

Translating the Eikōn.

Some Considerations on the Relation of the Chinese Cosmology Painting to the Eikōn¹

GÁBOR KÓSA (Budapest/Ungarn)

In the present paper, I essentially elaborate on the first part of my talk in Göttingen.² Here I gathered available information in support of Y. YOSHIDA's hypothesis that the Chinese Manichaean Cosmology painting³ (colors on silk, 137.1 x 56.6 cm, Japanese private collection; Jap. *uchū zu* 宇宙図, Chin. *yuzhou tu* 宇宙圖) ultimately derives from, though is not identical with, Mānī's *Eikōn*.⁴ In my interpretation, this would mean that Manichaeans did not only translate Mānī's scriptures into the language of the missionary areas, but through a kind of "iconographical translation" they might have done the same with another important work of Mānī, the *Eikōn*, which they adapted, or even, translated into a new, iconographically meaningful version for the members of the local culture. Though in light of the Manichaean zeal for translation, presenting an iconographically adapted ("translated") painting to a new area of mission would be, I think, a logical assumption, nevertheless, this has been only sparsely suggested in Manichaean studies. Concerning the Yamato Bunkakan Manichaean painting, ZSUZSANNA GULÁCSI in 2011 has expressed a view very similar to the

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2 Due to spatial limits, I have to omit the second part of the written version of my talk which focused on the specific examples and the various types of visual translations in the Cosmology painting.

3 For an English summary of some basic information about the Cosmology painting, see KÓSA 2011.

4 YOSHIDA 2009, 2010, pp. 4a–5a, 2012.

one I apply in relation to the Cosmology Painting.⁵ The earlier, commonly held tacit assumption seems to be that while the missionaries translated the written works of Mānī, they left the *Eikōn* as it was,⁶ perhaps adapted it to a new physical format,⁷ or that the *Eikōn* served as a source of inspiration for other works.⁸

I. Does the Cosmology Painting Derive from Mānī's *Eikōn*?

If we had Mānī's *Eikōn* at our disposal, it would be relatively easy to reinforce or disqualify its connection with the Chinese Cosmology painting; however, this is not the case. As is well known, presently we only possess a limited number of scattered written sources which allow us to know something about Mānī's original *Eikōn*. Since currently the Cosmology painting is the most serious candidate for being related to it,⁹ it is logical that we need to thoroughly examine these written sources (ca. 20 passages)¹⁰ in connection with the Cosmology

5 GULÁCSI 2011, p. 234: "Although these paintings have just started to be identified and studied, it seems clear that, in course of their historical transmission originally from Mesopotamia to Central Asia and later from Central Asia to China, their subject matter (i.e. the core theme of this art) is conservatively preserved, while the pictorial language expressing that content is often visually 'translated' in order to make the image comprehensible to the culture of its intended viewers." GULÁCSI 2011a, pp. 324–325: "It seems that East Central Asian Manichaean works of art analogous to the two Uyghur examples considered above functioned as pictorial prototypes and constituted sources for the Chinese 'visual translations' of characteristically Manichaean artistic forms of religious expressions. These 'visual translations' preserved the Sinicized renderings of traditionally Manichaean subjects, iconographic details, and compositional tools in southern China."

6 E.g. ALFARIC 1918–19.I. pp. 55–91, II. pp. 34–67, TARDIEU 2008 [1981/1997]: pp. 33, 43–44, 47, BAKER-BRIAN 2011, pp. 67–68, 71, 78.

7 GULÁCSI 2010, p. 3.

8 GULÁCSI 2005, p. 113. "For propagation purposes, it [the Turfan community, GK] must have had some copies of Mani's Picture-Book that could have been made in one of the Manichaean centers of Sasanian Persia." GULÁCSI 2005, p. 114 [references are omitted]: "It [the *Picture-Book*, GK] was taken along on one of the first missions to Central Asia headed by Mar Ammo at the end of the third century, celebrated in North Africa in Manichaean hymns during the fourth century, reported about in a Manichaean document to the Chinese government during the early eighth century, and held as an admired object in a Muslim treasury at Ghaznin during the eleventh century. This doctrinal painted work was a rich visual resource of subjects and iconography and it influenced the formation of other Manichaean media." Cf. MARKSCHIES 2005, pp. 117–118.

9 There have been some suggestions (YOSHIDA 2009a, pp. 7b–8a, 2010a, p. 702, GULÁCSI 2011, pp. 334–336) that the Judgment Scene in the so-called *Rokudōzu* 六道図 (*Sandōzu* 三道図, GK) painting might also bear some resemblance to or might have historical connections with the *Eikōn*.

10 GULÁCSI 2010, 2011 (especially p. 237), 2012.

painting (henceforth abbreviated as CP).¹¹ Here I will analyze the information retrieved from these sources (especially the important witness of Ephrem Syrus and the *Kephalaia*) and contrast them with the Cosmology painting in order to see if there is any major contradiction between them. If a reliable written source contained data which clearly contradicted what we presently see on the CP, that would seriously question their historical relationship. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that even if no written sources were inconsistent with the visual data on the CP, this would not demonstrate that the *Eikōn* and the CP are indeed historically related, only perhaps enhance this probability.

I.1. Mānī as the Author of the *Eikōn*

It is well known that among the Manichaean works attributed to Mānī, there was a work entitled ‘the Picture’. This work is usually added as a supplement to the list of the written canon (e.g. *Compendium* 65, *Homilies* 25,5). Being part of the canon refers to the authorship of Mānī, and indeed both Manichaean and non-Manichaean works repeatedly associate this work with the founder of Manichaeism, and there is no reason not to accept this claim. It is also important that no other person in Manichaean history was ever credited with creating a new, original painting on the major religious topics of Manichaeism. Ephrem the Syrian, an author close to Mānī in time, space and culture, is widely acknowledged to be a reliable source despite the polemical edge of his writings.¹² He does not only refer to Mānī’s disciples who claim that their master illustrated the figures of their doctrine, but also quotes Mānī himself saying an important sentence:¹³ “He [Mani] accordingly states: ‘I have written about them [the sons of Light and Darkness] in books and painted them [the sons of Light and Darkness] in colors.’”¹⁴

I know of only one source which states that it was not Mānī himself who painted the *Eikōn*. On the other hand, even in this case, the *Eikōn* is still evidently Mānī’s “intellectual property”, even if the work of painting itself was perhaps executed by an artisan who was around him. “Just as I [Mānī, GK] have

11 At the time of writing (Jan. 2012), Zs. GULÁCSI’s book has not yet been published, therefore I cannot use her results.

12 Cf. NAGEL 1981, pp. 204–205, GULÁCSI 2011, p. 238.

13 Cf. GULÁCSI 2011, p. 238.

14 Trans. Prof. MONIKA PESTHY, who was kind enough to translate and interpret the Syriac passage for me; J. REEVES’ (1997, p. 263) translation, which does not differ greatly, runs as follows: “I have written them (the teachings) in books and illustrated them in colors.”

written it in books, so [I have] also ordered it to be drawn.”¹⁵ In the subsequent sentence, however, Mānī again seems to claim his authorship (though the passage is fragmentary): “[Neither have] they [the previous envoys, GK] drawn their wisdom in the Picture (ἑικῶν) as [I have drawn] it.”¹⁶ In the *Homilies* (18,5), Mānī is weeping over the images of ‘my Picture(-book)’ (ταῖς εἰκῶν).

In sum, Mānī’s, at least intellectual, authorship is unanimously asserted in Manichaean sources.¹⁷ Although Manichaeans also suffered some persecutions in China, these were far less intensive than those in the Christian or the Zoroastrian surroundings. This might in turn mean that once an important visual work by the founder of the religion (and not someone else) reached China, it is not illogical to assume that it might have been cherished by local communities precisely because of its origin.¹⁸

I.2. The Format of the *Eikōn*

We do not know anything about the size of the *Eikōn*, however, one can logically surmise that it could not have been very small. Placing the numerous characters of the sophisticated Manichaean system, for example, on the miniature pages of the *Cologne Mānī Codex* would probably be rather difficult. Moreover, if the *Eikōn* was indeed used in a didactic setting, as Ephrem suggests, it would also be hard to imagine that Mānī’s disciples were sitting in front of a small-scale painting during explanations.¹⁹ Therefore, on a common sense basis, it seems logical that it should have contained paintings on which the figures were clearly visible from a distance.²⁰

15 *Kephalaia* 371,24–25 (FUNK 1999, p. 371): τῶ εἰς εἰκῶν ἀρχὴ τῶ εἰς εἰκῶν / [τῶ εἰς εἰκῶν] κελεγε ἀτοῦ ζωγραφῆς ἡμῶν (J. BEDUHN’s transl. in GULÁCSI 2011, p. 240).

16 *Kephalaia* 371,28–29 (FUNK 1999, p. 371): [οὔτε ἡμεῖς] οὐ ζωγραφῆς ἡτοῦ σοφῶς ἀτῶν τῶ εἰς εἰκῶν / ἀρχὴ εἰκῶν ζωγραφῆς ἡμῶν. J. BEDUHN’s translation in GULÁCSI 2011, p. 240.

17 Cf. GULÁCSI 2005, p. 106: Mānī “himself painted the *Picture-Book* for which he must have employed a painting style popular in his culture.”

18 Naturally, the same would have been valid for the Chinese version of the canonical scriptures which are, however, not available today.

