

A LAPSED CHINESE MANICHAEAN'S
CORRESPONDENCE WITH A CONFUCIAN OFFICIAL
IN THE LATE SUNG DYNASTY (1265): A STUDY OF
THE *CH'UNG-SHOU-KUNG CHI* BY HUANG CHEN¹

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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 (Zaiton) in the south and spread the doctrine of "Two Principles" and "Three Moments" among the local population.² 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 broke out in the province of Chekiang and a group of Manichaeans from the prefecture of T'ai was alleged to have joined the rebel forces.³ Consequently, persecution against all secret religious societies was intensified and Manichaeans were

¹ I am indebted to a number of people for ungrudging help in writing this paper: Professor Mou Jun-sun, Mr. T. Y. Lieu (my father), Dr. K. P. H. Ho, Dr. I. McMorran and, above all, Dr. 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. I alone am responsible for any shortcomings.

² Ho Chiao-yüan, *Min Shu*, 7. Cited in P. Pelliot, "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-kien", *Toung Pao*, xxii (1923), 193-208.

³ Kao Yu-kung, "A Study of the Fang La Rebellion", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, xxiv (1962-3), 33.

singled out for exceptionally severe punishments.¹ The chapters on criminal offences in the massive repository of Sung administrative documents, the *Sung hui-yao chi-kao*,² 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* (*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. In his pioneering study of Manichaeism in Sung China published in 1938,³ Professor Mou cited several passages from this essay to show the close resemblance of Manichaean places of worship to Taoist temples. The Japanese scholar Kubo Noritada used this document for a very similar purpose in his stimulating study of Taoist and Manichaean interaction in the Sung which was published in 1961.⁴ To the best of my knowledge, the *Shung-shou-kung chi* has not been studied in its entirety and has not been translated into a European

¹ *Ch'ing-ch'i k'ou-kuei*, p. 12a, 2-4, in *Shou-fu*, ed. by Fang Shao (1646 edn.), tse 12. See Kao Yu-kung, "Source Material on the Fang La Rebellion", *HJAS*, xxvi (1966), 223.

² 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", *Toung Pao*, lix (1972), 228-9.

³ Mou Jun-sun, "Sung-tai mo-ni-chiao" (Manichaeism in the Sung Dynasty), *Fu-jen hsüeh-chih*, 7, 1/2 (1938), pp. 125-46; reprinted in *Sung-shi yen-chiu che*, i (Taipei, 1958), 79-100. (I have followed the pagination of the reprinted version).

⁴ Kubo Noritada, "Sodai ni okeru dōkyō to manikyō" (Taoism and Manichaeism in the Sung Dynasty), in *Wada hakase kōki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* (Tokyo, 1961), pp. 361-71.

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.¹ The acts of disputations between Augustine and the various Manichaean leaders in North Africa depict their confrontations as trials rather than intellectual debates.² 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 texts with background studies to show the importance of their contents.

1. Huang Chen as scholar and official

Huang Chen, 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 master, Chu Hsi, 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 interpretations of the Confucian Classics were officially held as orthodox and formed the basis of civil service examinations until 1905, when the examination system was abolished.

Huang Chen defended his master's teachings both in his writings and the way in which he conducted himself as an official. His most important work, the *Huang-shih jih-ch'ao* (*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*

¹ 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), p. 107, n. 1.

² F. Decret, *Aspects du Manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine* (Paris, 1970), pp. 39-89.

of the Sung (*Sung Shih*), written long after Chu Hsi had been reinstated as the foremost exponent of the Confucian school of philosophy, tells us that he defended his master's social and economic theories by putting them into practice. Chu Hsi was remembered for having devised a system of "communal granaries" (*she-ts'ang*) 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.¹ 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 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.² In short, his biography depicts him as a model Confucian official who, in turn, modelled himself on his master Chu Hsi.

Huang passed his civil service examination in 1256 and obtained the degree of *Chin-shih* 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 1195-1264.³ It was either shortly before or after he had taken up this new post in the temporary capital city of Hangchow that he received a letter from a friend, Chang Hsi-sheng, whom he had not seen for many years.

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

Chang was living in a Taoist temple called Ch'ung-shou-kung near Ssu-ming, south of the Yangtze estuary and not far from the modern city of Ningpo. Huang Chen knew the area well and was particularly impressed by its setting. It is on a small

¹ *Chung-wen ta-tzu-tien*, xxiii (Taipei, 1969), 458. On Chu Hsi's political career, see C. M. Shirokauer, "Chu Hsi's political career: a study in ambivalence", in *Confucian Personalities*, eds. A. F. Wright and D. C. Twitchett (Stanford, 1962), pp. 162-88.

