

The Manichaean “New Paradise” in Text and Image

Gábor KÓSA¹

Manichaeism can be aptly labelled as a religion that stood at the crossroads, both in the geographical and the intellectual sense of the word.² Mānī (216–c. 277) was born during the reign of the Parthian Arsacid dynasty (ca. 250 BCE–226 CE). After a series of private revelations between the age 12 and 24, he left the Jewish-Christian community where his father, Pattīg, had taken him, and appeared at the freshly established Sasanian (224–651) court in 240. His first missionary journey took him to the haven of Dēb in north-west India, from where he led missions to several eastern Iranian vassal states, where, according to the Manichaean missionary history, he converted several local rulers. After returning to the heartland of Sasanian Iran, he was engaged in several missions with his disciples, reaching various places in the Roman Empire and Central Asia alike.

Mānī considered the surrounding world basically tripartite: a Zoroastrian Iran edged between a Christian West and a Buddhist East; consequently, he created a religious system that would cross these boundaries, resulting in a religion that could be accepted by all the inhabitants of the regions known to him. Standing at the crossroad of these religious traditions, he considered himself as the last “Envoy of Light” who, after Zoroaster, Buddha and Jesus, imparted the pure and ultimate revelation to human kind. In their ardent missionary zeal, Manichaean missionaries developed a special technique to spread their faith: not only did they translate their writings into new languages but they were also

-
- 1 My research was supported by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (RG002-EU-13) and the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA, K 100632). I am grateful to Wolf-Peter Funk and Ma Xiaohe for reading the draft paper and offering valuable suggestions. Unless otherwise indicated, translations from Chinese are mine. Chinese Manichaean *Hymn-scroll* is abbreviated as ‘H’, and references are given according to the column of the manuscript. As for the Coptic texts, I used the following abbreviations: 1Ke = Berlin *Kephalaia* (Polotsky and Böhlig 1940, Gardner 1995), 2Ps = *Psalm-book* (Allberry 1938), Hom = *Homilies* (Pedersen 2006). In locating Middle Iranian texts, I found D. Durkin-Meisterernst’s online text-edition (<http://turfan.bbaw.de/texte-en/mirtext>) extremely useful.
 - 2 For a comprehensive introduction to Manichaeism, see Lieu 1992, Tardieu 2009, and Baker-Brian 2011.

keen on matching the concepts of other religions to their own. They found justification for this method in Mānī's claim that his teachings were a pure, unadulterated form of previous traditions (Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Christianity). During the subsequent centuries, the result of this method was that original Manichaean teachings were preserved in diverse languages like Chinese, Uighur, Sogdian, Middle Persian, Parthian, Coptic and Greek, while the texts themselves applied Christian (in Coptic and Greek texts), Zoroastrian (in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian) and Buddhist (in Parthian, Sogdian, Uighur, and Chinese) terminology. Manichaeism always stood at the crossroad of at least two religions: the one established by Mānī and the one into which the original ideas were to be transferred.

While non-Manichaean sources about this religion had already been available before 1900 in Latin, Greek, Syriac, and Arabic, the original sources started to be recovered only in the first decades of the twentieth century. The majority of the sources I will cite in this paper derive either from the fourth to the fifth CE Coptic Manichaean corpus from Medinet Madi (*Homilies, Psalm-book, Kephalaia*) or from the Chinese (Dunhuang), as well as Middle Iranian and Uighur (Turfan) texts found at the eastern segment of the Silk Road; these were written down during the eighth to the tenth centuries, but definitely go back to earlier times. To these traditional sources I will add recent discoveries of written material from Xiapu 霞浦 (Fujian province) and paintings from Japanese collections, both known only since 2009. By now one of the major recent trends in Manichaean studies focuses on these new Chinese sources, preserved in China and Japan.

Manichaeism has a long and winding mythical narrative, abundant with various deities and concepts. Whether the fragmented sources deriving from different areas and times allow us to piece together a reliable and coherent picture of the original narrative is disputed. Although some scholars are definitely right to point out that there were some regional differences in Manichaean theory and practice,³ it still seems to me that as far as the central mythical narrative is concerned, a fourth or fifth century Coptic source conveys basically the same message as a ninth century Chinese one. Without ignoring the differences, I will attempt to make use of all available sources in this paper in order to understand the Manichaean notion of "New Paradise". Such a comprehensive approach is, I think, also required due to the paucity of the available sources.

3 Lim 1989, Sala 2007, 52, Pedersen 2014.

The concept of New Paradise is well known in the field of Manichaean studies; nevertheless, it has been given only little attention so far. To the best of my knowledge, the only longer analysis devoted to this notion was written by Mary Boyce in 1954.⁴ In the following, I will revisit the entire problem: in the first part of the paper, I shall gather surviving textual information on the Manichaean concept of New Aeon or New Paradise; and in the second, I shall explore the visual depiction of the same theme.

1 Textual References to the New Paradise

As an introduction to this specific concept, I will first summarize the central Manichaean mythical narrative in a nutshell. Mānī postulates two ontologically opposite principles, conceived as kingdoms. The relationship between the Two Principles – the representatives of the Realm of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness – evolves through the so-called Three Periods. After living side by side for a long period of time (“Initial Period”), Darkness plans to attack the Realm of Light, whose king, the Father of Greatness, sends his emanation, the Primal Man who, in a preventive battle against Darkness, sacrifices himself and his Five Light Elements, which thus become mixed with Darkness. Although, after a long time of suffering, the ultimately victorious Primal Man is rescued, the Five Light Elements remain in a state of mixture, thus the entire goal of the creation of the universe from this time on is rescuing these light elements. After a series of divine emanations, the Light elements swallowed and captured by the forces of Darkness are retrieved through the various operations of the universe, which works like a huge purifying machine (“Middle Period”). The engine of this purifying machinery is the community of the Manichaean believers, especially the “chosen ones” or elects, who are in turn helped by the “hearers” or auditors. After the mixed light, now purified, finally returns to its original home, the universe shall collapse, and the Two Principles will stay completely separated forever (“Last Period”). The various divine emanations work actively in the process of rescuing the light, thus at the beginning of this “salvation process” a separate divine abode, the “New Paradise”, is created by the so-called Great Builder, one of the numerous members of the Manichaean pantheon.⁵

In order to safeguard the ultimate and inactive members of the Realm of Light, like the Father of Greatness, the Twelve Aeons, the Fragrant Air or the

4 Boyce 1954, 15-23.

5 Boyce 1954, 15-23.

Praiseworthy Earth, it is this separately created, interim abode, the New Aeon or the New Paradise, that serves as the resting place for both the active deities retuning from the “battle” and for the light particles, including the human souls, liberated from the world after crossing stations of the so-called Pillar of Glory, the Moon and the Sun. In the eschatological future, this New Paradise is supposed to be attached to the “real”, original Paradise.

Mary Boyce concluded that Manichaeans apparently did not pay too much attention to the distinction between this supposedly temporary habitat and the eternal realm, and described both realms, with reason, in a similar vein.⁶ In this part of the paper, my main focus will be the question whether the Manichaean textual corpus sets the Realm of Light and the New Paradise clearly apart or not.

1.1 The Role of the Great Builder

It may be logical to start with the Great Builder, who is credited with building the New Paradise. The name of the Great Builder⁷ is connected with the activity of building with the modifier “big” in Syriac (*bān rabbā*),⁸ in Coptic (ⲡⲏⲗⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ),⁹ in Arabic (*al-banāʾu l-kabīru*),¹⁰ and in Middle Persian (*rʾz ʿy wzrg*).¹¹ In Parthian and Sogdian, it becomes associated with “radiance” and “splendor” (*bʾmyzd*,¹² *βʾm βγγ*)¹³, probably due to the superficial phonetic similarity between Syriac *bān* (“builder”)¹⁴ and Parthian *bām* (“radiance, splendor”)¹⁵ or Sogdian *βām* (“radiance, glory, splendor”)¹⁶.¹⁷ At the same time, however, P.

⁶ Boyce 1954, 18f.

⁷ See Sundermann 1979, 99f.

⁸ *Liber Scholiorum* XI 314.16.3-6, 316.10.1f [Scher ed.] (Hunter 2006, 4).

⁹ Hom 86.7, 1Ke 44.3, 49.24, 72.31, 79.33, 82.9, 87.1, 118.10, 273.21, 2Ps 1.32, 32.30, 36.25, 137.61; Bryder 1985, 122, Asmussen 1975, 114; van Lindt 1992, 78-80. For these and other names see Clackson 1998, 105.

¹⁰ *Al-Fihrist* 71, 15 [796]; de Blois 2006, 33.

¹¹ M98/I/V/5f (Middle Persian, *šābuhragān*, Colditz 2000, 282).

¹² M5262/I/V/5 (Parthian); M176/R/12f (Parthian); M2/II/V/I (Parthian) (Colditz 2000, 275).

¹³ M583/I/R/5 (Sogdian).

¹⁴ Payne 1903, 48, Beck 1978, 165. n. 15.

¹⁵ Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 103.

¹⁶ Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2012, 49.

¹⁷ Schaeder (1926, 243. n. 2) mentions “Klangähnlichkeit” in this respect.

Bryder suggests that the meaning of Syriac *škīnā* was split in Middle Iranian languages as *bām* (‘brilliance’) and *šahr* (‘aeon, country’).¹⁸

The meaning “radiance” was already associated with “dawn” in Parthian (*b’md’d*)¹⁹ and Sogdian (*β’msn*).²⁰ and the latter subsequently became the designation of this deity in Uighur as *βam tāñri*²¹ (“Deity of Dawn”) or even more explicitly as *tañ tāñri*²² (“Deity of Dawn”).

