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**Teil II Der östliche Manichäismus in seiner  
eigenen Überlieferung**



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## The Manichaean Pantheon in the Xiapu Manuscript Entitled ‘*Moni Guangfo* 摩尼光佛’<sup>1</sup>

Starting from October of 2008, several Manichaean texts and artefacts were identified near the village Shangwan 上万村 of the township Baiyang 柏洋乡, Xiapu county 霞浦县, in the province of Fujian.<sup>2</sup> Especially important were the manuscript finds that can be traced back to a Song dynasty Manichaean Lin Deng 林瞪 (1003–1059), who played a crucial role in establishing Manichaeism in Xiapu county and in its vicinity. According to local historical records,<sup>3</sup> at the age of 25 (in 1027), he “left the secular life and entered the community of Religion of Light” (棄俗入明教門), and became a fervent advocate of the religion. He is said to have performed the miracle of extinguishing a menacing local fire after his death. According to witnesses he identified himself and was worshipped by them in consequence from that time on. At present, there are three villages, in which rituals are performed in honour of Lin Deng: in Baiyang 柏洋村, in Shangwan 上万村, and in Tahou 塔后村.<sup>4</sup> This local cult of his person in turn provided fortunate conditions for Lin Deng’s Manichaean manuscripts to survive, since they also became part of the ritual activity, although they underwent change during the subsequent centuries.

Preserved in the frame of family transmission, there are approximately two dozens of surviving manuscripts, at present owned by two ritual masters (*fashi* 法师), Chen Peisheng 陈培生 and Xie Daolian 谢道琏. The surviving manuscripts themselves were copied during the second part of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) or early Republican era. Some of them (*Xingfuzu qingdan ke* 興福祖慶誕科, *Zou shen die shu kece* 奏申牒疏科冊) survive in two different copies.

Some of the manuscripts contain Middle Iranian hymns phonetically transcribed into Chinese. Based on the reconstruction of some of these hymns, YOSHIDA YUTAKA concluded that these transcriptions may go back to the Tang period, which means that they are roughly contemporaneous with, or even earlier than, those in the Dunhuang manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> This dating is, of course, not valid for the entire content of the manuscripts, though the non-transcribed Manichaean part also seems to be relatively early, and can most probably be traced back at least to Lin Deng’s time, i.e. to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. During the subsequent centuries, several Buddhist, Taoist and popular

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2 On the history of this discovery, see CHEN and LIN 2010, JI and YANG 2012, GAI 2012, and KÓSA 2015b: 9–12.

3 E.g. *Lin shi zongpu* 林氏宗譜 (ca. 1800–1820), *Funing zhou zhi* 福寧州志, *Fujian tongzhi* 福建通志, see MA 2009: 88 or KÓSA 2015b: 11.

4 LIN and CHEN 2010: 82.

5 YOSHIDA 2013, 2017, 2018.

religious layers were added (not always distinguishable), thus resulting in the present form.

Considering the nature of the ritual manuals and some references to the actual rituals,<sup>6</sup> one may venture the preliminary opinion that the rituals themselves do not go back to any specific Manichaean rite, but should be rather placed in the context of Chinese popular religion, which, in this form at least, is basically rooted in the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing dynasties. Chinese folk religion absorbed various Daoist elements, thus it is frequently emphasized that the Daoist elements in these texts are more dominant than the Buddhist ones.<sup>7</sup>

The manuscripts are almost exclusively of ritual nature: they basically contain hymns, invocations, and prayers, with specific instructions added for the correct performance of the rituals, which seem to be predominantly funerary ones. During these rites various deities, including Manichaean, Daoist, Buddhist and local ones, are invoked to protect the deceased's soul during his/her journey to the otherworld. Shangwan villagers, for example, gather at Leshantang temple on the 15<sup>th</sup> of the seventh month to perform a big annual rite for the deceased members of the community, while the ritual master recites some of the texts.<sup>8</sup> Some other manuscripts are more directly related to the cult of Lin Deng: the *Xingfuzu qingdan ke*, for example, commemorates Lin Deng's birthday and is used during the particular festival (according to the Chinese lunar calendar the 13<sup>th</sup> of the second month). Many Chinese scholars think that the popular religious nature of these texts is essentially important.<sup>9</sup> Since Chinese popular religion is replete with Daoist and Buddhist motifs, it is hardly possible to determine if a certain Daoist motif arrived with the Manichaean content or if it had been already present in the popular religious system, when it became merged with the Manichaean texts.

