.4, 52 {ph. XXIII-XXIV}
- M2086 see under M413
- M2089 (= T I D20 (7 p.) d) (Pth. hym.) Abced.,K, 450 {n.p.ph.}
- M2098 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §14, 66 {ph. XXXI, XXXII}
- M2154 = KPT §3.1 R 15-20. V 15-2 0 (see under M819)
- M2163 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, u, 53 {n.p.ph.}
- M2202 (Pe. pr. hist., Mani's auto-biog.? small frag.) KG §7, 99-100 {ph. 49}
- M2203 = KPT §4.3 R 5-7, V 5-7 (see under M211)
- M2205 = KPT § 4.3 R 1-4, V 1-4 (see under M211)
- M2206 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bm AR v 54-55, V 64-VI 1 {ph. MHC(S) 4i, 4j}
- M2213 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §13.21, p. 19 {ph. MHC(S) 22a, 22b}
- M2220 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bu: H V 4-5, 14-15 {ph. MHC(S) 36c, 36d}
- M2224 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bv: H V 2-3, 12-13 {ph. MHC(S) 35c, 35d}
- M2230 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.4, 25 {ph. 5}
- M2231 = KG §2.2 II R 25-28, V 25-28 (see under M871b)
- M2238 = KG §22.1 R hdl. and 1-2, V hdl. 1 (see under M330)
- M2306 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = by: H I 48-49, 58-59 {ph. MHC(S) 2e, 2f}
- M2309 (R wrongly catalogued separately as M 5702) (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §19, 75-76 (V comes before R), add. comm. KG §2.11, 31 {ph. KPT, XXXVII, XXXVIII, KG 8}
- M2315 (Pth. hym. cyc.) MHC(S) §4.17, 19 (not localizable) {ph. MHC(S) 6e, 6f}
- M2339 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bn: H Va 1-2, 11-12 {ph. MHC(S) 3e, 3f}

- M2401 = KG §2.2 II R 1-3, V 1-3 (see under M871b)
- M2412 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = br: *H IVa 7-8, 18 {ph. MHC(S) 57a, 57b}
- M2418 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §32.12, p. 21 {ph. 66c, 66d}
- M2420 (not localizable) MHC(S) §29.2, p. 20 {ph. 48d, 48e}
- M2451 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 5, 302 {n.p.ph.}
- M2453 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ac>, 55 {ph. XXV}
- M2457 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bp: *AR IIIa 1-3, 11-13 (*NB new sequence of lines given in DbMT) {ph. MHC(S) 14c, 14d}
- M2458 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = bq: H V 9-10, 19-20 {ph. MHC(S) 15a, 15b}
- M2600 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ca (not localizable) frgm. A, MHC 174 {ph. MHC(S) 65c, 65d}
- M2604 (see under M620)
- M2605 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §13.22, pp. 19-20 {ph. MHC(S) 22e, 22f}
- M2607 (Pth. hym. cyc.) MHC 318-19 (not localizable) {ph. MHC(S) 37c, 37d}
- M2608 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, q, 48-49 {n.p.ph.}
- M2700 (T I D 51 α (2 p.) a) (Pth. hym.) Abced.,H, 449 {n.p.ph.}
- M2701 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = co: AR IIIb 1-2, 11-12 {ph. MHC(S) 12a, 12b}
- M2705 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <d>, 49-40 {ph. X}
- M2750 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §33, p. 21 {ph. 67a, 67b}
- M2751 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ch: *H VIII 2-3, 12-13 (joins with M502βa) {ph. MHC(S) 50a, 50b}
- M2753 (T I D 51) (see under M18)
- M2851 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ck: H 51-3, 61-63 {ph. MHC(S) 24a, 24b}
- M2891 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, m, 45 {n.p.ph.}
- M3023 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §30.8, p. 21 {ph. 53e, 53f}
- M3120 = KG §22.3 1.S 5-9, 2.S 5-9 (see under M5826)
- M3121 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cl: H V 9, 19 {ph. MHC(S) 36e, 36f}
- M3234 (Pe. & Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, l, 45 {n.p.ph.}
- M3401 (Pe. pr. hist., small frag.) KG §28.5, 143 {ph. 81}
- M3404 (see under M183)
- M3414 (Pe. pr. hist., autobiog. of Mani) KG §5.2, 94 {ph. 43}
- M3417 = SLN <aj> (see under M491)
- M3511 (Pth. frag. mentioning resurrection of Christ) Evang. 401 {ph. with art. pl. 8, fig. 11}
- M3703 (see under M94)
- M3706 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 1.S 1-6, 2.S 1-6, 298-99 {n.p.ph.}
- M3709 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §13.23, p. 20 {ph. MHC(S) 22g, 22h}
- M3840 = KPT §4.3 R 9-13, V 9-13 (see under M211)
- M3848 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.13, 32 {ph. 9}
- M4150 (Pth. pr. hist.?) KG §22.4, 129 {ph. 69}
- M4161 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 7, 303 {n.p.ph.}
- M4164 (see under M752a)
- M4168 (Pe. pr. serm.) Yimki 2, 300 {n.p.ph.}
- M4450 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <z>, 53 {ph. XX, XXI}

- M4500 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §18.1, 70-72 {ph. XXXV, XXXVI}
- M4501 = KPT §18.2 R II 1-8, V I 1-8, (see under M5566)
- M4502 (Pe.? pr. cosm.) KPT §18.4, 75 {ph. XXXV, XXXVI}
- M4503 (Pe. ? pr. cosm.) KPT §18.5, 75 {ph. XXXV, XXXVI}
- M4517 (see under M384)
- M4523 (Pth. pr. hist., small frag.) KG §27, 140 {ph. 79}
- M4525 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG 4a.15, 72 {ph. 29}
- M4570 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.18, 76-79 {ph. 33-34; tr. ML 101 (based on version of text in Evang. 390-91), HG 113-14 }
- M4571 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.4, 62-63 {ph. 22}
- M4572 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.16, 72-73 {ph. 30}
- M4573 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.17, 74 {ph. 31-32}
- M4574 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.19, 79-81 {ph. 35; tr. ML 101 (based on version of text in Evang. 400-01), GSR 74}
- M4575 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.1, 55-57 {ph. 18; tr. ML 19-20 (based on earlier version of text in Wirk-samkeit, 82-87, GSR 211)}
- M4576 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.2, 58-60 {ph. 19}
- M4577 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.3, 60-62 {ph. 20-21}
- M4578 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.5, 63-66 {ph. 23}
- M4579 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.12, 69-70 {ph. 28}
- M4580 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.6, 66-67 {ph. 24}
- M4581 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.7, 67-68 {ph. 25}
- M4582 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.8, 68 {ph. 26}
- M4583 (pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.9, 68 {ph. 26}
- M4584 (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.21, 82 {ph. 36}
- M4585 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.20, 81-82 {ph. 36}
- M4586 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.10, 69 {ph. 26}
- M4587 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4a.11, 69 {ph. 27}
- M4588 (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.22, 82 {ph. 27}
- M4589 (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.23, 69 {ph. 26}
- M4589a (Pth. pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.24, 82 {ph. 36}
- M4589b (Pth. pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.25, 83 {ph. 36}
- M4589c (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.26, 83 {ph. 36}
- M4589d (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.27, 83 {ph. 37}
- M4589e (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.28, 83 {ph. 37}
- M4589f (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.29, 83 {ph. 37}
- M4589g (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.30, 83 {ph. 37}
- M4589h (? pr. hist.?, scrap) KG §4a.31, 84 {ph. 37}
- M4589i (? pr. hist.?, scrap) KG §4a.32, 84 {ph. 37}
- M4589k (? pr. hist.?, scrap) KG §4a.33, 84 {ph. 37}
- M4589l (? pr. hist.?, scrap) KG §4a.3, 84 {ph. 37}
- M4589m (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.35, 84 {ph. 37}
- M4627 = KG §24.2 R 6-10 and V 6-10 (see under M8180)