² *Sung Shih* (The Dynastic History of the Sung), Chin-ting edition, 438, p. 17b, 6-18a, 2.

³ *Ibid.* 438, p. 17b, 1-2.

coastal plain backed 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."¹ 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 ".² The plain supported a luxuriant vegetation. The smell of the plants coupled with the humid sea air gave the place an exotic atmosphere.³ 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, once a famous Taoist preacher who later became an equally well known Confucian scholar, lived in this temple for a while.⁴ Chang An-kuo, who was Chang Hsi-sheng's predecessor as superior of the temple, was famous for being a recluse and a scholar. Chang Hsi-sheng himself had an alert mind and his writing possessed both clarity and style.⁵

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.⁶ 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

¹ Huang Chen, *Huang-shih jih-ch'ao* (hereafter referred to as *HSJC*), 86, Chin-ting shih-fu chüan-shu edition, p. 7a,6.

² *HSJC*, 86, p. 7b,1.

³ *Ibid.* 86, p. 7b,2-3.

⁴ *Ibid.* 86, p. 7b,4-5, and 95, p. 1a,4-1b,5.

⁵ *Ibid.* 86, p. 7b,6-7.

⁶ Wing Tsit-chan, ed., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (New Jersey, 1963), p. 588, n. 1.

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 :

〈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, that which I have begun 〈to observe〉¹ has become less distinct. 〈This sad story〉 is not one which can be used as an example of the past for the enlightenment of the future. When my teacher Lao-tze² went to the region of the West, he became Mani-Buddha.³ 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 tranquility.

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-tze. 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 shrine on the mountain was built in the second year of Tuan-p'ing [21 Jan. 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. 1263-30 Jan. 1264]. As for the building of the abbot's room, which is used for storing valuable ornaments, and of the study on a barge,⁴ which is lined with books and musical instruments, as well as the kitchen and toilet, 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 to the new at the expense of the old. A greater degree of physical

¹ 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 faith also wandered away from its starting point.

² Lao-tze is generally regarded as the founder of Taoism.

³ The technical term for the descent and rebirth of a deity in Buddhism is *avatāra*, or, in its more common Anglicized form, *avatar*.

⁴ The term "fang-chai", which is translated as a study on a barge here, is not, as Kubo Noritada has understood, a hall for eating vegetarian meals. (See Kubo Noritada, op. cit. p. 367.) 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* (*The Collected Works of Chu Hsi*), Ssu-pu ts'ung-kan edition, 3, p. 7a, 4-5).

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.¹

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, who disputed with Porphyrius, the Bishop of Gaza,² and Felix, who disputed with Augustine,³ 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.⁴ They used uninhabited houses with or without the owners' permission.⁵ The large number of empty houses in North African cities which were declared *caducous* (i.e. unowned) property as a result of imperial confiscation,⁶ no doubt offered ideal shelter for such groups. Like other heretical groups, Manichaeans might have even occasionally taken over church buildings.⁷ 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

¹ *HSJC* 86, pp. 8a,1-8b,7.

² Marc le Diacre, *Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza*, eds. H. Gregoire and M. A. Kugener (Paris, 1930), p. 85, 16-19.

³ F. Decret, *op. cit.* pp. 71-89.

⁴ *Codex Theodosiani* (hereafter referred to as *CT*), eds. T. Mommsen and P. Meyer (Berlin, 1954), 16,5,3 (A.D. 372) (= A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus* (Berlin, 1969), p. 84, no. 57) and 16,5,11 (A.D. 383).

⁵ *CT* 16,5,40 (A.D. 407).

⁶ On empty buildings in Roman North Africa, see R. MacMullen, "Imperial Bureaucrats in the Roman Provinces", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, lxxviii (1964), 310.

⁷ *CT* 16,5,65 (A.D. 428).

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.¹ 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.² Many thought it intolerable and left. They were obviously not accustomed to this kind of taking orders from above. Those 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.³

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.⁴ 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

¹ Augustine, *De Moribus Manichaeorum*, 74, *Patrologia Latina*, xxxii, cols. 1376-7.

² Ibid. col. 1376: "Proposita est vivendi regula de Manichaei epistola: multis intolerabile visum est, abscesserunt, remanserunt tamen pudore non pauci".