19 There might have been another *Picture* with the portrait of Mānī, which was placed on the Bema. Based on the *Homilies* 27,23–25 (“... Many (a man) will sit in front of this Drawing; others will his Bema....” οὐκ [οὐκ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν] ἔστ’ ἑὸν ἡμεῶν ζωγραφῆς οὐκ ἑὸν [κῆρυξ.] / ἀπεφῶν ἡμῶν), ORT (1967, pp. 253–255) concludes that the *Picture-book* was used during the Bema ceremony. Other scholars, however, do not share this opinion and suggest that it was Mānī’s portrait which was placed on the Bema, see HENNING 1937, pp. 9–10, HALOUN/HENNING 1952, p. 210. n.4, KLÍMA 1962, p. 329, ASMUSSEN 1987/2011, NAGEL 1981, p. 202. n.8.

20 Interestingly, both Coptic and Chinese sources mention the word ‘big’ or ‘great’ (ἡδ, dà 大) as a modifier of the *Eikōn*: τῆς ἡδ ζωγραφῆς (*Kephalaia* 235,1–2–8), ἡδ ζωγραφῆς (*Hom-*

As for the format, Ephrem Syrus' witness is rather important: Mānī painted on a scroll (*m^egall^etā*), not a codex.²¹ The specific type of the scroll (horizontal paper scroll, silk hanging scroll) was later, as it spread, probably adapted to the new cultural milieu.²²

As for the Cosmology painting, it is a Chinese silk hanging scroll, the size of which (137.1 x 56.6 cm) seems to be large enough to be used for didactic purposes.²³

I.3. Black-and-White or Colorful?

It is widely acknowledged that the *Eikōn* was a painted work. Although the word $\zomega\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon$ can mean three dimensional forming, sculpting as well,²⁴ it is evident that whenever it refers to the *Eikōn*, its meaning is depicting or painting. The painted nature of the *Eikōn* is explicitly stated by Ephrem Syrus, who mentions 'pigments on a scroll', and that Mānī painted the *Eikōn* (*yuqnā*).²⁵

As for the colors, Ephrem again explicitly quotes Mānī's disciples saying that their master used 'pigments on a scroll', and also cites Mānī's saying: 'I have written about them [the sons of Light and Darkness] in books and painted them in colors.'²⁶ Ephrem thus stresses that the *Eikōn* was a colorful scroll.

If we compare this information with the Cosmology painting, we indeed see various colors in it: pitch dark clouds which are always associated with demons, who in turn consistently have brownish or greyish skin of face and body.²⁷ Di-

ilies 27,20–21), *Da menheyi tu* 大門荷翼圖 (*Compendium*, col. 65), *Da Erzong tu* 大二宗圖 (*Compendium*, col. 65). Naturally, this might simply refer to its importance.

21 REEVES 1997, pp. 262–263, NAGEL 1981, p. 206, HUNTER 1998, p. 5. Based on WIDENGRÉN's remark, P. NAGEL (1981, pp. 206–207) associates this with the description of the *Acta Archelai* ("He carried a Babylonian book under his left arm..."), where under the *Babylonicus liber* a scroll is meant, though this reference, I think, does not necessarily refer to the *Eikōn*.

22 GULÁCSI 2010, p. 6.

23 In his *Refutation*, Ephrem Syrus quotes Mānī claiming that the *Picture(-book)* illustrates his teachings. "He [Mani] accordingly states: 'I have written them (the teachings) in books and illustrated them in colors. Let the one who hears about them verbally also see them in visual forms, and the one who is unable to learn them (the teachings) from [words] learn them from the Picture'" (REEVES 1997, p. 263).

24 KLÍMA 1962, pp. 330–332, NAGEL 1981, p. 211.

25 REEVES 1997, pp. 262–263.

26 M. PESTHY's translation.

27 Cf. HEINRICHS 1979, p. 94.

vine figures, on the other hand, invariably have a white face and body. In addition to white, the colors red and green often represent light nature.²⁸

Colors play a major role not only in expressing the two antagonistic forces, but also in differentiating among the ca. 500 characters of the CP. Although almost all representatives of the Realm of Light share an identical facial expression, they do differ in the colors of their clothes. The CP is painted with an elaborate and sophisticated use of colors, which, without doubt, has a religious meaning. In sum, the *Eikōn* and the CP share their being colorful scrolls.

I.4. A Single Painting or Many Pictures?

Although most of the references mention the *Eikōn* as a work in singular,²⁹ we do have at least one source which makes it evident that the *Eikōn* contained several pictures.³⁰ “I weep over the paintings (ἰκῶνας) of my Image while I commemorate their beauty.”³¹ Ephrem the Syrian mentions *ṣurtā* (“picture”, “illustration”), which is a collective noun translated by John Reeves as “picture(s)”.³² If the *Ārdahang* (*Arthang*, *Erthenk*, etc.) also refers to the *Picture-Book*,³³ then some sources explicitly claim that it was a book with numerous paintings.³⁴

28 Alternating red and green stripes, for example, constitute the fundament of the Realm of Light and the two streams of liberated light; angels upholding the firmaments wear blue, green, red and white garments; the majority of the important divine figures (the Father of Greatness and his four attributes, Perfect Man, Splenditenens, Rex Honoris, Virgin of Light) and Mānī have a green halo.

29 *Homilies* 18,5: ΤΑΞΙΚΩΝ, *Homilies* 25,5: ΤΕΥΧΙΚΩΝ, *Homilies* 28,16: ΦΙ[ΚΩΝ]; *Kephalaia* 234,26: ΤΞΙΚΩΝ, *Kephalaia* 235,1–2, 8: ΤΗΔΕ ΠΞΙΚΩΝ. Cf. GULÁCSI 2005, p. 114. n.13: “The interpretation of *nigār* as the *Picture-Book* is based on the analogous reference in a variety of languages, where this painted doctrinal work is mentioned together with *the texts* and invariably referred to in singular by the term *picture*.”

30 Cf. KLIMKEIT 1982, p. 16.

31 TARDIEU 2008, p. 43. *Homilies* 18,5–6: †]ΡΙΜΕ ΠΞΖΩ[ΓΡΑ]ΦΕΙΑ ΠΤΑΞΙΚΩΝ ΕΪΡ/]Ε ΠΟΥΧΑΪΕ.

32 REEVES 1997, p. 263, cf. NAGEL 1981, p. 206, HUNTER 1998, p. 9, GULÁCSI 2011, p. 238. Also see Abū’l Ma’ālī’s (11th c.) description: “Mani ...was the author of a book [Pers. *kitābī*] of various kinds of pictures [Pers. *tasāvir*], which they called the *Aržang* of Mani [Pers. *aržang-i Mānī*]; it exists in the treasury of Ghaznīn” (HALOUN/HENNING 1952, p. 210; ASMUSSEN 1965, p. 10, GULÁCSI 2005a, p. 150. n.4).

33 For an opposite view, see SUNDERMANN 2005.

34 ’Asadī, *Kitāb luḡhat-i Furs* (REEVES 2011, p. 121): “*Ertheng*: It was (the title) of a book of figures by Mānī”; Shams-i Munshī: *Šiḡāḡ al-Furs* (REEVES 2011, p. 122): “*Arthang*: it has several meanings. First, it is a collection of pictures which Mānī the painter made. (...) Third, it is the name for Mānī’s book of figures...”; Ḥājjī Khalīfah: *Kašf al-zunūn*

The Chinese *Compendium* seems to mention one image (*tú* 圖): “The Great Menheyi, one image” (col. 65: 大門荷翼圖一); “Altogether seven works plus one image” (col. 66: 凡七部并圖一).³⁵ Since the *Compendium* evidently relies on non-Chinese sources, it cannot be ruled out that this is to be taken as a reference to the work as a single item. The Wenzhou 温州 list mentions at least two titles which might be associated with the *Eikōn*: The *Book of Picture(s)* (*Tijing* 圖經) and the *Painting of the Good and the Evil* (*Shan’è zhen* 善惡幀).³⁶ While the second is probably a single painting, the first almost certainly refers to more than one picture.³⁷ In sum, *Eikōn* (*tú* 圖 = Image, possibly *Ārdahang*) refers to the title of the work in singular, but it most probably contained more than one image.³⁸

In its present form, the CP is an individual painting. Except for the Realm of Light fragments, all other presently identified paintings contain biographical or missionary, and not cosmogonical/cosmological, information. The two fragments of the Realm of Light paintings depict the same theme which is also present in the uppermost section of the CP.

This said, it cannot be excluded that the CP, or its direct *Vorlage*, was originally accompanied by other paintings. What the CP depicts is clearly a well-defined phase of the Manichaean cosmogony: the creation of the universe (the Sun and the Moon, the ten firmaments, the human world, and the eight earths) so that they would help liberate the imprisoned light: the CP unmistakably depicts the Three Wheels on the fifth earth from below, the path of light through the three upper earths and the ten firmaments in the upper section. The CP also clearly portrays the various demons imprisoned in the firmaments and the earths, and manifestly contains figures like the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, the Virgin of Light and the Righteous Judge.³⁹ All these mean that what the CP renders is without doubt the Middle Period of the Manichaean cosmogony, the time of mixture, and not even the entire period: the attack of Darkness is absent, as well as the reaction of the Father of Light sending the Primal Man with the five elements. Apparently also missing is the creation of Adam and Eve, and the eschatology with the Great Fire.⁴⁰

(REEVES 2011, p. 123): “*Artang* is the title of a book by Mānī the artist. It is said that it is an original work (*dastūr*) of Mānī; bizarre pictures and odd figures are contained in it.”

35 The third reference, albeit tacitly, also acknowledges the single nature of this work: “The above [to the right] seven great works and the picture” (右七部大經及圖).

36 *Songhuiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (*xingfa* 刑法) 2.78b; FORTE 1973, pp. 238, 240–241, 250, LIEU 1992, pp. 276–277, YOSHIDA 2010, pp. 19a–20a.

