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The *Book of Giants* Tradition in the Chinese Manichaica¹

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The various lists of Mani's canonical writings include a work called the *Giants* or the *Book of Giants*: Coptic sources term it πχωμε π̄π̄βαλαυιρε² or πχωμε π̄π̄ριγας,³ while the Parthian and Middle Persian sources call it *Kw'n*.⁴ The phonetic transcription of the latter also appears in the Chinese *Compendium* (C64)

¹ The present paper is part of a research project which has been supported by the European Institutes for Advanced Study (EURIAS) Fellowship Programme (cohort 2014–15). My research project, entitled “A Comparative Analysis of Manichaean Texts and Paintings; New Discoveries from China and Japan (2006–12),” is conducted at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities, Cambridge. I also engage the topics expounded here in my papers on the figure of Rex Honoris (“Who is the King of Honour and What Does He Do? Gleanings from the New Chinese Manichaean Sources,” in *Memorial Volume in Honour of Werner Sundermann*, ed. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, forthcoming]) and on the imprisoned demons (“Imprisoned Evil Forces in the Textual and Visual Remains of Manichaeism,” in *Fontes. Studies Presented to Róbert Simon on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday [Tanulmányok a 75 éves Simon Róbert tiszteletére]*, ed. Monika Simon-Peshty [Budapest: Corvina, 2014], 64–87). I thank Yoshida Yutaka (Kyoto University) and Ma Xiaohe (Harvard University) for offering their comments on my paper.

² *Psalm-Book* 46.9. Translations of this text are from Charles R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book. Part II* (MMCBC 2; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938).

³ *Homilies* 25.3–4. See Hans Jakob Polotsky, ed., trans., *Manichäische Homilien* (MHSCB 1; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934), 25. A further example is τγραϛη π̄ριγας (*Hom.* 94.21–22). Concerning an apparently single exception in the Coptic *Kephalaia* (5.25: “the writing that I wrote on account of the Parthians”; τγραϛη εταϊσαρ̄ π̄πλαβε π̄παρθος), Pavel Lurje suggested the confusion of two meanings of the Persian word *phlw*(^ʿ*n*), meaning both “hero” and “Parthian.” See Enrico Morano, “New Research on Mani's Book of Giants,” in *Der östliche Manichäismus. Gattungs- und Werksgeschichte. Vorträge des Göttinger Symposiums vom 4./5. März 2010*, ed. Zekine Özertural and Jens Wilkens (AAWG 17; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 101–11 (101).

⁴ M5815/II/R/i/24. Middle Persian *k*(^ʿ)*w*'*n* (plural) is equivalent to Sogdian *kwyst*; Greek γίγαντες; Arabic *ḡabābira*; Coptic π̄ϣηρε π̄ριγας (a Semitic idiom for “giants”); Aramaic גבבאר̄ (*gabbārē*). See Werner Sundermann, “Mani's ‘Book of the Giants’ and the Jewish Books of Enoch: A Case of Terminological Differences and What It Implies,” in *Irano-Judaica III: Studies Relating to Jewish Contacts with Persian Culture Throughout the Ages*, ed. Shaul Shaked and Amnon Netzer (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1994), 40–48 (43–44).

as *Juhuan* 俱緩 [*kjū yuân*], translated as “warriors of great strength” (*dali shi* 大力士).⁵ The Arabic sources also invariably refer to the *Book of Giants*.⁶

This originally Syriac⁷ work of Mani, inspired by a narrative similar to the Jewish *Book of Giants* that was probably accessible to him in some version during his early years among the Elchasaites,⁸ was soon translated into Middle Persian and Greek, and also into Sogdian and Uyghur,⁹ and there might have been Parthian and Coptic versions as well.¹⁰ The first major collection of sources was made accessible by W. B. Henning,¹¹ and some new fragments were added by W. Sundermann,¹² and J. Wilkens.¹³ Leaving aside the identification and the significance of the Qumran version, as well as studies written on this topic, subsequently, several studies were written on the Manichaean *Book of Giants* by G. A. G. Stroumsa,¹⁴ P. O. Skjaervø,¹⁵ M. Schwartz,¹⁶ E. Morano,¹⁷ J. Wilkens,¹⁸ Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤,¹⁹ as well as by J. C. Reeves²⁰ and M. Goff.²¹

⁵ This meaning seems to be compatible with the original one. Henryk Drawnel writes: “The comparison of the Enochic myth with the *Utukkū Lemnūtu* incantation series helps also to explain the application of the term גבר to the sons of the watchers. The West Semitic גבר does not denote so much the great size of the giants, as the Greek translation suggests, but rather their warrior-like behavior. The term should be rendered with ‘(military) hero, warrior’, which is made clear in *1 En. 7:3–5*, and is confirmed by its Old Testament application.” See his “The Mesopotamian Background of the Enochic Giants and Evil Spirits,” *DSD* 21 (2014): 14–38 (36).

⁶ John C. Reeves, *Prolegomena to a History of Islamate Manichaeism* (Sheffield / Oakville: Equinox, 2011), 90–93.

⁷ Michel Tardieu, *Manichaeism*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 45; Nicholas J. Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism: An Ancient Faith Rediscovered* (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 67.

⁸ Matthew Goff, “Wild Cannibals or Repentant Sinners? The Value of the Manichaean Book of Giants for Understanding the Qumran Book of Giants,” in *Manichaeism East and West: Proceedings for the Eighth Meeting of the International Association of Manichaean Studies*, ed. Samuel Lieu and Erica Hunter (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

⁹ Walter B. Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” *BSOAS* 11 (1943–46): 52–74 (55).

¹⁰ Otakar Klíma, *Manis Zeit und Leben* (MOITAW 18; Prague: Verlag der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1962), 408.

¹¹ Henning, “The Book of the Giants.”

¹² Werner Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (BTT 4; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1973), 77–78; idem, “Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch,” in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin Emerito Oblata* (Acta Iranica 23; Leiden: Brill, 1984), 491–505; idem, “Ešče odin fragment iz *knigi gigantov* Mani,” *VDI* 190.3 (1989): 67–79; idem, “Mani’s ‘Book of the Giants’”; idem, “The Book of Giants,” in *EIr*, online ed. (<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/giants-the-book-of>, 2001; last access on 15 Jan 2015).

¹³ Jens Wilkens, “Neue Fragmente aus Manis Gigantenbuch,” *ZDMG* 150 (2000): 133–76.

¹⁴ Guy A. G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology* (NHS 24; Leiden: Brill, 1984), 145–67 (161–67).

¹⁵ Prods Oktor Skjaervø, “Iranian Epic and the Manichaean *Book of Giants*. Irano-Manichaeica III,” *AOASH* 48 (1995): 187–223.

¹⁶ Martin Schwartz, “Qumran, Turfan, Arabic Magic, and Noah’s Name,” in *Charmes et sortilèges, magie et magiciens*, ed. Rika Gyselen (Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l’Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 2002), 231–38.

Although Enoch is only a character in this work and is not the alleged author of it, he does feature in Manichaean writings: he was regarded as a predecessor of Mani (M299a: *hwnwx*; *Keph.* 12.12), while also appearing in the Greek *Cologne Mani Codex* (58–60) as the author of one of the apocalypses legitimizing Mani's visions.²²

There is no doubt that the *Book of Giants* tradition played an important role in Manichaeism: not only was it part of Mani's canon, and not only did the figure of Enoch appear as one of Mani's predecessors, but certain motifs were incorporated into the complex Manichaean cosmogonical system as well. How the latter was done in China will be explored in the following pages.

I. The Major Figure of Interface between the *Book of Giants* and Manichaeism

It is essential to stress that as the Manichaean *Book of Giants* (hence abbreviated as *BG*) was an integral part of Mani's seven canonical writings, the contents of this narrative were also integrated into the Manichaean system. However, since the complex Manichaean cosmogonic system is rather unique, Mani had to find an appropriate point, a suitable interface, in his grandiose narrative where the equally unique narrative of the *BG* could be introduced into his system without major contradictions. This point is extremely important since it offered the integration of a basically independent narrative into Mani's system, allegedly based

¹⁷ Enrico Morano, "“If They Had Lived ...”: A Sogdian-Parthian Fragment of Mani's *Book of Giants*," in *Exegisti monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*, ed. Werner Sundermann, Almut Hintze, and François de Blois (Ira 17; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), 325–30; idem, "New Research."

¹⁸ Jens Wilkens, "Funktion und gattungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des manichäischen Gigantenbuchs," in Özertural and Wilkens, *Der östliche Manichäismus*, 63–85.

¹⁹ Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, "Monijiao Yejufu kao – Fujian Xiapu wenshu yanjiu 摩尼教耶俱孚考 – 福建霞浦文书研究 [On Manichaean Jacob: A Study of the Xiapu Manuscripts]," *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛 106 (2012): 285–308.

²⁰ John C. Reeves, "An Enochic Motif in Manichaean Tradition," in *Manichaica Selecta: Studies Presented to Professor Julien Ries on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Alois van Tongerloo and Søren Giversen (MAS 1; Leuven: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991), 295–98; idem, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (HUCM 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992); idem, "Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants?" *JBL* 112 (1993): 110–15; idem, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. John C. Reeves (SBLEJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 173–203.

²¹ Matthew Goff, "Gilgamesh the Giant: The Qumran Book of Giants' Appropriation of *Gilgamesh* Motifs," *DSD* 16 (2009): 221–53; idem, "Monstrous Appetites: Giants, Cannibalism, and Insatiable Eating in Enochic Literature," *JAJ* 1 (2010): 19–42; idem, "Murderers or Repentant Sinners?"

²² Walter B. Henning, "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch," *SPAW.PH* (1934): 27–35 (28).

on revelations. To make this transition smoother, some alterations probably had to be made in the “original” *BG* narrative.²³

The first modification concerned the nature of the watchers, who were not angelic beings any more, but were conceived as demons by the Manichaeans. Given the Manichaean notion of two independent and ontologically radically opposing principles, this was an inevitable step, since the watchers’ misdeeds did not allow them to be part of the Realm of Light.

The second problem to be solved was to provide these watchers with the ability and opportunity to descend. Thus they had to be positioned in the upper regions of the universe in order to be able to descend to earth. Mani’s real ingenuity came when he equated the watchers with the demons imprisoned in the ten firmaments.²⁴ Thus he succeeded in providing not simply a topographical expla-

²³ Cf. e.g., the opinion of Ken M. Penner: “The similarity of vocabulary, symbols, and plot confirm Mani’s use of *Giants* in composing his *Book of Giants*, but his work was evidently much more than a direct translation. The question is to what extent Mani reworked his source material. A comparison of those passages which survive in both the Manichaean and Qumran fragments could reveal some of the redactional tendencies of Mani or his translators. Some cursory observations indicate both shortening and expansion, as well as conflation.” See his “Did the Midrash of Shemihazai and Azael Use the Book of Giants?” in *Sacra Scriptura: How “Non-Canonical” Texts Functioned in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Lee M. McDonald and Blake A. Jurgens (London: T&T Clark, 2014), 15–45 (22).

²⁴ Henning (“The Book of the Giants,” 53) succinctly summarizes the story in the following way: “The story of the fallen angels and their giant sons needed little adaptation to be fitted into Mani’s system. Of course, the heavenly origin of the *B’nē-hā-Elōhīm* of Genesis vi, 2, 4, the Ἐγγήγοροι of the *Book of Enoch*, did not square with Mani’s conviction that no evil could come from good. Therefore he transformed them into “demons,” namely those demons that when the world was being constructed had been imprisoned in the skies, under the supervision of the Rex Honoris. They rebelled and were recaptured, but two hundred of them escaped to the earth. Mani also used the term Ἐγγήγοροι (preserved in Coptic, see Texts L, M, P, S of the *Book of Giants*), or rather ḡr [“watcher”] in Aramaic (once in a Middle Persian fragment, Text D), but in eastern sources they are mostly referred to as ‘demons’ ...”. Sundermann (“Mani’s ‘Book of the Giants,’” 42) says: “An even better case in point is the *interpretatio manichaica* of the watchers as ‘demons’. ... That demons (MP *dyw’n*, Sogd. *dywt*) may be understood to mean watchers follows from Henning’s texts g and j. Both of them specify their number as ‘two hundred’ (*dwysd*). Two hundred, it will be remembered, was the figure of the fallen watchers according to the Book of Enoch (1 En. 6.6).” Samuel N. C. Lieu (*Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey*, 2nd ed. [WUNT 1.63; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1992], 82) states the following: “The ‘Watchers’ in the Enochic tradition were turned by Mani into demons (i.e., archons) to avoid any suggestion that they originated in the Kingdom of Light.” On the other hand, Reeves (“Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 187) suggests that this presentation was not necessarily without previous textual antecedents in the Enochic tradition: “If, as the Enochic tale alleges, evil came to earth from heaven (and bearing in mind Enoch’s status as Apostle of Light in Manichaean teaching), then a neat solution for the apparent enigma is to identify the wicked watchers of Enoch with captive archons from the Realm of Darkness who were imprisoned heaven by agents of the Realm of Light. Such an interpretive step receives textual warrant only through 2 Enoch 4. It thus seems high likely that Mani was cognizant of at least this peculiar tradition, and moreover utilized its testimony in adapting the Enochic tale of the ‘descent of the watchers’ to its new Manichaean setting.” About the sons

nation, but, as we will see, a suitable narrative justification as well. This equation resolved both of the above-mentioned problems: the watchers are not angelic figures, since they are none other than the demons captured in the first major battle between the two realms prior to the establishment of the universe; and the creation of the cosmos was, among other elements, necessary to establish a suitable prison for the demonic forces who were not killed during this first battle. Those who were killed also played an important role: they became construction bricks in this huge endeavor, especially in the formation of the firmaments and the earths.²⁵ Thus, the defeated demons had a double function in the construction of the cosmos: if dead, they were used to form the universe; if alive, they were imprisoned in the buildings partly built from their fellows. The cosmos itself had a double function: it served as a gigantic prison to hold the captured demons, and, at the same time, it served as a colossal hospital to heal the wounded, i.e., mixed, light particles. These two simultaneous purposes are explicitly mentioned together in the Coptic and Chinese sources.