In view of the non-systematic characteristic of the texts, the apparent absence of a Manichaean-like church hierarchy, the lack of typical Manichaean festivals and Manichaean precepts, as well as the predominantly funerary context of the rituals, one can tentatively propose that neither the community, nor the texts themselves can be called Manichaean in the strict sense of the word, i.e. they do not preserve the tradition *in toto* of a Manichaean community. Thus, the members of this community are not contemporary Manichaeans who have survived in a remote, secluded area; the Xiapu texts should rather be viewed as preserving several genuine Manichaean motifs in what one might call a typically Chinese popular religious context.

The major reason for the survival of these manuscripts seems to be the cult attached to the figure of Lin Deng, who was both a major Manichaean missionary and

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<sup>6</sup> E.g. LIN and CHEN 2010.

<sup>7</sup> YANG 2011: 167, 172.

<sup>8</sup> FAN and YANG 2011: 180, YANG 2011: 137.

<sup>9</sup> FAN and YANG 2011: 180–181, MA and WU 2010: 45–46, MA 2014a: 218, NIAN 2011, YANG and SHI 2013: 244.

a local popular religious champion, and the latter ensuring the survival of the texts related to his former role.

In the following, I will discuss the names of the Manichaean pantheon appearing in one of the most important Xiapu manuscripts entitled *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛 ('Mānī, the buddha of light').

## The pantheon in the *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛

The *Moni guangfo*, owned by Chen Peisheng, comprises 82 pages. The complete text of the *Moni guangfo* (hence abbreviated as MG) manuscript was first published by Lin Wushu in December 2014,<sup>10</sup> with some photos of the original pages, although several studies had already surveyed it before.<sup>11</sup> The MG will be cited according to the number of columns (e.g. col. 156) of Lin Wushu's edition. The manuscript contains various hymns performed at rituals, and it is interspersed with phonetically transcribed Middle Iranian texts.

In the following, I will examine the individual deities, roughly following the order of their appearance in the Manichaean cosmogony. In my presentation, I will compare the data with some of those in other published Xiapu texts and the Dunhuang material, foremost to explore the extent of links of the Xiapu material to the Dunhuang manuscripts. Furthermore, by comparing the names with others occurring in other Xiapu manuscripts, I explore the consistency of the names used in the Xiapu corpus.

The *Traité (Bosijiao canjing* 波斯教殘經, BD00256) is referred to as T plus the number of the column (e.g. T112), the *Hymnscroll (Monijiao xiabu zan* 摩尼教下部讚, S.2659) is abbreviated as H plus the number of the column (e.g. H084).

In this study, I exclude deities whose names are phonetically transcribed, deities mentioned in quotations from the *Hymnscroll* itself (H267–273, H340–367, H383–388),<sup>12</sup> as well as the list of angels and human envoys, thus I will concentrate on the Manichaean pantheon *stricto sensu*.

### 1 Deities in the Realm of Light

While the MG contains several references to the Realm of Light (cols. 033–045, 077–090, 116–120, 128–131, 137–139, 152–153, 394–397, 419, 429–455, 466–483, 491–495, 635–665), strangely, it does not seem to mention the Father of Greatness; on the other hand, the Twelve Aeons are mentioned once (col. 643) as *shi'er guangwang* 十二光王 ('Twelve

<sup>10</sup> LIN 2014: 451–486.

<sup>11</sup> LIN 2012b, 2014, MA n.d., MA 2010, MA 2012a, MA 2012b, MA 2013a, MA 2013b, MA 2013c, MA 2014a, MA 2014b, MA 2014c, MA 2014d, MA 2014e, YUAN 2011.

<sup>12</sup> See LIN 2012a.