37 MIKKELSEN 2006, p. 68: “Picture-book, Scripture with drawings.”

38 Cf. HALOUN/HENNING 1952, p. 209.

39 YOSHIDA 2010, pp. 12a–13b, 17b–18a.

40 A fiery globe is visible in the fourth firmament and this might refer to the impending conflagration, but this is not present in this painting itself.

The CP thus depicts the Middle Period concentrating on the established cosmos and the liberation of light, leaving out the beginning and the end of the Middle Period, as well as the entire Initial [*initium*, ἀρχή, χογῖτε, *chuji* 初際] and Final Periods [*finis*, τέλος, 2ΔΗ, *houji* 後際]. This in turn seems to make it improbable that such an “in medias res” painting would be the original form of this didactic material. It seems more likely that originally at least two further paintings belonged to this set. The first might have depicted the initial period with the two realms separated, possibly the attack of Darkness and the first reaction of the Father of Greatness. The second might have visualized the end of times, the conflagration, the destiny of the dark principle and the eternal separation of the two principles (cf. *Shan’ e zhen* 善惡幀). Unless discovered, the existence of such paintings naturally cannot be proved; however, there is at least one argument in favor of this hypothesis. In its present form, the CP simply does not depict the original Kingdom of Darkness with its inhabitants, only the eight earths in which one can see some reminiscence of the former Kingdom of Darkness.⁴¹ Although demons do appear in the CP, they are already captured and imprisoned in various parts of the universe. It would be hard to imagine that Chinese Manichaean believers had been offered an intricate detail like the number of captains in the Sun and the Moon, but had no opportunity to visualize the Realm of Darkness or its attack on the Realm of Light. After considering this argument, it is more likely that the CP was originally accompanied by at least two further paintings of cosmogonical contents.⁴²

I.5. The Contents of the *Eikōn*

Similarly to its formal features, we have rather meagre information on the contents of the *Eikōn*. Here I will discuss the relevant witnesses on this aspect in connection with the CP.

41 YOSHIDA 2010, pp. 13b–15a. This is probably due to the fact that the Primal Man destroyed the Kingdom of Darkness (cf. BEDUHN 2005, pp. 9–12), as, for example, the following passages attest: M10/V/19–22 (KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 44): “The tyrannical prince was bound [forever], and the ruthless dwelling of the dark powers was destroyed. The radiant friend, the First Man, remained there until he had carried out the Father’s will...”; *Kephalaia* 55,30–31 (GARDNER 1995, p. 60): “[he] bound them all up, so that not one of them escaped] his hand. He won a great victory...”; *Kephalaia* 105,21–24 (GARDNER 1995, p. 110): “(The enemy) was brought out to the middle and separated from his dark earth, whence he had departed. He was vanquished in that first war, caught and [bo]und by the living soul.”

42 Cf. HALOUN/HENNING 1952, p. 209: The gloss “indicates that the work depicted the powers of Light and Darkness, probably in their various stages, before Creation, in the world, and after its dissolution.”

The Chinese *Compendium* (col. 65) gives an interpretative translation of the *Da Menheyi* as “the Picture of the Great Two Principles” (*da erzong tu* 大二宗圖). If the silk painting of Good and Evil (*shan'e zhen* 善惡幀) in the Wenzhou list has something to do with the *Eikōn*, then it also seems to refer to the same two principles. A more detailed description, which emphasizes the representatives of the two principles, is given by Ephrem Syrus:

According to some of his disciples, Mani also illustrated (the) figures of the godless doctrine, which he fabricated out of his own mind, using pigments on a scroll [Syriac *megalltā*]. He labeled⁴³ the odious (figures) ‘sons of Darkness’ in order to declare to his disciples the hideousness of Darkness, so that they might loath it; and he labeled the lovely (figures) ‘sons of Light’ in order to declare to them ‘its beauty so that they might desire it.’⁴⁴

The central message of all these three witnesses is that the *Eikōn* basically depicted the Two Principles or their representatives, even if these passages do not explicitly make it clear whether these figures were simply depicted in their own territory or as engaged in their struggle against each other.

As for the Cosmology painting, it portrays ca. 500 figures, the majority of whom are either divine figures (ca. 310) or demons (66), i.e. representatives of the two principles or realms. In some cases, they are depicted as performing their task (e.g. the forty angels supporting the ten firmaments, the Father of Greatness sitting in the midst of the twelve Aeons, or the demons imprisoned in the four upper earths). In other instances they are depicted in some kind of conflict with each other (e.g. Adamas fighting a demon, or the demons being in opposition with the divine figures in the firmaments). The divine figures, who all have a white face, invariably wear color clothes which cover their entire body, and are either seated on a lotus throne or standing, while more than 90 figures also have a halo around their head. All these features lend them a kind of majestic appearance.

In contrast, the demons only have a cloth around their loins or short trouser-like garment, otherwise they are naked, the color of their face and body being

43 The Syriac text literally says “placing the name”, which, in theory, could mean that Mānī also wrote the names of these figures on the *Eikōn*, MITCHELL 1912, p. xciii (cf. LIEU 1994, p. 44) translated it accordingly: “So also Mani painted in colors on a scroll—as some of his disciples say—the likeness of the wickedness which he created out of his mind, placing on hideous (pictures) the name of the Sons of the Darkness that it might declare to his disciples the ugliness of the Darkness that they might abhor it, and placing on beautiful things the name of the Sons of the Light.” PAYNE-SMITH’s dictionary (1903, p. 366), however, makes it clear that the Syriac idiom, in fact, means ‘to name, surname, give a name’. I thank Prof. MONIKA PESTHY for offering a detailed interpretation of the Syriac passage for me.

44 REEVES 1997, p. 263.

brown or grey. In almost all cases, they are either kneeling in the firmaments and on the dark clouds around Mount Sumeru, or lying prone as enchained and imprisoned creatures in the upper four earths. Furthermore, the decently closed lips of the divine figures with an ordered hair are evidently contrasted with the protruding teeth or fangs of the demons with conspicuously dishevelled hair. Similarly to Ephrem's description, the divine figures are indeed majestic and attractive, while the demons are humiliated and loathsome.

This basic description of the *Eikōn* is complemented by a single⁴⁵ more specific witness from the *Kephalaia* (234,24–236,6). This famous *kephalaion* describes a complaining catechumen who asks Mānī to explain why he did not include the catechumens' fate in the *Eikōn*. Here I will compare the relevant parts of this description with the CP.

“You have made clear in that great Picture(-Book); you have depict[ed] the righteous one how he shall be released and [brou]ght before the Judge and attain the land of li[ght].”⁴⁶ In addition to providing a great amount of visual information on such religious concepts as the Realm of Light, the Ten Firmaments, the created human world and the eight earths, the CP seems to concentrate on one further motif: the liberation of light. Though not evident at a first glance, this religious motif, I think, is the central theme of the CP. This subject, however, is not restricted to a general portraying of this process (with the liberated Five Elements, for example, appearing in front of the Perfect Man in the upper register), but is extended to human beings as well.

Above the tenth firmament on both sides, one spots two groups of five human beings as traveling upward on color (pink, orange, red, and whitish) clouds. These ten individuals, distinguished by the colors of the cloud and the clothing, all kneel and hold their hands clasped in front of their chest as if praying. Their chins, and therefore their head, are slightly raised upward as if aspiring to reach their destination. On the left and right side above the tenth firmament, there are two and three figures, respectively. They glide towards the two edges of the tenth firmament on their color cloud, while above them, there are five (three and two) more figures who have apparently already “taken the turn”, and head

45 KLIMKEIT (1982, p. 15) mentions at least one more example: “Among other things, the great fire at the end of time must have been represented, as a fragment of the “Commentary on the *Ārdahang*” (*Ārdahang vijrās*) shows.” However, since this work, as W. SUNDERMANN (2005) suggested, is not necessarily related to the *Eikōn*, therefore, I will not analyze this reference. Nevertheless, it is perhaps worth mentioning that in the right side of the fourth firmament there is a huge, flaming globe, the upper half of which is only visible, which might remind us of the imminent conflagration of the universe.

46 GARDNER 1995, pp. 241–242. *Kephalaia* 235,1–4: ΔΚΟΥ/ΩΝΩ ΔΒΑΛ ΖΗ †ΗΔΣ ΗΖΙΚΩΝ ΕΤ-
 ΠΗΕΥ ΔΚΖΩΓΡΑ[Φ]Ε Π/ΠΑΙΚΑΟΣ ΠΤΖΕ ΕΤΕΨΑΙΒΩΛ ΔΒΑΛ ΗΠ ΤΖΕ ΕΤΕΨ[ΔΥΧΙ]/ΤΩ
 ΖΙΤΕΖΗ ΗΠΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΗΩΤΕΖΟ ΤΧΩΡΑ ΗΠΟΥ[Δ]ΗΕ.

towards the axial central figure. This figure with a huge head is placed between the Sun and the Moon, and I identify him with the Perfect Man.⁴⁷ These latter human figures glide on a double stream of light, interwoven from four red and three green threads. These left and right streams of light thus carry the clouds with the human figures on them towards their central goal, the Perfect Man, who is flanked by the Sun and the Moon.

Although the further process is not shown in the CP, it seems probable that they will arrive at their ultimate goal and become similar to those figures who are above the Moon and the Sun, where one can notice two groups of four human on both sides. These two groups of four share common clouds. Since in this section all other figures, except for the easily recognizable Mānī, are members of the divine pantheon, these alone can be human. Even if their clothes are not white, which we would expect from an elect (in the CP only Mānī has a white robe among the humans), their direct journey upwards to the Realm of Light does not allow any other interpretation,⁴⁸ therefore they are the righteous who attain the land of light.