- M4727 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cp (not localizable) frgm. N, MHC 177 {ph. MHC(S) 42e, 42f}
- M4798 (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.36, 84 {ph. 37}
- M4883 (given in KG index in error for M4583?)
- M4900 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cr: (R) and cs: (V), R not localizable, frgm. Q, V (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I,1 {ph. MHC(S) 4g, 4h}
- M4912 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §2.12, 31 {ph. 8 }
- M4970 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ct: H VIc10-12, 20-22 {ph. MHC(S) 1c, 1d; Rd. §cx, 164-65}
- M4990 R 1-8 (T II D 58) (Pth. pr. cosm.) Gi U, 73-74 {n.p.ph.}
- M5030 V 4-12 (Sgd., on Buddha as Mani) W. Sundermann, 'Manichaean traditions on the date of the historical Buddha', in H. Bechert (ed.) *The Dating of the Historical Buddha, Pt. 1, Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung*, IV,1 (Göttingen, 1991) 437-38 {n.p.ph.}
- M5052 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, t, 52 {n.p.ph.}
- M5055 = KG §11.3 R i 10-14 and ii 1-11, V i 1-11 and ii 10-14 (see under M5671)
- M5056c = KG §11.3 R i 5-9, V i 5-9 (see under M5671)
- M5185 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <c>, 45-46, cf. KPT §5, 54-55 {ph. SLN IV; KPT, XXV, XXVI}
- M5187 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <d>, 46, cf. KPT §5, 54-55 {ph. SLN V; KPT XXV, XXVI}
- M5190 (see under M384)
- M5228 = KPT §3.3 R? II 1-15, V? I 13-15 (see under M263f)
- M5260 V 1-4 (T II D 66) (Pe. hym.) MM i, 192, n. 6 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §bq. 121; tr. ML 138, HG 99, GSR 60}
- M5262 (T II D 66) (Pth. hym.) W.-L.ii, 549 {ph. IMTT 125c, 126c; Rd. §aj, 93; tr. HG 61, GSR 31-32}
- M5263 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cu: H VII,8-13 18-23 {ph. MHC(S) 13a, 13b}
- M5268 (T II D 66 a, Cat. 107) (Sgd. calendar tables) Fasts, 151-52 {ph. (R only) with art., pl. XIV}
- M5270 = T II D 66 (Sgd. pr.) Tales D, 472 {ph. with art.}
- M5315 see under M94
- M5332 R (T II D 77, cf. Cat. 110) (Pe. hym.) MM i, 192, n. 6 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 142}
- M5350 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cw: AR VIII 3-5, 13-15 {ph. MHC(S) 49a, 49b}
- M5359 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = cx: AR VII 2-6, 12-16 {ph. MHC(S) 48b, 48c}
- M5385 (Pth. pr. hist.?) KG §22.5, 129 {ph. 69}
- M5503 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = db: AR VI 21-24, 31-34 {ph. MHC(S) 12c, 12d}
- M5530 R 13-15 and V 3-5 (Pth. ps.) W.-L. i, 57 and 74
- M5540 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dc: H III 1-5, 11-12, *IV 1-2 {ph. MHC(S) 25c, 25d}
- M5542 (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) Sogdica, r, 50 {n.p.ph.}
- M5566 (= KPT §18.2 R I 1-V II 13) + M4501 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §18.2, 72-73 {ph. XXXV, XXXVI}
- M5567 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §18.3, 74-75 {ph. XXXV, XXXVI}
- M5569 (T II D 79) (Pth. pr. hist.) MM iii, §c, 860-62 {ph. KG 8; add. comm. KG §2.10, Rd. §p, 47-48; tr. ML 56, GSR 215}

- M5570 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dd: AR I 3-6, 13-16 {n.p.ph.}
- M5586 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = de: AR V 42-44, 52-54. See also under M1534 II
- M5587 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = df: H I 51-55, 61-65 {ph. MHC(S) 1e, 1f}
- M5651 (Pe. pr. hist. from Mani's autobiog.) KG §6, 98-99 {ph. 49}
- M5671 (= KG §11.3 R i 1-10, V ii 1-10) + M5056c + M5055 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §11.3, 109-110 {ph. 57}
- M5682 (see under M384)
- M5691 R 4 (Pth. ps.) W.-L. i, 35
- M5700 I (T II D 116) R II 13-18 (Pth. hym.) Bráhman, 111 {n.p.ph.}
- M5700 II R 3-5 (Pth. hym.) W.-L. i, 39
- M5702 (see under M2309)
- M5731 = T II D 117 (Sgd. pr.) Tales E, 473 {n.p.ph.}
- M5740 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §1.13, 36 {ph. XIII, XIV}
- M5750 (R) I-II (T II D 120) (Pe. pr. serm.) W. Sundermann, 'Iranische Kephalaiaitexte?' in H.-J. Klimkeit and G. Wießner (edd.) *Studia Manichaica. II. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, 6-10 Aug., 1989, St. Augustin, Bonn, Studies in Oriental Religions 23* (Wiesbaden, 1992) 316-17 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 253-54}; (V) II 1-5 (Pe. pr. cosm.) Gi J, 70 (text with line breaks in DbMT)
- M5755 (Pe. hym.) H. H. Schaeder, 'Beiträge zur iranischen Sprachgeschichte', *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 15 (1935) 581 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §dgc; tr. HG 166, GSR 129}
- M5761 (= KG §24.1 I R 1-3, V hdl. and 1-3) KG §24.1, 132 (gives text of M5761 and M6062 only) (joins with M5794, q. v.)
- M5779 (T II D 123) (Sgd. conf.) BBB c 45-46 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 68, GSR 150}
- M5785 I R hdl., I V hdl., II V hdl., II R hdl., W.-L. i, 71; I V 15-16 (Pth. ps.) W. B. Henning, 'Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente', *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* IX, 1933, 206.7-8 {n.p.ph.}
- M5794 (T II D 126) (= KG §24.1, I R 4-20, V 4-20, II, R 2-18, V 2-18) + M5761 + M6062 I: (Pe. pr. from work of Mani) MM ii, 295-96 {Rd. §a, 29-30; tr. ML 12, GSR 216-17}; II: (joins with M6062) (Pe. pr. from work of Mani) MM ii, 296-97, cf. KG §24.1, 132-33 {ph. IMTT 128-29, KG 72-73; Rd. §v, 56-57; tr. ML 27, comb. text in DbMT; tr. of comb. text Sims-Williams, *Commandments*, 578-79, GSR 264}
- M5805 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §14, 116-17 {ph. 59}
- M5815 I and II (T II D II 134 I) (Pth. pr. hist.) MM iii, §b, 854-60 {ph. IMTT 130-31; Rd. §r, 50-52 (= II (lines 1-111)), §q, 48-50 (= I (lines 112-223))}; tr. ML I 58, II 23-24}
- M5826 (= KG §22.3 1.S 1-9, 2.S 1-9) + M3120 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §22.3, 128-29 {ph. 68}
- M5845 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <aa>, 53-55 {ph. XXII-XXIII}
- M5846 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dg: H VII 14, 24 {ph. MHC(S) 7a, 7b}
- M5860 = T II D II 138 I = M? R i 14-15 (Pth. hym.?) W.-L. i, 10 {n.p.ph.}
- M5861 see under M132a