³ Ibid. col. 1377: "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*, 5 (CSEL 25/1, p. 277, 21-22, ed. J. Zycha).

⁴ W. B. Henning, "Ein Manichaeisches Bet- und Beichtbuch", *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, x (1936), 26.

the strategic town of T'ai-yüan and four other prefectures in southern China.¹

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 *Compendium of the Doctrine and Styles of Mani, the Buddha of Light* in Chinese, which is an introductory handbook to Manichaeism, 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.² 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.³ As Manichaean priests often acted as advisors to the Khagan of the Uighurs and his representatives, they probably took shelter in nearby Uighur diplomatic or commercial compounds.

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

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.⁴

¹ E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, deuxième partie, Fragment Pelliot et textes historiques" (hereafter referred to as Chavannes/Pelliot, *Textes historiques*), *Journal Asiatique*, 11e ser., i (1913), 267-81 and p. 284.

² *Mo-ni kuang-fu chiao-fa yi-lu*, in *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* (hereafter referred to as *T*), liv, 1280c, 13-15. French translation in Chavannes/Pelliot, *Textes historiques*, pp. 108-10.

³ Chavannes/Pelliot, *Textes historiques*, p. 110, n. 1.

⁴ *T* 54, p. 1280c, 16-19 ; Chavannes/Pelliot, *Textes historiques*, pp. 110-13.

A complicated network of *auditores* 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 Manichaeian temples in 843 was not the end of Manichaeism in China, whereas the closing of the Nestorian temples two years later led to the virtual disappearance of the religion until the conquest of China by the Mongols.¹ 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.²

Manichaeians 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.³ Taoism is an eclectic religion and is accustomed to assimilating new ideas. Moreover, the Taoist church 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 Manichaeians as well as the heterodox fringe of Buddhism. In 1202 a 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

¹ Lo Hsiang-lin, *T'ang-yüan erh-tai chih Ching-chiao* (*Nestorianism in the T'ang and Yüan Dynasties*), (Hong Kong, 1966), p. 175. See also the important study by Chen Yüan, *Western and Central Asians in China under the Mongols*, ed. and trans. by Ch'ien Hsing-hai and L. Carrington Goodrich (*Monumenta Serica Monograph*, 15, Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 41-57.

² P. Pelliot, *Nctes on Marco Polo*, ii (Paris, 1963), 727.

³ J. K. Shryock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius* (New York, 1936), pp. 153-4.

Confucian or an orthodox Buddhist. The temple was charged with encouraging the masses to "vegetarianism and devil worship" (shi-ts'ai shih-mo), a term which was frequently used to deprecate Manichaeans in the Sung. The temple was dismantled and its abbot exiled.¹

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.² 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.³ 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.⁴ The temple was probably saved from destruction by its respectability and its geographical isolation. A Taoist temple was normally called a *kuan*, but Ch'ung-shou temple had the prestigious title of *kung*—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

¹ *Shih-men cheng-t'ung*, ed. Chung-chien, in *Tso Tsang-ching*, second ser., vol. 3/5, p. 413Aa,9-413Ba,12. See also P. Pelliot, "La secte du Nuage Blanc", *Bulletin de l'école Française d'Extrême Orient* iii (1903), 304-17.

² Kao Yu-kung, op. cit. p. 33 ff.

³ *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* (hereafter referred to as *SHYCK*), vol. 165, ch. 21778, p. 19b,10-11 (edict of 1120). See Forte, op. cit. pp. 252-3. On vegetarian eating places see M. Topley, "The Great Way of Former Heaven—a group of Chinese Secret Religious Sects", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxvi (1963), 362-92.

⁴ *Pao-ch'ing-fu-chih* 15/2, cited in Mou Jun-sun, op. cit. p. 96.

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 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.¹ 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 devil-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.²

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 temple, laid down in the *Compendium* along Buddhist lines, to fit the specifications of a Taoist temple. Moreover, in order to have a Manichaean temple registered as Taoist in the Sung, it was imperative to make its outward appearance as Taoist as possible.³ Ch'ung Shou-kung, for example, named one of its halls the Hall of the Three Purities (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.⁴ 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),

¹ *HSJC* 95, p. 1a, 7-8.

² *Ibid.* 95, pp. 1a, 5-1b, 6.

³ Kubo Noritada (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.