The Coptic text above also mentions the Judge, who is easily identifiable with the figure on the right side of the upper part of Mount Sumeru and the lower part of the “snake-world”. Following the Chinese Ten Kings of Hell pictorial tradition, the Judge is seated behind a table and is flanked by two young people. Unlike the Sandōzu (Yamato Bunkakan) painting, where the building behind the judge has clouds simply because it follows the Ten Kings of Hell iconographical tradition,⁴⁹ in the CP the judge is indeed seated in the air above the horizon (though without clouds), which motif is amply attested in Coptic texts.⁵⁰ In sum, similarly to the *Kephalaia*, the Judge, the righteous people and their journey to the land of light are depicted in the CP.

Interestingly, the style used in the CP seems to follow the iconography of the Dunhuang Ten Kings of Hell tradition, and not the southeastern Ningbo style. The closest analogy I found is P. 2870, a Dunhuang manuscript.⁵¹ Since in this case we evidently have a very strong Buddhist influence on the iconography, one should not expect a complete parallelism with such a distant source as the Coptic one. In front of the Judge, one can perhaps observe the five light elements as five

47 Cf. YOSHIDA 2010, pp. 17a–b.

48 Theoretically they could be perfect auditors, since the *Kephalaia* (228,8–230,30) does mention this possibility, but in that case no elect would appear in the entire CP, which seems to be rather unlikely.

49 Cf. YOSHIDA 2010a, pp. 701–702.

50 *Psalms-book* 21,1–2; 22,12–13, *Kephalaia* 35,24–27; 80,29–32; 83,4–8, also implied in H393–400, cf. SUNDERMANN 1981, p. 115. n.6, YOSHIDA 2010, p. 12b.

51 KÓSA 2011a. P. 2870: ink on paper, 30x615,2 cm, La Bibliothèque nationale de France, Group B in ST. TEISER's (1994, p. 228) classification.

heads,⁵² some animals, and a naked human figure held by a monster guard, the latter two motifs, but not the heads, appearing in Buddhist judgment scenes as well.⁵³ Similarly to the Ten Kings paintings and the *Sandōzu* painting, nakedness in front of the judge symbolizes the state of the soul after death.⁵⁴

The next passage of the *Kephalaia* claims that the sinner also appears in front of the judge. “[You have] also drawn the sinner, how he shall die. [He] shall be [... / s]et before the Judge and tried [...] the dispenser of justice. And he is thrown into gehenna, where he shall wander for eternity.”⁵⁵ One can definitely see only one person in front of the judge, who might be equated with a man or a woman, since this figure pronouncedly has no sexual identity. This feature suggests that this figure can be anybody, a man or a woman, a Manichaeon or a “sinner”.⁵⁶ Therefore, if this naked human figure can indeed be equated with the human soul, as the Buddhist iconographical reading suggests (the demon guard always holds the person to be judged after death),⁵⁷ then he should represent the human soul in general. What the CP evidently describes as an aftermath of the judgment is, as mentioned above, the presence of elects ascending to the Realm of Light. In the following I will offer a preliminary interpretation of how the sinner’s fate is represented in the CP.

52 YOSHIDA 2010, p. 12b.

53 KÓSA 2011a.

54 The newly discovered painting on Mānī’s birth also features a naked child. This painting, however, evidently follows the iconographical tradition of the historical Buddha’s birth, and portrays Mānī not after death, but after birth.

55 GARDNER 1995, p. 242. *Kephalaia* 235,4–8: ἀκ|ζρεῖ ἀη ἰπρεϋϕῖναβε τρε ετεψαϋ-
μοϋ ψαϥ ..[...]/[σε]ρωϥ ἀρετϥ ριγερη ἡπκρητῆς ἡςεταχαϥ / πρεϥϕῖρεῖ
ηςεηαϥϥ ἀτγεεηηα τετεψαϥμαρε ηρη/τῆ ψα ἀηηε.

56 Cf. *Psalm-book* 157,31 (ALBERRY 1938, p. 157): “The judge is here, he judges each man”; *Kephalaia* 35,24–26 (GARDNER 1995, pp. 39–40): “...the second power whom Jesus summo[n]ed is the Gre[at Jud]ge, who gives judgement on all the souls [of] man-kind...”.

57 If we do not consider the otherwise evident Buddhist iconography, and interpret this scene in a pure Manichaeon context, then the naked person might in theory refer to one of the five possible reincarnations (*wuqu* 五趣 [H023, T051–052]): men, quadrupeds, birds, fish, creeping animals (CASADIO 1992, pp. 111–112, cf. JACKSON 1925, p. 251, p. 254, BOYCE 1954, p. 83), but then there would be nobody left to be judged (YOSHIDA 2010, p. 12b). However, since this scene evidently applies a Buddhist iconographical pattern, I think, this interpretation is not a possibility. Since the five/six paths of rebirth in the Ten Kings of Hell paintings are always depicted in the last court (the King who turns the wheel of the five paths, *wudao zhuanlun wang* 五道轉輪王) or the Kṣitigarbha (with ten kings) paintings, and since the CP judgment scene clearly depicts Yama with the karma mirror of the fifth court, the figures in front of the judge’s desk cannot be taken as potential forms of rebirth. On a more detailed analysis of this scene, see Kósa 2013.

Unlike the fate of elects, that of the (not perfect) auditors and the sinners seems to be similar at a first glance, since after an individual judgment, the members of both categories are subjected to reincarnation(s).⁵⁸ The difference between them is their final fate, sinners will ultimately go to hell. Strangely enough, the presence of hell in the CP is not evident. I presume that since hell is often associated with fire⁵⁹ and with the territory below where sinners are thrown,⁶⁰ and since below the firmaments there is only one set of fiery motifs, thus presently I tend to link this motif with hell. There are altogether thirteen bestial, demonic heads beyond the four continents and the water around them. These demons evidently have their body hidden under the level of the inhabited word around Mount Sumeru, thus they belong to some kind of underground sphere, though their relation with the eight earths is not clear. The most conspicuous feature of these demonic beasts is the huge flame of fire emitted from their open mouth. Six of these demonic mouths are positioned under the judgment scene. They direct their gaze and their mouth full of fire upwards like

58 CASADIO 1992, p. 111.

59 E.g. *Kephalaia* 223,5–9 (GARDNER 1995, p. 230): “It is their [the sinners’, GK] own deeds that shall condemn them and cast them in the gehenna of burning”; H406–408: “We only wish that the two great luminaries, the fivefold law-body, the pure teacher-elect with the power of great compassion would rescue that soul, and make him leave the cycle of rebirths, the solidified bodies, and all the hells, the boiling cauldrons and the blaze of furnaces” 唯願二大光明，五分法身，清淨師僧，大慈悲力，救拔彼性，令離輪迴，剛強之體及諸地獄，鑊湯爐炭；TM 140a/R/4–7 (LE COQ 1922, p. 6 [a similar on p.7], JACKSON 1925, p. 250. n.16): “Since they have not known the beneficent God, they will writhe (?) and burn in Hell”; *Acta Archelai* XI.2 (VERMES/LIEU 2001, p. 55, cf. p.158): “If a soul has gone forth which has not understood the truth, it is handed over the demons to tame it in hell-fire, and after it has been seized, it is transferred into other bodies to be tamed, and then it is thrown in that great fire until the final reckoning”; Photius (Bibl. 179) (JACKSON 1925, p. 260): “...and consigning (ultimately) to fire and darkness those Sinners who have reached the utmost point of wickedness”.

60 H053: “...never throw us into the mouth of demons” (更勿拋擲諸魔口); *Traité* (cols. 129–130): “After his life is finished, the Old Man in him [the elect] with all the lightless, dark force with weapons will fall into the hell, and will never escape from there” 命終已後，其彼故人及以兵眾无明暗力墮於地獄，无有出期。

beasts waiting for their food. I surmise that these fiery mouths are the symbols of the gates of hell,⁶¹ and this is the place where the sinners' soul might be thrown.⁶²

As for the fate of the auditors (*Kephalaia* 235,9–31), it is almost definitely not depicted in detail in the CP.⁶³ Even if on the viewer's left of the snake-world, there are four kinds of auditors portrayed as seated on a red cloud and listening to a preaching Mānī,⁶⁴ nevertheless, this group of four cannot denote a successive chain of *metempsychosis*,⁶⁵ to which the inquirer in the *Kephalaia* refers.

In sum, the CP evidently depicts the fate of the righteous (ascent to the Realm of Light on clouds) and the Righteous Judge. It most probably indicates the possible fate of the sinner (demonic monsters with flames below as the mouths/gates of hell), and does not depict in detail the fate of the auditors. Thus, all three statements of the *Kephalaia* about the *Eikōn* seem to be also valid for the CP.

61 Cf. H053: “Never separate us from the flow of the righteous teaching, never throw us into the mouth of demons” 更勿斷絕正法流，更勿拋擲諸魔口；H077: “Increase my memory in every hour, remove the demon-mouths which are able to swallow, if you remove the demon-mouths which are able to swallow, I will forever be remote from the evil-doing, greedy and ... Demon(ess)” 一切時中增記念，令離能吞諸魔口；令離能吞諸魔口，永隔惡業貪口魔；H023: “all demonic mouths of the ten directions” 十方諸魔口；H026: “The gates of all hells, the roads of all rebirths, in vain do they agitate against the eternally established nirvāna king, in the end they will be burnt and imprisoned in the eternal hell” 一切地獄之門戶，一切輪迴之道路，徒搖常住涅槃王，竟被焚燒囚永獄。The expression ‘eternal hell’ (*yongyu* 永獄) in the last citation refers to the *bōlos*, cf. H100.

62 Since among the snakes in the snake-world, there are only two which have the lower part of a naked person in their mouth, it cannot be excluded that they, in fact, do not devour, but spit out these naked figures, who are rather similar to the one in front of the Judge.