- M5865 (T II D 138) (Sgd. conf.) BBB
frgm. II A and II B, 43-4 {tr. see
under M131}
- M5877 see under M710
- M5900 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §22, 77-
78 {ph. XXXVII-XXXVIII}
- M5910 = KG §2.1 R 6-13, V 6-13 (see
under M1344)
- M5911 = KG §2.1 II R 14-21, V 14-21
(see under M871b)
- M5930 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dh: AR I 15-
18, 25-28 {ph. MHC(S) 62a, 62b}
- M5931 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN
<f>, 46-47; {ph. VI, VII}
- M5932 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §10, 61
{ph. XXVII, XXVIII}
- M5965 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4b.3, 90
{ph. 40}
- M5966 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4b.4, 90-
91 {ph. 40}
- M5967 (Pth. pr. hist., small frag.) KG
§4b.5, 91 {ph. 40}
- M5983 (Pe. or Pth. pr. ?, v. small
scrap) KPT §1.15, 37 {ph. XIII,
XIV}
- M6005 (Pe. pr. parab.) KPT §38, 106-
08 {ph. LII, LIII; tr. ML 99 (2062-
89 only), GSR 194}
- M6020 I (T II D 162 I) (Pth. pr. serm.)
W. B. Henning, 'A Grain of
Mustard', *Annali dell'Istituto Uni-
versitario Orientale di Napoli,
Sezione Linguistica* 6 (1965) 29-31
{n.p.ph.; Rd. §dk, 227; tr. ML 50-
51, GSR 266-67}
- M6031 (T ii D 163) (Pth. pr. hist.) LJ
948-49 {add. comm. §KG 4a.13, 71;
ph. 29; Rd. §m = A II 2-5, B I 2-8 (8-
14); tr. ML 55, GSR 213}
- M6032 (Pth. pr. hist. / Keph.-type, cf.
Keph. 102, p. 255f.) KG §13.1,
113-115 {ph. 58}
- M6033 (T ii D 163) (Pth. pr. hist.) LJ
942-43 {n.p.ph.; Rd. §k = A I 3-7, B
I 2-3 (20-21); tr. GSR 212-13} + KG
§4a.14
- M6040 + M6040a (Pth. pr. hist.) KG
§4b.1, 85-88 {ph. 38}
- M6041 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG §4b.2, 88-
90 {ph. 39}
- M6060 (Pe. pr. cosm.? v. small scrap)
§KPT 1.14, 36 {ph. XIII, XIV}
- M6062 = KG §24.1 II R 1-5, V 1-6, KG
§24, 132-33 (gives texts of M5761
and M6062 only) (joins with
M5794, q. v.)
- M6066 (? pr. hist., small frag.) KG
§4b.6, 91 {ph. 40}
- M6120 (T II D II 164) (Pe. pr. cosm.)
Gi F, 66-67 (correct order cols.
BCDEFA) {ph. KPT XV-XVI; Rd.
§aa, 82-83 (cols. A, D, E, F only)}
- M6130 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = di: H I 50-
51, 60-61 {ph. MHC(S) 3a, 3b}
- M6131 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dj: H I 28-
29, 38-39 {ph. MHC(S) 2c, 2d}
- M6138 (Pth. pr. hist.?) KG §11.4, 111
{ph. 57}
- M6139 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dk: H BI b
13-14, 23-24 {ph. MHC(S) 4a, 4b}
- M6220 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dl: H IVb 1-
3, V 1, 2-6 {ph. MHC(S) 28a, 29a}
- M6221 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dm: *H VIa
1-5, 6-10 {ph. MHC(S) 27c, 28a;
Rd. §cw, 163-64; tr. ap. GSR 100-
110}
- M6222 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = du: AR VI 1-
5, 6-10 {ph. MHC(S) 32a, 33a}
- M6223 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = do: *H VIa
1-4, 6-9 {ph. MHC(S) 28b, 29b}
- M6230 R 1-4 (see under M6232) {ph.
IMTT 132}
- M6232 + M6230 R 1-4 (Pth. hym.) R.
Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder,
Studien zum antiken Synkretismus

- aus Iran und Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1926) 90-91 {ph. (M6232) IMTT 133a, 134a; Rd. §aka = M6232 R 1-11, cla = M6232 V 2-12; tr. HG 126 (M6232 V only), GSR 85 (ditto)}
- M6238 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dx: AR I 12-14, 17-19 (M6238 + M6266 + M6260 AR I 12-15, 17-20) {ph. MHC(S) 31c, 31d}
- M6240 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dp: AR VI 42-45, 47-50 (M6240 + M6242 + M1183 AR VI 42-45, 47-50) {ph. MHC(S) 32a, 32b and 34a, 34b}
- M6242 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dq: AR VI 44-45, 47-50, see also under M6240
- M6260 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dt: AR I 14-15, 19-20, see also under M6238
- M6264 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = du: AR I 11-12, 16-17 {ph. MHC(S) 32a, 33a}
- M6265 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dv: AR VII 10-11, 15-16 {ph. MHC(S) 35a, 35b}
- M6266 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = dw: AR I 13-14, 18-19, see also under M6238
- M6280 (Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §31, 97 {ph. XLV, XLVI}
- M6450 (+ M425 V 2) (Pe. and Sgd. glossary) *Sogdica*, y, 55-56, cf. Cat., 123, parallel text in M425 (unpublished, cf. Cat. 28) {n.p.ph.}
- M6650 (= T II K) (Pe. hym.) W.-L. i, p. 115-16 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 51}
- M6683 (= T II K 2 (3 p.) c) (Pth. hym.) *Abced.,J*, 450 {n.p.ph.}
- M6720 (? pr. hist., small frag.) KG §4a.37, 85 {ph. 37}
- M6725 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) 20, §16.4 {ph. 25a, 25b}
- M6726 see under M94
- M6729 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ea: H V 2,12 {ph. MHC(S) 14g, 14h}
- M6740 (Pe. + Sgd. + Pth. pr. parab.) KPT §28, 93-94 {ph. XLIII, XLIV}
- M6741 (Pth. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHB(S) §30.8, p. 21 {ph. 56q, 56b}
- M6810 (Pe. pr. eschat. Sb.?) KG §5.6, 98 {ph. 48}
- M6812 (Pe. pr. cosm.? small frag.) KG §5.5, 97-98 {ph. 48}
- M6865 (Pth. and Sgd. glossary) *Sogdica*, v, 53 {n.p.ph.}
- M6943 = ed (Pth. hym. cyc.) AR I 15, 25 {ph. MHC(S) 39b, 40a}
- M6953 (Pth. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <ag>, 56-58 {ph. XXXII, XXXIII}
- M7101 (Pe. pr. serm.) *Yimki* 6, 302 {n.p.ph.}
- M7143 (Pe. pr. hist. / eschat. ?, small frag.) KG §24.4, 137 {ph. 78}
- M7420 (Sgd. pr.) *Parabelcuh* §e {ph. XXIV}
- M7734 R see under M104
- M7800 (T II E) (Sgd. pr. cosm. with Turk. marginal notes) I = Gi G, 68-69, II in W. Sundermann, 'Mani's "Book of the Giants" and the Jewish Books of Enoch. A case of terminological difference and what it implies', in S. Shaked and A. Netzer, *Irano-Judaica III* (Jerusalem, 1994) 45-46 {n.p.ph.}
- M7915 (? pr. hist., scrap) KG §4a.38, 85 {ph. 37}
- M7980-7984 (Pe. pr. eschat. Sb.?) MM i, 177-203 (the sequence of the pages is: M7984 II, M7981 I, M7980 I, M7980 II, M7981 II, M7984, M7982, M7983 I, M 7983 II) {ph. IMTT 133b-142; Rd., y.7-56, KMS 27-115 (lines 101-1332); tr. ML 122-27 (*partim*), GSR 227-35}