He [the Living Spirit] spread out all the powers of the abyss to ten heavens (ⲁⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ) and eight earths (ϣⲙⲟⲩⲏ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗ), he shut them up into this world once, he made it a prison (ϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ) too for all the powers of Darkness, it is also a place of purification (ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲃⲟ) for the soul that was swallowed (?) in them (*Psalm-Book* 10.25–29).

Therefore, by uniting the two powers of the five types of demons and the five light bodies, the Light Envoy of the Pure Wind established the ten firmaments and the eight earths of the cosmos. Thus the cosmos became a hospital where the light bodies were recovering and a prison where the dark demons were bound (*Traité* 11–13).²⁶

[The sixth thro]n[e] is that of the Living Spirit, the [glorious] mighty one, he who bore up the First Man out from the [land of darkness]; who also set in order and constructed the world[s ...] both for a cleansing of the light (ⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲓⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ), [and] for a binding [of the] powers of enmity (ⲁⲮⲙⲣⲣⲉ[ⲗⲉ ⲡⲏ]ⲃⲁⲙ ⲡⲧⲙⲏⲧⲃⲁⲭⲉ) (*Keph.* 82.12–17).²⁷

of the watchers, not the watchers themselves, Drawnel, “The Mesopotamian Background,” 19 n. 16, writes: “Early Christian tradition (second century CE) unequivocally identified the children of the watchers as demons.”

²⁵ *Liber Scholiorum* 128 (Abraham V. Williams Jackson and Abraham Yohannan, “Theodore bar Khoni on Mānī’s Teachings,” in Abraham V. Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism. With Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments* (New York: AMS Press, 1965 [orig. pub., 1932]), 219–54 (233–34); *Škand gumānīg wizār* 10–13 (Abraham V. Williams Jackson, “Mānī’s Teachings according to the [Pahlavi] Pāzand book Shikand-Gūmānīg Vizhār [Škand-Vimānīk Vičār],” in *ibid.*, 174–201 [177]); Ephrem, *Hymns against Heresies* 11.8–16 (John C. Reeves, “Manichaean Citations from the *Prose Refutations* of Ephrem,” in *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*, ed. Paul Mirecki and Jason BeDuhn [NHMS 43; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 217–88 [242]).

²⁶ 以是義故，淨風明使以 / 五類魔及五明身二力和合，造成世界十天八地。如是世界，即是明身醫療藥堂，亦是暗魔禁繫牢獄。

²⁷ Unless otherwise stated, translations of the *Kephalaia* are from Iain Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (NHMS 37; Leiden: Brill, 1995). For the text cited here, see p. 84.

Thus the watchers were equated with the demons captured and imprisoned in the firmaments.²⁸ However, just like real-life prisoners, these watchers now and then took the opportunity to rebel and attempt to escape. This is exactly what happens in the case of the demons imprisoned in various parts of the universe, and this propensity of the demons to escape requires constant vigilance on the part of the prison guards. The prison guards were basically associated with various divine figures of the Manichaean mythology, especially the five sons of the Living Spirit. As is well known to students of Manichaeism, the Living Spirit was the main creator of the universe, who handed over the duty of surveillance to his five sons by assigning a watch-post, i.e., a sphere of responsibility, to each of them, going by their Latin names used by Augustine: 1. Splenditenens; 2. Rex Honoris; 3. Adamas; 4. Gloriosus Rex; 5. Atlas.²⁹

Rex Honoris³⁰ was basically responsible for the lower seven firmaments,³¹ or in some sources, for all the ten firmaments.³² Probably this association explains his equation with the “Ruler of the Heavens.” Since the demons imprisoned in the firmaments were equated with the watchers, and since Rex Honoris is responsible for the sphere of the firmaments, it follows that it is Rex Honoris whose duty is to control the watchers’ rebellions in the firmaments. Thus Rex Honoris, one of the five sons of the Living Spirit, became a major protagonist in the inclusion of the *BG* material into the Manichaean system.

1. The Motif of Rex Honoris and the Rebellious Angels in a Xiapu Text

As outlined above, Rex Honoris and the rebellions in his zone (“watch-post”) are closely linked with the tradition described in the *BG*.³³ In this section, I introduce a newly identified Chinese Manichaean text that uniquely showcases this connection. This text derives from the so-called Xiapu corpus.

²⁸ Middle Persian texts call them *m’zynd’r* (*māzendar*). On this topic Sundermann, “Mani’s ‘Book of the Giants,’” 42, writes: “It seems, therefore, that the Manichaean term *māzendar* could indeed be used to designate different categories of demons imprisoned in the skies, the lustful archons on the one hand, and lustful watchers on the other.”

²⁹ *Contra Faustum* 20.9.

³⁰ Syriac ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ; Coptic (ⲡⲏⲁⲃ) ⲡⲣⲟ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲓⲉⲟ; Greek βασιλεύς [ἀρετῆ]ς; Middle Persian *p’hr̥gbyd*; Sogdian *sm’n xšyδ*; Uygur *kök täyri hanı*; Chinese *shitian wang* 十天王.

³¹ E.g., *Keph.* 170.28–30: “The second watch, of which the Great King of Honor is master, his own authority (extends) over the seven firmaments beneath him.”

³² M178/R/107–11 (Walter B. Henning, “A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony,” *BSOAS* 12 [1948]: 306–18 [313]): “They seated him on a throne in the seventh heaven and made him the lord and king over all the ten firmaments”; *Keph.* 80.6–7: “judge of all the firmaments”; “(Great) King of the Ten Firmaments” (T110: *Shitian dawang* 十天大王; H130: *Shitian wang* 十天王).

³³ Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” 53; Sundermann, “The Book of Giants”; Wilkens, “Neue Fragmente,” 134.

The Xiapu corpus is essentially a body of new Chinese Manichaean texts, identified and in part published by Chen Jinguo 陈进国 and Lin Yun 林鋆 in 2010. Their article was the first to introduce this new corpus of written and visual Manichaean materials surviving in Xiapu 霞浦 county, present-day Fujian 福建 province in south-eastern China (hence abbreviated as the Xiapu texts).³⁴ The manuscripts themselves were copied between the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries, but a significant portion of them can ultimately be traced back at least to Lin Deng 林瞪, a Song dynasty Manichaean missionary in Fujian. Lin Deng became locally celebrated for his post-mortem works of wonder, such as extinguishing huge fires, and was respected and later venerated for these miracles, including by his own descendants. Although the major cause of veneration was his miracles and not his Manichaean identity, the Manichaean texts (ritual texts, invocations, and prayers) associated with him were preserved through family transmission, and survived until the present day, being in the possession of two ritual masters (*fashi* 法师), named Chen Peisheng 陈培生 and Xie Daolian 谢道琰.

The following passage can be found in a hymn entitled “Zan tianwang 赞天王” (“In Praise of the Heavenly Kings”) that is on pages 13–14 of a manuscript known as “Moni guangfo 摩尼光佛” (“Mani, the buddha of Light”). This manuscript belongs to Chen Peisheng.

As for the King of the Ten Firmaments [Rex Honoris], his foreign [Iranian] name is Asamansha.³⁵ This is why the Taoists call him the Jade August Great Emperor of the Bright Heavens. He dwells in the seventh firmament, resides in a great palace, and he is in control of the good and bad events of the ten firmaments. In this firmament, there is a jewelled mirror with twelve faces: the upper face observes the *nir(vāṇa)* [the Realm of Light], the lower face reflects the netherworld, and the ten (remaining) faces inspect [reflect] the rebellions of the various demons and similar events of change in the ten firmaments. The four heavenly kings [*tianwang* = Skt. *devarāja*] control the four worlds [continents]: the heavenly king Lufuyi governs the northern Uttarakuru, the heavenly king Mikeyi rules [the eastern Pūrvavideha, Yeluoyi rules] the southern Jambudvīpa, the heavenly king Suoluoyi the western Aparagodānīya. If the four heavenly, great, luminous spirits notice that the evil demons of the various firmaments launch(ed) evil plans to stir the saints of the celestial and earthly spheres, they immediately exhibit(ed) their great majestic powers

³⁴ Chen Jinguo 陈进国 and Lin Yun 林鋆, “Mingjiao de xin faxian – Fujian Xiapu xian Monijiao shiji bianxi 明教的新发现 – 福建霞浦县摩尼教史迹辨析 [New Manichaean Discoveries – An Analysis of the Relics of Manichaeism in Xiapu County, Fujian],” in *Bu zhi yu yi – Zhongyang meiyuan “yiwen ketang” mingjia jiangyan lu* 不止于艺—中央美院“艺文课堂”名家讲演录, ed. Li Shaowen 李少文 (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2010), 343–89.

³⁵ As Yoshida Yutaka suggested in private correspondence (3 Oct. 2011), the first sentence contains the Chinese transcription (Asamansha [*asmān śāh* = Late Middle Chinese: *ʔa-sat-muan`-ʃa*: Yuan: *ʔ-sa`-mən`-ʃa*] 阿薩漫沙) of the hitherto unattested Parthian form *ʔsmʹn šʔh*. This form is the Parthian equivalent of the attested Sogdian *smʹn xšyδ* (“Himmelsherr”; M178/107 and M583/I/R/7). See Werner Sundermann, “Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos,” *AoF* 6 (1979): 95–133 (131 n. 225).

to restrain them (the demons) and make them surrender; they quickly pacify them, swiftly make them surrender.”

十天王者，梵名阿薩漫沙也。是故道教稱為昊天玉皇大帝。住在第七天中，處在大殿，管於十天善惡之事。此天內有十二面寶鏡，上面觀於涅槃，下面照于陰司地府，十面鑒於十天諸魔背叛等事化。四天王管四天下：嘑嚩逸天王管北鬱壇界，彌訶逸天王統禦(東弗婆提，嘑嚩嚩逸天王管)³⁶南閻浮提，娑囉逸天王掌握西瞿耶尼。四天大明神若見諸天惡魔起奸計，搔擾天空地界諸聖，應時展大威神，折挫調伏，速令安定，急使調伏。³⁷

This excerpt clearly links the figure of Rex Honoris (*Shi tian wang* 十天王 = King of / over the Ten Firmaments) with the duty of observing various rebellions in the firmaments, and sending four heavenly kings to defeat such uprisings. Although the explicit mention of descent and the subsequent turmoil is lacking in this Chinese description, it is worth pointing out that while the passage mentions “good and bad actions in the ten firmaments” (十天善惡之事), “the rebellions of the demons in the ten firmaments” (十天諸魔背叛等事), as well as “the evil demons of the various firmaments launch(ing) evil plans” (諸天惡魔起奸計), the consequences of these evil plans and rebellions already concern the earthly spheres as well: “stir the saints of the celestial and earthly spheres” (搔擾天空地界諸聖). In my interpretation, this may suggest that the uprisings and the evil plans affected the worldly sphere too, a motif that might ultimately refer to the well-known plot of the *BG* tradition.

In the following, I will add some detailed background explanations to the motifs mentioned in this Xiapu text (section a rebellions; section b the four punishing heavenly kings), while I will discuss some further motifs (e.g., the mirror) in section 2, where I explore the Chinese Manichaean Cosmology Painting (CP).

a) *Rebellions in the Manichaean Universe*

The motif of rebellions in the heavenly and earthly spheres is a recurrent topic in Manichaean writings. Taking the internal struggle between the Old and the New

³⁶ This part in brackets is a logical addition of the editors based on other descriptions in the same corpus, but it does not appear in the manuscript. Presumably it was an omitted line due to inadvertence. On the missing name, see later on in this study.

³⁷ “Moni guangfo 摩尼光佛,” pp. 13–14, lines 101–13. The Chinese text is published in Chen and Lin, “Mingjiao,” 379–80; Yuan Wenqi 元文琪, “Fujian Xiapu Monijiao keyi dianji zhongda faxian lunzheng 福建霞浦摩尼教科仪典籍重大发现论证 [On a Significant Discovery of Manichaean Ritual Documents from Xiapu (Fujian)],” *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 2011.5 (2011): 169–80 (178); Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “Monijiao shitian wang kao—Fujian Xiapu wenshu yanjiu 摩尼教十天王考—福建霞浦文书研究 [The King of Ten Heavens in Manichaeism—A Study of a Document from Xiapu (Fujian)],” *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史 5 (2010): 119–30 (119). I am extremely grateful to Wang Yuanyuan for sending me Prof. Lin Wushu’s accurate transcription of the text before the publication of his book. Due to technical reasons, here I reproduce the standard forms of the Chinese characters.