63 There is an Uighur fragment which links the fate of the auditors with the Zodiac: “The Auditors are not all alike, one to another... And the ascending of their souls to the Zodiac, the transforming, and their changing into another body – their ascent and descent is not a single change...” (JACKSON 1925, p. 265, CASADIO 1992, p. 116, cf. revolving and returning used in connection with both the Zodiac and the rebirths, JACKSON 1925, p. 262. n.64). This passage, which interestingly also mentions the variegated fates of the auditors, might be in theory linked with the snake-world and the Zodiac in the CP. Nevertheless, even in this case the various fates of the auditors are not depicted, since these changes occur within the snakes, imperceptible to the observer of the CP.

64 YOSHIDA 2010, pp. 12b–13a.

65 These four figures cannot be exactly equated with the four possible paths of reincarnation depicted in the Sandōzu painting, which clearly reflect the four Chinese social classes and which might denote a successive chain of reincarnations, see KÓSA 2013a.

II. Evidence in Support of the Translation Theory

II.1. Precise Information in the Cosmology Painting

In his lecture at the 7th International Conference of Manichaeic Studies (Dublin, Sept. 8–12, 2009), Y. YOSHIDA listed some important motifs in the CP which he considered as evidence of the close relation between the CP and the *Eikōn*. He elaborated on these motifs in his seminal paper on the CP.⁶⁶

Here I have divided the various motifs, which include Y. YOSHIDA's list and some further ones, into two categories: 1. Motifs of widespread religious ideas; 2. Motifs of relatively rare religious ideas. The first group comprises motifs which reflect concepts that were widespread across the Manichaeic world, while the second category contains motifs which represent ideas that have been preserved in a restricted group of writings (e.g. only in the Coptic texts) or which are recorded only in few texts (even if they are distant ones). Although I am well aware of the *argumentum e silentio* fallacy, nevertheless, I consider the second group as an important factor for identifying the origin of the CP.

Naturally, all these motifs require a thorough iconographical research accompanied by the study of the parallel written sources. For the first category, I will not cite the relevant written passages since they are well known and will not be used in my argument. As for the second category, I will give a brief description of the visual motif, and complement it with some references to the written records or to the secondary literature which has already analyzed that particular concept. Needless to say, neither the lists, nor the references to the primary sources and the secondary literature are intended to be exhaustive.

1. Motifs of Widespread Religious Ideas

1.1. THE FATHER OF GREATNESS WITH THE TWELVE AEONS.⁶⁷ In the middle of the uppermost section of the CP, one can spot the Father of Greatness seated on a lotus throne. He is flanked by twelve standing figures, six on his both sides. These twelve figures all have a differing set of color halo and clothing. This scene evidently portrays the Father of Greatness flanked by the Twelve Aeons.

1.2. THE FATHER OF GREATNESS WITH HIS FOUR FACES/ATTRIBUTES.⁶⁸ In the same section, on the viewer's right side, there are four seated figures with green halo. They wear diverse clothing and hold various attributes in their hands. This tetrad

⁶⁶ YOSHIDA 2010.

⁶⁷ YOSHIDA 2010, p. 15b.

⁶⁸ YOSHIDA 2010, p. 16a.

not far from the Father of Greatness obviously represents the four faces of the Father.

1.3. SUN, MOON AND THE PERFECT MAN.⁶⁹ Below the Realm of Light and above the ten firmaments, three motifs appear. There is a white circle on the left, a red circle on the right, with several figures inside, and between them there is a gigantic head with a huge green halo and an upper body consisting of red and green streams of light. These three motifs can be equated with the Moon (white circle), the Sun (red circle), and, in my interpretation, the Perfect Man (the huge human figure).

1.4. STREAMS OF LIGHT ASCENDING TO THE REALM OF LIGHT.⁷⁰ Originating from the left and the right side of the tenth firmament, two slightly curving streams, both comprising red and green threads, provide the link between the firmaments and the Perfect Man. It can be demonstrated that red and green are recurrently used to express light-nature.

1.5. TEN FIRMAMENTS.⁷¹ At least one quarter of the entire painting is occupied by ten vaults with ca. 150 figures among them. These ten vaults below the Realm of Light evidently symbolize the Ten Firmaments.

1.6. EIGHT EARTHS.⁷² At the bottom of the painting, one can perceive eight equal, horizontal stripes with ca. 50 demonic and animal figures, while there is a higher strip placed between the fifth and the sixth earth (from the bottom) which features three further scenes. These stripes are obviously to be identified with the Manichaean eight earths.

2. Motifs of Relatively Rare Religious Ideas

2.1. THE ORIENTATION OF THE REALM OF LIGHT. The floor of the Realm of Light in the uppermost section is shown as alternating red and green parquetry (most probably a Pure Land motif); it occupies three directions and it is open to the viewer. Below this color floor, an apparently infinite, deep blue space is depicted. Although this arrangement is not alien to the depiction of Pure Land paradises, it cannot be excluded that this orientation of the Realm of Light can be paralleled with the infinite nature of the Realm of Light in certain, but not all, directions.

69 YOSHIDA 2010, pp. 8a–9a, 17.

70 YOSHIDA 2009, 2010, p. 17a.

71 YOSHIDA 2009, 2010, p. 6b–7a.

72 YOSHIDA 2009, 2010, pp. 11a–12a.

This concept has been abundantly recorded in the secondary Western sources, but it was most probably not widespread in the East.⁷³

2.2. THE FIGURES IN THE SUN AND THE MOON: THREE-THREE DEITIES, FIVE LIGHT-GATHERERS, SEVEN AND TWELVE SHIP-MASTERS.⁷⁴ The Sun and the Moon, already mentioned above, contain several figures: both have Mānī with *añjali mudrā* looking slightly upwards with two attendants standing behind him. Both the Sun and the Moon have three heads traveling on clouds (these latter ones represent the light particles). Here I will concentrate on the other figures. In the upper half of the Moon and the Sun, three figures are seated on lotus thrones, all having halo around their head. The special combination of the colors of the haloes and the clothing make all the six figures unique. Under these figures in the Moon and the Sun, against a dark and a white background, respectively, two groups of five small figures are placed, whose head and upper body are only visible. Below them there are seven (Moon) and twelve (Sun) further small figures again with the same visible parts. In the bottom part of the Moon fourteen streams of light enter fourteen gates, while in the Sun twelve streams of light pour through twelve gates.⁷⁵ Y. YOSHIDA identified these figures as the two groups of three deities each residing in the two luminaries, the five light-gatherers, the seven and twelve ship-masters, and the twelve and fourteen gates.⁷⁶ Besides these extremely precise pieces of information, what is especially interesting here is, I think, that we do not possess any published written text which would contain all these data together. The Middle Persian M98/I/R mentions the majority of the data;⁷⁷ nevertheless, this source does not refer to the ship-masters. In the Chinese sources, we have “the seven great ship-masters”,⁷⁸ the “twelve ship-masters”⁷⁹ and the “five light-gatherers”⁸⁰ (or “five light-gathering envoys”)⁸¹, but there are no references to the twelve and fourteen gates. The Uighur sources also mention “the seven (...) and the twelve helmsmen gods”,⁸² while the *Acta Archelai* mentions

73 BENNETT 2001, cf. MACKENZIE 1979, p. 529. n.186. Also see Sa’adya ben Joseph’s description (REEVES 2011, pp. 134–135).

74 YOSHIDA 2009, 2010, pp. 8a–9a.

75 These gates are basically similar to those in the ten firmaments: red structure with a golden roof.

76 YOSHIDA 2009.

77 KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 226: “Moon god (...) with fourteen gates, five houses, three thrones, and five angels who collect souls”, “Sun (...) with twelve gates, five houses, three thrones and five angels who collect souls.”

78 H127: 七 (...) 大船主.

79 H362: 十二船主.

80 H362: 五收明.

81 H371: 五收明使.

82 TM140+147 (VAN TONGERLOO 1997, p. 367).

only the latter one.⁸³ Naturally, it is possible that these pieces of information appear together in unpublished material, or that such a text is simply lost forever. Nevertheless, it is interesting that, to my knowledge, none of the presently available texts offers these data together, while all these motifs are depicted clearly in the Cosmology painting from 14–15th century southeastern China.

2.3. SPLENDITENENS GRASPING THE COSMOS WITH HIS HANDS. In a recent study, I made an attempt to demonstrate that the figure standing below the Perfect Man can be equated with Splenditenens. One of my arguments was that several, especially Western, sources specify that Splenditenens holds the universe and the five elements in his hand, a detail clearly visible in the CP.⁸⁴

2.4. REX HONORIS IN THE SEVENTH FIRMAMENT FLANKED BY ANGELS.⁸⁵ On the left part of the seventh firmament one sees a seated Rex Honoris, flanked by two groups of four soldiers, one on each side. The same motif appears in Augustine's description: "...and the other, the King of Honour, surrounded by armies of angels".⁸⁶ As Y. YOSHIDA has demonstrated, angels are represented as warriors in the CP,⁸⁷ a feature also present in Augustine's remark. Unlike Adamas, these armored figures seem to be riding warriors (without a horse),⁸⁸ which interpretation might suggest that they, in contrast to the equally armored Adamas stationed at a designated place, cover long distances at a high speed. At a metaphorical level these features are indeed characteristic of angels.

2.5. REX HONORIS IN THE SEVENTH FIRMAMENT AND THE MIRROR WITH TWELVE FACES.⁸⁹ On the right side of the seventh firmament, there is another Rex Honoris depicted with a large disc in front of him. This circle has twelve human heads in the outer annulus. The famous M178/II clearly states that the function of this lens is to detect imminent dangers caused by the demons in the firmaments,⁹⁰ and a similar notion is present in the *Psalm-book*.⁹¹ The Xiapu 霞浦 (Fujian) material, this new set of Manichaean material published by CHEN JINGUO 陈进国 /

83 *Acta Archelai* XIII: "the twelve helmsmen" (duodecim gubernatores, οἱ δώδεκα κυβερνήται).