⁴ H. Maspero, *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine, II: La Taoïsme* (Paris, 1950), p. 147.

reminds one of Lao-tze's teaching on the universe in the *Tao-te-ching*, the most important of all Taoist scriptures.¹

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 memorial :

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 " ² to attract the masses.³

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.⁴ 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 (Zaiton). They found that the Manichaeans had received very little instructions from their teachers and the Venetian travellers were able to persuade

¹ *Tao-te-ching* 45, ed. Wang Pi, Chung-hwa shu-chueh edition, p. 26, reprinted as appendix to *Konkordanz zum Lao-tze* (Munich, 1968).

² A variant reading gives " nothing comes between one another ". This is a difficult phrase. Kao Yu-kung, op. cit. p. 223, has rendered it as " an all-covering blanket ". W. Bauer, *China und die Hoffnung auf Glück* (Munich, 1971), p. 312 has emended the text to give " Ungehindersteins " by leaving out the last character of the phrase.

³ *Ch'ing-ch'i k'ou-kuai* (v. sup. p. 398, n. 1), p. 12a,4-8. English trans. in Kao Yu-kung, op. cit. (v. sup. p. 398, n. 1), p. 223. ⁴ *HSJC* 86, p. 7b,6-7.

them to believe that they were Christians.¹ A Manichaean temple which was built in the fourteenth century, and is still standing on Hua-p'iao hill in Ch'üan-chou, provided living quarters for a small number of monks. 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 Manichaeism for the facilities it could provide him as a hermit.² 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 for 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 on Hua-p'iao hill.³

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,

¹ Marco Polo, *Description of the World*, eds. A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, ii (1938), 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 L. Olschki, "Manichaeism, Buddhism and Christianity in Marco Polo's China", *Zeitschrift der schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde*, 5, 1/2 (1951), pp. 1-21.

² Ch'en Kao, *Pu-hsi-chou-yü chi*, 12. See the Appendix for a translation of the relevant account.

³ On the Manichaean shrine on Hua-p'iao hill see Wu Wen-liang, *Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-ko* (*Religious inscriptions on stone of the prefecture of Ch'üan*) (Peking, 1957), pp. 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*, lxxvii (1957), 164 gives an incorrect translation of the inscription. 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), p. 64.

Buddhism and Taoism are equally irreconcilable to each other. Now he is saying that Lao-tze 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?"¹ Thereupon, he wrote a letter to Chang demanding an answer to his questions.

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

What makes you think that my views are groundless? The *Hua-hu-ching* [*The Sutra on the Conversion of Barbarians*] of Lao-tze clearly says : " I [Laotze] shall ride on the vapour of the Tao of spontaneous light and fly into the jewel realm of Hsi-na. I shall manifest myself as the Crown Prince. I shall leave family life and enter the Way and be called Mani. I shall explain the canonical commandments and regulations and lay the foundation of wisdom, etc." These are the words from Taoist scripture.

The eighth and the ninth chapters of the *Fa-hua-ching* [*The Lotus Sutra*] agree with what is said in the *Hua-hu-ching*. The Dharma [i.e. teaching of the Buddha] is so vast that it permeates everything. Now it has been put into a strait jacket because those who are its ministers have from the beginning turned it into a mystery religion so that it is no longer so clearly manifest. In his last years, Po Lo-t'ien [i.e. Po Chü-I] was very fond of reading Buddhist sutras. Therefore, when he prefaced a Manichaean sutra <with a poem> he used the words : " The Five Buddhas continue the Light ". He must have based this on a thorough knowledge <of Manichaeism>. These are our references from Buddhist writings.

In the eleventh month of the first year of Yüan-ho of the Emperor Hsien-tsung [24 Jan. 806-10 Feb. 807] of the T'ang Dynasty, the Uighurs brought tribute to court and Manichaean priests came with them for the first time. A temple was established to settle them. This event is recorded in Wen-kung [i.e. Ssu-ma Kuang]'s *T'ung-chien* [i.e. *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*] and it is also mentioned in Hui-weng [i.e. Chu Hsi]'s *Kang-mu* [i.e. *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu*]. You see, we also figure in Confucian books.²

Huang Chen checked some of these references and found that they were genuine. A further note from Chang included a more contemporary reference to Manichaeism :

The so-called *Heng-chien-chi* records that in the ninth year of our own Sung Dynasty's Ta-chung-hsiang-fu reign period [11 Feb. 1016-30 Jan. 1017] and in the third year of T'ien-hsi [8 Feb. 1019-10 Jan. 1020], imperial edicts were twice sent to the prefecture of Fu [i.e. Fukien] ; in the seventh year of Cheng-ho [4 Feb. 1116-3 Feb. 1117] and in the second year of Hsüan-ho [1 Feb. 1120-20 Jan. 1121] edicts were again sent from the Board of Rites to the prefecture

¹ *HSJC* 86, pp. 8b,7-9a,2.