Man within the microcosm of the individual as an analogy, the 38th *kephalaion* (chapter) of the Coptic *Kephalaia* gives a detailed description of the various uprisings in the macrocosmic universe:³⁸

He has made strong these camps, those above and those below ... each one of them will be secure in the circuit of his watch-district, so that neither uprising nor treachery are made in his watch-district.

And look, see! The Keeper of Splendor is set firm in the great mind, in the camp above the prison of the bound ones, for he brings to nothing all the gloom of death. And a treachery (κραϥ) came about, and an uprising (βεϋσε). The sin aborted, it tangled in with the soul. ... It was detached and came down to that which is dry and that which is moist. It fashioned the trees upon the dry (land); but in the sea it immediately took form and made a great uprising in the sea.

Again, look, see! The great King of Honor, who is the thought, he is in the third firmament.³⁹ He is made ... with wrath. And an uprising (βεϋσε) came about. A treachery (κραϥ) and an anger (ϫωωντ) happened in his camp. The watchers of heaven (περηγορος νε πτπε), who came down to the earth in his watch-district, they did all the deeds of treachery. They have revealed crafts in the world and have unveiled to people the mysteries of heaven (αγογωνη πιαπε αβ[αλ] ρμ πκοσμος αγϫωλπ απρωμε ημμγστηριον [η]τπε). An uprising (βεϋσε) came about, and a destruction (τεκο), on the earth ... to it.

The Adamant ... the fulfilment. He is set firm upon ... and a treachery (κραϥ) came about in his camp; the occasion when the abortions fell to the earth. They formed Adam and Eve. They begat them so as to reign through them in the world. They fashioned every object of lust upon the earth. The entire world was filled by their lust. Also, they persecute the churches. They kill the apostles and the righteous in the watch-district of the Adamant of Light, time after time, and from generation to generation.

Once again: In the watch of the great King of Glory, who is the great counsel, he who exercises authority over the three wheels. A disturbance (ϫταρτρ) came about, and an affliction (ϫλιψις), for they were ... pained and oppressed in the three earths. After the Ambassador displayed his image, the paths closed to their ... their ascent was impeded by them ... the wind, the water, and the fire ascend on them.

Once again: In the watch of the Porter, he who humiliates ... uprising (βεϋσε) of the abysses below ... bent, the fastenings underneath were loosened ... in the foundation below.

³⁸ Sundermann, "Mani's 'Book of the Giants,'" 48: "The outstanding topic of this long discourse is the permanent endangering of the perfectness of the New Man by the demoniac powers of flesh imprisoned in the bodies of the perfect. It is one of the achievements of the Light Nous to subdue and defeat the attacks of the Old Man. The temptations and vexations of the Old Man have in the Coptic text a cosmological, as it were macrocosmic pattern: the recurring rebellions of the demons in the skies against their divine overseers, the sons of the Living Spirit. ... The vexing experience that the powers of darkness keep rebelling against the New Man must have been of great concern for everyday life in Manichaean communities. It is also discussed at great length in the Parthian 'Sermon on the Light-Nous.'"

³⁹ As Henning had already observed, this is evidently counted from above; the way the ten firmaments are depicted in the CP, and perhaps already in the original *Picture-Book* (discussed below), partly justifies the otherwise wrong number. See Kósa, "Who is the King of Honour."

On account of the earthquake that happened in the watch of the Keeper of Splendor; the Pillar of Glory came forth, as it ... helper of the Keeper of Splendor. It bore up under all burdens.

Conversely, because of the treachery and the uprising that happened in the watch of the great King of Honor, which is the watchers who came down to earth from the heavens (ετε περηγορος νε εταγει απιτηε απκαρ αβαλ π̄π̄πηγε); four angels were called upon about them (αγκελεγε ετβητογ̄ μ̄π̄πταγ̄ παγγελος). They bound the watchers with an eternal chain, in the prison of the blackened ones (?) (αγμογρ̄ π̄περηγο[ρ]ος ρ̄π̄ ογ̄μ̄ρρε ψαληρηε ρ̄μ̄ π̄υτεκο π̄νετκκαμτ). They obliterated their children from upon the earth ([α]γ̄βωτε αβαλ π̄πογ̄υρηε ρ̄ιϛ̄μ̄ πκαρ). ...

Then speaks the apostle to him: Look at all these watches of the zone, the ones in which these great gods are master, watching over them ... Uprisings have happened, and treachery, in them. The ... in them from time to time; with a great humiliation, until they humbled the powers of the enmity (*Keph.* 92.12–94.16).

This lengthy quotation was necessary to show that the guiles (treacheries) and uprisings constitute a complete system. These rebellions took place in all the five major watch-posts kept under surveillance by the five sons of the Living Spirit. However, it is noteworthy that the key word for watchers (*egrēgoros*; ερηγορος) occurs only in one of the five instances, not accidentally in that of Rex Honoris (King of Honor). What is even more important is the fact that ερηγορος appears only in four other cases in the entire published Coptic Manichaica,⁴⁰ and all of them are associated with the rebellions in the firmaments and, in the following, even more directly with the *BG*.

Again, before the watchers rebelled (περηγορος βωδς) and came down from heaven, a prison (φγλακη) was fashioned and constructed for them in the depths of the earth (ρ̄μ̄ π̄υιχρ̄ε̄ μ̄πκαρ), below the mountains (μ̄πσαμπιτηε π̄πτογ̄ιεγε) (*Keph.* 117.1–4).

(In) the manner in which the watchers (περηγορος) came down to the earth from the heavens with patterns and forms of evil, they became awakeners of the desires and evil counsels of the error in the whole world. They humiliated the men by means of the nets of their desire and the snares of their error, and they captured the men with their idol-works of error, and they spread them ... (*Keph.* 335.3–11).

Again, an earthquake (κ̄μτ) and treachery (κραϛ) occurred in the watch of the great King of Honor, which the watchers (περηγορος) who had arisen at the time and had ... they who were sent came down, until they were humbled (*Keph.* 171.16–19).

It was also in this way that the thought and desires of men were awakened and set up – the men who came into being at that time. They turned from the good to the evil, from righteousness to rebellion (βεδσε), from the rest (of their hands) to the involvement and the work of wounding, from the ... of the guiltlessness to the evil, knavish tricks (?) of death. They obeyed the watchers (περηγορος) and agreed with them and observed their laws (*Keph.* 334.2–11).⁴¹

⁴⁰ Sarah Clackson, “Manichaean Texts and Citations in Coptic,” in *Texts from the Roman Empire (Texts in Syriac, Greek, Coptic and Latin)*. Vol. 1 of *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, ed. Samuel N. C. Lieu, Sarah Clackson, and Erica Hunter (CFM.S 2; Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 59–185 (66).

⁴¹ Nils Arne Pedersen, “Observations about *The Book of the Giants* from Coptic and Syriac

Thus it is important to emphasize that rebellions do occur in other parts of the universe as well, but the one that is directly related to the *BG* tradition occurs solely in the watch-post of Rex Honoris, making this figure an interface between these two traditions. Consequently, it is not a coincidence but a logical and long-standing tradition that Rex Honoris in the Chinese Xiapu text is mentioned together with the rebellions in the heavens, as well as the four heavenly kings. The very late Chinese Xiapu text quoted above thus preserves a remarkably accurate Chinese narrative about the rebellion of the demons, and their subsequent defeat by heavenly kings sent by Rex Honoris. Thus this basic *BG* plot seems to have been wholly integrated into the Manichaean system, ensuring its survival.

b) *The Names of the Four Punishing Angels*

The names of the four angels who were sent by Rex Honoris to fix the disorder in the world triggered by the prior rebellion in his watch-post are mentioned in several instances in the Xiapu corpus. Henning already noted that “the Egrēgoroi and their giant progeny are fought and vanquished by four archangels: Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Istraël (*1 En.* 10:1) ... In the [Manichaean] *Book of Giants* they are called “the four angels.” They are frequently invoked by name in Manichaean prayers (e.g., M4 d 19, f 6; M20), as *Rwpʿyl*, *Myxʿyl*, *Gbrʿyl*, and *Srʿyl* (= Istraël).⁴² While *1 Enoch* (9:1; 10:1–12) mentions these names, the Manichaean *BG* texts do not seem to have preserved them.⁴³ Thus, intriguingly, the only extant Manichaean text that directly links the names of the four archangels with the uprisings of the demons is the very late Xiapu text introduced above.⁴⁴ This fact, however, shows that their names must have been present in much earlier non-Chinese Manichaean texts that are no longer extant.

The names of the four archangels, intricately related to the *BG* tradition, are attested several times in the Xiapu manuscripts.⁴⁵ In the Chinese texts, these four archangels were equated with the four heavenly kings (*si tianwang* 四天王, sometimes *si fan tianwang* 四梵天王) [*Leshantang shenji* 3; *Zou shen die shu*

sources.” Handout distributed at the 8th International Conference of the International Association of Manichaean Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, Sept. 9–13, 2013.

⁴² Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” 54.

⁴³ George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 202, 207, 215.

⁴⁴ U217, however, may mention their names. See Wilkens, “Neue Fragmente,” 145. Consult also Ma Xiaohu, “Remains of the Religion of Light in Xiapu (霞浦) County,” in *Mani in Dublin: Selected Papers from the Seventh International Conference of the International Association of Manichaean Studies in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 8–12 September 2009*, ed. Siegfried G. Richter, Charles Horton, and Klaus Ohlhafer (NHMS 88; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 228–58 (248).

⁴⁵ Gábor Kósa, “The Fifth Buddha: An Overview of the Chinese Manichaean Material from Xiapu (Fujian),” *MSN* 28 (2013–14): 9–30 (18–19).

kuce 41]), Buddhist deities of the four cardinal directions (Sanskrit *caturmahārāja*), who are charged to defend the Buddhist Dharma and the various worlds from evil intrusions. The names of the archangels (Raphael, Michael, Sariel and Gabriel) appear three times in the Xiapu corpus, once in “Zan tianwang” (in the “Moni guangfo” manuscript) and twice in “Xingfuzu qingdan ke”:⁴⁶

<i>Middle Iranian</i>	<i>Zan tianwang</i>	<i>Xingfuzu qingdan ke</i>	<i>Xingfuzu qingdan ke</i>
Angel name	贊天王	興福祖慶誕科 (5a)	興福祖慶誕科 (5b)
<i>rwp'yl, rwf'yl</i>	噓囀逸 [*luo b'ɿwak ɿět]	呬縛[訶]逸囉 [*luo b'ɿwak ɿět lâ]	噓囀逸 [*luo b'ɿwak ɿět]
<i>myx'yl, myh'yl</i>	彌訶逸 [*mjie xâ ɿět]	彌訶逸囉 [*mjie xâ ɿět lâ]	彌訶逸 [*mjie xâ ɿět]
<i>sr'yl</i>	婆[=娑]囉逸 [*sâ lâ ɿět]	娑囉逸囉 [*sâ lâ ɿět lâ]	娑囉逸 [*sâ lâ ɿět]
<i>gbr'yl</i>	— —	業縛囉逸囉 [*ngiɛp b'ɿwak ɿět lâ]	喋囉逸 [*ngiɛp lâ ɿět]

Based on a thorough analysis of the Iranian words transcribed into Chinese, Yutaka Yoshida drew the following conclusion: “the system of the phonetic transcription is basically the same in that its basis of transcription is the pronunciation of Middle Chinese ... they are most likely to originate from the texts once existent in the high Tang time or in the eighth century ... the Xiapu system is slightly earlier than the Dunhuang one.”⁴⁷ Thus although the Xiapu manuscripts are very late (eighteenth to twentieth centuries), the foreign names they preserve were most probably transcribed approximately 1,000 years earlier, during the Tang dynasty.

A fifth angel, Jacob, is sometimes added to the tetrad of angels mentioned above. This name appears in several other Chinese Manichaean sources: Jufu yuanshuai 俱孚元帥 [Marshal Jufu], Yejufu dajiang 耶俱孚大將 [Yejufu, the great general], Jufu shengzun 俱孚聖尊 [saintly venerable Jufu].⁴⁸ Jacob⁴⁹ also

⁴⁶ Yoshida Yutaka, “Middle Iranian Terms in the Xiapu Chinese Texts – Four Aspects of the Father of Greatness in Parthian,” in Lieu and Hunter, *Manichaeism East and West*; Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “Monijiao si tianwang kao—Fujian Xiapu wenshu yanjiu” 摩尼教四天王 考—福建霞浦文书研究 [The Four Heavenly Kings in Manichaeism – A Study Based on the Documents from Xiapu, Fujian],” *Viae Sericae, Sici zhi lu – gudai zhongwai guanxi shi yanjiu* 絲瓷之路 – 古代中外關係史研究 3 (2013): 122–55.