84 KÓSA 2012.

85 YOSHIDA 2010, p. 7a.

86 *Contra Faustum* XV,6: et alterum regem honoris, Angelorum exercitibus circumdatum.

87 YOSHIDA 2011.

88 I thank ULF JÄGER for this suggestion (private communication, March 14, 2012).

89 YOSHIDA 2009, 2010, p. 7a.

90 HENNING 1947–48, p. 312: "Thereunder they formed ten Firmaments, set up one magic twelve-faced Lens. There they seated a Son of God as watcher, so that in all the ten Firmaments the demons could do no harm."

91 *Psalm-book* 2,9–11: "The King of Honour, the strong God, who is in the seventh heaven, judging the demons, the creatures of abyss(?)."

LIN JUN 林均 in 2009,⁹² offers an even more detailed description of the functions of the lens: “In this [seventh, GK] firmament, there is a jewelled mirror with twelve faces: the upper face observes the *nirvāṇa* [the Realm of Light], the lower face reflects the netherworld, and the ten (remaining) faces inspect⁹³ the various hidden rebellious acts in the ten firmaments.”⁹⁴ The double depiction of Rex Honoris in the CP probably means that he has two important functions: detecting the evil in the firmaments, and sending angels to fight with them.⁹⁵ None of the other four sons of the Living Spirit has such a double representation in the CP.

2.6. ZODIAC HELD BY TWO FIGURES, WITH DEMONS INSIDE.⁹⁶ In the first firmament, placed in the axis of the painting, a circle of the Zodiac is held by two figures. On the left, an angelic warrior, similar to those around Rex Honoris, is depicted, while on the right side, a divine figure holds the Zodiac. In the inner part of the Zodiac one can spot five demonic heads. Below the Zodiac, suspended from the lowest firmament, there is an oval-shaped structure of intertwined snakes (“the snake-world”), which also contains Zodiacal signs. This depiction has an excellent parallel in M178:

“Then, below the ten Firmaments, they fashioned a rolling wheel and (*sic*) zodiac. Within the zodiac they fettered those of the demons of Darkness that were the most iniquitous, vicious, and rebellious. The twelve constellations (signs) and the seven planets they made rulers over the whole Mixed World, and set them in opposition to each other. From all the demons that had been imprisoned in the zodiac they wove to and fro the roots, veins, and links. In the lowest Firmament they bored a hole and suspended the zodiac from it. Two Sons of God were placed by them (there) as watchers, so as to . . . the Superior Wheel continually.”⁹⁷

2.7. FORTY ANGELS SUPPORTING THE FIRMAMENTS.⁹⁸ At both ends of each firmament, there stands a pair of figures, wearing green and blue garment on the left

92 CHEN/LIN 2009.

93 The character *jian* 鑒 can mean both “to inspect, to scrutinize” and “to reflect”.

94 CHEN/LIN 2009, p. 379: 此天内有十二面寶鏡，上面觀於涅槃，下面照於陰司地府，十面鑒於十天諸庇背叛等事。 *Mian* 面 could also be translated as ‘side’, which would be more logical in this context, but I followed the mirror with twelve faces (also *mian* 面) in the CP, even if it must be noted that the mirror in the CP does not “reflect” the division of functions mentioned in the Xiapu document, since it does not have a distinguished upper or lower face. This seems to be a further evidence that the Xiapu material and the CP are not directly related (for another case, see KÓSA 2011, p. 23. n. 15).

95 Y. YOSHIDA (2010, p. 29b. n.22) links this function with the imprisoned demon in the sixth firmament.

96 YOSHIDA 2010, pp. 7a–8a.

97 HENNING 1947–48, p. 313.

98 YOSHIDA 2009, 2010, p. 6b.

side, and red and white ones on the right side. All the forty figures use one of their hands (the left hand on the left side, and the right hand on the right side) to support the firmament above them. These forty angels are relatively seldom mentioned in the original Manichaean sources.

“And we evoke the forty envoys [angels] with great strength, and also the seven firm and adorned pillars, the realm of firmaments one by one are upheld by them...”⁹⁹

“Furthermore he (sic) [the Living Spirit, GK] evoked (created) forty angels, who hold the ten Firmaments upraised.”¹⁰⁰

“And in the four regions (the directions) he set up four angels that hold the lowest firmament(s) corresponding to and clad like the upper ones.”¹⁰¹

2.8. TEN FIRMAMENTS WITH TWELVE GATES EACH.¹⁰² The ten firmaments are alternately colored green and deep blue, which probably refers to their being moulded from the mixture of light and darkness. Each firmament also features twelve gates, symmetrically arranged as two groups of six on each side.¹⁰³ Each gate has a red lower structure, a golden roof, and streams of light (i.a. green, red and white) flowing through them.

2.9. ADAMAS KILLS A DEMON.¹⁰⁴ Under the left side of the Mount Sumeru, a warrior figure, holding a shield in his left hand, steps close to the thighs and the breast of an already vanquished monster lying on its back (Fig. 1.). This scene can be paralleled with bar Kōnī’s¹⁰⁵ and Augustine’s¹⁰⁶ description of Adamas. Even though the gesture of Adamas in the CP seems to be similar to a warrior stabbing with a spear (cf. “dextra hastam tenentem”), in fact, he has nothing in his right hand, though a trident without the shaft seems to be stabbed into the monster

99 H134: 復啟四十大力使，并七堅固庄嚴柱，一一天界自扶持...

100 M178/II/R/83–85 (HENNING 1947–48, p. 312, cf. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 236).

101 M99/I/V/12–16, trans. KLIMKEIT 1993, pp. 226–227, cf. JACKSON 1965c, p. 37. HUTTER 1992, p. 16. This reference does not explicitly mention the forty angels, but indirectly refers to them.

102 YOSHIDA 2009, 2010, p. 6b.

103 *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (DODGE 1970, p. 781): “For each heaven he made twelve gates and vestibules, large and broad.” M178/II/R/85–87, 93–96 (HENNING 1947–48, pp. 312–313): “In each firmament they fashioned twelve gates (...) To each of the twelve Gates that exist in each of the Firmaments they constructed six Thresholds...”

104 YOSHIDA 2009, 2010, p. 11a; ULF JÄGER (email correspondence, February and March, 2012).

105 “The Adamas of Light was sent against her [the monster, GK]. He fought with her, and vanquished her, turned her on her back, struck her with (his) spear in her heart, pushed his shield upon her mouth, and placed one of his feet upon her thighs and the other upon her breast” (JACKSON/JOHANNAN 1965, p. 247).

106 “And the other, the belligerent hero Adamas, holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left.” (Trans. JACKSON 1965a, p. 300). *Contra Faustum* XV,6: “... et alterum Adamantem heroam belligerum, dextra hastam tenentem et sinistra clipeum.”

under him.¹⁰⁷ Based on some characteristics of the Adamas figure (asymmetric posture, the armor, the demon at the feet, the flame-like fluttering “ribbon” around the head), I assume that the figure of Adamas was slightly modified by the iconographical tradition of Vaiśravaṇa (Pishamen 毘沙門, Duowentian 多聞天), who is usually depicted as clad in complete armour, sometimes with a trident (*triśūla*),¹⁰⁸ often trampling on his demonic victim, and is definitely the most important among the four heavenly kings (*lokapāla*, *mahārāja*, *tianwang* 天王).¹⁰⁹ What is even more important, Vaiśravaṇa is the governor of the northern continent (Uttarakuru) at Mount Sumeru,¹¹⁰ which fact interestingly coincides with the reference in the Manichaean sources to the northern part of the world where Adamas is sent.¹¹¹

107 Above the trident one can spot some red motif which might be the red tassel usually attached to the shaft of this kind of weapons (I thank ULF JÄGER for this idea). On a trident of this kind in an Esoteric Buddhist context, see e.g.: “On each flower [on the dhāraṇī sheet, GK] draw a trident; on the tridents further [draw] tied ribbons of silk” (COPP 2008, p. 243).

108 SOYMIÉ 1999, p. 33, LOKESH 2004, pp. 3834, 3867–3870. With a modified trident-like halberd: PENG 2003, p. 114. Fig. 87. Cave 14 (southern wall), Mogao, Late Tang; PENG 2003, p. 148. Fig. 125. Cave 9 (corridor), Mogao, Late Tang. Japanese artefacts depicting Vaiśravaṇa with a trident (both at <http://huntington.wmc.ohio-state.edu>): Tōshō-dai-ji 唐招提寺, Nara, wood, 8th century; Tō-ji 東寺, Kyoto, wood, 9–10th centuries.

109 SØRENSEN 2011, p. 116: “The Vaiśravaṇa cult attained great prominence during the mid- to late Tang, evident both in the surviving paintings from Dunhuang and in numerous sculptures found at many sites scattered throughout Sichuan.” It must be added that Vaiśravaṇa usually holds a miniature *stūpa* in his left hand, not a shield (SOYMIÉ 1999, p. 30, LOKESH 2004, p. 3834).

110 LOKESH 2004, p. 3834. It should be added that this interpretation can hardly be reconciled with the information in the Xiapu material about the four heavenly kings being the four angels, see later.

111 M7981/I/18–31 (ASMUSSEN 1975, pp. 124–125; cf. KLIMKEIT 1993, p. 228, HUTTER 1992, pp. 40–41): “Then Mihryazd sent out from (amongst) those five gods (i.e. his five sons) of his own evocation that one Four-formed God (i.e. Light-Adamas) that stretched out this Mazan (monster, GK) over the whole north from east to west in the northern district, thrust his foot into him and threw him down and stood upon him, so that he could not sin in the world.” *Kephalaia* 137,1–4 (GARDNER 1995, p. 144): “They immediately sent against it the Adamant of Light, the great ‘instruction of vigour’. He humbled it in the districts of the north. He has trampled underfoot and set himself upon it, until the end of the world.”