The Coptic expression [ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲃⲣⲣⲉ]²³ (“who builds [the Builder] of the [New] Aeon”) or [ⲣⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲃⲣⲣⲉ]²⁴ (“Builder of the New Aeon”) identified the object of the construction as *aiōn* (ⲁⲓⲱⲛ), apparently used in the spatial sense. One of the Chinese equivalents means “the creat[or] of the new radiance/aeon/form”²⁵ (*zao xinxiang* 造新相),²⁶ which is closest to the Middle Persian “god of the new aeon creation” (*nwgs’hr’pwr yzd*),²⁷ while another Chinese name, “radiance/aeon/form-creator buddha” (*zaoxiang fo* 造相佛),²⁸ lacks the reference to something new.²⁹

According to the Manichaean imagination, three sub-periods are distinguished within the Middle Period. During the second sub-phase, the Father of Greatness emanates a deity called “the Beloved of Lights”,³⁰ who emanates the Great Builder,³¹ who in turn emanates the Living Spirit,³² the last one being basically responsible for the creation of the universe. Unlike the majority of the Manichaean deities, who usually start their designated activity as soon as they

18 Bryder 1985, 100.

19 Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 103.

20 Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2012, 49.

21 Pelliot Chinois 3049: 8 (Uighur). (Hamilton 1986, 38).

22 T II D 169 (Uighur) (von Le Coq 1919, 9f).

23 2Ps 32.30, 36.25; 144.21 (Allberry 1938, 32, 36, 144).

24 2Ps 137.62 (Allberry 1938, 137).

25 On these various meanings, see Bryder 1985, 128–132, Mikkelsen 2006, 78, 91.

26 H125.

27 M470/R/15; M482/V/12; M4590/R/12; M7984/II/R/i (Hutter 1992, 30); M7981/I/V/i (Hutter 1992, 44).

28 H170.

29 It might be worth pointing out that Chinese *xiang* 相, just like Parthian and Middle Persian *b’m*, as well as Sogdian *fm* (glory, majesty; νοῦς), is also listed among the five intellectual qualities of the Father of Greatness, but in this sense it is equivalent to the Syriac *haunā*, Greek νοῦς, Latin *mens*, and Uighur *qut* (Waldschmidt-Lentz 1933, 20f; Bryder 1985, 128f).

30 See Esmailpour 2006.

31 E. g. 2Ps 137.56, 60f (Allberry 1938, 137).

32 *Liber Scholiorum* XI 314.16. [Scher] (Jackson and Yohannan 1965, 228f).

are emanated, the Great Builder waits until the third sub-phase of the Middle Period, when the so-called Third Messenger gives him the order to build the New Paradise for the liberated light, as well as a final βῶλος (Lat. *globus*) for the imprisonment of the dark principle.³³

This act of command by the Third Messenger to the Great Builder is attested in several sources. The Middle Persian M7980-7984, for examples, says:

Then the God Rōšnshahr [the God of the World of Light, the Third Messenger] commanded the creator God of the New World (he Great Builder), “Go and build the New Construction (*dysm’n ‘yg nug*) beyond the cosmos of heavens and earths, (beyond) the five Hells, up to the southern region, (but) more towards (here) than there,³⁴ over the Hell of Darkness, (so that) it stretches from the eastern to the western region, in accordance with (the original) Paradise (*whyšt’w*). And in the middle of this structure make an impregnable prison (*bnyst’n ‘yw hwstyg’[n]*) for Āz and Ahriman, the demons and the she-devils. And (only) when the radiance and beauty of the gods (the light substance trapped by the dark powers) [...] is purified and lifted up to the Highest and when the Renewal of the world (*pršykyrd*) takes place, then Āz and Ahriman, the demons and the she-devils will be bound (*bst bw’nd*) in that prison (*bnyst’n*) unceasingly for ever. And above the New Construction (*’br h’n dysm’n ‘y nug*) erect the New Paradise (*whyšt ‘y nug kun*), (so that) Ohrmizd and these (saving) gods – which Āz and Ahriman, the demons and the she-devils have seized and bound because of their wondrous power and light – (so that they), and we, too, [may have] a throne (...)”³⁵

This text, just like M98-M99 and M6810, was most probably part of the *Šābuhragān*, Mānī’s only work written in Middle Persian.³⁶ This work of Mānī, dedicated to *Šābuhr* I. (r. 240–270), must have been a summary of his teachings, cached in a Zoroastrian terminology.³⁷

There is no doubt that *Šābuhragān* is the text by Mani of which most has been preserved and of whose content we know most.³⁸

33 See Decret 1974, Bennett 2011.

34 On this see Hutter 1992, 45. n. 23.

35 M7981/I/V/i/15-ii/34 (Middle Persian) (*Šābuhragān*); trans. Klimkeit 1993, 229, also see Hutter 1992, 44-46. [...] indicates intentional omission of text, while (...) indicates lacunae in the original.

36 Hutter 1992, Pedersen 1996, 115, Reck 2010.

37 Colditz 2005, 2006.

38 Pedersen 1996, 115.

The work contained essential descriptions of cosmogony and anthropogony, with an emphasis on eschatology,³⁹ and served as a basis for other works on the same topic, such as *The Sermon on the Great War* chapter of the Coptic *Homilies* composed by Koustaios.⁴⁰ *Šābubragān* was also known among Sogdians (*š'puxrk'n*),⁴¹ and Uighurs (*šābbwbrγan no[mu]γ*), as well as under the name *Erzongjing* 二宗經 (The Book of Two Principles) in China.⁴² In the latter, the assumption is based on the fact that the complete name of Mānī's work was “The Two Principles of the *Šābubragān*” (*dw bun 'y š'bwbrg'n* in Middle Persian, *Iki yiltiz nom* in Uighur),⁴³ referring to the final, eschatological separation of these two principles. Since the notion of the New Paradise, as we will see, is intimately related to Manichaean eschatology, it is not surprising that the *Šābubragān*, being early, authentic and relevant in topic, is of utmost importance for the present investigation, and therefore will be quoted frequently.

Returning to the Third Messenger's command to the Great Builder, the 34th *kephalaion* of the Coptic *Kephalaia* mentions it first among the Third Messenger's, i. e. the Ambassador's, works:

The Am[bassador performed ten] works by his advent. [The first: He caused the] Great Builder ([ⲁϣⲧⲣⲉⲛ]ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ) go out and build the New Aeon (ⲉⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲕⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲃⲣⲉ).⁴⁴

The 46th *kephalaion* entitled “Concerning the Ambassador” (ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲡⲣⲉⲥⲉⲓⲧⲛⲉ) says that

And before the ne[w] aeon (ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲃⲣⲉ) was [built and] made be[auti]ful and marked out [the] Great Builder ([ⲛ]ⲛⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲧ) [w]as summoned ([ⲁ]ⲓⲧⲁⲃⲣⲉ), the first architect (ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲓ ⲛⲁⲣϣⲓⲧⲉⲕⲧⲱⲛ) and the angels who are with him, who would build and make beautiful (ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲥⲉⲧⲥⲁⲓⲱ) the new aeon.⁴⁵

Similarly, in his *Liber scholiorum*, eighth or ninth century Th. bar Kōnī also refers to this act:

39 Pedersen 1996, 116f.

40 Pedersen 1996, 115-152.

41 81TB65:2/49 (Yoshida 2000, 91, 113).

42 E. g. *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記 T2035: 0370a1, a3; *Shimen zhengtong* 釋門正統 [Chiwei zhi 斥偽志], X75n1513_p0314c06-07.

43 Hutter 1992, 145f, Reck 2010.

44 1Ke 86.34-87.1; translated and restored by W.-P. Funk (in private communication, 12 Nov 2015). Coptic text in Polotsky and Böhlig 1940, 86 [on a different restoration, see Funk 1996, 485].

45 1Ke 118.8-12; trans. Gardner 1995, 124. Polotsky and Böhlig 1940, 118.

And he [Third Messenger] ordered the Great Ban (Builder) to construct the New Earth, and the Three Wheels to ascend.⁴⁶

The importance of this command, therefore the close relationship between the Great Builder and the Third Messenger (the Ambassador), is epitomized by a chapter title in the unpublished *Synaxeis* codex:

(The] Second Synaxis of the Sixth Discourse, the Ambassador giving orders to the Great Builder to build the New Aeon.⁴⁷

Since the *Synaxeis codex* is most probably a Coptic version of one of Mānī's own works (the *Living Gospel* written in Syriac), its witness is of the utmost importance. The fragmented text then proceeds to describing this command of the Ambassador, among others referring to the Great Builder's helpers:

You, the Builder, with your assistants and your servants, be diligent, hasten to the new earth and secure it.⁴⁸

While the Great Builder receives the command from the Third Messenger to construct the New Paradise, the textual sources usually do not claim explicitly when this construction was or will be completed. From some of these references it seems that a great building – apparently closely related to the New Paradise – is in a constant process of being constructed, which process is being completed simultaneously with the approach of eschatological times, when, according to the Manichaean teachings, the world will be conflagrated in a huge fire. This interpretation seems to be implied in the Coptic *Psalm-book*:

This entire universe stands firm for a season, there being a great building ([ογν]αδ̄ π̄κωτ) which is being built outside this world (ἡπ̄σανβαλ [μ̄πικο]ςμος). So soon as that Builder shall finish (ἡτογ̄ητογ̄ ετ̄ϣ̄αχωκ̄ ἡχι πεκωτ), the whole universe will be dissolved (σ̄επαβωλ̄ αβ̄αλ) and set on fire (ἡσεκ[ᾱ ς]ετε̄ αραγ̄) that the fire may smelt it away.⁴⁹

The great building outside this world can hardly be anything else than the place above which the New Paradise is built, as can be gleaned from the Middle Per-

46 *Liber Scholiorum* XI 316.10 [Scher] (Jackson and Yohannan 1965, 242f); also see the long explanation (n. 88) there why this reading of the manuscripts should be preferred, which is also confirmed by the above-mentioned references.