Light Kings’). The same expression is attested in the *Hymnscroll* (H357, H389), as well as in the *Compendium* (H052), very similar forms are preserved in the *Traité* and the *Hymnscroll*: *shi'er mingwang* 十二明王 (T310: ‘Twelve Luminous Kings’) and *shi'er changzhu bao guangwang* 十二常住寶光王 (H122: ‘Twelve Eternally Established Precious Light Kings’). Basically the same expression is used in the *Mingfu qingfo wen* 冥福請佛文 1. from Xiapu: [*Guangming jie zhong*] *shi'er guang fo* [光明界中]十二光佛 (‘Twelve Light Buddhas [in the Realm of Light]’).

The MG also refers to the collective designation of the Three Constancies (*sanchang* 三常 [col. 162]: the Father of Greatness, the Precious Earth and Fragrant Air) and the Five Greatnesses (*wuda* 五大 [col. 163]: the *sanchang* plus the Twelve Aeons and the Aeons of Aeons). The same expression is used in the Dunhuang documents (*sanchang*: T118–119, H010, H027, H038, H058, H060, H336, H415; *wuda*: T119, H336).

## 2 The Merciful Mother

While speaking of the palace of the Moon (*yuegong* 月宮), col. 580 refers to the Good Mother, who is called *Cimu* 慈母 (‘Merciful Mother’) here. It can be assumed that here indeed the Mother of Life is meant, the first emanation; this is supported by the fact that she is followed by the Primal Man (*xianyi* 先意), who is her emanation. The *Traité* calls her *shanmu* 善母 (T008, T014, T022), while the *Hymnscroll* refers to her as Good Mother buddha (H169: *shanmu fo* 善母佛). This designation is a very close analogy, since *shan* 善 and *ci* 慈 are basically synonymous, the first meaning ‘good’, ‘benign’, the second signifying ‘merciful’. A very close form can be found in the *Hymnscroll* (H362), where she is mentioned as *Cibei mu* 慈悲母 (‘Merciful Mother’).

It must also be mentioned that in the MG she is associated with the Moon (“when one ascends to the Moon, one sees the Benign Mother, the Primal Man, the Virgin of Light and Jesus”), while in Manichaean tradition her figure is linked with the Sun,<sup>13</sup> though the other three figures are correctly placed in the Moon.

## 3 The Primal Man

In the MG (cols. 568, 580) the name of the Primal Man (*Xianyi* 先意, ‘Primal Thought’) is preserved in the same, rather characteristic, form as attested in the Dunhuang documents (T017, T146, T206, H124, H142, H169, H369). Other Xiapu documents also have the same basic form, though with further titles added: ‘Primal Thought tathāgata’ (*Xianyi rulai* 先意如来, *Leshantang shenji* 樂山堂神記), ‘Primal Thought great saint’

<sup>13</sup> On the sources, see Kósa 2015c: 197, n. 58.

(*Xianyi dasheng* 先意大聖, *Mingfu qingfo wen*), 'Primal Thought honourable buddha' (*Xianyi zunfo* 先意尊佛, *Songfo wen* 送佛文).<sup>14</sup>

#### 4 Guanyin and Shizhi

It is widely agreed that the seemingly Buddhist pair of Guanyin 觀音 (Sanskrit *Avalokiteśvara*) and Shizhi 勢至 (Sanskrit *Mahāsthāmaprāpta*) represent the Manichaeic pair of Call and Answer, respectively. In their first detailed work on the *Hymnscroll*, E. WALDSCHMIDT and W. LENTZ suggested that this identification, though the only evidence for this is that Guanyin as the Observer of Voices is somewhat similar to the Call, as both terms include an allusion to a word meaning "voice".<sup>15</sup> This equation has never been challenged since then, and all subsequent researchers (e.g. TSUI CHI<sup>16</sup>, J. ASMUSSEN<sup>17</sup>, P. BRYDER<sup>18</sup>, G. MIKKELSEN<sup>19</sup>) quoted it as a proven fact. Call and Answer appear as a pair of deities in the Manichaeic cosmogonical process after the Primal Man had been captured in the Realm of Darkness, while the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit summons him, and the Primal Man answers, later this dialogue culminates in the rescue of the Primal Man. In order to approximate the Manichaeic meaning to the Buddhist names, some of these scholars added further explanatory translations of the names:

"and Kuan-yin ("Observer of Call", i.e. Appellant) and Shih-chih ("Arriving Power", i.e. Respondent)"<sup>20</sup>

"Guanyin: 'Observer of the voice' (i.e. Call, deity of the second emanation; Buddh. Skt. *Avalokiteśvara*) H. 391. (= Jingjue sheng, Shuoting, Hulusede)."<sup>21</sup>

"Shizhi lit. 'One whose power reaches everywhere' (i.e. Answer, deity of the second emanation; Buddh. Skt. *Mahāsthāmaprāpta*) S. a. Huanying, Huanying sheng, Bolouhuode, Boluhuode."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>14</sup> MA 2017: 177.

<sup>15</sup> WALDSCHMIDT and LENTZ 1926: 9: "Die Unbedenklichkeit des Chinesen geht in Z. 391 (unten S. 123) sogar so weit, für *Xrōstoy* (Chinesisch 警覺聲, d. i. der auf die Töne merkt) und *Podvōxtōy* (chinesisch 喚應, d. i. der auf Anruf antwortet) die ihm geläufigen Übersetzungen von *Avalokiteśvara* (觀音 *Kuan-yin* = der die Töne betrachtet) und (*Mahā*)*sthāmaprāpta* (der hohe Macht erreicht hat, chinesisch 勢至) einzusetzen. Das kann nur durch eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit in der Bedeutung von *Kuan-yin* mit dem chinesischen Äquivalent von *Xrōstoy* bewirkt sein."

<sup>16</sup> TSUI 1943: 213.

<sup>17</sup> ASMUSSEN 1965: 235.

<sup>18</sup> BRYDER 1985: 103–105, 122.

<sup>19</sup> MIKKELSEN 2006: 23, 63.

<sup>20</sup> TSUI 1943: 213.

<sup>21</sup> MIKKELSEN 2006: 23.

<sup>22</sup> MIKKELSEN 2006: 63.

Neither col. 204, nor col. 424 of the MG adds anything substantially new to this question. The former one mentions *Jinghuan* 警喚 (‘Notifying Call’) and *Yingsheng* 應聲 (‘Responding Voice’),<sup>23</sup> while the second instance repeats Guanyin and Shizhi in their usual order, just like several other Xiapu texts.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, col. 156 of the MG seems to indicate that the accepted identification is wrong and Shizhi should be equivalent with Call, and Guanyin with Answer, which in fact seems to be more logical, if one considers the role of these Buddhist bodhisattvas. The sentence in question in col. 156 says: “Shizhi transformed, Guanyin emerged, and directly entered the Great Light<sup>25</sup> to send down auspicious omens” (勢至變化，觀音出，直入大明降吉祥). The fact that here Shizhi is mentioned first, combined with the activities associated with these two figures, might suggest that Shizhi is equivalent with Call, and Guanyin with Answer. However, it must be noted that another text from Xiapu (*Zou shen die shu kece* 奏申牒疏科冊 1.5) contains the expression “*Avalokiteśvara mahāsattva*, the transmitter of good news” (*tongchuan shan[xin Guanyin] dashi* 通傳善[信觀音]大士),<sup>26</sup> which thus seems to contradict the interpretation above.

## 5 Virgin of Light

The Virgin of Light has a rather consistent name in the MG and the entire Xiapu material, although her name is often preceded by various modifiers<sup>27</sup>. In the MG, col. 174 has ‘Royal Buddha of Lightning’ (*Dianguang wangfo* 電光王佛), col. 212 has ‘Lightning sovereign with supernatural powers’ (*shentong Dianguang wang* 神通電光王), while col. 580 simply mentions ‘Lightning’ (*Dianguang* 電光) in the Moon. Similar designations with minor modifications are attested in the *Hymnscroll: Dianming* 電明 (H151), *Dianguangming* 電光明 (H126), and *Dianming fo* 電光佛 (H171).