- M8005 (T III 282) (Sgd. pr. cosm.) Gi E, 66 {n.p.ph.}
- M8101 (Pe. pr. cosm.) KPT §23, 79-80 {ph. XXXIX}
- M8171 (T III D 267) (Pth. hym.) MM iii, §f, 868-69 {ph IMTT 145a, 146a; Rd. §cf, 138 = R I 2 - V I 35 (f 2-35), §cg, 139 = V II 1-9 (f 37-45) tr. ML 56 (f 37-45 only), HG 128-29, GSR 86}
- M8180 (= KG §24.2 R hdl. and 1-4, V hdl. and 1-4) + M236 + M4627 (Pe. pr. hist.) KG §24.2, 133-34 {ph. 74-75}
- M8201 (T III D III 270) (Pth. pr. parab.?) Bráhmaṇ, 110 {n.p.ph.}
- M8251 (Pe. pr. from a work of Mani?) MM ii, 308-11 {ph. IMTT 145b, 146b; Rd. §u, 55-56; tr. ML 28, GSR 265}
- M8256 (Pe. pr. eschat.) Šb. fm, 300-01, cf. KG §5.1, 93 {ph. Šb. XII}
- M8259 I see MIK III 8259 I
- M8280 (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §20, 76-77 {ph. XXXVII, XXXVIII}
- M8285 (Pth. hym. cyc.) = ee: AR VIIa 1-3, 11-13 {ph. MHC(S) 7g, 7h}
- M8286 (Pth. pr. hist.) Wirksamkeit, 103-04 {ph. KG 50-51; Rd. §e.6-7; tr. ML 19, add. comm. KG §9}
- M8287 (Pth.) + 10 200/1 (5) (Pth. in Sgd. script) Anmerkungen, 171 {ph. with art., pl. XXIV, fig. 26}
- M8400 (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §4.2, 51 {ph. XXI, XXII}
- M8802 (Pth. pr. cosm.) KPT §12, 64-65 {ph. XXXI, XXXII}
- M8828 (= X2) (Pth. hym.) Abced.,Ga 448 {n.p.ph.}
- M8829 (Pth. hym.) Abced.,Gb, 448-49 {n.p.ph.}
- M8830 (Pth. hym.) Abced.,Gc, 449 {n.p.ph.}
- M9000 = KPT §1.8 V IV 3-5 (see under M1023)
- (2) Texts with non-M-numbers
- Ch 5554 (T II D 2) (Sgd. pr.) Parabelbuch §b.9-202 (joins with Ch / U 6914 (T III T 601) and So 15000 (T III 2015)) {ph. III-IX; tr. GSR 179-183}. See also Parabelbuch §c for Sgd. writings on the margins of the Verso which contains a Chin. Buddhist text.
- Ch / So 20000 (T II T) (Sgd. pr.) Tales J, 483 {ph. with art.}
- Ch / U 6559 (T i α) (Sgd. list) Sogdica, V, 6 {n.p.ph.}
- Ch / U 6827 (T II 2090) (Sgd. list of gods) W. Sundermann, 'Eine Liste manichäischer Götter in soghdischer Sprache', *Tradition und Translation - Zum Problem der interkulturellen Überstzbarkeit religiöser Phänomene, Festschrift für Carsten Colpe zum 65. Geburtstag*, edd. C. Elsas et al., (Berlin, 1994) 453 {ph. with art. following p. 460}
- Ch / U 6914 (Sgd. pr.) Parabelbuch §b.1-7 (joins with So 15000 (T III 2015) + Ch 5554 (T II D 2) {ph. II; tr. GSR 179}
- Ch / U 7224 (T II T 1184) (Sgd. pr.) Parabelbuch §a {ph. I}
- IB: for texts with signatures beginning with IB see under MIK III
- K16 (R?): (Chin. Buddh.); (V?): (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §19, 123 {ph. 64-65}
- K30 (7-12) (Sgd. letter) Turf. Reg., 80
- L A 1-2 (Pth. hym.; from a lost fragment of M801a? q.v.) HR ii, 108, MSt. 31 {n.p.ph.}
- L B 1-5 (from Verso of L A, Pth. hym.) HR ii, 29 (M. Liturg.), MSt. 32 {n.p.ph.}

- M. Liturg. see under L B 1-5
- Mainz 172 (TM330) (Pe. in Runic script) Kōktürkisches, 1055 {ph. IMTT 151a-b}
- Mainz 402a and b (TM337 a, b or 339 a, b) (Pe. in Runic script) Kōktürkisches, 1054-55 {ph. IMTT 151 c, e, d, f}
- MIK III 4959 (Pe. coloph.) H.-J. Klimkeit, 'Hindu deities in Manichaean art', *Zentralasiatische Studien* 14/2 (1980) 193-94 {ph. Miniaturen, 8a,d; tr. GSR 275}.
- MIK III 4974 (Pe. hym.) W.-L.ii, 558-59 {ph. IMTT 152-53; Rd. §cb, 133; tr. HG 120, GSR 79}
- MIK III 4979 (R Sgd. with miniature of Four Kings of Heaven; V miniature of Bēma scene with names) Miniaturen 53 (R), 54-55 (V) {ph. b/w IMTT 154-55, colour Miniaturen 8a,a and 8b,b}
- MIK III 4981a (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) Miniaturen 39 {ph. IMTT 156a, Miniaturen 4b}
- MIK III 4981b (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <al>, 130-131 {ph. XL}
- MIK III 4981e (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <am>, 131 {ph. XL}
- MIK III 4981f (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) Miniaturen 39 (transcription of lines 1-7 only without trans.) {ph. IMTT 156b, Miniaturen 4c, upper part only}
- MIK III 6371 (T II D 135) (Pe. pr. colophon) Mnmg., 38 and F. W. K. Müller, 'Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-Königs', in *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen*, (Leipzig, 1912) 208 {ph. IMTT 157; tr. HG 196, GSR 273-74}.
- MIK III 7251 (T III D 282) (Pth. with one line in Sgd. script but unknown language, see Cat. p. 144) Miniaturen, p. 38 (R only) {ph. IMTT 158, Miniaturen 4a, R only}
- MIK III 8259 I R: (Pe. + Pth. pr. parab.) Turfan Region, 68; I V i 1-17: (Pe., hym.) *ibid.* cf. HR i, 351, MSt. 32 (given as P2); V ii 15-18: HR i 350, MSt. 32 (given as P1) {ph. b/w: IMTT 159a,b, KPT, XLVII (I R only), colour: (miniature part only) Miniaturen, 7b; Rd. §ck, 141 (= V i 2-9); tr. GSR 89} (a more complete text can be found in DbMT)
- P1 and P2 (see under MIK III 8259 I V i 1-17)
- So 10100 (g) = T i α (Sgd. pr.) Tales F, 474-75 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 40-41}
- So 10100 (g) I (Sgd. pr. hist.?) Tales H, 478 {n.p.ph.}
- So 10100 (g) II = T I D + T i a (Sgd. pr.) Tales I, 480-81 {n.p.ph.}
- So 10100 l = T i (Sgd. list) Sogdica, II, 4 {n.p.ph.}
- So 10200/1 (5) (Pth. in Sgd. script = M8287) Anmerkungen, 171-72 {ph. with art., pl. XXIV, fig. 27}
- So 10202 (Pth. + Sgd. cosm. + pr. hist.) KG § 3.5, 50 {ph. 17}
- So 10700b = T I D (Sgd. conf., X^uästväñft 10-11) Sogdica, 66-67 {n.p.ph.}
- So 10900 = T I D a (Sgd. conf., X^uästväñft 15C) Sogdica, 63-65 {n.p.ph.}
- So 13513 (D (i.e. T II D ?)) (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §3.6, 53-54 {ph. 17}
- So 13800 + 18191 (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <v>, 60; see also MHC(S) §37.1, p. 31 {ph. SLN XVII; MHC(S) 82b (2.S only)}
- So 13940 (= T II K) (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §3.7, 54 {ph. 17}