² *Ibid.* 86, pp. 9a,2-9b,2.

of Wen. All these were summonses to gather the scriptures of Mani for the insertion into the Tao-tsang [i.e. the Taoist Canon].¹

Huang Chen found that this too was a correct citation.

5. Manichaeism and Taoist Scriptures

The *Sutra on the Conversion of Barbarians*, from which Chang quoted his reference to Lao-tze'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-tze and was therefore not unique.² There existed an ancient belief that Lao-tze never died but went West. This was the spring-board 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 put flesh and bones to the theory by incorporating details of foreign countries drawn from travel accounts into the existing tales of Lao-tze's mythical visits to the West. Wang's work, entitled the *Hua-hu-ching* (*Sutra on the Conversion of Barbarians*), 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 Tun-huang in the early part of this century fragments of the first and tenth book of the *Hua-hu-ching*.³ Towards the end of the fragment of the first book is Lao-tze's prediction of his journey to Su-lin (i.e. northern Syria) where he would become Mani. This particular manifestation of Lao-tze could not have been the work of Wang Fu

¹ Ibid. 86, p. 9b,3-5.

² 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.

³ P. Pelliot, "Le Mo-ni et le Houa-hou-king", *BEFEO*, iii (1903), 318-27, and Chavannes/Pelliot, *Textes historiques*, pp. 116-32.

in the fourth century as Manichaeism was not known in China then. In fact, the fragments from Tun-huang 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 645.¹ 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 sutra had to compile a new version of it from memory and from whatever parts of it which had survived the proscription.² 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-tze and Mani. In the account of Lao-tze's transformation into Mani, the emphasis was on Lao-tze and not Mani. The account concludes with a Taoist and not Manichaean eschatology :

Five times nine years after Mani, my teaching will prosper. The holy image of Mani will come from the West in colourful and natural attire to China. This will be the sign of realization. Then the two vapours, yellow and white, will come together and the three religions³ will unite in me [i.e. Lao-tze]. The altars of benevolence and the pure monasteries will join their girders and unite their beams and the monks will translate and explain the Law [Dharma] of the Latter Saint, the great venerable light. The Taoist priests will preach the doctrine of the cause. They will sail everywhere and make my laws known. All that has life will be saved and this will be called the grand assembly of all the doctrines.⁴

While the Buddhists were indignant that Buddha should be

¹ On the use of foreign place names see P. Pelliot's review of E. Chavannes, "Les pays d'Occident d'après les Wei-liao", in *BEFEO*, vi (1906), 377-8.

² Ch'en Yüan, "Mo-ni-ch'iao ju Chung-kuo kao" (The Diffusion of Manichaeism in China), *Kuo-hsüeh chi-kan*, 1/2 (Peking, 1923), p. 216.

³ 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.

⁴ *Lao-tze Hua-hu-ching*, T 54, p. 1267b,24-1267c,1. This is an extremely difficult passage to translate. Readers are advised to compare my translation with that of Chavannes/Pelliot, *Textes historiques*, pp. 120-6, which is accompanied by detailed notes.

surpassed by Lao-tze, 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 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-tze.¹ 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 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, 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 to supervise the actual collecting of the scriptures.² Chang later wrote in the introductory handbook to the Taoist Canon, the *Yün-chi ts'ich'ien*, 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

¹ G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light", *Asia Major*, new series, 3/2 (1952), p. 192, n. 40.

² Liu Ts'un-yan, "The Compilation and Historical Value of the *Tao-tsang*", in *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History*, eds. D. Leslie et al. (Canberra, 1973), p. 113.

incorporated into the Taoist Canon scriptures of Mani, the Messenger of Light.¹

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* (Sutra of the Two Principles).² 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* from which he cited the reference is no longer extant. The Taoist 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.³ This puritanical outlook reflected the dominant Confucian influence in the Ming court. Moreover, the founding emperor of the dynasty personally disliked Manichaeism.⁴ 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".⁵ 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

¹ *Yün-chi ts'i-ch'ien*, SPTK edition, preface, pp. 1a,6-2a,3. Chavannes/Pelliot, *Textes historiques*, pp. 326-7. See also Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō keitan shiron* (Historical Studies on the Taoist Scriptures) (Tokyo, 1955), p. 148, and also Shunsho Shigematsu, "Tō-Sō-jidai no Manikyō to Makyō to mondai" (Problems of Manichaeism and other heretical sects in the T'ang and Sung Dynasties), *Shien*, xii (1936), 108.