⁴⁷ Yoshida, “Middle Iranian Terms”; idem, “Xiapu 霞浦 Manichaean Text *Sijizan* 四寂讚 ‘Praise of the Four Entities of Calmness’ and its Parthian Original,” in Durkin-Meisterernst, *Memorial Volume in Honour of Werner Sundermann*.

⁴⁸ Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤, “Remains of the Religion of Light in Xiapu (霞浦) County, Fujian Province,” *Ou-Ya xuekan* 歐亞學刊 (*Eurasian Studies*) 9 (2009): 81–108 (98); Ma, “Monijiao Yejufu kao.”

⁴⁹ Alexander Böhlig, “Jacob as an Angel in Gnosticism and Manichaeism,” in *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis: Papers Read at the First International Congress of Coptology (Cairo, December 1976)*, ed. R.M. Wilson (NHS 14; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 122–30.

appears in non-Chinese Manichaean sources, such as 81TB65:1/74, 77–78,⁵⁰ the Karabalgasun inscription (Sogdian part, line 17),⁵¹ Pelliot chinois 3049 (line 53),⁵² M43/R/6–V/2,⁵³ and Ch/U 6618/5–9.⁵⁴ Thus, the number of archangels seems to have undergone a process of “pentadization” in the Chinese Manichaean system.⁵⁵ Jacob, possessing a central position in the charts of the manuscripts and thus evidently being the central figure, i.e., the head of the archangels in the Xiapu texts, possesses pronounced military attributes in various Manichaean writings; similar military qualities are attributed to the four archangels, for example, in a hymn praising their armor.⁵⁶

2. *Rex Honoris and the Imprisoned Demons in the Chinese Manichaean Cosmology Painting*

In the following I will discuss another major discovery related to Chinese Manichaeism, the so-called Cosmology Painting (CP), one of the nine new Chinese Manichaean paintings preserved in Japan.⁵⁷ Five of these paintings, including the CP, are kept in an anonymous Japanese private collection. The CP, which is dated to the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries,⁵⁸ can be divided into four major

⁵⁰ Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, “Sute wen kaoshi 粟特文考釋,” in *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐鲁番新出摩尼教文献研究 [Studies in the New Manichaean Texts Recovered from Turfan], ed. Liu Hongliang 柳洪亮 and Xinjiang Tulufan Diqu Wenwuju 新疆吐鲁番地区文物局 (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 2000), 3–199 (11, 25).

⁵¹ Yutaka Yoshida, “Some New Readings of the Sogdian Version of the Karabalgasun Inscription,” in *Documents et archives provenant de l’Asie centrale. Actes du Colloque Franco-Japonais organisé par l’Association Franco-Japonaise des Études Orientales (Kyoto, 4–8 octobre 1988)*, ed. Haneda Akira (Kyoto: Association Franco-Japonaise des Études Orientales, 1990), 117–23 (121).

⁵² James R. Hamilton, *Manuscripts ouïgours du IX^e–X^e siècle de Touen-houang, Tome I* (Paris: Peeters, 1986), 40.

⁵³ Mary Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian: Texts with Notes* (Acta Iranica 3; Leiden/Teheran: Brill/Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1975), 194.

⁵⁴ Peter Zieme, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte. Texte, Übersetzung, Anmerkungen* (BTT 5; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975), 54.

⁵⁵ Timothy Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia* (NHMS 66; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

⁵⁶ The *Qinghu fawen* 請護法文 (“Petitioning the Dharma-defenders”) of the *Xingfuzu qingdan ke* 興福祖慶誕科 manuscript (4b–6a) describes these angels as wearing armor (*jia chuan shen* 甲穿身), holding a blade in their hand (*rui chi shou* 銳持手), and thus fighting their enemies.

⁵⁷ Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, “Shinshutsu Manikyō kaiga no keijijō 新出マニ教絵画の形而上 [The Cosmogony (and Church History) of the Newly Discovered Manichaean Paintings],” *Yamato Bunka* 大和文華 121 (2010): 1–34. See also pl. 1 below. For an image of the complete painting, see Yoshida Yutaka, “Southern Chinese Version of Mani’s Picture Book Discovered?” in Richter, Horton, and Ohlhafer, *Mani in Dublin*, 389–98, 439–46 (439; fig. 22.1).

⁵⁸ Furukawa Shoichi 古川 攝一, “Shinshutsu Manikyō kaiga shiron – seisaku nendai wo megutte 新出マニ教絵画試論 — 制作年代をめぐって [Preliminary Study of the Newly Discovered Manichaean Paintings Concerning their Dating],” *Yamato Bunka* 大和文華 121 (2010): 35–52.

sections: 1. The uppermost section visualizes the Manichaean New Paradise, the Sun and the Moon; 2. The next section below it depicts the ten firmaments with figures of various functions; 3. The third section gives a visual representation of the sphere between the firmaments and the earth, including “a world of snakes,” the Virgin of Light, a judgment scene, and Mount Sumeru with four continents; 4. The lowermost section depicts the eight earths with three individual scenes on the fifth earth with several important mythological scenes.⁵⁹

It was Yutaka Yoshida who first stressed the presence of *BG* motifs in the *CP*. In a talk given in 2011, he proposed that demons subjugated by soldiers in the firmaments, demons around the sea and in the earths, as well as the four soldiers in front of Mount Sumeru derive from this tradition.⁶⁰ Following Yoshida’s conclusions of this talk and another one given in 2012,⁶¹ here I will explore the motifs of the *CP* that can ultimately be linked to the *BG* tradition, such as the figure(s) of Rex Honoris (section a) with his mirror and group of angels, the imprisoned demons in the firmaments (section b), the four angels at Mount Sumeru (section c), and the imprisoned demons in the earths (section d).

The Cosmology Painting is thus unique among these newly identified paintings. Based on former analyses,⁶² it seems that the *CP* preserves in visual form extremely accurate pieces of information about Manichaean cosmogony and cosmology. Thus a “close reading” of the *CP* by taking all its details seriously is not unjustified.

⁵⁹ Gábor Kósa, “Translating a Vision – Rudimentary Notes on the Chinese Cosmology Painting,” *MSN* 25 (2010–11): 20–32.

⁶⁰ Yutaka Yoshida 吉田豊, “Kōnan no uchū zu to Torufan no Manikyō kaiga: Kyojin no sho wo megutte 江南の宇宙図とトルファンのマニ教絵画：『巨人の書』をめぐって [The Cosmology Painting from Jiangnan and the Turfan Manichaean paintings: The *Book of Giants*].” Handout distributed at the “Symposium on the Newly Discovered Chinese Manichaean Paintings in Japan,” Yamato Art Museum, Nara City (Japan), June 5–6, 2011.

⁶¹ Yutaka Yoshida, “Picture Version of Mani’s ‘Book of Giants.’” Paper delivered at the 222nd Meeting of the American Oriental Society, 17 March 2012, Boston.

⁶² E. g., Yoshida, “Shinshutsu Manikyō”; Gábor Kósa, “Atlas and Splenditenens in the Cosmology Painting,” in *Gnostica et Manichaica: Festschrift für Alois van Tongerloo. Anlässlich des 60. Geburtstages überreicht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Michael Knüppel und Luigi Cirillo (StOR 65; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 63–88; idem, “Imprisoned Evil Forces”; idem, “Translating the *Eikōn*. Some Considerations on the Relation of the Chinese Cosmology Painting to the *Eikōn*,” in *Vom Aramäischen zum Altürkischen. Fragen zur Übersetzung von manichäischen Texten. Vorträge des Göttinger Symposium vom 29./30. September 2011*, ed. Jens Peter Laut and Klaus Röhrborn (AAWG 29; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 49–84; idem, “Who is the King of Honour”; idem, “The Sun, the Moon and the Paradise: An Analysis of the Upper Section of the Chinese Manichaean Cosmology Painting,” *JIAAA* 6 (2011): 171–93; idem, “Adamas of Light in the Cosmology Painting,” in Lieu and Hunter, *Manichaeism East and West*; idem, “The Virgin of Light in the New Chinese Manichaean Xiapu Material and the Cosmology Painting,” in *Proceedings of the conference “Les femmes dans le manichéisme occidental et oriental,” 27–28 June 2014, La Maison de la Recherche, Université Paris-Sorbonne*, ed. Madeleine Scopello and Majella Franzmann (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

Several Manichaean sources report on Mani's canonical works. These lists include his writings, e.g., the *Living Gospel*, the *Book of Mysteries*, and the *Book of Giants*, as well as a visual work called the *Picture-Book*, usually placed after the written texts. This visual work was most probably used for didactic purposes to convey visually the rather complex Manichaean "mythology." As the data collected by Zsuzsanna Gulácsi clearly shows, the name of this work (ⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛ in Coptic, *ārdahang* in Parthian, translated as *Da erzong tu* 大二宗圖 ["the Chart of the Great Two Principles"] in Chinese) was preserved in eighteen sources from Egypt through Iran to China.⁶³ This visual work, which probably consisted of several paintings, was invariably associated with Mani himself, and no other Manichaean person was ever credited with creating another, visual, and independent composition, although they seem to have copied it, especially during their missionary journeys. A Parthian letter by a Manichaean missionary, interestingly, preserves a reference to the use of both the *Book of Giants* and the *Picture-Book* (here *Ārdahang*): "And to dear brother Zurvāndād I am very, very grateful because he, in his goodness has watched over all the brothers. And I have now dispatched him to Zamb, and sent him to dear Mār Ammō, and to (the province of) Chorasān. He has taken (the *Book of*) *the Giants* and the *Ārdahang* with him. I have made another (copy of the *Book of*) *the Giants* and the *Ārdahang* in Merv" (M5815).⁶⁴

In his lecture in Dublin (2009), Yoshida was the first to suggest that the Cosmology Painting is "one piece from a Southern Chinese version of Mani's *Picture Book*."⁶⁵ If this is indeed so, and our currently available data all seem to support this view,⁶⁶ then it is not far-fetched to assume that the Cosmology Painting, ultimately deriving from Mani's third century *Picture-Book*, might have preserved motifs from the *BG* tradition that was so essential for the founder of Manichaeism.

a) *Rex Honoris in the CP*

The CP visualizes all the five sons of the Living Spirit, with *Rex Honoris*, uniquely, depicted twice in the seventh firmament (pl. 1);⁶⁷ indeed, Manichae-

⁶³ Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, "Searching for Mani's Picture-Book in Textual and Pictorial Sources," *TrSt* 2011.1 (2011): 233–62. On p. 237 of this study, a map conveniently shows all the occurrences.

⁶⁴ Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 260.

⁶⁵ Yoshida Yutaka, "Southern Chinese Version of Mani's Picture Book Discovered?" in Richter, Horton, and Ohlhafer, *Mani in Dublin*, 389–98 (397).

⁶⁶ Kósa, "Translating the *Eikōn*."

⁶⁷ Yoshida, "Shinshutsu Manikyō," 17b.

an sources consistently position Rex Honoris in the seventh firmament.⁶⁸ The Xiapu text introduced above links the figure of Rex Honoris to the rebellious demons, and a similar association is visible in the CP.

aa) Rex Honoris as Surveyor of the Evil Forces and the Magical Mirror

The Xiapu passage that describes Rex Honoris as a figure commissioned to oversee all the ten firmaments (管於十天善惡之事) accords well with the designation of this figure in the Manichaean scriptures from Dunhuang as the “(Great) King of the Ten Firmaments” (T110: *Shitian dawang* 十天大王; H130: *Shitian wang* 十天王). The same role is mentioned in a highly important Sogdian fragment (M178): “There they seated a son of God as watcher, so that in all the ten firmaments the demons could do no harm. ... Thereupon the All-maker (*Wišparkar* = Living Spirit) called the Lord of the Firmaments (Rex Honoris). They seated him on a throne in the seventh heaven and made him the lord and king over all the ten firmaments.”⁶⁹ Similarly the *Liber Scholiorum* says: “The Great King of Honor, after the heavens and the earths were made, sits in the midst of heaven and keeps guard over them all.”⁷⁰ A passage from the Coptic *Kephalaia* furthermore specifies that this activity is implemented with the help of a mirror placed in front of Rex Honoris: “As] the wheel is like a great mirror, for [the di]scrimination of all things” (88.31–32).

The Coptic sources seem to link the act of judging (ⲧⲉⲛ) with the figure of Rex Honoris, and sometimes designate him a judge (ⲕⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ):

The [fif]th [j]udge is the great King of Honor, he who dwells and is established in the seventh firmament. He is the judge of all the firmaments who gives a true judgment, according to [a] judgment of righteousness, upon all powers and all the [king]doms [of the] firmaments (*Keph.* 80.5–9).

The King of Honor, the strong God, who is in the seventh heaven, judging the demons, the creatures of abyss(?) (*Psalm-Book* 2.9–11).

As the 28th *kephalaion* (79.13–81.20), which lists a total of twelve judges, indicates, judgment in these cases implies conscious acts that will lead to the separation of the mixed principles of Light and Darkness. Thus, when the Xiapu passage states that the King of Honor “is in control of the good and bad events of the ten firmaments,” this may have a similar meaning: he searches for various acts by evil demons in order to separate them from those of the good ones.