47 *Synaxeis* codex, 102, 14-15. Funk 2015, 47. I thank W.-P. Funk for sharing his unpublished translation with me and for allowing me to cite it.

48 Funk 2015, 47, also see Funk (forthcoming).

49 2Ps 11.3-7 (Gardner and Lieu 2004, 178f, Allberry 1938, 11).

sian parallel cited above: “Go and build the New Construction beyond the cosmos of heavens and earths.”⁵⁰ Coptic “outside this world” (ⲙⲡⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲗ [ⲙⲡⲓⲕⲟ]ⲥⲙⲟⲥ) squares with Middle Persian “beyond the cosmos of earth and heaven” (*prwn ’c zmyg ’wd ’sm’n*), while Coptic “Great Building” ([ⲟⲩⲛ]ⲁⲟ ⲡⲓⲕⲱⲧ) tallies with the “New Construction” (*dysmyn ’yg nwg*). The Middle Persian analogy then mentions the eternal prison within this construction (“And in the middle of this structure make an impregnable prison for Āz and Ahriman”), and the New Paradise above it (“And above the New Construction erect the New Paradise [...]). Thus, though not explicitly stated, the *Psalm-Book* seems to hint at this new construction with the New Paradise and the eternal prison, which is being completed by the Builder during a long period of time.⁵¹

Consequently, seen from this perspective, the Great Builder was emanated during the second sub-phase of the Middle Period. He commenced his work at the beginning of the third sub-phase, and will finish his work only in the eschatological future, at the end of the third sub-phase. Naturally, it is also possible that this belated completion of his work simply refers to the constant and continuous gathering of light and souls in the New Paradise, and the passage indirectly indicates that it is the moment when this process of light liberation is complete that will indicate the completion of the New Paradise itself. Thus, despite the phrase from the *Psalm-book* (“So soon as that Builder shall finish”), it would simply refer to the maximum fullness of the New Paradise with the light particles, and not to the completion of the construction itself.

The technique, let alone the “material”, used by the Great Builder to construct the New Paradise cannot be confidently inferred from the sources; however, a passing remark in the Parthian M2/II allows us a glimpse into the process, which thus must have comprised certain parts of the original Realm of Light as building material.

50 M7981/I/V/i/1719, 2930 (Middle Persian) (*Šābubragān*).

51 At first glance, something similar seems to be implied in a geographically distant Uighur source: “Sixth: Truth is the God, Dawn, who creates a new divine abode each day” (Pelliot Chinois 3049; trans. Clark 2013, 212; Clark 2013, 211: *altınč kertü vām tāñri kim künkä yañi tāñrılık yaratir*). Also see Hamilton 1986, 3753 and Klimkeit 1993, 332f. Hamilton (1986, 43, 45) translates “au soleil” (see comments by Clark 2013, 214), and thus places the New Paradise, uniquely, in the Sun; while Klimkeit (1993, 333) gives a different translation, which would make this passage unrelated to the idea above: “Truthfulness, the God Vam (the Great Builder), who with the Sun God erected the New Residence (the New Paradise) for the gods.” In this latter interpretation, the reference to the Sun God, i.e. the Third Messenger, would evoke the already mentioned motif of the Third Messenger’s commanding the Great Builder the construction of the New Paradise.

And when all the battle-stirrers (*brwʾn* (*r*)*zmywz'n*) have rested for a short while (*(r)ngs jm'n*) in the New Aeon (*nw'(g š)hr*), and when also that little bit of the Light-Earth (*zmyg rwšn*) and its mountains [in the Realm of Light], wherefrom had been taken the means for building the New Aeon (*nw'g šhr*), has been restored, and when [...].⁵²

Although the majority of the original sources attribute only the construction of the New Paradise to the Great Builder, some texts also link other activities to him. M7981, the *Kephalaia*⁵³ and St. Ephrem's *Prose refutations*⁵⁴ also mention the construction of the eternal prison or grave, while bar Kōnī refers to the construction of the Three Wheels as the Great Builder's endeavour.⁵⁵ Though the references to these latter two associations are sparse, they seem to be logically connected to the Great Builder's *magnum opus*, the New Paradise. The Three Wheels serve as the ultimate starting point of the process of light liberation that culminates in its reaching the New Paradise, since these wheels, placed on the fifth earth in front of a figure called Gloriosus Rex, propel the light from below towards the upper region, ultimately to the New Paradise. As for the eternal grave (the other abode supposedly built by the Great Builder), it is intended to be the eternal prison for the finally defeated darkness, and thus it is also closely related to the New Paradise, not only because the two places are exact opposites, but also because this grave, surprising as it may be, is placed in the middle of this New Paradise or, more precisely, the New Building on which it is built.⁵⁶

The association of the Great Builder with truth and justice (Chinese *zhenshi* 真實⁵⁷ or Uighur *kertü*⁵⁸) in the list of twelve important gods can probably be also attributed to his crucial role in the final separation of the two principles, since in Manichaeism justice is frequently associated with final judgments or judges: "the Impartial King who makes just judgments"⁵⁹ or "the true Impartial King".⁶⁰ The Coptic *Kephalaia* lists altogether twelve divine, righteous judges, among them the Great Builder:

52 M2/II/V/i/9-16 (Parthian); trans. Asmussen 1975, 136; cf. Andreas and Henning 1934, 852.

53 1Ke 79.33-80.4.

54 EPC H 3.27-35; 39.18-22; EPC H 94.42-47. (Reeves 1997, 256f).

55 *Liber Scholiorum* XI 316.10 [Scher] (Jackson and Yohannan 1965, 242f). In Tardieu's (2009, 79) understanding, the Great Builder does not create but activates the Three Wheels.

56 M7981/I/V/i/30-M7981/I/V/ii/19 (Middle Persian) (*Šābubragān*).

57 H165, H170.

58 Pelliot Chinois 3049; trans. Clark 2013, 212.

59 H131: *zhenshi duanshi pingdengwang* 真實斷事平等王.

60 H152: *zhenshi pingdengwang* 真實平等王.

In the Middle Persian M7981-7984, the Great Builder appears twice in the company of other gods as well. In the first case, he is together with the Living Spirit, the Mother of Life, the Primal Man and the Beloved of Lights, paying homage to the Father of Greatness, saying:

This sentence clearly underscores the importance of the Great Builder in the process of defeating the dark side. In a similarly eschatological scene of the *Šābuhragān* tradition, four gods – the Primal Man, the Beloved of Lights, the Living Spirit and the Great Builder – appear in the New Paradise before the final conflagration of the universe. These four gods, almost identical with the ones in the salutation scene above, arrive from the four directions, with the Great Builder coming from the south (*al-Fibrīst*, M470)⁶³ or, in another source, the West (Sogdian M583).⁶⁴

After introducing the major aspects of the builder of the New Paradise, I shall now explore various aspects of the New Paradise itself.

62 M7984/II/V/i/5-8 (Middle Persian) (*Šābuhragān*); Asmussen 1975, 123.

64 Jackson 1965a (M583, Sogdian): “From the West: the Friend of Lights from the Spirit; the god Bām from the shining height (?) [air]; the Living Spirit from the blessed earth.”

1.2 The Description of the New Paradise

1.2.1 Names

The name of the New Paradise is rather consistent in the majority of the texts; it basically always contains the modifier “new” combined with a noun denoting either Paradise or simply realm or country. Coptic texts call it “the New Aīōn” (παῖων ἡβρε, παῖων ἡβῤῥε),⁶⁵ Greek and Latin, similarly, have “New Aīōn” (νέος αἰών,⁶⁶ *novum saeculum*⁶⁷). Middle Iranian equivalents include Middle Persian “New Paradise” (*whyšt ‘y nwg*)⁶⁸ or “New Realm” (*šhr ‘y nwg*),⁶⁹ Parthian “New Realm” (*nw’g šhr, nw’g šhr*),⁷⁰ and Sogdian “New Paradise” (*nwyγ wštm’xyγ*).⁷¹ Chinese texts essentially also have the same compound as “New Pure Land” (*xin jingtu* 新淨土)⁷² or “New (Realm of) Light” (*xin mingjie* 新明界, *xin ming* 新明).⁷³

1.2.2 Position

The position of the New Paradise is rather ambiguous in the written sources. What seems to be certain is that the entire structure – including the New Construction, the New Paradise and the Eternal Grave, all designed by the Great Builder – is positioned outside the cosmos created by the Living Spirit.