² Chih-p'an, *Fu-tsu t'ung-chi*, 48 (749, p. 431a 23-27).

³ W. Eichorn, *Die Religionen Chinas* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 339.

⁴ Ho Ch'iao-yüan, *Min Shu*, 7, see Pelliot, op. cit. p. 206. On the persecution of Manichaeism in the Ming Dynasty see the celebrated study by Wu Han, "Ming-chiao yü ta-ming-ti-kuo" (Manichaeism and the Great Ming Empire), *Ching-hua hsüeh-pao*, xiii (Peking, 1941), 49-85, reprinted in *Tu-shih cha-chi* (Peking, 1956), pp. 235-70.

⁵ *SHYCK*, tse 165, ch. 21778, p. 4b,1 (edict of 1114).

the Fang La rebellion in 1120.¹ 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.² This special mention typifies the ambiguous status of this well known Manichaeism scripture.

6. Manichaeism and Buddhist writings

The Buddhists were outspoken critics of Manichaeism in the Sung. Hence it was difficult for Chang Shih-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 Sutra*) one can also find the story of Lao-tze's transformation into Mani. *The Sutra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law*, or *Saddharma Pundarikā Sūtra*, translated by Kumarajiva, was the most important and most commonly read of the sutras in Mahayana Buddhism.³ There are many Chinese translations of this work.⁴ However, none of the versions published in the *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* has in its eighth and ninth books anything which reminds one of the *Hua-hu* passage. The published concordances to the sutra do not list any of the key terms used in that passage.⁵ 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 sutra.

The Manichaeans in the Sung were frequently accused by their Buddhist and Confucian opponents of pressing the Buddhist scriptures to support Manichaean doctrines.⁶ One Confucian official noted that they took from the *Chin-ḵang-ching* (*The Diamond Sutra* or *Vajracchedikā-prājñāpāramitā-sūtra*) the verse "This Dharma [or teaching] is even and has neither

¹ Hung Kua, *Pen-chou wen-chi*, SPTK edition, tse 74, pp. 1a,9-1b,4.

² SHYCK, tse 165, ch. 21778, pp. 14a,9-14b,6 (edict of 1121).

³ There is an English translation of this work by W. E. Soothill entitled, *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law* (1930).

⁴ For the various versions see "Tables du Taishō Issaikyō", edited by P. Deméville, in *Hōbōgirin*, fascicule annexe (Tokyo, 1931), p. 16.

⁵ The concordance to the *Fa-hua-ching* is in vol. 4 of the index volumes of the *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō*.

⁶ *Ch'ing-ch'i k'ou-ḵuei* (v. sup. p. 398, n. 1), p. 13a,3-5.

elevation nor depression", and by repunctuating it changed its meaning to "In the Dharma there is no eveness, and there is gradation"¹—a ruse which reminds one of Augustine's charge that Faustus and his fellow Manichaeans, by incorrectly punctuating 2 Corinthians 4.4, made God instead of the Prince of This World responsible for blinding the minds of men to the gospel of salvation. What is normally taken to mean that the God of This World had closed the minds of the unfaithful took on the new meaning of some other God being responsible for closing the minds of those who are lost.²

Perhaps at the back of Chang Shih-sheng's mind was a passage from the *Lotus Sutra* 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 Sutra*. 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).³ While most 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 Po Chü-i (772-846), one of the most

¹ Ibid. p. 13a,5-6, see Kao Yu-kung, op. cit. p. 224.

² Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 21, 2 (CSEL 25/1, pp. 569,23-27, ed. by J. Zycha): "quia et apostolus ait: deus saeculi huius excaecavit mentes infidelium. quam quidem sententiam plerique nostrum ita distinguunt, ut uerum deum dicunt excaecasse infidelium mentes. cum enim legerint: in quibus deus, suspendunt pronuntiationem; ac tunc inferunt: saeculi huius excaecavit mentes infidelium". On the Manichaean use of this verse see *The Manichaean Psalm Book*, part II (Stuttgart, 1938), ed. and trans. by C. R. C. Allberry, p. 172,26-27. See also the excellent study on Manichaean use of mispunctuation in Decret, op. cit. p. 200, n. 5.

³ T 54, p. 1280b,2-7. See Haloun and Henning, op. cit. p. 192.