The Xiapu passage also mentions a jewelled or precious mirror (*baojing* 寶鏡), which has twelve faces (*shi'er mian* 十二面) on its surface. Placed in front of

⁶⁸ M178/R/107–11 (Henning, “A Sogdian Fragment,” 313); *Psalm-Book* 138.34–39; *Keph.* 80.5–6; 83.2–4; 91.23–24.

⁶⁹ M178/79–82, 106–11. See Henning, “A Sogdian Fragment,” 313.

⁷⁰ *Liber Scholiorum* 128. See Jackson and Yohannan, “Theodore bar Khoni,” 236.

Rex Honoris, the CP visualizes a circular object, which has twelve human heads with green and orange halos around them. The Sogdian text M178 quoted above most probably calls a similar mirror-like object a lens (*myj*): “Thereunder they formed ten firmaments, set up one magic twelve-faced *lens.”⁷¹ The *Kephalaia* identifies it as a similarly circular wheel (τροχος), but later explicitly calls it a mirror (ἰελ): “[Agai]n the [apostl]e speaks about the wheel that exists in front [of the King of Honor who dwells in] the seventh firma[ment]. ... Now, there are twelve seals in it. ... [As] the wheel is like a great mirror, for [the di]scrimination of all things” (87.33–35; 88.5–6, 31–32).

The Chinese Xiapu text “Zan tianwang” also lists the functions of the twelve faces, which can be divided into three specific categories: “the upper face observes the *nirvāṇa* [the Realm of Light]” (上面觀於涅槃), “the lower face reflects the netherworld” (下面照于陰司地府), while “the ten (remaining) faces inspect [reflect] the rebellions of the various demons and similar deeds in the ten firmaments (十面鑒於十天諸魔背叛等事).” This description of the functions of the twelve faces, although not reflected in the CP, does not seem to appear in other Manichaean sources published so far. Nevertheless, similarly to the names of the archangels mentioned above, it seems rather unlikely that the Chinese Manichaeans in the remote area of Fujian would have invented this division of labor among the faces; it seems more logical to assume that this motif was present in other sources as well, even if it was lost subsequently.

bb) The Two Groups of Four Angels on Either Side of Rex Honoris

On the viewer’s left side of the seventh firmament, Rex Honoris is flanked by four angels in shining armor on either side (Fig. 1a). Angels surrounding Rex Honoris are rarely mentioned in non-Chinese sources:

Hast thou, then, seen face to face ... and the other, the King of Honor, surrounded by armies of angels?⁷²

And Rex Honoris then said to the four angels ...⁷³

Neither this depiction nor the Xiapu passage quoted above suggests explicitly that Rex Honoris functions as the commander of the angels. However, the text does seem to reinforce this connection by naming the four archangels (heavenly

⁷¹ On this word, see Henning, “A Sogdian Fragment,” 315–16.

⁷² Trans. Abraham V. Williams Jackson, “The Five Sons of the Living Spirit,” in idem, *Researches in Manichaeism*, 296–313 (300). Cf. Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 15.6.

⁷³ U217/R/5–7 (Wilkens, “Neue Fragmente,” 161). Interestingly, 2 *Enoch*, which in some form may have been known to Mani according to John Reeves (“Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 184, 187, 191), also mentions angels in the seventh firmament, though naturally in a different context: “And the men lifted me up from there to the seventh heaven. And I saw there a great light, and all the fiery armies of the incorporeal ones, archangels, angels and the shining *otanim* stations” (20:1). See Francis I. Andersen, “(Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *OTP* 2:91–221 (135).

kings) exactly after mentioning Rex Honoris' mirror, which is capable of revealing evil uprisings. The sentences that follow then describe the archangels' fight against evil demons. Similarly, the visual depiction in the CP, with Rex Honoris flanked by the eight armored angels, suggests that Rex Honoris is the central figure, possibly the commander of the angels.

As mentioned before, Rex Honoris is depicted twice in the seventh firmament: as a figure enthroned between two groups of four angels on the viewer's left side, and as a similarly clad figure with a mirror in front of him. This double function, i.e., exposing potential evil uprisings with the help of a mirror, and overthrowing the rebels with the help of the angels, seems to be present both in the CP and the Xiapu passage. It does not seem far-fetched to claim that Rex Honoris, unlike the Living Spirit's other sons, is portrayed twice in the seventh firmament of the CP precisely in order to express this two-fold role. The CP may suggest that while the Living Spirit's other four sons have merely one major task, Rex Honoris is charged with two different, though related, duties.

In the CP, there are a total of sixteen angelic figures, all armored in the same way. Two groups of four angelic warriors flank Rex Honoris on the left side of the seventh firmament, a group of four of them appear in front of Mount Sumeru (Fig. 2a), and four further angels, all related to the firmaments in some way, can be seen at various other places (Pl. 1).⁷⁴ Based on the narrative technique ("continuous narration")⁷⁵ applied in the CP, I conclude that the CP depicts in fact eight angels, each one in two positions: the first is always the place where they were originally stationed, i.e., beside Rex Honoris, while the second shows them performing their duties.

In his lectures on the relevance of the *BG* tradition for interpreting the CP, Yoshida Yutaka has already emphasized that the four angels at Mount Sumeru represent the four angels sent by Rex Honoris to punish the rebellious demons and the giants on earth.⁷⁶ These four angels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Sariel) are listed several times in the Xiapu corpus. In the passage quoted above, clearly by mistake, only three of them appear, but in all other instances the Xiapu corpus preserves the names of the four archangels of the *BG*; thus they were definitely known even at such a late stage of Chinese Manichaeism.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Although Adamas, who is on the viewer's side of Mount Sumeru, also wears armor, he clearly belongs to a different type of divine soldier, indicated, for example, by the lack of any helmet.

⁷⁵ This narrative technique is applied, for example, in the depiction of Mani, who appears in various parts of the CP, the "Birth of Mani" painting, and the so-called Missionary paintings. The Sandōzu 三道圖 painting, another Manichaean painting, preserved in the Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館 (Yamato Museum, Nara), applies a slightly different cyclic narrative technique. See Gábor Kósa, "Two Manichaean Judgment Scenes – MIK III 4959 V and the Yamato Bunkakan Sandōzu painting," in Richter, Horton, and Ohlhafer, *Mani in Dublin*, 196–227.

⁷⁶ Yoshida, "Kōnan no uchū zu."

⁷⁷ *Xingfuzu qingdan ke* 興福祖慶誕科 4b–6a: "Qing hufa wen 請護法文"; "Song tudi zan anwei 誦土地讚安慰". See Ma, "Monijiao," 119.

In my interpretation these four angels at Mount Sumeru (Fig. 2a) are ultimately identical with the ones stationed on one side of Rex Honoris. The four further angels placed in the fourth (right), third (left), and first (middle) firmaments, as well as in the middle of what appears to be a “snake-world,” are depicted in action, while originally they were similarly stationed on the other side of Rex Honoris. In sum, I propose that the CP basically portrays eight angels,⁷⁸ all depicted as warriors with helmets: once they are shown in their original position beside Rex Honoris, and secondly, following the logic of the temporal sequence of events, they appear in the state of carrying out their tasks. Four of them are in the zones associated with the firmaments and four in the world of humans (around Mount Sumeru). At least in the case of one group of four angels, the two-fold nature of their mode of existence is textually reinforced by the Xiapu passage quoted above.

All these angelic warriors are responsible for special tasks: the group of four at Mount Sumeru, as we will see, control earthly calamities, while the four in the firmaments and the attached snake-world face various other difficulties (Pl. 1): the first, with a sword, fights a massive, blazing fire (fourth firmament, right; see Fig. 1b); the second, similarly with a sword, appears as a vanquisher of an unclothed figure who is laying down (third firmament, left; see Fig. 1c); the third angel safeguards the disc of the zodiac with dark, demonic figures in it, while the fourth stands guard within a clearly menacing world of snakes, which also has the signs of the (Western!) zodiac. In their scale of difficulty, all of these tasks seem to be superior to the ones performed by the non-armored divine figures in the firmaments, who, typically in pairs, keep a kneeling demon under surveillance. In sum, my interpretation of the visual information in the CP suggests that, in contrast to the non-armored, other heavenly figures in the firmaments, the four armored angels depicted in action constitute a special squad, charged with very difficult tasks.

⁷⁸ The Birth of Mani painting also has a total of eight angelic figures who appear in two groups of four. See Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, “Mani no kōtan zu ni tsuite マニの降誕図について (On the ‘Birth of Mani’ Painting),” *Yamato Bunka* 大和文華 124 (2012): 1–10 (Pl. 1). The larger Missionary painting has four angels beside a group of elects and Mani. See Yoshida, “Shinshutsu Manikyō,” Pl. 8. A list of Manichaean books and paintings from Wenzhou 温州, preserved in the *Songhuiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (*xingfa* 刑法) 2.78, attests to the existence of a silk painting entitled “Painting of the Four Heavenly Kings” (*si tianwang zhen* 四天王幀). See Antonino Forte, “Deux études sur le manichéisme chinois,” *T’oung Pao* 59 (1973): 220–53 (238, 250). On the Manichaean tradition regarding the four guardian deities, see Jorinde Ebert, “Segmentum and Clavus in Manichaean Garments of the Turfan Oasis,” in *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, ed. D. Durkin-Meisterernst et al. (MIAKP 17; Berlin: Reimer, 2004), 72–83.

*b) Imprisoned and Rebellious Demons in the Firmaments*⁷⁹

In the Manichaean imagination, the creation of the ten firmaments and the eight earths are intricately linked to the overthrow of the archons, since the universe was created by the combination of the conquered demons and the light elements.⁸⁰ Both the firmaments and the earths serve as prison for the defeated demonic forces; here I mention some quotations illustrating the “firmaments as prison” paradigm.

She [the Mother of Life] j[udged] the rulers [abov]e; she f[ettered] and set them firmly in the place [that is fitting for them] (*Keph.* 79.31–33).

The first part is the powers who occur in the ten firmaments that exist above the wheel, and the ruling-power that is bound in them (ταρχοντικη ετμηρ ηρητογ), as it is imprisoned within them in the heavens that are above (*Keph.* 118.20–23).

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.⁸¹

... the [demo]ns in the firmaments ...⁸²

As mentioned above, the imprisoned demons have a natural penchant to escape from their prison, and this is the stage where the magical wheel or mirror in front of Rex Honoris is utilized to prevent them from doing so.

... so that they can not make an esc[a]pe from the fether of their bond (ξε πογυρβαλ αβ[α]λ / ρυ πεναρ ητογμρρε). ... This is also the case for all the rulers who are in the firmaments, and every power of the zone: if they should wish to escape, they shall be recognized and revealed by that wheel (ησεογωηξ αβαλ ρι ητροχος ετμμεγ) (*Keph.* 88.23–24, 27–30).

Because of these attempts of the demons in the firmaments, Rex Honoris is responsible for keeping guard over the demons (archons) imprisoned in the firmaments.⁸³ Several Manichaean sources report that, despite his efforts to be vigilant, two hundred demons rebelled and succeeded to descend to the earth, where they engendered giants. In order to stop the destruction caused by the giants, four archangels were commissioned by Rex Honoris to discipline them.⁸⁴ This plot ultimately derives from the Manichaean version of the *BG* tradition, which, as mentioned above, identifies the defeated and imprisoned archons with

⁷⁹ I also engage the topic of the imprisoned demons in my essay, “Imprisoned Evil Forces.”

⁸⁰ This is evident from *Traité* 11–13 and *Psalms-Book* 10.23–29, which are both quoted above in section 1.

⁸¹ *Monent etiam eosdem Auditores suos ut, si vescuntur carnibus, animalia non occidant, ne offendant principes tenebrarum in caelestibus colligatos, a quibus omnem carnem dicunt originem ducere* (Augustine, *De haeresibus* 46.12). Translation from Iain Gardner and Samuel N.C. Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 190. Cf. *Contra Faustum* 6.8.

⁸² ... [yäk]lär köklär içrä ... (Mainz 347/V/4). See Wilkens, “Neue Fragmente,” 167.

⁸³ Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 186.

⁸⁴ Reeves, *ibid.*, 186, Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” 53–54.

the watchers of Enochic tradition.⁸⁵ The first aggressors from the Land of Darkness who planned to attack the Realm of Light, these rebellious demons, just like those who attempted to fight against this realm in primeval times, were defeated and imprisoned (again) by the representatives of Light, the four archangels or, in another instance, Adamas.

... four angels (ϣΤΑΥ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) were called upon about them. They bound the watche[r]s with an eternal chain, in the prison of the blackened ones (?) (*Keph.* 93.25–27).

Again, before the watchers [ΠΕΓΡΗΓΟΡΟΣ] rebelled and came down from heaven, a prison was fashioned and constructed for them in the depths of the earth, below the mountains (ϩᲘ ΠΨΙΧϩᲚ ᲙΠΚΑϩ ᲙΠΣΑΜΠΙΤΗΕ ΠΗΤΟΥᲚᲚᲚ) (*Keph.* 117.1–4).