This entire universe stands firm for a season, there being a great building ([η]αῶ
ἡβρε) which is being built outside this world (ἡπκαἡβαλ [ἡπικο]σμος).⁷⁴

Go and build the New Construction (*dysm’n ‘yg nwg*) beyond the cosmos of heavens and earths (*prwn ‘zmyg’wd ‘sm’n*) [...]⁷⁵

65 E.g. 1Ke 87.1, 1Ke 118.9, 1Ke 118.11f; 2Ps 137.62. There are some alternative names like “the new luminous earth” (1Ke 104.31: πικαε ἡβῤῥε εἰτῤῥογ’αἴνε).

66 *Acta Archelai, Greek* 31.5 (Beeson 1906, 21).

67 *Acta Archelai, Latin* XIII.1 (Beeson 1906, 21).

68 M98/I/V/6, M7981/I/V/ii/24-25.

69 M28/II/R/ii/31, M28/II/V/ii/2, M263f+/B/i/2, M801a/p12/7, M263a/A/i/2, M482+/I/V/12f, M470a+/R/20.

70 M285/I/V/ii/4f, M2/II/R/i/8.

71 M591 (Boyce 1954, 15).

72 H041.

73 H143, Ch. 1363/R, also in *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛, col. 650, *xin ming* 新明 (cols. 653, 656, 659, 662) seems to be an abbreviated version of this name (Ma Xiaohé’s remark).

74 2Ps 11.3-7 (Gardner and Lieu 2004, 178f, Allberry 1938, 11).

In some sense, the New Paradise and the Eternal Grave are alternative places for the representatives of the two kingdoms. They have their role and will come especially to foreground when the cosmos, after the conflagration, ceases to exist.

During the longer parts of the second and third periods of the Manichaean mythic narrative, there are thus altogether three inhabited realms:

1. The eternal Realm of Light, untouched by the various events;
2. The temporary cosmos created by the Living Spirit, among others comprising ten firmaments, the Sun and the Moon, the various constellations, the four continents, the eight earths, etc.;
3. The New Structure with “paradise” and “hell”, constructed by the Great Builder, which has a beginning but no end; places where everybody heads after leaving the cosmos.

This also means that Manichaeism, allegedly the most typical dualistic religion, does not, in fact, postulate two antagonistic realms; more precisely, it postulates them only for the initial period, while for the second and third periods, the Land of Darkness is defeated, and its inhabitants, who had already devoured the five light elements, were partly slain and partly transported into and imprisoned in the cosmos. Thus they were forced to leave their original home.⁷⁶ This victory over the Land of Darkness was performed by the Primal Man (or First Man) in a primeval battle.

[The] First Man who was victorious (ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲣ[ⲟ]) in the Land of Darkness (ⲉⲡⲏⲕⲁⲗ ⲙⲏⲕ[ⲉⲕⲉ]) [...].⁷⁷

(The enemy) was brought out to the middle and separated from his dark earth (ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁⲗ ⲡⲏⲕⲉⲕⲉ), whence he has departed. He was vanquished in that first war (ⲁⲅⲣⲣⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲱⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲁⲣⲏ ⲙⲏⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ), caught and [bo]und by the living spirit [= the Primal Man’s weapons, GK].⁷⁸

He [Living Spirit, GK] spread out all the powers of the abyss (ⲡⲑⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲓⲣⲟⲅ ⲙⲏⲡⲏⲟⲅⲏ) to ten heavens and eight earths, he shut them up into this world (ⲁⲩⲩⲁⲧⲡⲏⲟⲅ ⲁⲗⲟⲅⲏ ⲁⲡⲏⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ) once, he made it a prison too for all the powers of

75 M7981/I/V/i/15-19, 29f (Middle Persian) (*Šābuhragān*); trans. Klimkeit 1993, 229, also see Hutter 1992, 44-46.

76 Kósa 2014b.

77 2Ps 160.2 (Allberry 1938, 160).

78 1Ke 105.21-24, trans. Gardner 1995, 110.

Darkness (ⲁϣⲉⲉϣ ⲡⲓⲩⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛⲃⲁⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ [ⲙⲡⲏⲕⲉ]ⲕⲉ), it is also a place of purification for the Soul that was swallowed (?) in them.⁷⁹

[...], he [the Primal man] humbled (ⲁϣⲉⲃⲏⲟ) the Son of Evil and his seven companions and his twelve ministers, he uprooted their tent and threw it down, he put out their burning fire, he fettered (ⲁϣⲙⲁⲛⲉ) the poor wretches (?) that were at hand thinking to make war, he seized their cruel armour [...].⁸⁰

The construction of the New Paradise seems to be closely linked to the defeated and deserted Land of Darkness, the latter often being characterized as five dark places (caverns, pits, ditches, hells, etc.).⁸¹

And in order to create that great structure (*r'z 'y wzrg*), the New Paradise (*whyšt 'y nug*), over it, he [the Living Spirit] filled the five ditches of death (*h'n pnz knđ'r cy mrg hmgnd*) and levelled (*h'mgyn qyrd*) them.⁸²

And also the earth, the dwelling-place of the enemies, we have overthrown and filled up and above we have built the light fundament of the New Aeon (*bwny'h rwsn cy šbr nw'g*). And for you there are no more enemies and rivals, but yours is the eternal victory.⁸³

The place of the Land of Darkness used to be in the south, which means downwards in Manichaean terminology,⁸⁴ as it is described in the already cited Middle Persian text, as well as in M2:

Then the God Rōšnshahr [the God of the World of Light, the Third Messenger] commanded the creator God of the New World (the Great Builder) (*nwgšhr'pwr yzd*), "Go and build the New Construction beyond the cosmos of heavens and earths, (beyond) the five Hells (*byndr 'c h'n pnz dwšwx*), up to the southern region, (but) more towards (here) than there, over the Hell of Darkness (*'br tm dwšwx*), (so that) it stretches from the eastern to the western region, in accordance with (the original) Paradise (*whyšt'w*)."⁸⁵

79 2Ps 10.25-29 (Allberry 1938, 10).

80 2Ps 204.28-205.2 (Allberry 1938, 204f).

81 Kósa 2011, 28-33.

82 M98/I/V/5-8 (Middle Persian) (*Šābubragān*), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 226. For another translation, see Jackson 1965b, 33: "And in order to create above the mystery of the great New Paradise, he [the Great Builder] razed those Five Caverns of death and made them even (i. e. level)." "Mystery" is an error, see Hutter 1992, 13. n. 31.

83 M2/II/V/ii/19-27 (Parthian); trans. Asmussen 1975, 137.

84 Bennett 2001, cf. Hutter 1992, 51.

85 M7981/I/V/i/15-30 (Middle Persian) (*Šābubragān*); trans. Klimkeit 1993, 229; also see Hutter 1992, 44-46.

M7981 thus basically claims the same as M2 and M98-99, both being rather reliable sources: the New Construction, upon which the New Paradise would be built, is placed over the defeated, deserted and empty Land of Darkness; it is placed in the south as a kind of mirror world of the upper paradise, i.e. the original Realm of Light.

While being built, the New Paradise is not attached to the Realm of Light, the two paradisiacal lands are not connected, as it is clear from the description of the *Šābuhragān*, which states that their connection will take place only in the eschatological future.

Then of the cosmos of earths and heavens [it will be] the time of Renovation (*pršqyrd*) and from the whole world they will cause [the dead] to go out, and raise the religious up to [Paradise], and animals and trees and winged birds and water creatures and reptiles of the earth will *disappear from the world and go [to hell]. [Then] wind, water and fire will be removed from [that] lowest earth, on which that house-lord and the wind-raising god are standing. And that New World (*š/h/r 'y nwg*) and the prison of the demons (*bnyst'n 'y dyw'n*), which the New-World-creating god (*[nwg]šhr'pwr yzd*) forms, will be fixed (*bs'cyh'd*) [to] Paradise (*[w why]št'w*) and made [*fast] (*[sxt] (q)ryrb'd*).⁸⁶

Their would-be connection is made possible precisely by the future disappearance of the cosmos between them.

A new Aeon will be built in the place of the world [this universe] that shall dissolve, that in it the powers of the light may reign [...].⁸⁷

The New Paradise is thus placed on the top of the New Construction, and it is placed south to, i. e. below, the Realm of Light:

And above the New Construction (*'br h'n dšm'n 'y nwg*) erect the New Paradise (*whyšt 'y nwg*), (so that) Ohrmizd and these (saving) gods – which Āz and Ahriman, the demons and the she-devils have seized and bound because of their wondrous power and light – (so that they), and we, too, [may have] a throne [...].⁸⁸

The fourth [judge] is the Great Bu[ilder, he who built the] new aeon of joy. [...] Also, upo[n] the crown [of the] building he has constructed a throne for the First Man and all the fathers of light; they who engaged the struggle with the evil one and were victorious over him.⁸⁹

86 M482/I/V/1-16 (Middle Persian); trans. MacKenzie 1979, 511.

87 2Ps 11.21-23 (Allberry 1938, 11).

88 M7981/I/V/ii/22-32 (Middle Persian) (*Šābuhragān*); trans. Klimkeit 1993, 229, also see Hutter 1992, 46.

89 1Ke 79.33-80.4, trans. Gardner 1995, 81f.

Now, the first thing is the new luminous earth (ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗ ⲡⲃⲣⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲣⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ), w[h]ich was set and built on top of this earth.⁹⁰

As according to two sources (*al-Fihrist*, M470) this whole construction in the south was completed by the Great Builder, he is supposed to arrive from this direction in the eschatological future.⁹¹

1.2.3 Nature and Artifice in the New Paradise

Written sources unanimously emphasize that the New Construction with the New Paradise and the Eternal Grave was built by the Great Builder outside the cosmos, and thus at first glance they all seem to be “artificial”. The words used to describe this realm also seem to support this idea: expressions like “new building” (*dysm’n yḡ nwg*),⁹² “the indestructible buildings” (ⲡⲓⲕⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲧⲱⲩⲁⲣⲱⲣ),⁹³ or the “grandiose edifice” (*al-bunyānu l-ʿaẓīmu*)⁹⁴ are mentioned throughout.