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 has preserved it in the section on heresies in his monumental work, the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* (*Record of the Lineage of the Buddha and Patriarchs*) :

The Manichaeans falsely claim that Po 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.¹

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

Note : I [Chih-p'an] have searched through the *Ch'ang-ch'ing-chi* of Po 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?²

The *Ch'ang-ch'ing-chi* is the collected works of Po 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 Po 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.³ 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 has shown that many of the memorials included in the collection concern events which took place either in Po Chü-i's very last years,

¹ A. Forte, op. cit. pp. 223-4, gives a slightly different translation of this poem.

² Chih-p'an, *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*, 48 (T49, p. 431a,28-431b,3).

³ Hiraoka Takeo, "Haku-shi monju no seritsu" (The Formation of the Collected works of Po Chü-i), in *Toho Gakukai soritsu jūgo shunen kinen, Tohogaku ronshū* (Tokyo, 1962), p. 273.

when he was no longer an active political figure, or after his death.¹ His poems are not so easy to date nor can one easily rule out the claim of a poem to be the work of Po on stylistic grounds alone, as Chinese scholars have done.² In his last years, Po 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.³ 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 Po Chü-i's collected works there is a letter written on behalf of the T'ang emperor to the Uighur Khagan on the purchase of war horses as well as the establishment of a Manichaeian temple at the strategic town of T'ai-yüan.⁴ Po was, therefore, not uninformed on Manichaeism. He could have prefaced a Manichaeian sutra 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 Manichaeian as it is not a confession but a token of respect.⁵ That the author was a Buddhist and not a Manichaeian is also clear from the fact that he commented on Manichaeian terms which were borrowed from Mahayana Buddhism. The five Buddhas which, according to the Manichaeian scriptures from Tun-huang, signify the five light elements which accompanied the First Man in his fateful journey to the kingdom of darkness,⁶ would probably be understood by the Buddhists as the five Dhyāni Buddhas.⁷ The fifth manifestation of the Buddhas was Śākyamuni as incarnation of *nirmāṇakāya*.

¹ Ts'en Chung-mien, "Po-shih ch'ang-ch'ing-chi wei-wen" ('Some forged compositions in the *Ch'ang-ch'ing-chi*'), *Academia Sinica*, ix (1947), 515-20.

² Ibid. p. 483.

³ A. Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chü-I* (1949), pp. 204 ff.

⁴ *Po-shih ch'ang-ch'ing-chi*, SPTK edition, tse 40, pp. 35a, 3-36a, 5. Chavannes/Pelliot, *Textes historiques*, pp. 277-9.

⁵ Forte, op. cit. p. 227.

⁶ On the Five Light Elements see H. J. Polotsky, "Manichäismus", in *Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplement VI (Stuttgart, 1935), col. 249.

⁷ W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (1935), p. 113.

Chih-p'an thought this was the case and the Manichaeans have substituted Mani for Muni (Śākyamuni).¹

7. Manichaeism and Confucian writings

Bearing in mind that he was writing to a Confucian 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 Manichaean propaganda 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.²

Chang Shih-sheng quoted from the *Tzu-chi t'ung-chien* (*Through Mirror in aid of Government*) of Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-1086) the account of the arrival of Manichaean priests with a Uighur tribute mission in 807.³ Ssu-ma Kuang had in turn derived this from the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* (*New T'ang History*).⁴ 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. Its compiler, Ssu-ma Kuang, 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* which

¹ Chih-p'an, *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* (hereafter referred to as *FTTC*) 48 (*T* 49, p. 431a, 19-20).

² *FTTC* 40 (*T* 49, p. 374c, 22-29).

³ *Tzu-chi t'ung-chien*, Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she edition (Peking, 1956), ch. 237, vol. 8, p. 7638.

⁴ *Hsin t'ang-shu*, 217, Ch'in-ting edition, p. 17a, 9-12.

was widely read.¹ 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 *t'ung-chien*, added the presence of Manichaeans in the mission.² 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, 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.³ One can see that if Confucian 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 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.⁴ 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 840, the Uighurs maintained a Manichaean temple in the nearby prefecture of Yueh.⁵ Its proximity to Ssu-ming might have helped to keep the link alive. However,

¹ 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* (Hong Kong, 1970), pp. 1-11.

² *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu*, ed. by Shih-Ying-chen (Soochow, 1631), 48, p. 41b,1-2.

³ *Ibid.* p. 41b,4-5.

⁴ W. Eichorn, *Beitrag zur rechtlichen Stellung des Buddhismus und Taoismus* (Leiden, 1968), p. 68.