For the rulers rebelled and were set [a]gainst the Living Spirit. They wished to ... since they knew and realized that he might bind [and] fetter them with a strong chain (εϣΑΜΑΡΟΥ [Πϣ]ΣΑΗϩΟΥ ϩᲚ ΟΥΜᲚΡΕ ΕΣΝΑΨΤ) (*Keph.* 58.24–28).

He explained to us that the rebels shall be bound in a great fetter (ΨΑΥΜΟΥΡ ΠΒΕΖΕΥΕ ϩᲚ ΟΥΝΑᲚ ᲙᲚΡΕ), they who shall [r]ebel against the g[o]d ... (*Keph.* 268.15–17)

... the demons, put fetters on their feet; the goddesses,⁸⁶ put iron on their hands; the stinking and foul devils, let their neck break beneath the collar; the false gods that have rebelled, bind them beneath the dark mountain ... The Adamas armed himself and sped down ... he put fetters on the feet of the demons; he put iron on the hands of the goddesses; the stinking and foul devils, he made their neck break beneath the collar; the false gods also that rebelled he bound beneath the dark mountain ... (*Psalm-Book* 209.29–210.10).

The motif of enchainment seems to be a widely spread motif. The first and last texts quoted above suggest that the rebellions took place in the firmaments but that the punishment is linked to the subterranean regions. In his lecture given in 2012, Yoshida suggested that “a soldier is seen on the fourth firmament holding a sword. He is likely to be in the process of capturing rebellious demons; one who was recaptured is jailed in a prison on the sixth firmament.”⁸⁷ He also noted that this is similar to a Sogdian fragment of the *Book of Giants*: “they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth” (Text G).⁸⁸

In the firmaments of the CP, one can see several demonic figures who are evidently in a defeated status (Pl. 1): they usually kneel;⁸⁹ in one instance there is also a surrounding prison-like fence (sixth firmament), but there is also one demon with his head hung down (fifth firmament; Fig. 1b), while another one seems to be standing and raising his right arm (third firmament). The kneeling

⁸⁵ Reeves, “Jewish Pseudepigrapha,” 187.

⁸⁶ The term “goddess” (ᲚᲚᲚᲚ) evidently means “demoness” in this context, as in *Keph.* 143.6–7: “he has humbled lust, the goddess (or the female lord or demoness) of the body” (ΑϣᲚᲚᲚᲚ ᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚ ᲚᲚᲚᲚᲚ ᲙᲚᲚᲚᲚ).

⁸⁷ Yoshida, “Picture Version.”

⁸⁸ Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” 69.

⁸⁹ First firmament: one demon; second firmament: three demons; third firmament: one demon; fourth firmament: one demon; fifth firmament: six demons (though this part is damaged); sixth firmament: two demons; eighth firmament: two demons; ninth firmament: two demons.

and thus seemingly submissive position and the invariably present light handcuffs on their wrists would theoretically suggest a complete defeat; however, the way they are visually depicted sometimes seems to suggest that they are eager to break out from their defeated status.

The inclination of the demons to rebel can be substantiated by two motifs. First, there are numerous divine or angelic figures in the firmaments who seem to make use of magical hand gestures, called *mudrās* in Buddhism (e.g., *tarjanī-mudrā*), to restrain these demons. This conspicuous and all pervasive intention to control these demonic beings can hardly be interpreted as anything else than the depiction of the permanent threat that without this control the demons would escape. In numerous cases, two angelic wards are needed to control one demon; the wards either flank the kneeling demon (fourth firmament [left]; sixth firmament [left and right]; ninth firmament [left]) or stand beside it (third firmament [right]; eighth firmament [left and right]; ninth firmament [right]).

However, there are other types of arrangements as well: in the first and third firmaments (right and left sides, respectively) the demonic figures face the pair of angels who hold the firmaments themselves and thus serve as “natural” border guards; in the second firmament (left) a demon is controlled by a single angelic figure, while on the other side of the same firmament two demons are left unattended; in the fifth firmament (left), there are probably six demons accompanied by four guards only, while the demon hanging his head down is basically alone, though a single angelic ward, immersed in other duties, appears on its right.

The various types of arrangements notwithstanding, the overall impression is straightforward: the demons must be controlled, otherwise they would rebel and flee. If these figures were demons captured in the first battle who were imprisoned safely forever in the firmaments, without the least possibility of their escape, what would be the use of the great number of angelic guards? Why would they be necessary? This interpretation is reinforced by a second visual motif: the gesticulation of the demonic figures.

There are several demons who do not seem to exhibit the traits of a completely defeated creature, especially if compared to the countenance and hand gestures of some others. Compared to the meek demon above, the one on the left side of the eighth firmament, for example, does seem threatening when stretching out its arms and showing its fangs in its slightly open mouth (Fig. 1d). It is perhaps not a coincidence that here, exceptionally, Mani himself and another figure behind him in *abhaya mudrā* (extending his right hand) face and try to control this creature.

Similar gestures and fangs in an open mouth are discernible in other cases as well: the demon placed in a fenced prison in the sixth firmament (left), the ones in the second (left), or the first (right) firmaments, do not betray the characteristics of a completely defeated being. Instead they seem to argue and, once given the opportunity, ready to fight. In light of their active and sometimes potentially violent behavior, it is not surprising that numerous guards are required to con-

trol them. An even more conspicuous case is that of the apparently standing demon in the third firmament (left), raising its arm as if threatening the angels supporting the firmaments. This demon is perhaps the closest to what one would describe as a rebelling figure.

In the last part of this section, I would like to explore the number of the demons in the firmaments. Although there is some damage in the fifth firmament, it seems safe to assume that the number of demons in the individual firmaments is as follows: tenth: none; ninth: two; eighth: two; seventh: none; sixth: two; fifth: seven;⁹⁰ fourth: one; third: two; second: three; first: one.⁹¹ In sum, in the ten firmaments there are twenty demons altogether. This number might seem accidental; however, the number of the demons in the eight earths, as we will see, is exactly the same. Even more surprisingly, the number of the demons between the earths and the firmaments is essentially also twenty. Thus, twenty, in connection with demonic figures, seems to be a recurrent number in the CP. Here it is difficult not to associate this number with that of the rebelling demons; although the surviving Manichaean sources of the *BG* mention the number two hundred in this connection, which would be highly difficult to paint in such a small space. It is also well known from Enochic sources, that these two hundred demons were arranged into groups of ten, each led by a chief, who thus counted twenty altogether. Relevant texts from the Manichaean *Book of Giants* and *1 Enoch* include the following:

Completed: (the chapter on) “The Coming of the Two Hundred Demons (’δw C δywtγ)” (So14638/I/R [= T II S20]; Text H)⁹²

and in the coming of the two hundred demons (*dwysd dyw’n*) there are two paths ... (M5750/V/II [= T ii D ii 120]); Text J)

... the two hundred demons (CC δyw’t) came down to the sphere from the high heaven ... (M363/I/7–10; Text K)

And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons (CC δywt) saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. ... And those two hundred demons fought a hard battle with the [four angels], until [the angels used] fire, naphtha, and brimstone (M7800/I/R/2–5, 34–38).

The four angels with the two hundred [demons] (*iv fryštyt δn CC*) ... (M7800/I/V/headline [= T ii]; Text G)

And these are the names of their chiefs: Shemiḥazah – this one was their leader; Ar-teqoph, second to him; Remashel, third to him ... Yamiel, nineteenth to him; Yehadiel, twentieth to him. These are their chiefs of ten (*1 En.* 6:7).

⁹⁰ In addition to the demon hung upside down on the right side, the four angelic figures on the left side of this firmament are flanked by a group of three demons on either side, though the third figure in the left group has only the brown vestiges of its head and body.

⁹¹ In each pair in this list the ordinal number refers to one of the firmaments and the cardinal number signifies the number of demons.

⁹² The first five of these passages are all from Henning, “The Book of the Giants.”

c) *Four Angels at Mount Sumeru*

As can be seen from the citations above, the two hundred demons were followed by four angels in their descent; the latter ones were given the task to control the former ones.⁹³ Rex Honoris on the left side of the seventh firmament is flanked by two groups of four armored angels on either side, and one of the two groups, I argued above, can be identified with the four archangels. However, due to the disasters caused by the demons and their offspring, they descended to the earth to defeat the demons. Indeed, as Yoshida has already pointed out, a group of four armored warriors with helmets and red tassels can be seen at the foot of Mount Sumeru: “Although the part is slightly damaged, I can see four men in full armor. They are found in front of Mt. Sumeru which looks like a huge mushroom. The number four does induce one to connect them with the very four avenging angels mentioned above: Raphael, Gabriel, Michael, and Israel. If that is the case, the four soldiers or angels are most likely to be in the process of subjugating demons or giants.”⁹⁴

The examination of this slightly damaged part in the CP suggests that the depicted scene refers to the situation after the battle, since the four angels are, strangely enough, not fighting at all; instead, they stand peacefully among the relatively smaller mountains in front of Mount Sumeru (Fig. 2a).

Most of the demonic figures are rather far from the four archangels in the CP. Only the depiction of those immediately below them might, as Yoshida also mentions, imply that here we observe a landscape after the battle. The Xiapu passage associates each archangel with one of the four continents; however, in the CP these armored angels are pronouncedly not placed on any of the continents but stand in a group among the mountains between two continents (Pl. 2).⁹⁵ This phase might denote the moment immediately after their descent, but the defeated demons seem to show that the depicted scene is rather a snapshot of the state of affairs after their victorious fight.

As mentioned in the first part of this paper, the names of these four angels were preserved in Chinese phonetic transcription as well. Thus they were evidently important enough to have their memory perpetuated even in this late Chinese phase of Manichaeism. Nevertheless, the surviving Manichaean sources, except for the Xiapu passage, never mention the four archangels in connection with the

⁹³ Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 122, mentions that the rather fragmentary Qumran manuscripts of the *Book of Giants* do not refer to the battle between the archangels and the giants.

⁹⁴ Yoshida, “Picture Version.”

⁹⁵ Interestingly, there are four groups of three figures descending on each of the four continents, but these figures, based on the internal analysis of the iconography, can hardly be equated with the descending archangels, since they do not wear armor and helmet.

fight against the demons; their names (*rʷfʷyl*, *myxʷyl*, *gbrʷyl*, *srʷyl*) only occur in Middle Iranian invocations.⁹⁶

The identity of the mysterious figure seated behind the four armored angels is not obvious. Since in the Xiapu texts the list of the four invoked archangels is often supplemented by a fifth one, that of Jacob, therefore, one might hypothetically suggest that this figure might be identified as him. One must add, however, that Jacob was regarded as a warrior general, therefore the lack of any military motifs seems to contradict this identification. Ma Xiaohe has stressed that another candidate may be Mo Qinjiao mingshi 味嗑皎明使, who is termed as one of the dharma-defenders and is mentioned together with the four archangels in “*Xingfu zuqing danke* 興福祖慶誕科” (22).⁹⁷ Another similarly speculative possibility could be that here we see the four archangels protecting Enoch.⁹⁸

d) Imprisoned Demons in the Earths

Below the earthly scene and thus below the four angels are eight layers of earths, divided into clusters of three and five layers by a section with various mythological scenes in-between. In the three plus one upper earths ferocious demons, all lying prone with their hands tied behind their back, are depicted (Fig. 3).

In his 2012 talk, Yoshida cited the Coptic *Kephalaia* (117.1–4) regarding the prison (ϠΥΛΑΚΗ) fashioned and constructed for the rebels in the depths of the earth (ϠᲘ ΠΥΡΙΧϠϣ ᲘΠΚΑϠ), below the mountains (ᲘΠΣΑᲘΠΙΤΗ ΠΠΤΟΥᲚᲚᲚ). In light of their squeezed and bound state, the demons in these three plus one earths can indeed be seen as being imprisoned in the earths,⁹⁹ while there are indeed green mountains above, both in the middle part and on the two edges. Each of the four upper earths holds five demons, thus altogether there are twenty

⁹⁶ Enrico Morano, “Manichaean Middle Iranian Incantation Texts from Turfan,” in Durkin-Meisterernst et al., *Turfan Revisited*, 221–27; Christiane Reck, *Gesegnet sei dieser Tag. Manichäische Festtagshymnen. Edition der mittelpersischen und parthischen Sonntags-, Montags- und Bemahymnen* (BTT 22; Brepols: Turnhout, 2004), 159–61; eadem, “Fragmente von Büchern – Zwei Sammelhandschriften im Vergleich,” in Özertural and Wilkens, *Der östliche Manichäismus*, 133–60 (141–43).

⁹⁷ Private email, 20 January 2015. On the text, see Ji Jiachen 计佳辰, “Xiapu Monijiao xin wenxian ‘Xingfuzu qingdan ke’ lujiao yanjiu 霞浦摩尼教新文献《兴福祖庆诞科》录校研究 [A Philological Study of the New Manichaean Text ‘Xingfuzu qingdan ke’]” (M. A. thesis, Northwest University for Nationalities [Xibei minzu daxue 西北民族大学], Lanzhou, 2013), 9, 13.