Fig. 1. Adamas conquering a demon.

2.10. DEMONS IMPRISONED IN THE HEAVENS.¹¹² Demons are present in nine firmaments,¹¹³ it is only the seventh one where there are no demonic figures. This is probably due to the notion that Rex Honoris, who dwells in the seventh firmament, is associated with the surveillance over the potential demonic threats, for which he uses his lens with twelve faces (see 2.5. above). The kneeling position of these demons suggests a definite submission. Moreover, though it is difficult to discern, similarly to the demons in the four upper earths, these demonic figures in the firmaments also have circle-shaped “light-wristlets” or “light-handcuffs” around their wrists, which refers to their restrained, enchained status. Among the twenty demons there is only one which is conspicuously enclosed in a fenced space in the sixth firmament. We do have some written witnesses for the vanquished demons in the firmaments.

“Then the Living Spirit created the world (...) brought up the archons and crucified them in the firmament, which is their body, the sphere.”¹¹⁴

112 YOSHIDA 2009.

113 The number of the demons in the firmaments is as follows (firmament: demon): 1st: one, 2nd: three, 3rd: two, 4th: one, 5th: seven, 6th: two, 8th: two, 9th: two.

114 *Acta Archelai VIII* (VERMES/LIEU 2001, p. 155, cf. pp. 48–49).

“They caution their same hearers, furthermore, when they eat meat, not to kill the animals, to avoid offending the princes of darkness who are bound in the celestials [principes tenebrarum in caelestibus colligatos].”¹¹⁵

2.11. DEMONS IMPRISONED IN THE EARTHS.¹¹⁶ In addition to the many consistent details, sometimes there seems to be contradiction between the visual and the textual information. In the upper four earths of the CP, there are twenty demons enchained, five in each earth. Since in the lower four earths, there are animals (fish, four-legged animals, snakes, and birds) imprisoned, the CP evidently contradicts the *Šābuhraḡān*, as the latter places the demons in the lower earths.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the painter of the CP still knew that the eight earths, which are otherwise divided into a group of three and five because of the wide strip between the fifth and the sixth earths, contain four earths which are prisons for the demons.¹¹⁸ Unlike all other demons in the CP, these naked demonic figures are lying prone, they also have shackles, indicated as a ring of light on their ankles and their wrists, therefore the word prison (*bn*) used in the *Šābuhraḡān* is indeed an appropriate term for their condition. Interestingly, the animals in the lower four earth also have these “light-shackles”: the first fish in all five groups of three fish has a circle-shaped hook in its mouth, the four-legged animals have the rings on their legs, the five groups of entwined snakes are bundled up with two rope-like rings each, while the fowls wear these light-rings around their neck (Fig. 2.).

115 *De haeresibus* 46.12, GARDNER/LIEU 2004, p. 190. Cf. *Contra Faustum* VI,8.

116 YOSHIDA 2010, p. 14a.

117 “Then the earths will all, one upon the other, collapse down onto those four (lower) layers, the prison of the demons” (*Šābuhraḡān*, lines 227–229, MACKENZIE 1979, pp. 512–513); “Then the ten heavens (...) and the four (lower) layers [*nyr’myšn*, GK], prison [of the demons], and the four (upper) earths [*zmyg*, GK]... (*Šābuhraḡān*, lines 258, 263–264, MACKENZIE 1979, pp. 514–515). In the second case (M535/R/23/), the second part of ‘prison of demons’ (*bn ‘y dyw’n*) was inserted by MACKENZIE, but in the first instance, the manuscript (M472/I/V/11/) does have the entire expression. M7984/II/R/i/8–9 also links the same expression with *nyr’myšn* (HUTTER 1992, p. 26, p. 29).

118 One might wonder if this apparent contradiction was not simply caused by confounding the meanings of the words *zmyg* and *nyr’myšn*.



Fig. 2. Demons and animals enchained with “light-rings” in the lower five earths with the Three Wheels in the upper part.

2.12. **GLORIOSUS REX AND ATLAS.** In the lower register of the CP, on the fifth earth from below, there are three scenes. On the viewer’s right side one can see *Gloriosus Rex* with the Three Wheels in front of him.¹¹⁹ In the middle, a rather damaged *Atlas* can be spotted. In a recent paper, I attempted to demonstrate that the position of *Atlas* in the painting and, more specifically, his posture, the role of his knees, shoulders, hands and feet, as well as the columns around him, can be interpreted in the light of the Western, rather than the Chinese, Manichaean material.¹²⁰

2.13. **PRIMAL MAN.** The third scene on the viewer’s left side on the fifth earth portrays three figures: two deities with a red and a green halo face an almost naked figure with a loincloth-like object which seems to consist of three brown leaf-shaped units. Based on MIK III 4959 V, this scene was hypothetically inter-

119 YOSHIDA 2010, p. 17b.

120 KÓSA 2012.

preted by Y. YOSHIDA as a possible depiction of the fate of the sinners.¹²¹ Here I would like to advance an alternative reading of this scene. Since both divine figures on the viewer's left, who are clad like others in the Realm of Light and the firmaments above, keep their hands in *añjali mudrā* towards the almost naked person who also shows the same gesture towards them, thus they express mutual reverence and greeting. This gesture, I think, excludes the possibility that the naked person is a sinner who was judged and sent to hell. Irrespective of whether humans or divine figures perform it, *añjali mudrā* is invariably applied in the CP to express reverence and/or greeting.¹²² Besides, there is nothing which would indicate that the space between the fifth and sixth earth could be equated with hell. This means that the naked figure, whom the two divine figures greet, cannot be inferior or inimical to them. If we consider this aspect, the situation might remind us of the major Manichaean cosmogonical event where a figure without clothes meets two other deities in the depth: after the Primal Man lost his clothes and armor, he had been already rescued from the Darkness, but was not yet led up by the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit (Fig. 3.).¹²³ Here, I suspect, the Primal Man is depicted as someone who had been basically deprived of his armor, and who is welcoming the two divinities arriving for his rescue. The latter ones also express their reverence towards the Primal Man who has fulfilled one of the most important missions in Manichaean cosmogony.¹²⁴ I interpret what the Primal Man wears as the leather underwear of the lower part of his armour, which in its triple structure precisely resembles the same part of the warriors' armour in both the Cosmology and the Birth of Mānī paintings.¹²⁵ If this interpretation is correct, then this motif would suggest a figure who was stripped of his armour almost completely. Moreover, it is perhaps not a mere coincidence that the Three Wheels, which purify the elements, and Atlas, who holds the world ultimately created to purify the elements, are placed on the same fifth earth where the Primal Man appears without his armor (his sons, i.e. the

121 YOSHIDA 2010, p. 14b.

122 See, for example, the twenty five divine figures in the Realm of Light who evidently revere the Father of Greatness, or the twelve and seven attendants in the first firmament who also revere the respective deity in front of them. Mānī, followed by two attendants, also expresses respect with the same *mudrā* towards the deities in the Sun and the Moon, the Virgin of Light or the Righteous Judge. In the case of the inhabitants of the four continents, the kneeling humans express reverence, while the deities arriving on clouds express greeting with this *mudrā*.

123 JACKSON 1965b, pp. 258–259.

124 JACKSON 1965b, BEDUHN 2005, pp. 9–12. For another identification of the Primal Man, see YOSHIDA 2010, p. 30. n.39.

125 I thank ULF JÄGER who reassured me that my interpretation is a possibility (private communication, March 28, 2012).

light elements).¹²⁶ Thus the loss of light and the way of rescue would be simultaneously depicted side by side.



Fig. 3. Two rescuing deities and the Primal Man greet each other on the fifth earth.

II.2. Evidence for a Chinese Remake

There are two further questions to be briefly mentioned. In the previous part I argued that the comparison of the CP with the information on the *Eikōn*, and the examination of the relatively rare motifs in the CP altogether make it highly probable that the CP can be, through a single or, even more probably, multiple iconographical translation process, traced back to the *Eikōn*. In order to prove that the CP is ultimately the Chinese translation of the *Eikōn*, one must naturally establish two further points: the CP is a Chinese painting, and that such a survival of the *Eikōn*, or a part of it, in the form of a Chinese painting, is possible.

I will touch upon these two questions only briefly. The Chinese nature of the CP is rather straightforward. Even if the CP as a whole is not similar to any

¹²⁶ See e.g. *al-Fihrist* (DODGE 1970, p. 779): “The Primal Man clad himself with five principles, which are the five deities, zephyr, wind, light, water, and fire. He took them as armament.” *Kephalaia* 148,24–25 (GARDNER 1995, p. 156): “The garments, the sons of the First Man, wept bitterly three times.” The rescue of the Primal Man by the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life, the creation of the firmaments and the earths, the role of the Primal Man’s and the Living Spirit’s five-five sons, and the goal of the entire creation are succinctly summarized, for example, in the Chinese Manichaean *Traité* (cols. 008–021).

particular Chinese painting, it does have several typically Buddhist, more specifically, Chinese Buddhist motifs:

1. All the divine figures are depicted as buddhas, usually with a halo, often sitting on a lotus throne;
2. Most of the divine figures are depicted with various Buddhist mudrās, the most typical one being the *añjali mudrā*;
3. Divine and human figures wear Chinese robes often with motifs known from other Chinese paintings. Besides the divine figures, demons are also depicted in a Chinese fashion: they are practically naked and have dishevelled hair;
4. Clouds depicted in the CP bear stylistic similarities to clouds in Chinese Buddhist paintings;
5. Houses and gates depicted in the CP bear the characteristics of Chinese architecture;
6. The Mount Sumeru and the four continents around it in the lower register of the CP basically follow a Chinese pattern;
7. The judgment scene in the middle right of the CP, as mentioned before, also goes back to a Chinese *Vorlage*.