This superficial impression, however, evaporates when one considers that in Manichaeism the entire cosmos is in fact an artificial construction built by the Living Spirit, an emanation of the Great Builder. Thus, the cosmos itself with the ten firmaments, the Sun, the Moon, the eight earths and the various mountains or rivers are not less artificial than the New Construction outside the cosmos. According to Manichaean sources, what we call nature (though not the vegetation and the animals) is not simply the creation of the Living Spirit but it is emphatically a gigantic machine purposely built for the purification of light. Hence the cosmos and the New Paradise are both “artificial” constructions, containing both “natural” and “artificial” phenomena.

As for this original Realm of Light, it is usually described as a place populated by “natural” (hills, flowers, trees, springs, etc.), as well as “artificial” (palaces, monasteries, etc.) constructs, even if the latter ones are equally regarded as eternal. The Sogdian M178 and the Parthian M6232 illustrate both aspects:

The fourth, the Pure Air in the Light Paradise, wondrous, beautiful to behold, immeasurable its goodness for them (= the Light Gods, etc.). By supernatural power self-created⁹⁵ are the gods’ marvel dress and garment, throne, diadem, and fragrant

90 1Ke 104.31f, trans. Gardner 1995, 109.

91 Andreas and Henning 1932, 12. n. 1.

92 M7981/I/V/i/29f (Middle Persian) (*Šābubragān*).

93 2Ps 137.64 (Allberry 1938, 137).

94 *Al-Fihrist* 336.1.

95 Henning’s translation corrected according to Gharib (2000, 260).

wreath, ornaments, and finery of all kinds. The fifth, the Light Earth, *self-existent, eternal, miraculous; in *height it is beyond *reach (?), its *depth cannot be perceived. No enemy and no *injurer walk this Earth: its divine pavement is of the substance of diamond (vajra) that does not shake for ever. All good things are born from it: adorned, graceful hills wholly covered with flowers, grown in much excellence; green fruit-bearing trees whose fruits never *drop, never rot, and never become wormed; springs flowing with ambrosia that fill the whole Paradise, its groves and plains; countless mansions and palaces, thrones and *benches that exist in perpetuity for ever and ever. Thus arranged is the Paradise, in these Five Greatnesses.⁹⁶

The immortal, fragrant Breeze (Air) attends the gods together with the Earth and (its) trees. The source of Light, the blessed plants, the echoing, bright mountains of divine nature (are wonderful). The house of the jewels (gods) is a place full of blossoms, with countless lands, houses and thrones (...).⁹⁷

How the tiny bits of the huge machine (for example mountains or rivers) of the cosmos are related to similar, but eternal, divine mountains and rivers in the Realm of Light is not detailed in the sources, but it is evident that the former ones do display changes, and will eventually disappear, while the latter ones are eternal.

The question is whether the attributes of the Realm of Light listed above are also characteristic of the New Paradise; or the latter one, being a new artificial construction, is a place of solely “artificial” objects. The Twenty-First Discourse of the Coptic translation of Mānī’s *Living Gospel* in the *Synaxeis codex*,⁹⁸ and, consequently, the most authentic source to trace Mānī’s original ideas, beyond doubt supports the first option: its description of the New Aeon, i. e. the New Paradise, hardly differs from the Sogdian text on the Realm of Light cited above.

(...) ... without trembling, and they will ... (...) ... / This is the New Aeon, which ...
 (...) ... is wholly joy. / Its ... [are] new, / new are its installations. / Its τέχνη (?) are
 new, [new] are its mountains. / Its ... are new, / [new] are [also] its trees. / Its seas are

96 Henning 1948, 308.

97 M6232+M6230/R/1-6 (Parthian); Klimkeit 1993, 32f. Another fragment shows only the “natural” part: “The Land of Light (...) by its five pure thoughts; it is fragrant with sweet-smelling breezes; it shines in all regions. Powers, gods and deities, jewels, joyful Aeons, trees, springs and plants rejoice in Him every day” (M533 [Parthian]; Klimkeit 1993, 36). The Chinese *Hymn-scroll* also mentions various “natural” (mountain: H303; trees and fruit: H296, H297, H298; streams: H290, H304; flower: H280) and “artificial” (monasteries: H281, H288, H325, H328, H335) phenomena in the Realm of Light.

98 *Synaxeis codex*, 202-220.

new, [new] are also its springs / And its birds [and] its (...), / new are its holy temples. / Its (...) bridal chambers are new, / new are its monasteries.⁹⁹

Even a cursory comparison of this description of the New Aeon with the presentation of the Realm of Light given in M178 demonstrates that the original and the new paradises share a lot, both comprising various natural phenomena and artificial objects; the only difference is that in the former everything is new, that is newly made.

Similarly, the Chinese description of the Realm of Light in the *Hymn-scroll*¹⁰⁰ and that of the New Paradise in the *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛 manuscript¹⁰¹ from Xiapu exhibit conspicuous similarities.¹⁰² Although they theoretically describe different regions, the presence of various “human” constructions (monasteries,¹⁰³ palaces,¹⁰⁴ parks,¹⁰⁵ etc.) is characteristic of both.

Thus, in my view, the two paradisiacal realms do not differ in this respect;¹⁰⁶ especially that the New Aeon, according to M2/II at least, was made from the Light Earth and the mountains of the Realm of Light,¹⁰⁷ and as such even their building material is identical.

1.2.4 Prison, *Bolos*, Grave

As mentioned above, according to the *Śābuhragān*, the New Paradise is built outside the established universe, and what is more surprising, none of the texts suggest that it is in the proximity of the Realm of Light; on the contrary, it is emphasized that the New Paradise is built above the “southern” territory, which used to be the Land of Darkness, but which was subsequently conquered

99 *Synaxeis codex*, 205; Funk 2015, 80. I thank W.-P. Funk for sharing with me his unpublished translation and for allowing me to cite it.

100 H261-H338.

101 Cols. 650-664.

102 I wish to thank Ma Xiaohu 馬小鶴 for sending me an emended version of this hymn prepared by him and Wang Juan 汪娟; the first version was published in Lin 2014, 485f.

103 H274 (*qielanchu* 伽藍處), H324 (*qielansi* 伽藍寺), H288, H318, H321, H325, H328 (*qielan* 伽藍); *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛 col. 653 (*baocha* 寶剎).

104 H308 (*gongsbi* 宮室); *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛 col. 659 (*baogong* 寶宮).

105 H299 (*quanyuan* 園苑, *yuanpu* 園圃); *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛 col. 653 (*jinyuan* 金園).

106 Pace Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 70: “The New Aeon, referred to in Iranian texts as the New Paradise, is described in Manichaean literature in sharp contrast to the natural environment of the Realm of Light.”

107 “[...] that little bit of the Light-Earth and its mountains [in the Realm of Light], wherefrom had been taken the means for building the New Aeon, has been restored [...]”

by the Primal Man. When seen from this perspective, however, it is much less surprising that the New Construction contains the Eternal Prison as well for the representatives of Darkness.¹⁰⁸ As quoted before, the Middle Persian M7981 says:

[...] in the middle of this structure make an impregnable prison for Āz and Ahri-man, the demons and the she-devils. [...] Āz and Ahriman, the demons and the she-devils will be bound in that prison unceasingly for ever.¹⁰⁹

This eternal place for Darkness is, among others, referred to by the polemicist St. Ephrem as a prison (*bēt ḥbušyā*), a grave (*qabrā*) or a lump (*bolos*) in his Syriac writings;¹¹⁰ all these metaphors appear in original Manichaean sources as well. For example, the Coptic *Kephalaia* uses the word “prison” (1Ke 105.10: *ⲩⲡⲧⲉⲕⲟ*), the Middle Persian *Šābuhragān* calls it “the impregnable prison” (*bnyst’n hwstyg’n*), while the Chinese *Hymn-scroll* (H100) says that “others will be incarcerated with the demons in the eternal prison (*yongyu* 永獄).”¹¹¹ The metaphors of grave, tomb or coffin are also used (for example 1Ke 105.9: *ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲉ*; 1Ke 75.27, 105.33: *ⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲥ*, M2/II/V/ii/17: *dxmg*, *al-Fihrist* 330: *qabrun*), but more well-known is the metaphor of “lump” (1Ke 105.6: “the final lump” [*ⲃⲱⲗⲟⲥ* *ⲡⲉⲗⲁⲉ*]) or “globe” (for example *De natura boni* 42, *Contra Faustum* 21.16: “dreadful globe” [*globus horribilis / horrendus globus*]).¹¹² The *Kephalaia* specifies that the lump and the tomb are in fact two separate places, designed to separate male and female demons, who are eternally imprisoned into their respective places, which evidently aims to prevent them from further reproduction.