⁹⁸ Cf. M101i of the *Book of Giants*. Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” 62, offers the following possible translations: “And the angels veiled (or: covered, or: protected, or: moved out of sight) Enoch.” Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst gives the following meanings of Middle Persian *nhwmb* (from which *nhwpt* above derives): “cover, guide, hide, conceal.” See his *Texts from Central Asia and China. Part I: Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Vol. 3.1 of *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts* (CFM.S; Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 242.

⁹⁹ Yoshida, “Picture Version”: “The prison below the earth mentioned in the text seems to me to correspond to the three layers where demonic creatures are found.”

of them, the same number of demons that appear in the firmaments and in the sphere between the firmaments and the earths.

It must be, however, emphasized that based on visual materials which *per definitionem* cannot exhibit temporal aspects, it may be difficult to differentiate between the primeval defeat of the demons by the Primal Man and the Living Spirit and the repeated overthrow of demonic figures by the four archangels. The twenty demons imprisoned in the four upper earths could theoretically denote the former ones, but, in fact, aside from some general assertions,¹⁰⁰ there are only scarce references to the earths being prisons for the demons after the primeval battle. Rather, the earths are often regarded as being made of the flesh of the demons slain at the primeval battle; thus they serve as material out of which the eight earths are formed,¹⁰¹ but the earths very rarely feature as prisons for the surviving demons.

Consequently, when we see the eight earths with captured and bound demons in them so prominently depicted, it is more probable that this indeed refers to the captured and bound demons who had rebelled.¹⁰² Thus, after the defeat of the Kingdom of Darkness by the Primal Man, its inhabitants, when dead, were used to form the universe, and when alive, were imprisoned into designated parts of it, most prominently in the firmaments and the zodiac.¹⁰³ Some of those imprisoned in the firmaments rebelled, a group of them descended to the human world, and after being captured and defeated by the four archangels, were imprisoned into the earths, and not taken back to the firmaments. This plot seems to be rather accurately depicted in the CP.

It is worth noting that the demons being so conspicuously fettered and chained by their wrists and ankles, a feature, due to the damages of the painting and the special arrangement, only visible in nine instances, has textual parallels both in the Manichaean *BG* and Enochic tradition:¹⁰⁴

... the watchers (ἡεργηγορος) came down to earth from the heavens; four angels (εἴταυ παγγελος) were called upon about them. They bound the watchers with an eternal chain (αἰμογῶρ ἡεργηγο[ρ]ος εἰ οὔμπερρε ψαλληρε), in the prison of the blackened ones (εἰ πῦτεκο ἡετκκκαμτ) (?). They obliterated their children from upon the earth (*Keph.* 93.24–28).

¹⁰⁰ *Kephalia* 51.25–28: “Also, a[l]l the rulers, the powers of sin who had faulted and sinned against the sons [of] the First Man, he (the Living Spirit) has judged them according to a right[e]ous judgement. He has bound them in heaven and earth (αἰμαροῦ εἰν τπε μῆ πκαε).”

¹⁰¹ *Škand-gumānīg wīzār* 16.10–11.

¹⁰² It may be also noted that the demons’ original, primeval attack against the Realm of Light naturally provides us with a suitable analogy to the later rebellions.

¹⁰³ M178/II/111–16: “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.” See Henning, “A Sogdian Fragment,” 313.

¹⁰⁴ In addition to the texts quoted below, note also *Psalms-Book* 209.29–210.10, cited in section 1.2.2 above.

He explained to us that the rebels shall be bound in a great fetter (ϣαγμοογρ π̄βεζεγε ρ̄π̄ ογ̄παδ̄ μ̄μ̄ρ̄ρε), they who shall [r]ebel against the g[o]od ... (*Keph.* 268.15–17).

For the rulers (παρζων) rebelled and were set [a]gainst the Living Spirit. They wished to ... since they knew and realized that he might bind [and] fetter them with a strong chain (εϕαμαρογ [πϕ]σανρογ ρ̄π̄ ογ̄μ̄ρ̄ρε εσ̄ναϣτ) (*Keph.* 58.24–28).

And to Michael he [the Lord] said: Go, Michael, bind Shemiḥazah and the others with him ... bind them for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth (*1 En.* 10:11–12).

The demons imprisoned in the earths are at least twice as big as those in the firmaments and the ones near Mount Sumeru; on the other hand, they are much smaller than the thirteen demonic figures at the edge of the four continents. Unlike those in the firmaments, they all wear a special headband, a motif appearing on the head of all the demons under the firmaments but never on the heads of the ones in the firmaments.

The aforesaid identifications of visual motifs in the CP, several of which also have textual support in the Xiapu material, seem to be relatively secure ones. These textual and visual remains seem to suggest that some portions of the *BG* tradition were known among the Chinese Manichaeans. After the survey of these secure motifs related to the Rex Honoris in the Xiapu material and the Cosmology Painting, I now proceed to explore some other motifs that are not directly linked to this figure of the Manichaean pantheon, but may have some bearing on the *BG* traditions.

II. Thirty-Two Palaces on Mount Sumeru

In his lecture given in 2012, Yoshida already referred to the Sogdian fragment M7800/I (Text G) of the *Book of Giants*, which mentions Mount Sumeru.

... they took and imprisoned all the helpers that were in the heavens. And the angels themselves descended from the heaven to the earth. And (when) the two hundred demons saw those angels, they were much afraid and worried. They assumed the shape of men and hid themselves. Thereupon the angels forcibly removed the men from the demons, laid them aside, and put watchers over them ... the giants ... were sons ... with each other in bodily union ... with each other self- ... that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them from the demons. And they led one half of them eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains, towards the foot of the Sumeru mountain, into thirty-two towns which the Living Spirit had prepared for them in the beginning.¹⁰⁵

In the CP, we indeed see a unique depiction of Mount Sumeru, which resembles a huge tree (Pl. 2). There are indeed gigantic figures within the huge, peripheral mountains (analyzed in the next unit), but the thirty-two towns are hard to reconcile with what we see on the CP. Although there are indeed thirty-two small palaces on the “foliage” of the tree-like Mount Sumeru, they are definitely not

¹⁰⁵ M7800/I/R/19–26. See Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” 69.

towns; they are not at the foot of the mountain, nor are they among the smaller mountains on the skirts, and, even more importantly, there is nothing to suggest that these palaces hold giants or offspring of the giants.¹⁰⁶ They are evidently too small, for example, to accommodate the relatively big demons kneeling on the right side of the foliage. The thirty-two palaces thus rather seem to be the traditional, standard attributes of Mount Sumeru, with a much bigger thirty-third palace on the top. The palaces are rather similar to those placed along the axis of the ten firmaments, all with a golden roof and red beams. Thus they definitely seem to imply a divine association; this is reinforced by the presence of three divine figures in front of the thirty-third palace, with the central figure seated on a lotus throne and the two acolytes standing on either side. All in all, this seems to indicate the purely divine nature of this Manichaean Mount Sumeru, which has no bearings whatsoever on demonic forces.¹⁰⁷

III. Different Fates for Different Kinds of Giants?

As is well known, the *BG* tradition recounts that the descending demons and their offspring had various types of fates. These types, among others, include demons controlled by non-demonic watchers, repenting demons, as well as imprisoned giants. Matthew Goff has stressed the importance of a major division among the giants:

In Text E [of the Manichaean *Book of Giants*] the giants are divided into two camps, one of which rejoices in seeing the “apostle” and the other, described as “tyrants and criminals,” becomes afraid when they see him. The apostle is not named, but on the basis of the Qumran *Book of Giants* is easily identified as Enoch (4Q203 8). ... The Manichaean *Book of Giants* and the *Kephalaia* preserve two traditions that are significant for the interpretation of the Qumran *Book of Giants*. One, some giants became remorseful for their crimes and confessed and, two, that a substantial number of giants were not killed but rather lived in cities built for them.¹⁰⁸

In the following, I will show how various types of fates were perhaps visually depicted in the CP.

¹⁰⁶ Yoshida, “Southern Chinese Version,” 393.

¹⁰⁷ Theoretically, one can find passages in the vast Enochic literature which could be associated with this scene. Note for example *1 En.* 25:2–3: “Then I answered him – I, Enoch – and said: ‘Concerning all things I wish to know, but especially concerning this tree.’ And he answered me and said: ‘This high mountain that you saw, whose peak is like the throne of God, is the seat where the Great Holy One, the Lord of Glory, the King of Eternity, will sit, when he descends to visit the earth in goodness.’”

¹⁰⁸ Matthew Goff, “When Giants Dreamed about the Flood: The Book of Giants and its Relationship to the Book of Watchers,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures*, ed. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (BETL 270; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 61–88 (80–81).

1. A Watcher Placed Upon a Demon

As cited above, a Sogdian fragment specifies the fate of certain demons: “There-upon the angels forcibly removed the men from the demons, laid them aside, and put watchers over them ...” (M7800/I/R/9–10).¹⁰⁹ The visual analogy of this sentence is suggestively presented in the CP, where in the right bottom part of the human world, above the ocean surrounding the four continents, there is a demonic figure with its tongue stuck out. This figure, who is definitely separated from the human beings and the human world, has a seated buddha, i.e., divine figure, on the top of its head. The function of this divine figure is evidently to control the defeated demon below him. I naturally do not claim that the painter of the CP made use of this specific Sogdian text; nevertheless, the sentence in question could hardly be better visualized than this.

2. Repenting Demons at Mount Sumeru

Another emblematic motif of the *BG* tradition is the repentance of certain demons.¹¹⁰ Matthew Goff emphasizes this unique feature as follows:

The Manichaean *Book of Giants* endorses the thesis that some giants understood themselves as sinful and prayed to God for forgiveness. This is most evident in Uighur fragments of the work published by Wilkens in 2000. ... The Uighur fragments of the Manichaean *Book of Giants* elucidate texts from the Qumran work in which a giant shows awareness of sin, such as 4Q531. ... The Sogdian text T iii 282 (Henning’s Text E) not only supports the thesis that some giants experienced a change of heart, but also suggests that this development should be connected to Enoch’s rebuke (4Q203 8).¹¹¹

Enrico Morano summarizes this phase of the plot in the following way: “The four archangels (?) bring the earth’s complaint before the Rex Honoris (= Yima?) and honour him. Enoch acts as mediator. The demons assemble fearful before him and ask for mercy. Apparently they promise to reform their ways.”¹¹²

In the CP, there are at least two remarkable visual parallels with this phase of the narrative. First, in the *BG* tradition there are four figures who complain in front of Rex Honoris, and in the CP there are four figures kneeling in front of the main figure on the top of the foliage of Mount Sumeru (Fig. 2).¹¹³ Secondly,

¹⁰⁹ See section 2 above.

¹¹⁰ Wilkens, “Neue Fragmente,” 138–39; Goff, “Murderers or Repentant Sinners?”

¹¹¹ Goff, “When Giants Dreamed,” 79–80.

¹¹² Morano’s account of this element of the story is based on Texts V and E (both in Sogdian) of the Manichaean *Book of Giants* (following his classification of the fragments). See his “New Research,” 103.

¹¹³ Cf. Skjaervø, “Iranian Epic,” 204: “... in view of the fact that the watchers originally came from the watch-district of the Rex Honoris, it is most likely that the complaint was brought before him.”

to the right of Mount Sumeru, one can observe altogether four demons kneeling with hands clutched (Fig. 2). Two of them are kneeling on a pitch-dark cloud¹¹⁴ on the right side of the “foliage” (Fig. 2c). One is kneeling on a rock on the lower border of the top right continent, and yet another is placed on the neighboring bottom right continent.

The gestures of these figures suggest they are acts of sincere repentance, in contrast to the situation encountered in the firmaments. Here there are no guards or wards to admonish or control them; they seem to behave spontaneously, without being forced to do so. The two demons beside the foliage might be, completely speculatively, identified with Ohyah (Sāhm) and Hahyah (Pāt-Sāhm or Narīmān), since they seem to be a pair, who kneel or prostrate in repentance: “The strong [giant] Sāhm bent [both] his knees ...”¹¹⁵ Probably a similar reference is preserved in the Qumran *BG* (4Q203 4 3–6): “Ohyah said to Ha[hyah] from above the earth ... W[hen]they prostrated and wept be[fore].”¹¹⁶

As is well known, Shemiḥazah / Shahmīzād, one of the key characters of the *BG* story, also repents, so much so that he suspends himself upside down, as narrated, for example, in the much later “Midrash of Shemḥazai and Azael,” which still offers some parallels: “They have said about him, i.e., Shemḥazai, that he repented and suspended himself upside-down between heaven and earth because he had no excuse for his behavior before the Holy One, blessed be He, and to this very day he remains suspended between heaven and earth in repentance.”¹¹⁷ In the right part of the fifth firmament in the CP, there is a weird demonic figure, hung with his head upside down. Although its position is not exactly where it should be according to this midrashic text (i.e., between the firmaments and the

¹¹⁴ Dark clouds appear three times in the CP, aside from these two figures who are seated on clouds. On the other side of Mount Sumeru a larger black cloud is depicted with four demonic heads in it below the figure of the Virgin of Light (see Kósa, “The Virgin of Light”). On the association of clouds and demons, see Drawnel, “The Mesopotamian Background,” 27. Clouds of other colors (orange, red, white, pink) do appear in other instances in the CP, and they invariably “transport” divine figures.