Based on these characteristics and further art historical parallels, Furukawa Shoichi 古川 攝一, an art historian and curator of the Yamato Bunkakan (Yamato Museum), identified a more specific date and place of origin: late Yuan or early Ming dynasty in southeastern China.¹²⁷ Even if the question described in the preceding passages is obvious, it is nevertheless an obligatory logical step towards identifying the CP as the Chinese translation of the *Eikōn*.

A further point might be the probability of survival, more specifically, the probability that a very early Manichaean tradition survived in 14–15th century southeastern China. In this case, naturally, we face a simple fact: this particular painting did survive. On the other hand, any further similar case naturally supports (though does not, of course, prove) the ancient roots of the CP. In recent years, fortunately, several southeastern Chinese Manichaean paintings have been identified. Besides the CP, presently there are eight such paintings: the Yamato Bunkakan painting (Rokudōzu or Sandōzu); the Seiunji image; two paintings of the Realm of Light (which originally belong together); the so-called Kokka painting; two missionary paintings, and the Birth of Mānī scene.¹²⁸ These new paintings ultimately all derive from Song, Yuan or early Ming southeastern Chi-

127 FURUKAWA 2010.

128 See KÓSA 2011.

na (though they are presently all in Japan). Most of them seem to contain genuine Manichaean material, thus corroborating the possibility of such a survival.

A further case in point is the Xiapu 霞浦 (Fujian) material published in 2009. The discovery, which includes a great amount of textual and some visual remains, is especially important because it comes from southeastern China, ultimately also the place of origin of all new paintings presently in Japan. Even more interestingly, the manuscripts, preserved as a family heritage, derive from the 19–20th centuries. Though the textual material seems to be highly sinicized, much more than the CP, nevertheless, sometimes it contains surprisingly early material, here I briefly mention two cases.

The text ‘Praising the heavenly kings’ (*Zan tianwang* 贊天王) contains the following phrase: “As for the King of Ten Heavens, his Iranian name is Asamansha. (...) He dwells in the seventh heaven, resides in a great palace, controls the good and bad deeds of the ten heavens”.¹²⁹ It is clear from the reference to the seventh heaven that Asamansha 阿薩漫沙 is to be identified with Rex Honoris.¹³⁰ Since transcribed ‘a’ 阿, except for prothetic ‘a’ before foreign ‘r’,¹³¹ is the equivalent of foreign *a* or *ā* (’),¹³² the most probable *Vorlage* of Asamansha 阿薩漫沙 is the hitherto unattested Parthian *’sm’n s’h* [asmān šāh].¹³³ The text then proceeds to describing that in this heaven there is a mirror with twelve faces or sides (mentioned above), with the help of which it is possible to discern evil uprisings.¹³⁴

After mentioning these possible uprisings, the same text records the Chinese transcription of three angels, called heavenly kings (*tianwang* 天王), who govern the various continents around Mount Sumeru by bringing peace whenever an uprising occurs: “The four heavenly kings govern the four worlds [continents]: the heavenly king Lufuyi [LMC: luə-ŋha`-jit 嚧嚧逸] governs the northern Ut-tarakuru [郁壇界], the heavenly king Mikeyi [LMC: mji-xa-jit 彌訶逸] rules the southern Jambudvīpa [閻浮提], the heavenly king Po/Suoluoyi 婆/娑囉逸 [LMC: sa-la-jit 娑囉逸] the western Aparagodānīya [瞿耶尼].” Ma Xiaohe convincingly equated the heavenly kings with Raphael [Pth. rwf’yl], Mikhael [MP. myx’yl, Pth. myh’yl, Sogd. myk’yl] and Sarael [MP/Pth sr’yl], respectively.¹³⁵

129 CHEN/LIN 2009, p. 379: 十天王者，梵名阿薩漫沙也。(…)住在第七天中，處在大殿，管於十天善惡之事。

130 Cf. Chinese *Shitiān wáng* 十天王 [H130], *Shitiān Dàwáng* 十天大王 [T110].

131 HALOUN/HENNING 1952, p. 207, YOSHIDA 1987, list No. 72–75, cf. YOSHIDA 1983, p. 330.

132 See YOSHIDA 1987, list No. 2–8, 10; MIKKELSEN 2006, p. 102.

133 Private correspondence with Y. YOSHIDA (Oct. 3., 2011), cf. MA 2010, pp. 123–124, KÓSA 2011, p. 23. n.15.

134 CHEN/LIN 2009, p. 379.

135 MA 2010.

The long-term survival of such details of the *Book of Giants* tradition with the exact names in a foreign and sometimes inimical surrounding is, I think, rather intriguing, and corroborates a similar possibility of survival of genuine, early pictorial works.

At a theoretical level, of course, one still cannot completely exclude the possibility that somebody in southeastern or northern China, without knowing the *Eikōn*, equipped with much more written material than what is now available, created the CP or a previous version of it. However, the probability of such a plot is, I think, extremely meagre for several reasons. First, we would have to hypothesize that this painter, or the person who ordered the painting, was in command of a minutely detailed knowledge of the Manichaean system solely from the written material. Based on this theoretical knowledge, without the *Eikōn* as a *Vorlage*, he would have had to create a synthesizing painting which comprises all information described above in a visually comprehensible manner. What is more, this person in China would have invented a pictorial method never seen in the history of Chinese painting. He would have combined the information of the ultimately Middle Iranian scriptures with the contemporary Buddhist iconography. Since the logic of the Chinese translation of the texts and the pictorial translation is different,¹³⁶ thus this person could evidently not rely solely on the Chinese Manichaean texts, even if they were more numerous than what is presently the case.

Although “translating” a sophisticated painting into a local, in this case Buddhist, pictorial imagery from an already existing original naturally also requires an exceptional talent; nevertheless, such an endeavour is still more conceivable than creating a completely new painting without a *Vorlage*.

Summary

In the first part of my paper I compared the CP with some scattered references to Mānī’s *Eikōn*. Here I summarize the results obtained in a chart.

	EIKŌN	COSMOLOGY PAINTING
1. SIZE	[probably big]	[relatively] big
2. FORMAT	scroll	scroll
3. PAINTED	Yes	Yes
4. COLORS	Yes	Yes
5. MORE THAN ONE IMAGE	Yes	[probably] Yes

¹³⁶ This aspect was treated in my talk in Göttingen, and will be published in a separate paper later on.

6. CONTENTS

6.1. TWO PRINCIPLES	Yes	Yes
6.2. BEAUTIFUL GODS	Yes	Yes
6.3. UGLY DEMONS	Yes	Yes
6.4. RIGHTEOUS JUDGE	Yes	Yes
6.5. FATE OF THE CHOSEN	Yes	Yes
6.6. FATE OF SINNERS	Yes	[probably] Yes
6.7. DETAILED FATE OF AUDITORS	No	[apparently] No
7. DIDACTIC AIM	Yes	[probably] Yes

In the second part of my paper I compared some details of the CP with information retrieved from textual sources. In this comparison, I heavily relied on Y. YOSHIDA's research, but also supplemented his list with further items (e.g. the arrangement of the Realm of Light, Splenditenens holding the cosmos). I also offered some new interpretations (e.g. Atlas, Splenditenens, Primal Man, the role of "light-shackles"), and added some observations from the Xiapu material.

There are several intriguing aspects of these parallels of the second group. The first is, of course, that these cosmogonical details scattered in diverse written sources are presented in a stylistically and iconographically unified painting, without any vestige of their deriving from variegated sources. The second fascinating aspect is that, in addition to the information also present in a restricted group of texts, the CP also provides us with details completely unheard of: the monster head on the shield of Adamas, the symbolic objects in the hand of Gloriosus Rex, the varied clothing of the forty angels supporting the firmaments, or the demons' "light-handcuffs", just to name a few, are, to my knowledge, not based on any available written sources. Nevertheless, they are blended so naturally into the entire iconography of the painting that it would be hard to imagine that they were not an integral part of it at a former phase (be it the *Eikōn* or another painting).

In this respect, the Cosmology painting as a whole is symbolically similar to the Manichaean system itself: even if we can detect numerous (or perhaps all) motifs as being parallel with certain previously known written sources or certain Buddhist iconographical elements (the latter will be the subject of another study), nevertheless, the Cosmology painting as a whole still offers a unified vision not seen elsewhere, without the least trace of being a stylistic, iconographical or religious patchwork. To put it in another way: despite the numerous, theoretically possible sources of origin of the different motifs, the Cosmology painting is not a syncretistic painting, but a unified vision of the Manichaean cosmos.

The comparison of the CP with the references to the *Eikōn*, the detailed information in the CP, coupled with the tradition of the importance of Mānī's

Eikōn, strongly suggest, though naturally do not prove, that the Cosmology painting was part of the sinicized version, i.e. the “Chinese translation”, of Mānī’s *Eikōn*. Various questions naturally remain: where and when did Manichaean missionaries “translate” it, how complex was the process until they arrived at the present version of the CP, and, related to the latter problem, how reliable is the CP? In the present paper I made an attempt to demonstrate that, despite the temporary and geographical distance from its supposed origin, the CP seems to be an exceptionally reliable, though not infallible, visual source for the Manichaean doctrine. If this is indeed true, the analysis of the Cosmology painting might open new vistas for the study of Manichaean visual, and even more, textual remains concerning Manichaean cosmogony and cosmology.

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