[The t]hird blow that will befall the enemy is the “rolling back” [at the] end when everything will be separated, and male (*ⲡⲉⲗⲁⲓⲧ*) will be divided [from] female (*ⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ*). Now, the male will be bound in the lump (*ⲉⲡⲉⲗⲁⲙⲁⲣⲥⲓ* *ⲉⲡⲱⲗⲟⲥ*), [b]ut the fem[ale] w[ill be thrown] i[n] to the tomb (*ⲡⲉⲗⲁⲙⲁⲣⲥⲓ* *ⲉⲡⲱⲗⲟⲥ*).¹¹³

108 Pedersen 1996, 378-392.

109 M7981/I/V/i/30-ii/1, 14-19 (Middle Persian) (*Šābuhragān*); trans. Klimkeit 1993, 229, also see Hutter 1992, 44-46.

110 Reeves 1997, 227, 256-258.

111 The Chinese expression evidently contains a conscious reference to “earth-prison” (*diyu* 地獄), which is the standard Chinese Buddhist expression used for hell.

112 Jackson 1938, Decret 1974 and Bennett 2011 with further references.

113 1Ke 105.30-33, trans. Gardner 1995, 109.

Since the New Construction is built over the surface of the original land of the demons and their prison is placed within this structure, the eternal prison is, in fact, not far from the demons' original land. When during the eschatological conflagration the universe collapses and disappears, what remains are the Realm of Light above, the New Paradise below, and the Eternal Prison within the New Construction, and the deserted Land of Darkness below them. As such, this New Construction covers the deserted Land of Darkness, where the previously captured demonic beings, who were provisionally imprisoned in various parts of the universe, cannot be let back:

But the council of death and the Darkness he will shut up in the dwelling that was established for it, that it might be bound in it for ever. There is no other means to bind the Enemy save this means; for he will not be received to the Light because he is a stranger to it; nor again can he be left in his land of Darkness, that he may not wage a war greater than the first.¹¹⁴

What is relevant for us here is the proximity of the New Paradise and the Eternal Prison, and their spatial relationship, i.e. the latter is obviously below the former. Their simultaneous creation is also mentioned in some sources.¹¹⁵ It is also worth noting that they share the New Construction as a common platform, as the former is placed upon it, while the latter is fixed within it. Tied together in this form, they will be attached to the Realm of Light, the original Paradise, in the eschatological future.

And that New World and the prison of the demons, which the New-World-creating god forms, will be fixed [to] Paradise and made [*fast].¹¹⁶

Preserved in various early Manichaean descriptions, this spatial arrangement seems to be the original one; nevertheless, some sources apparently blur the individual identity of these three entities and, for example, place the eternal prison (the *bolos*, the globe) in the middle of the New Paradise itself.

Then again he puts the *bolos* in the middle of the new aeon, so that all the souls of sinners shall be bound to the aeon (i.e. forever).¹¹⁷

114 2Ps 11.14-20 (Allberry 1938, 11).

115 1Ke 79.33-80.4, trans. Gardner 1995, 81f.

116 M482/I/V/12-16 (Middle Persian), trans. MacKenzie 1979, 511.

117 *Acta Archelai* (Greek version), Epiphanius: *Panarion* LXVI: 31.5, trans. Vermes 2001, 159.

1.3 Deities Associated with the New Paradise

Iain Gardner succinctly summarized the purpose of the New Paradise as follows:

Throughout the history the Father remains outside in eternity, and all the emanated Gods that have gone out to do battle must be barred from their household. Therefore a New Aeon, consubstantial with the eternal paradise, is built by the Great Architect for the time of mixture. Here the Gods rest, and the ascended Light awaits its final return to the Father.¹¹⁸

The Great Builder as the constructor of this place has already been previously described; naturally, he is the most important deity related to the New Paradise; in this part, I shall reflect on other deities that were associated with this concept.

1.3.1 The Primal Man

Some original Manichaean writings call the Primal Man the king, or at least the senior, in the New Paradise. The logic of this association is rather straightforward: it was the Primal Man who sacrificed himself at the very beginning; he suffered in order to divert the threat of Darkness; consequently, it is he who deserves to be the head of the new paradisiacal place,¹¹⁹ where the five elements, the Primal Man’s weapons or sons, whose rescue lies at the core of the entire Manichaean system, will be collected again.

The king, indeed, of the aeons [of] light is the Father, the Ligh[t] King (...) b[u]t [the k]ing of the New Aeon is the First [Man] ([*np*]po ʒw[ω]ʒ *np*aiwōn *np*ppē ne *np*ʒarī *np*[rōwē]) (...) and the [Last] Statue (...) the sufferings and the apos[t]les and the (...) sabbath will be counted to (...) king [will be] counted to the lor[d]’s day; that we may (...) only (...) for ever (...) for ever a[nd] ever (...).¹²⁰

[...] he (Primal Man) may become leader of his brethren (*apxhncos nncynh*) in the New Aeon (*npaiwōn npppē*).¹²¹

There are some Manichaean passages that do not explicitly call the Primal Man the king of the New Paradise, but even these still imply his primary importance.

118 Gardner 1993, 259.

119 Fernando Bermejo (2015) collected some parallels between the fate of the Primal Man and Jesus. In this respect, one can quote the *Kephalaia* (1Ke 40.13-16), where the Father of Greatness addresses his son, the Primal Man, by explicitly referring to this parallel: “Sit, my son, my first-born, to my right, till I lay all your enemies as a footstool under your feet.” He received this great imposition of hands, so that he was the leader of his brothers in the New Aeon.”

120 Hom 41, 18-26, trans. Pedersen 2006, 41.

121 1Ke 40.15f, trans. Gardner 1995, 45.

The fourth [judge] is the Great Bu[ilder, he who built the] new aeon of joy. He [judged, according to a judgment of righte]ousness, the [storeho]uses of the [ene-my]; that death may not well up from this time on. He has constructed a prison for the enemy. Also, upo[n] the crown [of the] building he has constructed a throne for the First Man (ΑΥΣΩΗΝΕ ΠΟΥΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΜΠΥΑΡΠΗ ΠΡΩΜΕ) and all the fathers of light (ΝΙΔΑΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΟΥΛΙΝΕ); they who engaged the struggle with the evil one and were victorious over him.¹²²

And above the New Construction erect the New Paradise, (so that) Ohrmizd [the Primal Man] and these (saving) gods (*'whrmzd 'wd 'ymys'n yzd'n*) – which Āz and Ahriman, the demons and the she-devils have seized and bound because of their wondrous power and light – (so that they), and we, too, [may have] a throne [...].¹²³

With might shall I take you, and enfold (you) with love, and lead (you) unto (your) home, the blessed Abode (*wy'g 'frydg*) [= the New Paradise]. For ever shall I show you the noble Father (*pydr 'rg'w*) [= Primal Man]; I shall lead you in, into (His) presence, (clad) in pure raiment. I shall show you the Mother of the beings of Light (*rwš'n m'd*), For ever shall you rejoice in lauded happiness. I shall reveal to you the virtuous brethren, (...) who are filled with happiness. You shall [dwell] joyfully among them all for ever, beside all the jewels (*brw rdn(y)n*) [= deities] and the venerable gods (*bg'n pdyšfr'wnd*). [...] Peace shall be yours in the place of *salvation*, in the company of all the gods and those who dwell in Peace.¹²⁴

1.3.2 Jesus

The Primal Man, however, is not the only figure who is associated with the New Paradise. The figure of Jesus plays several distinctive roles in Manichaeism, and he is, among others, sometimes identified with the New Aeon itself.

Blessed and praised be Jesus, the vivifier (*zyndkr*), the new aeon (*šbr'y nug*), the true raiser of the dead.¹²⁵

You we invoke, You who are life entire, You we praise, Jesus, the Splendour, New Aeon [...].¹²⁶

Oh most beloved and loving! We have seen you, New Aeon (*šbr'y nug*), and we have fallen at your feet, (you) who (are) all love!¹²⁷

122 1Kc 79.33-80.4, trans. Gardner 1995, 81f.

123 M7981/I/V/ii/22-32 (Middle Persian) (*Šābuhragān*); trans. Klimkeit 1993, 229, also see Hutter 1992, 46.

124 *Angad Rōšnān* VI. (Parthian) (Boyce 1954, 152f), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 114.

125 M801a/p12/5-8 (Middle Persian), trans. Asmussen 1975, 65 (cf. Henning 1937, 23).

126 M28/II/R/i/10-14 (Middle Persian), trans. Asmussen 1975, 107.

Nils Arne Pedersen emphasized that *aiōn* (αιων) has both temporal and spatial meanings, and “denotes the future world, corresponding to the name *šahr ī nōg*, New Kingdom, for Jesus.”¹²⁸

Hans Jacob Polotsky had already pointed out that with his *parousia*, Jesus ushers in a new world period, while the Syriac *‘ālmā* with its double meaning offered the Manichaeans the chance to use this eschatological, and hence temporal notion in a spatial sense.¹²⁹ After checking the available Coptic sources, it can be safely stated that the New Paradise is frequently used in an unquestionably spatial sense,¹³⁰ while in other cases, the meaning is ambiguous, and it theoretically allows for temporal interpretation as well.¹³¹ In the following I shall quote a few examples under the first category:

The fifth throne is that of the glorious Great Builder (παππαδ πεκωτ ετοϊ πεαγ); the great architect (ππαδ παρχιτεκτων) who built the new aeon (πεταυκωτ υπαιων ηβρρε) for a newn[ess], for [a] (...) for [the] fathers of light; also for a place of binding [and] a prison for the enemy and his powers.¹³²