Other Xiapu texts also preserve the fundamental core of the expression, but frequently add modifiers: ‘Lightning royal buddha, who changes a thousand times, transforms ten thousand times’ [*Qianbian wanhua dianguang wangfo* 千變萬化電光王佛] (*Mingfu qingfo wen*), ‘Lightning royal buddha (who sends bliss at auspicious [times] and saves the souls from inauspicious [conditions])’ [*baoguang (ji jiang fu, xiong jiu xing) Dianguang wangfo* 寶光 (吉隆福，凶救性) 電光王佛] (*Mingmen*

<sup>23</sup> The text also notes that it is like an echo (*ru xiangda* 如響答).

<sup>24</sup> MA 2017: 181: *Leshantang shenji* 樂山堂神記 1.05–06, *Mingmen chuchuan qing benshi* 明門初傳請本師 1.005.

<sup>25</sup> LIN WUSHU (2014: 464. n.1) suggests that Da Ming here refers to the Great Ming dynasty; however, this seems very unlikely since only some lines before this occurrence (col. 152–153), the text claims that Mānī came from that ‘country of huge light’ (*daming guo* 大明國), which evidently refers to the Realm of Light.

<sup>26</sup> MA and WU 2010: 24. For a similar expression (*tongshanxin zoumingwang* 通善信奏明王) appearing before the pair of Guanyin and Shizhi, see MG col. 155.

<sup>27</sup> On the Virgin of Light in the new Chinese material, see KÓSA 2018b.



*chuchuan qing benshi* 明門初傳請本師), ‘Great Saintly Lightning royal buddha of the pure and luminous law nature [= light-soul]!’ [*dasheng zhenming faxing Dianguang wangfo* 大聖貞明法性電光王佛] (*Xingfuzu qingdan ke*), ‘Lightning royal buddha of the pure and luminous law nature’ [*zhenming faxing Dianguang wangfo* 貞明法性電光王佛] (*Song fo wen*), ‘Sublime, Great Celestial Lightning royal buddha’ [*lingming datian Dianguang wangfo* 靈明大天電光王佛] (*Zou sanqing* 奏三清), ‘Lightning royal buddha, who saves the souls by (her) supernatural power’ [*shentong jiuxing Dianguang wangfo* 神通救性電光王佛] (*Zou jiaozhu* 奏教主).<sup>28</sup>

## 6 Living Spirit

In col. 585 of the MG the Pure Wind in the palace of the Sun is called the ‘Sunshine Pure Wind’ (*Riguang Jingfeng* 日光淨風), and this refers to the Living Spirit. The *Traité* uses the same name (*Jingfeng* 淨風) throughout the whole text, and in the *Hymnscroll* (H170, H216) it appears twice in the same form. In H170, the identification is completely secure, since this name occupies the seventh position in the list of the twelve deities associated with twelve divine virtues, in this case, with faith or faithful heart (*xinxin* 信心).<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, this member of the Manichaean pantheon also appears in some other Xiapu texts: the *Leshantang shenji* invokes ‘the Pure Wind and the Primal Thought tathāgatas’ (*Jingfeng, Xianyi rulai* 淨風、先意如來), the *Mingfu qingfo wen* exhorts the believers to seek the help of ‘the transformation body of heaven and earth, the great saint of Pure Wind’ (*tiandi huashen Jingfeng dasheng* 天地化身淨風大聖), while the *Song fo wen* encourages them to revere and ask the ‘Living Spirit tathāgata’ (*Jingfeng rulai* 淨風如來).<sup>30</sup>

In col. 213 of the MG the term ‘Pure and Living, Subtle and Wonderful Wind’ (*Jinghuo weimiao feng* 淨活微妙風) occurs. Considering that ‘Pure and Living Wind’ (*Jinghuo feng* 淨活風) denotes the Living Spirit in the *Hymnscroll* (H125, H362),<sup>31</sup> this expression in the MG most probably refers to the same figure.