- So 13941 (T II K) (= KG §3.1 R 1-8, V 1-8) + So 14285 (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG § 3.1, 34-36 {ph. 10; tr. GSR 203}
- So 14100 (12) (T II T(oyoq)) (Sgd. list) Sogdica, IV, 5 {n.p.ph.}
- So 14185 see under So14186.
- So 14185(2)/a + So 14188/b (= p. 5) 114-117 only (Sgd. Keph.-type (?) text) Sammelhandschrift 202 {n.p. ph.}
- So 14186/a + So 14185(1)/a (= p. 4) 87-90 only (Sgd. Keph.-type (?) text) Sammelhandschrift 200 {n.p. ph.}
- So 14187 + So 14190 (= p. 3) 52-56 and 68-70 only (Sgd. Keph.-type (?) text) Sammelhandschrift 200 and 199 {ph. with art., p. 195}
- So 14190 see under So 14187.
- So 14285 (T II D 136) = KG §3.1 R 2-18, V 2-17 (see under So 13941)
- So 14382 (T ii D 16) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.11, p. 28 {ph. 78b, 78c}
- So 14384 ([T ii] D 167) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.12, p. 28 {ph. 79a, 79b}
- So 14385 ([T ii] D 167) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.13, p. 29 {ph. 79c, 79d}
- So 14391 ([T ii] D 167) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.14, p. 29 {ph. 81c, 81d}
- So 14411 (T II D II 169 = MIK III 200) I: (Turk. hym.) see below MIK III 200; II: (Sgd. hym.) W.-L. i, 94, cf. Sgd. Hym. 36-39 (II V), DbMT gives II R 16 - V 20 {ph. IMTT 147-48; tr. GSR 63}
- So 14445 = T ii D 170 (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H V 18-21, H Vb 1-3, Two Sgd. H. Frgms., 424-25 {ph. MHC(S) 72, 73}
- So 14470 = T ii K (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H I 1-4, MHC(S) §36.1, p. 23 {ph. 68, 69}
- So 14570 ((T II K 178 (D 170)) R (Sgd. hymn with Pth. title) W.-L. i, 59 and 68 (text of R 1-6 in DbMT) {n.p.ph.}
- So 14577 (T ii K 178) + So 14594 (T ii K 178[d]) + So 14594(a) (T ii K 178[d]) + So 14604 (T ii K 178) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H V (?) {ph. 74a, 74b}
- So 14578 = T ii K 178 (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.15, p. 29 {ph. 79g, 79h}
- So 14585 = T ii K 178[a] (Sgd. hym. cyc.) + (not joining) 14568 = T ii K 178[b] (not localizable) MHC(S) 29-30, §36.16,17
- So 14586a = T ii K 178[c] (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.18, p. 30 {ph. 81a, 81b}
- So 14594 (T ii K 178[d]) (see under 14577)
- So 14594(a) (T ii K 178[d]) (see under 14577)
- So 14595 = T ii K 178[d] (Sgd. hym. cyc.) (not localizable) MHC(S) §36.19, pp. 30-31 {ph. 81c, 81d}
- So 14600 = [K 178e] H II, MHC(S) §36.4, p. 24 {ph. 70e, 70f}
- So 14602 ([T ii] K 178) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H I 70-71, 74-75(?), MHC(S) §36.3, p. 24 {ph. 70c, 70d}
- So 14604 ([K 178]) (see under So 14577)
- So 14610 (T ii K 178) H VI (?) MHC(S) §36.10, pp. 27-28 {ph. 77, 78a}
- So 14610(2) (T ii K 178) (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H II-III, MHC(S) §36.6, p. 25 {ph. 71a, 71b}

- So 14611 = T ii K 178 (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H II, MHC(S) §36.5, pp. 24-25 {ph. 70g, 70h}
- So 14611(2) = T ii K (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H I 55, 59(?), MHC(S) §36.2, pp. 23-24 {ph. 70a, 70b}
- So 14615 = T ii K 178 (Sgd. hym. cyc.) H V-VI 1, Two Sgd. H. Frags., 422-23 {ph. MHC(S) 75, 76}
- So 14638 = T II S 20 (Sgd. pr. cosm.) Gi H, 69-70 {n.p.ph.}
- So 14700 (13) (T ii T) (Sgd. list) Commandments, 580, cf. Sogdica, III, 5 {ph. Commandments, pl. XXV}
- So 14731 = T II T(oyoq) (Sgd. pr.) Tales G, 476 {n.p.ph.}
- So 14760 = T II T(oyoq) (Sgd. list) Sogdica, I, 2 {n.p.ph.}
- So 14761 = T II T(oyoq) (Sgd. list) Sogdica, VI, 7 {n.p.ph.}
- So 15000 (T III 2015) (Sgd. pr.) Parabelbuch §b.7-9 (joins with Ch / U 6914 (T III T 601) and Ch 5554 (T II D 2) {ph. II; tr. GSR 179}
- So 18120 (TM 351) R 11 - 14, V 1-14 (Sgd. hym.) W.-L. i, (85-91), 93, Sgd. Hym. 18, Additional lines and renumbered lines in DbMT {ph. IMTT 149a, 150a}
- So 18170 (T. M. 371) (Sgd. pr. cosm. / serm.) SLN <u>, 60, cf. MHC(S) §37.1, p. 31 {ph. SLN XVI; MHC(S) 82a (2.S only)}
- So 18191 (see under 13800)
- So 18196 V 9-17 (Sgd. letter) Turf. Reg., 78-79 {n.p.ph.}
- So 18220 (= T.M. 389) (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §3.2, 36-41 (where it is given wrongly(?) as M18220) {ph. 11-12; tr. GSR 253 and 205-06}
- So 18221 (T.M. 389b) R (V blank) (Sgd. cosm. and pr. hist.) KG §3.5, 50-53 {ph. 17 (R only)}
- So 18222 (T.M. 389c) (see under So 18223)
- So 18223 (T.M. 389c) (= I) + So 18222 (= II) (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §3.3, 41-45 {ph. 13-14; tr. GSR 209 and 263, see also Commandments, 574}
- So 18224 (T.M. 389d) (Sgd. pr. hist.) KG §3.4, 45-49 {ph. 15-16; tr. GSR 209-11}
- So 18248 II = T.M. 393 (Sgd. pr.) Murder, 137-38 {n.p.ph.}
- So 18300 (T i T M 418) (Sgd. pr.) Tales A, 466-68 {tr. see under M135}
- So 18431 R (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 2, 469-70 {n.p.ph.}
- So 18431 V (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 4, 471 {n.p.ph.}
- So 18434 R (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 1, 468-69 {n.p.ph.}
- So 18434 V (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 6, 473 {n.p.ph.}
- So 18435 R (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 3, 470 {n.p.ph.}
- So 18435 V (Sgd. pr.) Zarathustra 5, 472 {n.p.ph.}
- So 20000 (see under Ch / So 20000)
- So 20135 (Pth. hym. in Sgd. script) Bāzāklik 121-24 (text b where the frag. is referred to simply as X) {ph. with art., pp. 131-32}
- So 20166 = T II D 94 (Sgd. list) Sogdica, VII, 9 {n.p.ph.}
- So 20208 (T.M. 406a = Ti = K 8 (Pth. in Sgd. script, hym. cyc.) H 166a-68, 70-72, N. Sims-Williams, 'A new fragment from the Parthian Hymn-cycle *Huyadagmān*' in *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, *Studia Iranica - Cahier 7*, (Paris, 1989) 322-23, MHC(S) §34, p. 22 {ph. 67c, 67d}