(...) of the kingdom in the new aeon (παιων ηβρρε), in the place of joy.¹³³

The Beloved of the Luminaries, the straight resplendent Word, and the Great Builder (ππαδ πεκωτ) that builds the New Aeon (ετκωτ υπαιων ηβρρε), the strong light-giving [...].¹³⁴

[...] the Builder that builds the New Aeon (πεκωτ ετκωτ υπαιων ηβρρε).¹³⁵

127 M28/II/R/ii/29-34 (Middle Persian), trans. Asmussen 1975, 108.

128 Pedersen 1988, 173.

129 Polotsky 1933, 259f: “Jesu Beziehung zum Neuen Aeon geht einfach daraus hervor dass *šahr ī nōg* ein in persischen Hymnen mehrfach belegtes Epitheton Jesu ist: Jesus 121 (cf. 39; -119 auch parth.: *šahr naw[āy]*); Mir.Man. II 313 mit n. 3. Sie erklärt sich zunächst aus der eigentlichen, vormanichäischen Bedeutung von νέος αἰών: das künftige Weltalter, dessen Eintreten an die Parusie Jesu geknüpft ist. Mani hat den eschatologisch-zeitlichen Begriff örtlich gedeutet, wobei ihm offenbar die Zweideutigkeit des syrischen *‘ālmā* zu Hilfe kam. Die Beziehung besteht aber auch innerhalb des manichäischen Systems selbst: durch Jesu Erlösungstätigkeit finden die erlösten Lichtteile im Neuen Aeon die ewige Ruhe, während alles Finstere in den rings vom Neuen Aeon umgebenen βῶλος gefesselt wird.”

130 1Ke 82.8-12, 1Ke 79.33f, 1Ke 118.8-12; 2Ps 11.21-25, 2Ps 36.24-26, 2Ps 137.60-64, 2Ps 144.21, 2Ps 179.13-15.

131 1Ke 150.30-151.1, 1Ke 259.21-23, 1Ke 77.21, 1Ke 87.1, 2Ps 25.12-14, 2Ps 25.27-29, 2Ps 54.5f.

132 1Ke 82.8-12, trans. Gardner 1995, 84.

133 1Ke 77.21, trans. Gardner 1995, 78.

134 2Ps 36.24-26 (Allberry 1938, 36).

[...]. The cry of a Virgin to the Land of Light (ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ). The cry of a Continent one to the New Aeon (ⲡⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲡⲃⲣⲉ). The cry of a Married one to the cosmos (ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ).¹³⁶

The last example is especially telling, because it clearly has three words with a spatial meaning, all appearing in a long list (2Ps 179.8-181.12) that orders various notions in a hierarchical form of the cry of a Virgin (the highest status), a Continent (the middle position) and a Married one (the lowest status). In this case, the Land of Light, i.e. the Realm of Light, is possibly the most valuable place, while the New Aeon is lower in status, though still valuable. The cosmos is evidently deemed the lowest one. The parallel structure makes it clear that the three locations have no temporal aspect.

Since the Primal Man also displays several shared features with Jesus, it comes as no surprise that the latter is associated with the same New Aeon. Similarly, during their stay within the cosmos, both dwell inside the Moon.¹³⁷ A probably late, mixed Middle Persian and Parthian hymn invokes the New Moon, identified as Jesus the Splendor.

Oh, New Moon that rose from the New Paradise! – And a new joy came to the whole Church. Oh Jesus of fair name, the first of the gods! – You are the New Moon, oh God, and you are the noble Father! Oh Full Moon, Jesus, Lord of fair name! Oh Full Moon, Jesus, Lord of fair name!¹³⁸

1.3.3 Other Deities

In addition to the Great Builder, the Primal Man and Jesus, other members of the Manichaean pantheon are also connected to the New Paradise. First, I shall present some quotations in which only general references are made to a great number of other deities who reside in the New Paradise. These citations usually show the final habitat of the rescuing deities at the end of times.

A new aeon will be built in the place of the world [this universe] that shall dissolve, that in it the powers of the light (ⲡⲃⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ) may reign (ⲣⲣⲡⲟ), because

135 2Ps 144.21 (Allberry 1938, 144).

136 2Ps 179.13-15 (Allberry 1938, 179).

137 Polotsky 1935, col. 258: "(I)n den koptischen Texten ist der Mond bald das ‚Schiff‘ des Ur-menschen und bald Jesu; der Neue Aeon steht in naher Beziehung zu Jesus, der in persischen und parthischen Hymnen geradezu ‚Neuer Aeon‘ genannt wird."

138 M176/R/1-10 (Middle Persian and Parthian), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 161.

they have performed and fulfilled the will of the Father entire, they have subdued the hated one, they have (...) over him for ever.¹³⁹

The second day is the time when the fathers of light (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ), who were victorious in the struggle, will sit on their thrones in the new aeon (ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲃⲣⲣⲉ) and dwell on the new earth (ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲡⲃⲣⲣⲉ). And they reign (ⲣⲣⲣⲟ) in the new [aeon] till the Father unveils his image above them. It is necessary that they dwell in the New Age for the length of the first day that he spent [in affliction].¹⁴⁰ They will reign (ⲣⲣⲣⲟ) like this and rejoice in [the n]ew [aeon].¹⁴¹

You yourselves must be purifiers and re[dee]mers of your soul, which is established in every place, so that y[ou may be counted] to the [c]ompany of the fathers of light. (...) of the kingdom in the new aeon, in the place of joy.¹⁴²

Thus, the deities residing in the New Paradise apparently receive this state as a reward for their former role in the gigantic struggle of rescuing the light particles.

In other instances, some specific gods associated with the New Paradise are mentioned, understandably, most frequently in connection with the eschatological times.

With might shall I take you, and enfold (you) with love, and lead (you) unto (your) home, the blessed Abode [= the New Paradise]. For ever shall I show you the noble Father [= Primal Man]; I shall lead you in, into (His) presence, (clad) in pure raiment. I shall show you the Mother of the beings of Light, For ever shall you rejoice in lauded happiness. I shall reveal to you the virtuous brethren, (...) who are filled with happiness. You shall [dwell] joyfully among them all for ever, beside all the jewels [= deities] and the venerable gods. [...] Peace shall be yours in the place of salvation, in the company of all the gods and those who dwell in Peace.¹⁴³

The Primal Man will come from the realm of Capricornus (or Polaris, i. e. the north); al-Bashīr [Third Messenger] from the East; and the Great Builder from the south; the Spirit of Life [Living Spirit] from the realm of the West. They will stop on the great structure, which is the New Garden [of Paradise] and going around that Hell, they will gaze into it.¹⁴⁴

139 2Ps 11.21-25 (Allberry 1938, 11).

140 In this sentence I followed T. Pettipiece's translation (2009, 166) instead of I. Gardner's ("The [length of the sojourn] in the [ne]w aeon equals the measure of the first day spent [in affliction]."), since the former could already incorporate W.-P. Funk's corrections and addenda.

141 1Ke 103.2-11, trans. Gardner 1995, 107.

142 1Ke 77.17-21, trans. Gardner 1995, 78.

143 *Angad Rōšnān* VI. (Parthian) (Boyce 1954, 152f), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 114.

144 *Al-Fihrist*, Dodge 1970, 796f.

And the god Ohrmizd [Primal Man] from the northern region, [the god] Roshnshahr [Third Messenger] from the east, and the New-World-[Creating] god (*nwg(š)br[p](wr) yzd*) [Great Builder] from the south, Mihryazd [Living Spirit] from the western region, their abodes, together with their (entourage) and helpers, will stand on that structure of the New Paradise (*'br b'n dysm'n 'y] whyšt'w*), around that conflagration, and will look into it.¹⁴⁵

The Manichaean divine world basically comprises two types of divine figures: 1. The ones that remained with the Father of Greatness in the original Realm of Light; and 2. The “battle-stirring gods” that were emanated from the Father of Greatness or, later on, from these emanations, in order to protect the Realm of Light against the potential attack of Darkness. The divine entities remaining with the Father of Greatness naturally continue their eternal and peaceful life in the Realm of Light, while the other deities first perform their various tasks in the gigantic cosmic battle, and are afterwards rewarded with a similarly peaceful and eternal life in the New Paradise. Consequently, in the Third Period, two paradisiacal kingdoms will exist side by side (39th *kephalaion*).

There will be two heavenly kingdoms: the Father will rule the Aions of Light, while Primal Man will be the king of the New Aion.¹⁴⁶

The distinct nature of the two realms seems to be preserved, even if the *Kephalaia*, for example, speaks of two separate, mythological days in the New Aeon: one spent before, the other after the Father of Greatness reveals his image, a motif to be analyzed later on.

However, it is unclear where the rescuing deities reside until the great conflagration; the written sources suggest that they are placed in various parts of the created universe, and it is only after the destruction of the universe that they proceed to their final abode, the New Paradise. This is evidently the case with the five sons of the Living Spirit – to use Augustine’s terminology: Atlas, Gloriosus Rex, Adamas, Rex Honoris and Splenditenens,¹⁴⁷ – who are placed as guards stationed vertically from the top of the cosmos to the bottom. Most probably this is also the case with the six deities residing inside the Moon (the Primal Man, Jesus the Splendor, the Virgin of Light) and the Sun (the Mother

145 M470a+/R/13-22 (Middle Persian), MacKenzie 1979, 517 (cf. Jackson 1965a, 286f).

146 Hom 41.18-20.

147 See e. g. Kósa 2012.

of Living, the Living Spirit, the Third Messenger),¹⁴⁸ although some of them, as mentioned before, arrive from other regions at the end of times. For instance, at the final conflagration scene, Primal Man arrives from the northern region, and not from the Moon, while the Living Spirit comes from the western region, and not from the Sun. Wherever they were previously, they definitely take their place in the New Paradise as soon as the final act of world history ends.¹⁴⁹

A slightly different picture emerges from a polemical, but still highly reliable Western source: here the Sun and the Moon offer shelter to the divine figures as long as the fire is consuming the world.