⁵ *FTTC* 54 (T 49, p. 474c,19).

it is just as probable that the passage on the Uighur mission was the only convenient reference which Chang could find in the works of a distinguished Confucian scholar.

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.¹ 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 Lycopolis² and Simplicius³ 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.⁴

Metaphysics was a very weak branch of Confucian learning until the advent of Chu Hsi. If Huang were to engage Chang 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

¹ Augustine, *Contra Felicem*, 1, 1 (CSEL 25/2, p. 802,1-2).

² *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, ed. A. Brinkmann (Leipzig, 1895).

³ Simplicius's treatise against Manichaeism can best be consulted in Adam, op. cit. pp. 71-74. ⁴ Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 1, 1 (CSEL 25/1, p. 251,4-6).

darkness was shown to be the absence of light and not a separate substance could have been written by a seasoned anti-Manichaeon like Augustine).¹ 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 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 overindulgence 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.²

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 :

Since the affairs of the world belong to either one of the two extremes, the positive and the negative, good and evil, from the ancient times, those who have established doctrines for admonition have all endeavoured to make men see clearly what is positive and what is negative, to eschew evil and to cultivate goodness. By this they give succour to human conduct and benefit the world. However, when a doctrine has been disseminated for too long, its original principles become corrupted and confused. Lao-tze treasured compassion and frugality. Posterity, however, practised "pure conversation".³ Śākyamuni established precepts and

¹ Chu Hsi, *Chu-tze yu-lei*, 65, pp. 1-17.

² *Sung Shi*, 438, pp. 17b,2-18a,10.

³ "Ch'ing-t'an" (pure or light conversations) is a name given to a Taoist movement which took place between the third and the fifth century A.D. It is

composure but posterity laughed at those who took them too seriously. How could this have been so at the beginning?

When Lao-tze reappeared in the person of Mani, he laid down particularly strict laws about self-discipline. As you have said, the original teachings have suffered very little change. You learn them from your teachers and you disseminate them yourselves. Both Taoism and Buddhism must have been like this at the beginning. Your attitude comes close to the Confucian concept of "reverence".¹ With this one can raise the spirits and the numinous forces of the hills and the valleys as well as extending the knowledge of both priests and laymen! If only the Taoist temples throughout the ages had relied on this incessantly, they would have more to offer than the ostentation which characterize them in our own age.²

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 1265 when Huang Chen wrote his essay on this topic.

APPENDIX

A similar account of a Manichaeian temple

Chu-hsi-lou chi

(An account of the cottage on the western side of the bamboo grove)³

In the county of P'ing-yang in the prefecture of Wen is a place called Yen-ting. 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 or four *li*⁴ and it has a population of several hundred families whose main form of livelihood is fishing. Taking the path inland, one is soon into the hills and loses the sight of the sea. Instead, one will find a richly endowed plain of several hundred *mou*⁵ in area. 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

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.

¹ "Ch'ing" (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), pp. 104-7.

² *HSJC* 86, pp. 9b,6-10a,6.

³ The passage is taken from Ch'en Kao, *Pu-hsi-chou-yü chi*, 12, in *Ching-hsiang-lou tsung-shu*, first series (Yung Chia, 1928-35), tse 7, pp. 14b,10-15a,5.

⁴ One *li* is about 1,890 ft.

⁵ One *mou* is about 0.6 ac.

Manichaeans who are some kind of Buddhists.¹ 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 at night they would pray, chant and perform their rites of worship seven times.²

On the eastern side of Ch'ien-kuang-yüan is the residence of Shih-hsin shang-ren³ 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. Men of letters from the village like Chang Ch'ing, Ho Yo, Lin Ch'i and Chang 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 out of red jade and the sound of the wind is like the gentle rattling of the pendants hanging from a girdle. Glancing upwards at the loftiness of the sky and broadly surveying the depth and mystery of the valley and the woods, one can be so overpowered by the scenery that one can imagine oneself walking on the surface of creation yet forgetting that the human world actually exists.

Shih-hsin was the son of a Confucian family and he was brought up on books concerning the six arts and the various schools of philosophies.⁴ However, he showed a liking for the simple 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 can 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-ch'ien.

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

¹ Ch'en Kao obviously thought that Manichaeans were Buddhists.

² See Chavannes/Pelliot, *Textes historiques*, p. 338, n. 6.

³ Shih-hsin shang-ren is the hermitic title and not the real name of this recluse.

⁴ i.e. he had a traditional Confucian upbringing.