## 7 Rex Honoris

In cols. 101–115 of the MG, there is a hymn praising the Rex Honoris and the four heavenly kings. First, the hymn mentions the ‘King of the Ten Firmaments’ (*Shitian wang* 十天王), together with the foreign (*fan* 梵) form, Asamansha 阿薩漫沙 (LMC:

<sup>28</sup> KÔSA 2018b.

<sup>29</sup> GHARIB 2000: 264.

<sup>30</sup> MA 2017: 179.

<sup>31</sup> MIKKELSEN 2006: 34.

ʔa-sat-muan`-ša: Yuan: ɔ-sa`-mɔn`-ʃa]³², that is its otherwise non-attested Parthian equivalent (*'sm'n š'h*).³³ In the Dunhuang corpus, the former designation is used in the *Hymnscroll* (H130: *Shitian wang* 十天王) and a similar expression occurs in the *Traité* (T110: *Shitian da wang* 十天大王, 'The Great King of the Ten Firmaments'). Next, the hymn details the functions of the four heavenly kings, *si tianwang* 四天王, i.e. the four archangels.³⁴ The title 'Zan tianwang 贊天王' ('In praise of the Heavenly King(s)') is perhaps consciously ambiguous, since both the four heavenly kings and the King of the Ten Firmaments contains the compound *tianwang* 天王.

The hymn, among others, mentions a jewelled mirror with twelve faces (*shi'er mian baojing* 十二面寶鏡) in the seventh firmament (col. 105), a well-known attribute of Rex Honoris.³⁵ Interestingly, a very similar compound (*baojing mingming shi'er mian* 寶鏡明明十二面) is mentioned in cols. 200–201 of the MG. The name standing before this is *Baoguang Tianzhu Yuhuang zunfo* 宝光天主 玉皇尊佛 ('Heavenly Sovereign of the Precious Light, Jade August honoured buddha'), which thus must also be equivalent with Rex Honoris. This equivalence is reinforced by a similar reference to the Jade Emperor in the first instance, where the King of the Ten Firmaments and Asamansha are equated with the Daoist deity *Haotian Yuhuang Dadi* 昊天玉皇大帝 ('Jade August Highest Emperor of the Bright Heavens').³⁶ Both modifiers (*baoguang* 宝光 and *hao* 昊) refer to the luminous, glorious or bright aspect, and it is evident that both titles associate the figure of the Rex Honoris with that of the Jade Emperor. It should be also noted that Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997–1022) had declared Yuhuang 玉皇, the Jade Sovereign, to be the supreme god by imperial decree, and later on Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1125) conferred upon him the title of *Haotian Yuhuang shangdi* 昊天玉皇上帝.³⁷ These facts suggest that the Daoist equation must have occurred during the Song dynasty. It is perhaps this equation that made the figure of Rex Honoris more important among the sons of the Living Spirit.

## 8 Splenditenens

The Living Spirit's only other son mentioned in the MG is Splenditenens,<sup>38</sup> who is termed *Chishi zunfo* 持世尊佛 ('World-holder honourable buddha') in col. 192. *Zunfo*

32 PULLEYBLANK 1991.

33 Private correspondence with YOSHIDA YUTAKA (3 Oct. 2011).

34 On this hymn and its relevance, see MA 2010, KÓSA 2016, 2018a.

35 E.g. M178/R/78–79 (HENNING 1948: 312, 316), *Kephalaia* 87, 33–35; 88,5–6; 88,31–32.

36 A similar name appears in the *Zou shen die shu kece*: the 'Most Honorable Jade August Supreme Emperor of the Bright Heavens' (*Haotian zhizun yuhuang shangdi* 昊天至尊玉皇上帝), who, similar to his association with the ten firmaments (*shitian* 十天) in the Dunhuang documents, is said to rule over the ten firmaments (*weitong shitian* 位統十天) in this Xiapu text as well (MA 2017: 180).

37 YAMADA 2008: 63.

38 KÓSA 2012, KÓSA 2015a.

尊佛 seems to be a general term in the MG to denote any direct or indirect emanation of the Father of Greatness, therefore it basically functions as *fo* 佛 in the Dunhuang texts. The first part of Splenditenens' name is basically identical with those in the Dunhuang manuscripts: *Chishi mingshi* 持世明使 (T110: 'World-holder Light-envoy') and *Furao chishi* 富饒持世 (H130: 'Opulent World-holder').