- So 20224 (TM 383 = K24) (Pth. in Sgd. script, hym.) W.L. i. 95-96, cf. Sgd. Hym. 36-39, version in DbMT re-ed. DNM {ph. IMTT 149b, 150b}
- T I a see 10202
- T II D (?) see under So 13513
- T II D 66 (Sgd. pr.). See under M5270
- T II D 117 (see under M5731)
- T II D 136 (see under So 14285)
- T II K (see So 13040-41)
- T II T (Sgd. list) new no. So 14700 (13) (q.v.)
- T II T 1603 (R Sgd. pr., V Chin. Budd.) Parabelbuch §d {ph. XXII-XXIII}
- T.M. 389 α (see under So 18220)
- T.M. 389b (see under So 18221)
- T.M. 389c (see under So 18222 and So 18223)
- T.M. 389d (see under So 18224)
- T.M. 393 (see under So 18248)
- b. Texts and text-fragments in Russia (St. Petersburg / Leningrad)**
- L60 + L87 (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (36-45), 283 {ph. Ragoza XXXII (L60), XLVIII, 2nd frg. (L87)}
- L68 (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (57-77), 284 {ph. Ragoza XXXVI}
- L69 (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (1-35), 283 {ph. Ragoza XXXVII}
- L73 (Sgd. pr. hist.) Ragoza, 51 {ph. IMTT 191a, 192a, Ragoza XXXIX}
- L74 (Sgd. pr. hist.?) Ragoza, 51-52 {ph. IMTT 190a-b, Ragoza XL}
- L75 (R): (Sgd. pr. hist.?) Ragoza, 52 {ph. IMTT 190c-d, Ragoza XL}; (V): (Uighur, no context)
- L77 (Sgd. pr. hist.) Ragoza, 52-53, cf. Turf. Reg. 78-79 (contains same text as So 18196, see above) {ph. IMTT 191a, 192a, Ragoza XLI}
- L83a (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (78-90), 284 {ph. Ragoza XLV, 1st frg.}
- L83b (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (46-51), 283 {ph. Ragoza XLV, 2nd frg.}
- L83c (Sgd. pr. hist.) Shahanshah (52-56), 284 {ph. Ragoza XLVI, 1st frg.}
- L87 (see under L60)
- L117 (2nd and 3rd frg. probably belong to Sgd. pr. hist.) Ragoza, 75-76 {ph. IMTT 191b, 192b, Ragoza LXVII}
- S1 (Pe. index) C. Salemann. *Ein Bruchstück manichaeischen Schrifttums im Asiatischen Museum*, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg, St. Petersburg, 2, see also MSt. 32 {ph. IMTT 160; Rd. §dq, 186; tr. HG 183-84, GSR 152-53}
- S2 (Pe. pr. cosm.) M i, 175, cf. KPT p. 1 {ph. IMTT 161,a-b}
- S3 (Pth.? tiny scrap) M i, 176 {ph. IMTT 161c-d}
- S4 (Sgd. scrap) M i, 177 {ph. IMTT 161e-f}
- S6 (Pth. cantil. hym.) M iii, 2 {ph. IMTT 162}
- S7 (Pe. pr. cosm.) M iii, 4-5 {ph. IMTT 163; Rd. §cs, 151-52 = R I 3-14; tr. HG 141 §8, GSR 97, 9 §8; ct = R II 10- V II 20; tr. HG 141 §9, GSR 97, 9 §9}
- S8 (Pe. hym.) M iii, 6-7 {ph. IMTT 164; Rd. §bf, 114; tr. GSR 51-52}
- S9 see under S13
- S10 (Pe. pr. serm.?) M iii, 14 {ph. IMTT 167}
- S11 (Pe. pr. cosm.?) M iii, 15 {ph. IMTT 168}
- S12a-g (Pe. pr. cosm.?) M iii, 15-17 {ph. IMTT 169-70}

- S13, text continues on S9 (Pe. hymns) M iii, 7-14 (S9) and 18-19 (S13); cf. RM 78-84 (S9 only); W. B. Henning, 'Ein manichäischer kosmogonischer Hymnus', *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1932, 214-28 {ph. IMTT 171 (S13), 165-66 (S9); Rd. §ar, 101-02 = S9 R II 33- V II 39, §aq, 100-01 = S13 A 4 - B 10 and S9 R I 1 - R II 30; tr. ML (S9 only) 133-34, HG 69-71, GSR 38-39 (Rd. §aq), 39-40 (Rd. §ar)}
- S14a-d (Pe. pr.) M iii, 19-20 {ph. IMTT 172a-d}
- S15 (Pe. pr.) M iii, 20 {ph. IMTT 173a-b}
- S16 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 20 {ph. IMTT 173c-d}
- S17 (Pe. pr.) M iii, 21 {ph. IMTT 173e, 174g}
- S18 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 21 {ph. IMTT 174a-b}
- S19 (Pe. pr.?) M iii, 21 {ph. IMTT 174e-f}
- S20 (Pe. pr.?) M iii, 21 {ph. IMTT 175a,c}
- S21 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 22 {ph. IMTT 175b,d}
- S22 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 22 {ph. IMTT 175e-f}
- S23 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 22 {ph. IMTT 176a-b}
- S24 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 22 {ph. IMTT 176c-d}
- S25 (Pe. & Pth. pr.? scrap) M iii, 22 {ph. IMTT 176e-f}
- S26 (Pth. pr.? scrap) M iii, 23 {ph. IMTT 176g-h}
- S27 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 23 {ph. IMTT 177a-b}
- S28 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 23 {ph. IMTT 177c-d}
- S29 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 23 {ph. IMTT 177e-f}
- S30 (Pth. pr.? scrap) M iii, 23 {ph. IMTT 177g-h}
- S31 (Pth. pr.?) M iii, 24 {ph. IMTT 178}
- S32 (Pth. pr.?) M iii, 25 {ph. IMTT 179a, 180a}
- S33 (Pth. pr.?) M iii, 26 {ph. IMTT 179c-d}
- S34 (Pe. pr.?) M iii, 26 {ph. IMTT 179b, 180b}
- S35 (Pth. pr.?) M iii, 26 {ph. IMTT 180,c-d}
- S36 (Pe. pr.? scrap) M iii, 26 {ph. IMTT 181a-b}
- S37 (Pth. pr.? scrap) M iii, 26 {ph. IMTT 181c-d}
- S38a, b (Sgd. ? scrap) M iii, 27 {ph. IMTT 182a-d}
- S39 (Sgd. ? scrap) M iii, 27 {ph. IMTT 181e}
- S40 (Sgd. badly preserved) M iii, 28-29 {ph. IMTT 181f, 182e}
- S41 (Pth. pr.?) M iii, 32 {ph. IMTT 183a-b}
- S52 (= SI 0/120) (Pe. pr. cosm.) Gi(S) 495-97, 502-04 {ph. IMTT 188}

c. Fragments in France (Paris)

- Pelliot M. 914.1 (Pe. hym.?) Paris 304 {n.p.ph.}
- Pelliot M. 914.2 (Pe. hym.) Paris, 304-05 {n.p.ph.; tr. ML 11, GSR 84}

d. Fragments in Britain (London)

- Or. 8212/84 = Ch. 00289 (Sgd. pr.) Sgd. Frgms. BL, Frgm. 4, 46 {n.p.ph.}

- Or. 8212/83 = Ch. 00334 + Or.
8212/82 = Ch. 00335 (Sgd. pr.)
Sgd. Frgms. BL (Frgms. 5 and 6), 49
{n.p.ph.}
Or. 8212/113 = M. Tagh a.0048 (Sgd.,
2 lines only), Sgd. Frgms. BL
(Frgm. 12), 53 {n.p.ph.}

e. Fragments in Japan

(Ryukoko University, Kyoto)