¹¹⁵ Mainz 344a. See Wilkens, “Neue Fragmente,” 157. It must be added that the scene happens in front of the sun god, who is not present in this CP scene. Moreover, M35/30–32 (Text N; Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” 71–72) says that Ohya was killed by Raphael, while M813/I/R/10–12 (Morano, “If They Had Lived,” 32) indicates that the two brothers both died.

¹¹⁶ Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 75; Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 312. It must be added that the other two demons in the continents also kneel in an apparently repenting mood. Moreover, the Qumran version is naturally not identical with the Manichaean *Book of Giants*. See e.g., Penner, “Did the Midrash,” 22.

¹¹⁷ Trans. John C. Reeves, “Midrash of Shemḥazai and Azael,” (available online at <https://clas-pages.uncc.edu/john-reeves/course-materials/rels-2104-hebrew-scripturesold-testament/bereshit-rabbati-on-shemhazai-azael/> (accessed on 15 Jan 2015). See also Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 322–26.

earths), this figure must definitely be a watcher, since it is in the firmaments. Thus, tentatively, one could associate this figure with Shemīhazah/Shahmīzād.

This act of repentance, which was definitely an integral part of the *BG* tradition,¹¹⁸ and which is perhaps depicted in the late Chinese CP, is a strange phenomenon if seen in the context of Manichaeism. Given the extreme ontological dualism of Manichaeism, the motif of repenting demons, be they watchers or giants, is complete nonsense. It contradicts the essence of Manichaeism. Neither can the Light principle, or any representatives thereof, turn into the Dark principle, nor can the representatives of the Kingdom of Darkness repent and correct their way. In the Manichaean world, there is no chance for any representative of the dark principle to change its essential nature. Thus, seen in this perspective, the motif of kneeling and apparently repenting demons in the CP shows the influence of the *BG* tradition, since it is only the latter one where repenting demons might, and emphatically do, occur.

3. Imprisoned Giants?

As mentioned previously, a crucial Sogdian text regarding the fate of the giants says: "... that had been born to them, they forcibly removed them from the demons. And they led one half of them eastwards, and the other half westwards, on the skirts of four huge mountains ..." (M7800/I/R/19–26). Also discussed previously, there are twenty medium-sized demons imprisoned in the four upper layers of the earths, whom I identified with the twenty leaders of the two hundred rebellious demons. Compared to their size, the demonic figures apparently imprisoned among the mountains in the corners of the four continents, are much bigger, since their heads, invariably turned upwards, are already almost as big as the entire body of the former group.

These demonic figures are basically dug into the earth, below the mountains, and only their heads are visible (Pl. 2; Fig. 2b). Each corner of the four continents holds three such demons, except for the left upper one, where four heads are squeezed in. Thus altogether there are thirteen, huge demonic figures imprisoned among the mountains at the edge of the human world. A clearly visible, distinguishing feature of these figures is the fire emitted from their mouths. Considering their size and the place of their imprisonment, one might compare these figures with certain giants, the offspring of some of the watcher demons.¹¹⁹ A scene beyond the right upper continent seems to show some kind of conflict,

¹¹⁸ Goff, "Murderers or Repentant Sinners?"

¹¹⁹ Yoshida, "Picture Version": "Moreover, those demons who are depicted as projecting their heads from below and vomiting fire may also be identified with demons or giants jailed below the mountains."

involving an individual watcher-demon apparently bitterly arguing with one of the groups of three giants.

Thus, in terms of size, the demons in the firmaments, the ones beside Mount Sumeru, the ones imprisoned in the four upper earths and those at the edges of the four continents, seem to belong to different races, or at least different types. Consequently, their fates also seem to be different: some are controlled by various *mudrās* used by divine wards in the firmaments (those captured after the rebellion but not fleeing to earth), twenty others (probably the chiefs) are imprisoned in the four upper earths, yet thirteen others (perhaps some of the giants) are kept captive among the mountains on the four edges of the continents, yet others (perhaps other types of giants) are kneeling and are apparently repenting their sins.

This interpretation is naturally marred by some internal, usually iconographical and consequently logical, contradictions and other deficiencies: what explains the number thirteen in the case of the huge giants? If these figures are indeed giants, how could the repenting demons also be giants, though the two greatly differ in their size? If the twenty demonic figures in the upper four earths are indeed to be identified with the leaders of the watchers, how can Shemīḥazah/Shahmīzād also be depicted in the firmaments? These deficiencies notwithstanding, though the details can and should be refined in future scholarship, the overall influence of the *BG* on the *CP* seems plausible. One must naturally also bear in mind that the painting is a very late depiction of the Manichaean universe, and even if it may perhaps be traced back to a much earlier version, the community where it originated most probably did not know all the details of the *BG* story.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ There are some further motifs which could, theoretically at least, be linked to the *CP*. Since they are too speculative, here I simply list them with some parallels in the Enochic scriptures.

1. Enoch was one of the numerous figures who were regarded as a predecessor of Mani (M299a; *Keph.* 12.12; see Henning, “Ein manichäisches Henochbuch,” 28; Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, “Der Buddha Henoch: Qumran und Turfan,” *ZRGG* 32 [1980]: 367–77). Mani, always clad in white robe with a red border, appears nine times in the *CP* as a witness of various cosmological activities (and four times in other functions). When he appears as a witness, he is invariably accompanied by two attendants. In analogy with the description in the *Cologne Mani Codex* (*CMC* 58–60) which contains an alleged excerpt from an apocalypse attributed to Enoch (David Frankfurter, “Apocalypses Real and Alleged in the Mani Codex,” *Numen* 44 [1997]: 60–73), the *CP* seems to suggest that Mani, through various visions, was gradually initiated into the mysteries of the universe. In the New Paradise scene, Mani receives a book-like object from an angel (Kósa, “The Sun, the Moon,” 176–77). Interestingly, Mani is never shown under the atmosphere (cf. Yoshida, “Shinshutsu Manikyō,” 9b–10a). He only appears above the earths (in the atmosphere, the firmaments and the New Paradise), even if on the fifth earth, for example, several equally important mythical figures and activities are depicted. Mani in the *CP* is thus initiated into the secrets of what is above, not of the whole universe (cf. *CMC* 47–72). In sum, he may have been seen by some Manichaeans as a new Enoch, who received a new revelation which overwrites the former ones.

2. The judgment scene in the *CP* above right of Mount Sumeru clearly follows the so-called Ten Kings of Hell iconographic tradition, and must be interpreted in this context (Gábor Kósa, “The Iconographical Affiliation and the Religious Message of the Judgment Scene in the

IV. Conclusion

The newly identified Chinese Manichaean corpus contains several references to the *Book of Giants* tradition. The Xiapu texts include a text that is known as “Zan tianwang 贊天王” (“In Praise of the Heavenly Kings”), found in a manuscript entitled “Moni guangfo 摩尼光佛” (“Mani, the buddha of Light”) in the possession of ritual master Chen Peisheng 陈培生. This text offers a unique description of Rex Honoris (the King of Honor), one of the Living Spirit’s five sons, who is the most important connecting link between the Manichaean and the *Book of Giants* universes. This short text details the function of Rex Honoris as the surveyor of the various demonic uprisings in the firmaments, and their subsequent consequences in the firmaments and the worldly sphere. The same text, furthermore, preserves the phonetically transcribed Chinese names of three of the four archangels, while also listing their tasks. Other Xiapu texts give all the four names of the archangels, also adding a fifth one, that of Jacob.

In two lectures delivered in 2011 and 2012, Yutaka Yoshida drew attention to the presence of *Book of Giants* motifs in the Cosmology Painting. In the present essay, I have analyzed all these possible identifications and offered some elaborations and comments. These motifs include the double depiction of Rex Honoris in the seventh firmament, the double depiction of eight angels in two groups of four, the portrayal of twenty demons in the firmaments, the representation of Mount Sumeru with 32 + 1 palaces, and the visualization of the various possible

Chinese Cosmology Painting,” in *San yi jiao yanjiu—Lin Wushu jiaoshou guxi jinian wenji* 三夷教研究 – 林悟殊教授古稀纪念文集 [*Researches on the Three Foreign Religions – Papers in Honour for Prof. Lin Wushu on His 70th Birthday*], ed. Zhang Xiaogui 张小贵, Wang Yuanyuan 王媛媛, and Yin Xiaoping 殷小平 [Lanzhou: Lanzhou Daxue Chubanshe, 2015], 77–161). The scene shows animals accusing a human being, a motif also present in the indigenous Chinese Buddhist tradition. Nevertheless, there is an interesting parallel in 2 *En.* 58:4–6: “... but human souls he will judge for the sake of the souls of their animals. ... And not a single soul which the Lord has created will perish until the great judgment. And every kind of animal soul will accuse the human beings who have fed them badly.”

3. On the right side of the fourth firmament there is a huge, fiery semi-globe, black within, with flames on the rim. Compare 1 *En.* 21:7: “From there I traveled to another place, more horrible than this one. And I saw terrible things – a great fire burning and flaming there ...” In the Manichaean context, this fire might refer to the eschatological great fire, which will finally destroy the universe at the end of times (Nils Arne Pedersen, *Studies in the Sermon of the Great War* [Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996]). Reeves (*Jewish Lore*, 88–90) discusses some eschatological notions in ancient western traditions that imply deluge or fire. In this respect, it may be noted that the great ocean surrounding the four continents around Mount Sumeru, a motif clearly deriving from the Buddhist iconography of *mahāsamudra*, closely linked with Mount Sumeru, may be interpreted as the symbol of an imminent flood. Thus the CP may depict both a threatening deluge and an apocalyptic fire. This hypothetical interpretation is only slightly reinforced by the fact that in the CP everything which seems to be Buddhist at a surface level has an alternative Manichaean meaning. As a potential harbinger of the flood, the symbol of a tree with three branches with heads on them also appears twice in two continents, but this also seems to be a superficial coincidence.

fates of the demons. The latter set of motifs includes a watcher hung upside down, twenty demonic figures (possibly the chiefs of the watchers) imprisoned in the four upper earths, thirteen huge monsters (possibly one group of the giants) imprisoned among the mountains beyond the human world, and, even more intriguingly, four demons kneeling and apparently repenting (possibly another group of the giants). This latter motif is especially important, since it is conceivable only in the context of the *Book of Giants* tradition.

In sum, this paper endeavors to give an overview of the new Chinese texts and visual remains that may have some bearings on the Manichaean *Book of Giants*. Hopefully, new findings might reveal more about the Chinese preservation of this unique work.



Pl. 1: The ten firmaments of the Cosmology Painting with the upper part of the snake world below it (colors on silk, 137.1 × 56.6 cm, Yuan or Ming dynasty, detail, Japanese private collection)¹ Copyright © Japanese private collection.

¹ See also Yoshida, “Shinshutsu Manikyō,” Pl. 3.



Fig. 1a: Rex Honoris, flanked by four angelic warriors on either side, seated in the left part of the seventh firmament, with Mani accompanied by two divine figures standing in front of him, and a demon imprisoned in a fenced construction below him. Cosmology Painting, detail. Copyright © Japanese private collection.



Fig. 1b: An armored angel with a sword and a blazing fire in the right part of the fourth firmament. A demonic figure hung with head down in the fifth firmament. Cosmology Painting, detail. Copyright © Japanese private collection.



Fig. 1c: A kneeling demon in the left part of the second firmament with a divine figure controlling it. An apparently rebellious demon and an angelic warrior fighting a lying naked person in the third firmament. Cosmology Painting, detail. Copyright © Japanese private collection.



Fig. 1d: A meek demon kneeling in the ninth firmament, and an apparently more violent one in the eighth firmament, with Mani standing in front of the latter one. Cosmology Painting, detail. Copyright © Japanese private collection



Pl. 2: A tree-like Mount Sumeru with the four continents and the great ocean around it. The “foliage” features 32 small palaces with a bigger one on the top. The latter has three divine figures with four kneeling human figures in front of them. To the right of Mount Sumeru, four kneeling and apparently repenting demons are depicted, while a fifth one in the right bottom has an angelic figure seated on his head. Altogether thirteen huge heads emitting fire are placed in the corners of the four continents. Cosmology Painting, detail. Copyright © Japanese private collection.



Fig. 2a: The four armored archangels among the smaller green mountains in front of Mount Sumeru, with a fifth seated divine figure. Cosmology Painting, detail. Copyright © Japanese private collection.



Fig. 2b: A divine figure placed on the head of a defeated demon outside the continents, above the great ocean. Below them three huge heads (giants?) dug into the earth, emitting fire. The uppermost layer of the earths holds a relatively small demon. Cosmology Painting, detail. Copyright © Japanese private collection.



Fig. 2c: Demons kneeling and repenting (?) on pitch-dark clouds. Cosmology Painting, detail. Copyright © Japanese private collection.



Fig. 3: Demons with headbands imprisoned in three of the four upper earths, all lying prone. Cosmology Painting, detail. Copyright © Japanese private collection.