## 9 Light-Nous

In cols. 407–410 of the MG there are three different designations that can be associated with the name of the Light-Nous: 1. 'King of Subtle and Wonderful, Beneficent Mind' (*Weimiao shanxin wang* 微妙善心王); 2. 'Subtle and Wonderful Great Wisdom Light' (*Weimiao Da Huiming* 微妙大惠明); 3. 'Subtle and Wonderful Pure Law Wind' (*Weimiao Jingfafeng* 微妙淨法風).<sup>39</sup>

The second version (*Huiming* 惠明) is the most common in the Dunhuang texts:<sup>40</sup> it is used in the *Traité* throughout, sometimes complemented by the word 'Envoy' (*shi* 使) or 'Great Envoy' (*dashi* 大使);<sup>41</sup> furthermore, it occurs in the *Hymnscroll* as well (H137, H171, H229).

The 'Pure Law Wind' (*Jingfafeng* 淨法風) is another relatively well-known designation of the Light-Nous. While *Jingfafeng* is mentioned four times (H146, H151, T132, T134) together with the Merciful Father (*Cifu* 慈父) and the Light Son (*Mingzi* 明子),<sup>42</sup> the *Traité* (T134) makes it explicit that it is identical with the Light Nous: "As for the Pure Law Wind, it is the Light Nous" (淨法風者，即是惠明). Interestingly, in some cases in the Dunhuang material, *Huiming* is already paired with the word *fa* 法 (e.g. T115: *Huiming Faxiang* 惠明法相, H255: *Faxiang Huiming* 法相惠明).<sup>43</sup> Both forms appear in the Xiapu material as well in combination with the word 'tathāgata' (*Leshantang shenji*: *Faxiang huiming rulai* 法相惠明如來; *Mingmen chuchuan qingbenshi*: *Huiming faxiang rulai* 惠明法相如來), while the *Mingfu qingfo wen*, refers to them as two separate deities: "Thought of the Law and Light Nous, two great bodhisattvas" (法相、惠明二大菩薩).<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> For a similar, though not identical, triple appearance of the Light Nous, see SUNDERMANN 1995: 261.

<sup>40</sup> MIKKELSEN 2006: 28.

<sup>41</sup> MIKKELSEN 2006: 28.

<sup>42</sup> For a similar trinity in the Chinese version of the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, see MIKKELSEN 2005: 273. MIKKELSEN (2005: 274) suggests that the element *fa* 法 was possibly added to the original expression of Nestorian origin to distinguish it from the Manichaean Living Spirit (*Jingfeng* 淨風).

<sup>43</sup> For the non-Chinese analogies of *faxiang* 法相, see BRYDER 1985: 116–117.

<sup>44</sup> MA 2017: 187.

As for the King of Beneficent Heart, this expression can be, for example, compared with the ‘Great Mind (or Heart)’ (*Guangda xin* 廣大心) of H151, which, as clear from the context, denotes the Light-Nous.<sup>45</sup>