- Ötani Ry.? {text now lost and
preserved only on an old
photograph} R (Pth. prayer), V (Pth.
pr. hist.) Lost frgm., 176-77 {ph. in
art., 176}
Ötani Ry. ? (Sgd. pr. , precedes So.
13400, text now lost) Vanity, 19-20
(text with Japanese translation
only) {ph. with article, p. 32}
Ötani Ry. 1721 (Sgd. pr. cosm. /
serm.) SLN <ba + bb>
Ötani Ry. 1722 (Sgd. pr. cosm. /
serm.) SLN <ba + bb>
Ötani Ry. 2075 (Sgd. pr. SLN?) SLN
Review, 107
Ötani Ry. 6229 (Pth. hym. in Sgd.
script) Băzăklik 124 (V?, text d),
128-29 (?R) {ph. with art., p. 134}
Ötani Ry. 6386 (Pth. in Sgd. script,
hym. cyc.) H I 60-62, 66a-68,
MHC(S) §35, p. 22 {ph. 67e, 67f}
Ötani Ry. 7003 (Sgd. hym.) Lost
frgm., 178 {n.p.ph.}
Ötani Ry. 7117 + 7524 (Pth. in Sgd.
script = *partim* M529 (Pth.) and So
18120 (TM 351) (Sgd.) and (in full)
Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan (see
below) vv. 176-83 (Pth. in Chin.
transcription)) Report 55-57 {ph.
with art. , p. 65 (Ötani Ry. 7117 R
1-3 only)}

- Ötani Ry. 7375 (Pth. hymn in Sgd.
script) Băzăklik (text e) 123-24 {ph.
with art., p. 131-34}
Ötani Ry. 7524 (see under Ötani Ry.
7117)

**f. Fragments in the People's
Republic of China**

- 80 T. B. I. 644 (Pth. hym. in Sgd.
script) Băzăklik 121-24 (text a)
{n.p.ph.}
T'a-li-mu pl. 14 (Pth. pr. hist.) KG
§12, 111-12 {ph. 12}

**(6) Texts and text-fragments
in Chinese**

a. Texts in Britain (London)

- S3969 *Mo-ni kuang-fu chiao-fa i-lueh*
摩尼光佛教法議略 (Compendium of
the teaching of Mani the Buddha of
Light) Mon-ni chiao, 230-33. Text
in DbMT checked against the
original ms. {ph. 19-24}
S7053 *Mo-ni chiao hsia-pu tsan*
摩尼教下部讚 (Hymns for the
Lower Section (i.e. Hearers ?) of the
Manichaean religion). Cf. Lin Wu-
shu 1987, 234-63. Text in DbMT
checked against the original ms. in
London {ph. 25-45, v. poor quality}

b. Text in China (Beijing)

- 北 8470 (formerly 字56) *Mo-ni chiao*
ts'an-ching 摩尼教殘經 (The Frag-
mentary sutra of a Persian Religion
= SLN Chin.). Cf. Mon-ni chiao
217-29. Text in DbMT checked
against photographs supplied by
Prof. Lin and microfilm version in

British Library {ph. Mo-ni chiao, 1-18 (reproduced from a photocopy of the photographs)}

**c. Text-fragment in France
(Paris)**

P3884 "Fragment Pelliot" = concluding part of S3969 in London. Cf. Lin Wu-shu, *loc. cit.* Text in DbMT checked against photograph in *Traité* 1913.

**d. Text-fragments in Germany
(Berlin)**

Ch 174 (T II 1917) untitled frgm. Cf. Thilo, 1991, pls. XX-XXI, figs. 22-23 (no publ. transcription)

Ch. 258 (T II T 1319) untitled frgm. Cf. Thilo, 1991 pls. XXII-XXIII, figs. 24-25 (no publ. transcription except for text portion Y,1-3)

Ch 3138 (T III T 132) (frag. of SLN Chin. resembles but not identical to *Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching* 摩尼教殘經), Chinese Fragments, 36 {n. p. ph.; fuller text (checked against original ms.) in DbMT}

Ch 3218 (frag. of SLN Chin. resembles but not identical to *Mo-ni chiao ts'an-ching*), Chinese Fragments, 36 {n. p. ph.; fuller text (checked against original ms.) in DbMT}

**(7) Texts and text-fragments in
Old Turkish (Uighur)**

**a. Texts and in the
Federal Republic of Germany**

(a) Texts with U or Ch / U numbers

U2 (T II D 173e) (life of the Buddha) A. von Le Coq, 'Ein christliches und ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment in türkischer Sprache aus Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan), *SPAW* 20, 1208-11, cf. Erzähler, 7-9 {ph. XIV; tr. GSR 313}.

U4 (T II D 175) (Zoroaster legend) A. von Le Coq, 'Ein manichäisch-ugurisches Fragment aus Idiquit Schahri', *SPAW* 1908, Nr. 19, 400-01 {ph. III}.

U5 (TM342) (story fragment) Köktürkisches, 1056-57 {ph. X-XI}

U7 (T II D 178 VI) (X^u. C (298-320)) Chuastvanift, 24-26, X^uästväñ ft 192-93, cf. TMT §1C {tr. see under U8}

U8 (T II D 178 IV) (X^u. C (1-24)) Chuastvanift, 8-10, X^uästväñ ft 167-68, cf. TMT §1C {tr. of the whole X^uästväñ ft: ML 69-77, HG 241-50, GSR 300}

U9 (T II D 178 V) (X^u. C (274-298)) Chuastvanift, 22-24, X^uästväñ ft 191-92, cf. TMT §1C {tr. see under U8}

U10 (T II D 178 III) (X^u. D (25-48)) Chuastvanift, 10-13, X^uästväñ ft 168-69, cf. TMT §1C {tr. see under U8}

U11 (TM 303 = M153) (X^u. D (111-25)) Chuastvanift, 13-15, cf. TMT §1D {tr. see under U8}.

U12 (TM 343) (X^u. M (247-67)) = Radloff, ll. 115-25 and Stein X^u. ll. 247-67) X^uästväñ ft 189, cf. TMT §1M {ph. Chuastvanift 367-68; tr. see under U8}.

U13 (TM 183) (X^u. E (248-70)) Chuastvanift, 20-21, cf. TMT §1E {tr. see under U8}

- U25 (T I D 51/510) (X^u. 288-290), cf. TMT §1V {ph. I}
- U26 (T.I.D 51/514) (X^u. V (118-120)) cf. TMT §1V {ph. I}
- U27 (T I x 560) (X^u. W (162-66)), cf. TMT §1W {ph. I}
- U29 (T I α 1) (Aesop fables IX) TM III, 33; Yosīpas-Fragmente 40-42 {ph. Äsop, 41; tr. GSR 312-13}
- U30 (T II D 75) cosm., TM II, 6-7 {ph. I}
- U31 (TM 159) (New Year's benediction for Bögü Khan ?) TM I, 31; TM III, §17, 36 (reversing previous arrangement of R & V) {n.p.ph.}
- U34 (T II D 178) (hym. on the fate of the un righteous soul) TM II, 12-13 {tr. HG 228-29, GSR 292-3}.
- U36 (T II D 177) (hist.: Mar Ammō and the priests) TM I, 32-37, see also Bang, Erzähler, 17-19 (I-III only) {ph. IV; tr. GSR 319}
- U37 (T II D 78h) (hymnbook, v, frag.) TM III, §9,viii) 27 {n.p.ph.}
- U38 (T II D 78d I-II) (hymnbook: praise to light and power) TM III, §9,iv, 26 {n.p.ph.}
- U39 (T II D 78a, I,II) (hymnbook: prayer for redemption) TM III, §9.1, 24 {ph. II; tr. HG 232, GSR 295}
- U40 (TM 423a) (SLN Turk. with Abced.,in margin) TM III, §8.vii, 22
- U41 (T I α 2) see U281.
- U42 (TM 423e) SLN Turk., TM III, §8.v, 20-21
- U43 (TM 423b) (SLN Turk.) TM III, §8.iv, 19-20 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 334-35 with Mainz 317}
- U44 (TM 423c) (SLN Turk.) TM III, §8.iii, 18-19 {ph. I; tr. *partim* GSR 334}
- U45 (T II D 119) SLN Turk., TM III, §8.i, 16-17 {ph. III; tr. GSR 332, §§3.4-3.5}
- U46 a, b (T III D 172a and 172b) (life of the Buddha: Anvam) TM III, §7i-ii, 14 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 360 (172a only)}
- U47 (TM 298) serm. on passions and the body, TM III, §4, 9-10 {tr. GSR 345-46}
- U48 (T II D 121) eschat. frag. TM III, §3, 8-9 {ph. I; tr. GSR 342}
- U49 (TM 291) serm. on Light Realm, TM III, §2, 7-8 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 342-43}
- U50 (TM 175) (similar to U70) cosm., TM III, §2, 7 {n.p.ph.}
- U51 (T II D 78i) (hymnbook: v. frag.) TM III, §9.ix) 27 {n.p.ph.}
- U52 (T II D 78j) (hymnbook: v. frag.) TM III, 27, §9.x, {n.p.ph.}
- U53 (T II D 78k) (hymnbook: v. frag.) TM III, 28, §9.xi, {n.p.ph.}
- U54 (T II D 78 II) (meal hym.) TM III, §12, 29-30 {n.p.ph.}
- U55 (TM 512) (hym. on alms for the Elect) TM III, §11, 28-29 {n.p.ph.; tr. HG 227-28, GSR 292}
- U56 and U 57a (T II D 175, 1 and 2) (story: the King and the Astrologer) TM III, §13.i-ii, I, 30-31, {tr. GSR 321}; U57b (meditation guide?) TM III, §13.ii, II, 31-32 and P. Zieme, 'Ein geistiges Drogenbuch der türkischen Manichäer', in Bryder (ed.), 227-28. {n.p.ph.}
- U57 see under U56
- U58 (T II D 181) (Book of the Queen) TM III, §13iii, 32
- U59 (TM 173) cosm., TM III, §19, 37
- U60 (TM 148) serm. on serving the elect, TM III, §20, 38, TMT 11-13 {ph. 17-18}