## 10 Jesus

The name of Jesus (*Yishu* 夷數) appears frequently in the Xiapu corpus,<sup>46</sup> the Chinese characters used are consistently the same as in the Dunhuang corpus (e.g. T204, H013, H029, H035, H076, H126, H131, H254, H369). *Yishu* occurs especially frequently in a triad with the Virgin of Light and *Mānī* in the entire corpus,<sup>47</sup> and this also holds true specifically for the MG manuscript in particular, which devotes special attention to these three figures as a group. In cols. 167–180, the triad is invoked one by one, the first invoked deity being *Yishuhe fo* 夷數和佛 (cols. 169–170), who is asked to appear at the ritual by descending on a white dove (現乘白鴿下騰空). Later on (cols. 218–219), ‘Jesus of right wisdom’ (*zhengzhi Yishuhe fo* 正智夷數和) is again associated with the motif of a white dove, in this case Jesus descends through the sky like a white dove does (騰空如鴿下). In the latter case, similarly to col. 580, the form *Yishuhe* stands alone, without *fo* 佛 or some other title, which corroborates Y. YOSHIDA’s idea that *he* 和 (MC *ɣwâ*) in *Yishuhe* 夷數和 (MC \**i šju ɣwâ*) is a pleonastic final ‘-ā’ which belongs to *Yishu* 夷數.<sup>48</sup> This means that the structure is different from that of *Moni guangfo*, where *guang* 光 (light) belongs to *fo* 佛 (‘buddha of light’). Nevertheless, in other cases in the MG the name also appears without *he* 和, for example, as ‘Jesus buddha’ (cols. 316, 319, 320, 328: *Yishu fo* 夷數佛), or as ‘Jesus king’ (col. 211: “Jesus king who is able to resurrect [*neng su Yishu wang* 能甦夷數王]”). Jesus as a vivifier appears in other Xiapu manuscripts as well, e.g. the *Mingmen chuchuan qing benshi* has “Jesus buddha who resurrects to life again” (*zai su huoming Yishuhe fo* 再甦活命夷數和佛).<sup>49</sup>

## 11 Column of Glory

In col. 187 the ‘Diamond Column of Glory, Vairocana buddha’ (*Jin’gang xiangzhu Lushena fo* 金剛相柱 盧舍那佛) is mentioned. As for the first part, the *Traité* (T325) has a very similar expression, ‘Diamond jewel column’ (*jin’gang baozhu* 金剛寶柱), while the *Hymnscroll* has precisely the same rendering as ‘*jin’gang xiangzhu* 金剛相

<sup>45</sup> WALDSCHMIDT and LENTZ 1933: 52 (146d); BRYDER 1985: 116; MIKKELSEN 2006: 25.

<sup>46</sup> See MA 2013b.

<sup>47</sup> For a collection of these occurrences, see KÓSA 2018b.

<sup>48</sup> Private communication by email, December 24, 2012, YOSHIDA 2018: 13–14, YOSHIDA 2017: 8. n. 28.

<sup>49</sup> MA 2014 [2013b]: 283, with note 1. For other occurrences of Jesus in the Xiapu corpus, also see MA 2017: 185.

柱' (H365), in another instance giving a less similar version of 'the transparent, huge column of glory' (H126: *zhanran da xiangzhu* 湛然大相柱). As for the second part, Vairocana occurs in the same form (Lushena 盧舍那) frequently in the *Hymnscroll* (H171, H364, H390, H398, H413), but never with *fo* 佛.

Other Xiapu texts refer to Vairocana as 'the celestial and earthly transformation body, Vairocana buddha' [天地化身盧舍那佛] (*Leshantang shenji*), 'Great Saint Vairocana' [*dasheng Pilu fo* 大聖毘盧佛] (*Xingfuzu qingdan ke*), 'Pure Law Body, Vairocana' [*Qingjing fashen Pilushena fo* 清淨法身毗盧舍那佛] (*Mingfu qingfo wen*).<sup>50</sup>

## Conclusion

The terminology of the Manichaean pantheon used in the Xiapu manuscript entitled 'Moni guangfo' shows a remarkable consistency with that of the Dunhuang manuscripts. Needless to say, the names are consistent but not identical; one can observe the expansion of the names from the consistent core designations, which result in longer and more embellished, ornamental or 'baroque' names.

This overall consistency becomes even more evident when one compares it in detail with the *Hymnscroll*, which is sometimes quoted verbatim in the text, thus the local Manichaeans' or already Lin Deng's familiarity with the *Hymnscroll* can safely be surmised. In view of the similar nature of the content of these two manuscripts (hymns addressing various Manichaean deities, foremost used in ritual contexts, interspersed with phonetically transcribed hymns), one might venture that the *Moni guangfo* is a late, local collection of hymns following the basic pattern of, and sometimes citing from, the *Hymnscroll*, even if the language used is very dissimilar.

Furthermore, it should also be noted that a similar consistency of the divine pantheon can, as occasionally hinted at above, be seen with other Xiapu manuscripts, the precise nature of which still awaits future investigation.

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