- U61 (T II D 75) serm. (?) on Mani's passion, TM III, §18, 36-37.
- U62 (TM 169) commandments, TM III, §21, 39 {n.p.ph.}
- U63 (TM 170), serm. on Zoroaster and Jesus, TM III, 39 {n.p.ph.}
- U64 (TM 284 & TM 295) (eulogy for the death of an Uighur ruler) TM III, 40 {n.p.ph.}
- U65 (TM 164 and 174) (benediction for the imperial family) TM III, 41-42 {ph. VIII; tr. GSR 357-358 §3.1 A & B}
- U66 (TM 144) (colophon) TM III, 43
- U67 (TM 301) (colophon) TM III, §28, 43.
- U68 (TM 511) (benediction for a ruler ?) TM III, §34, 45 {n.p.ph.}
- U69 (TM 279) (Buddha and Ananda the monk) TM III, §31, 44 {n.p.ph.}
- U70 (TM 139, 140 and 147) TM II, §1,i & iii, 5-6, Hymnen 41 {n.p.ph.; tr. GSR 330-31}
- U71 (T I TM 278) (hym. cyc. H) TM III, §32, 45 {n.p.ph.}
- U72 (TM 276a) (hist.: Böğü Khan's affirmation of faith) TT II, 414-16 {ph. V-VI; tr. GSR 366-68}
- U73 (TM276b) (joins with U72) (see under U72)
- U78 (TM 288) (installation hymn ?) TM III, §33, 45 {n.p.ph.}
- U75 (T III D 260, 31) (confesion text) Erzähler 25 (6-9 = Pothi-Book 306-307 & 314-15), Pothi-Book, 176 (306-315)
- U76 (T II D 258a) (Story of Arazan the Merchant) Erzähler 26-27 (22-31), Pothi-Book 177 (366-375)
- U77 (T III D 260, 21.24) (Story of Arazan the Merchant) Erzähler 27-28 (37-41 = Pothi-Book 376-380, 32-36 = Pothi-Book 381-385), Pothi-Book 177 (376-385)
- U79 (T III D 58e) (story about demons) Pothi-Book 179 (476-495)
- U80 (T III D 260, 33) Pothi-Book, 171-72 (116-125)
- U81 (T III D 259, 22 [left] + T III D 260, 32) (U81-83 and U86-U99 = Great Hymn to Mani) TT III, 186 (16-25), Pothi-Book, 169 (36-45)
- U82 (T III D 260, 15) (see under U81) TT III, 186 (6-15), Pothi-Book, 168 (6-15)
- U83 (T III D 260, 3) (see under U81) TT III, 186-88 (26-35), Pothi-Book, 168 (26-35)
- U84 (T III D 260, 22) (confession text) Erzähler 25 (10-11 = Pothi-Book 299 & 304) Pothi-Book, 176 (296-305)
- U85 (T III D 260, 26) (confession text) Erzähler 26 (17-21 = Pothi-Book 346-350, 12-16 = Pothi-Book 351-355) Pothi-Book, 176-77 (346-355)
- U86 (T III D 260, 23) (see under U81) TT III, 188 (36-45), Pothi-Book, 168-69 (16-25)
- U87 (T III D 260, 6) (see under U81) TT III, 188 (46-55), Pothi-Book, 169 (46-55)
- U88 (T II D 250, 11) (see under U81) TT III, 186 (66-75), Pothi-Book, 170 (66-75)
- U89 (T III D 260, 27) (see under U81) TT III, 192 (76-85), Pothi-Book, 170 (76-85),
- U90 (T III D 259, 9) (see under U81) TT III, 192 (86-95), Pothi-Book, 170-71 (86-95)
- U91 (T III D 259, 15 + T III D 260, 20) (see under U81) TT III, 192-94 (96-105), Pothi-Book, 171 (96-105)

- U92 (T III D 260, 8) (see under U81) TT III, 194 (106-115), Pothi-Book, 171 (106-115)
- U93 (T III D 260, 7) (see under U81) TT III, 194-96 (116-125), Pothi-Book, 172 (156-165)
- U94 (T III D 260, 5) (see under U81) TT III, 196 (126-135), Pothi-Book, 172 (166-175)
- U95 (T III D 260, 4) (see under U81) TT III, 194-96 (136-145), Pothi-Book, 172-73 (176-185)
- U96 (T III D 260, 20b) (see under U81) TT III, 194-96 (146-150), TT IX 15 (46-48), Pothi-Book, 173 (186-195)
- U97 (T III D 258, f) (see under U81) TT III, 198 (151-160), (see under U81) Pothi-Book, 173 (196-205)
- U98 (T III D 260, 25 + T III D 260, 28) (see under U81) TT III, 200 (161-170), Pothi-Book, 173-74 (226-235)
- U99 (T III D 259, 13) (U99-U103 = Tocharian B & Turk. bilingual Hymn to Mani) TT III, 200 (171-178), TT IX, 9-10 (1-10), Pothi-Book, 174 (236-245) {tr. HG 220}
- U100 (T III D 260, 34 + T III D 259, 17) (see under U99) TT IX 10-11 (11-20), Pothi-Book, 174 (246-255)
- U101 (T III D 260, 14 + T III D 260, 10) (see under U99) TT IX 12-13 (21-30), Pothi-Book, 174-75 (256-265)
- U102 (T III D 259, 23 + T III D 259, 26) (see under U99) TT IX, 13-14 (31-40), Pothi-Book, 175 (266-275)
- U103 (T III D 260, 19 + T III D 260, 30) (see under U99) TT IX, 14-15 (41-45), Pothi-Book, 175 (276-285), (V only) Erzähler, 25 (1-5) {tr. GSR 285}
- U104 (T III D 260a) (confession text) TT IX, 15 (49-50 only = Pothi-Book 294-295), Pothi-Book, 176 (291-300)
- U105 (M246) (story about demons) TT IX, 16 (61 = Pothi-Book 486) Pothi-Book 179 (486-495)
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