After all this at the end he says, as he has written: “When the elder lets his image appear, then the Porter will let the world go, and so the great fire will become free and devour the whole world. Then again he puts the ‘lump’ (τὸν βῶλον) in the middle of the new aeon (μετὰ τοῦ νέου αἰῶνος), so that all the souls of sinners shall be bound for ever (δεθῶσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα). These things will happen, when the statue comes. But all the emanations, Jesus who is in the little ship [Moon], the Mother of Life, the twelve steersmen, the Virgin of Light and the Third Elder [Third Messenger], who is in the large ship [Sun], and the Living Spirit and the wall of the great fire and the wall of the wind and of the air and of the water and of the inner living fire, all dwell in the little light, until the fire has consumed the whole world (ἄχρις ἂν τὸ πῦρ καταναλώσῃ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον).”¹⁵⁰

This description of the fourth century *Acta Archelai* does not only differ from that of the *Šābuhragān*, but at first glance it is also slightly strange in itself, since the Sun and the Moon are, theoretically, also part of the cosmos; here, however, they seem to be placed outside the created world. Two remarks might be made in this respect. First of all, according to the Manichaean imagination, the Sun and the Moon were made of pure light elements,¹⁵¹ thus it does seem rather logical to keep them away from the huge conflagration, since there is nothing in them that should be exposed to complete annihilation. Second, and perhaps more interesting, is the so-called Cosmology painting, introduced in the second

148 1Ke 82.30-83.1 (Gardner 1995, 84f); 1Ke 24.9-13 (Gardner 1995, 27f); TM 291/R(?) (von Le Coq 1922, 7f; Klimkeit 1993, 342), MIK III 35a-b [= TM327] (von Le Coq 1909, 1052f); M46/10 (Klimkeit 1993, 159). A short Chinese hymn to the Sun (H360-H363) mentions the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit.

149 M470a+/R/13-22 (Middle Persian); MacKenzie 1979, 516f.

150 *Acta Archelai*, Greek 31.4. (XIII), Beesen 1906, 21, trans. Vermes 2001, 158.

151 E.g. M98/I/R (Middle Persian) (*Šābuhragān*), *Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio* 6.7-6.22, Augustine: *Conf.* 3.6.10, *Contra Faustum* 9.2, 18.5, *Serm.* 12.12.

of half of the present paper, depicting the Sun and the Moon above the ten firmaments, almost within the scene that can be presumably identified as the New Paradise. In this unique painting, three deities are seated on thrones in each heavenly luminary. As a matter of fact, in the passage preceding the one cited above, the *Šābuhragān* also clearly states that the Sun and Moon will go up to the (New) Paradise, even if it does not mention that deities are seated within these two luminaries. A second quotation also attests to a similar notion.

And the power and *energy of that Splendour of the gods (light particles) which has remained in the cosmos of earths and heavens and struck down and *exhausted by Az and the demons will go out from it (the cosmos) in that conflagration [and] be purified and go up to the sun and moon and become a god in the form of Ohrmezdby [the form of Primal Man, i.e. the Statue], and together with sun and moon will go up to Paradise (*(c) xur w: m'ḥ hmys 'w whyst'(w) 'hr'm'nd*).¹⁵²

Then the Renewal of the world (*pršygyrd*) will take place. And the demons will be destroyed, and the Sun and Moon and the gods will find rest and peace (*xurxsyd 'wd m'ḥ 'wd yzd'n hsp'n 'wd (wy)s'n bw'd*).¹⁵³

1.4 The New Paradise as an Ultimate (?) Goal

The Manichaean narrative basically revolves around the process of how the entrapped light is purified and rescued from the mixing with and being bond to the Darkness. Light appears in two forms, both being consubstantial with each other and ultimately with the Realm of Light itself: the light particles of the light elements and the human soul, the latter having been formed from the former by Darkness in order to imprison it into the body.

And from the impurity of the demons and from the filth of the she-demons she [the Demoness of Greed] fashioned the body and entered into it herself. Then she formed the good soul (*nbrysyd gy'n 'y xwb*) from the five Light Elements (*'c pnj 'mbr'spnd'n*), the armor of the Lord Ohrmizd [Primal Man], and bound it within the body (*bsṯ 'ndr ns'ḥ*). [...] She created the body as the prison (*zynd'n*), she fettered the miserable soul.¹⁵⁴

152 M470a+/R/3-12 (Middle Persian), trans. MacKenzie 1979, 517.

153 M7984/I/R/i/11-15 (Middle Persian) (*Šābuhragān*), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 231f, cf. Hutter 1992, 75f, 79.

154 S9/R/i/4-14, S9/R/i/21-23 (Middle Persian); trans. Klimkeit 1993, 39.

Prison is a frequent metaphor in Manichaeism: conquered and captured demons are imprisoned in the cosmos by divine beings, light elements are imprisoned in the human body by dark agents, who in turn will be imprisoned in the *bolos* in the eschatological future. The allegory of prison calls upon its metaphorical pair as well: liberation, another important motif in Manichaean texts.

The route followed by the liberated light is generally the so-called Column of Glory, the Moon and the Sun, and then paradise. The Moon and the Sun were supposed to continuously load and unload cargoes of liberated light, and this supposedly accounts for the waxing and waning phases of the Moon. It must be noted that both Shahrastānī’s *Kitāb al-milal wa-n-nihāl* and Ibn al-Malāḥimī’s *Kitāb al-muʿtamad* record a double phase after the light particles leave the Sun:

He (i. e., Mānī) says that what aids the purification and the separation and the ascension of the particles of Light are (the chanting of hymns of) glorification, (invocations of) sanctification, proper speech, and pious deeds, and that by this (behavior) the particles of Light are lifted in a Column of Radiance to the orbit of the moon. The moon constantly receives this (i. e., the flow of particles) from the first of the month to the middle (of the month); then it is full and becomes the full moon. Then (the moon) conveys (it) to the sun until the end of the month, and the sun propels it onward to the Light that is above it, and it circulates in this world until it rejoins the uppermost, pure Light.¹⁵⁵

And the sun propels it to the Light which is above it in the World of Praise, and it travels through that World up to the pure supernatural Light.¹⁵⁶

The relevant sentences in these two sources suggest that light particles ascend back to the Realm of Light (“uppermost, pure Light”; “pure supernal light”) after crossing an intermediary realm (the Light above the Sun, “World of Praise”), which can perhaps be identified with the New Paradise below the Realm of Light.¹⁵⁷ Aside from the light particles, the upper paradises appear as the ultimate goal of the human soul as well.

155 *Kitāb al-milal wa-n-nihāl*, 243; trans. Reeves 2011, 204.

156 Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Kitāb al-muʿtamad*, 564-565; trans. Reeves 2011, 202f.

157 See, however, M. Boyce’s (1954, 20) opposing view: “in this epitome Ibn an-Nadīm was content to ignore the existence of the New Paradise.”

(...) preserve my body and redeem my soul; grant to me my pious wish, the eternal Paradise of Light (*nušg rušn whysš*)! [...] I would honour you, oh God! Grant remission of my sins, redeem my soul, lead me up to the New Paradise (*nwg whysš*)!¹⁵⁸

The souls will go to the Light, they will put on the body of the Father. They will be in glory within the New Aeon (*nw g šbr*) for ever and ever.¹⁵⁹

Then shall you receive, at the end, helm, garland and diadem from the god Ōhrmizd [Primal Man], the Father, within the Paradise of Light (*whysš rušn*). There shall you rejoice and prosper for ever, (and) be happy in gladness.¹⁶⁰

The light people will hurry towards the New Aeon and dwell (...) in it.¹⁶¹

As Mary Boyce had already reviewed,¹⁶² Abraham Valentine Williams Jackson,¹⁶³ as well as Ernst Waldschmidt and Wolfgang Lentz,¹⁶⁴ were of the opinion that the goal of the individual soul is the Realm of Light, while Hans Jacob Polotsky thought that after death the human soul goes to the New Paradise.¹⁶⁵ Mary Boyce concluded that the human soul first goes to the New Paradise and at the end of the world it will arrive at the ultimate abode, the Realm of Light.¹⁶⁶ Manfred Hutter, however, is of the opinion that this idea is untenable,¹⁶⁷ and the quotations above seem to support his stance: these texts suggest that the souls will remain in the New Paradise for eternity. Interestingly, the problem seems to have been a dilemma for the Manichaeans themselves:

158 M801a/p5/1-4 (Parthian), M801a/p6/14-17 (Middle Persian), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 134, cf. Henning 1937, 20f.

159 M285/II/88-92 (Parthian), trans. Boyce 1954, 16.

160 M729/II/V/i/1-10 (Middle Persian) (Andreas and Henning 1933, 333), trans. Boyce 1954, 17, cf. Klimkeit 1993, 96.

161 *Synaxeis codex* p. 204. (Funk 2015, 80).

162 Boyce 1954, 15.

163 Jackson 1930, 179f: "Thereupon, the righteous soul ascends by the Column of Praise (Milky Way) to the sphere of the Moon, thence to the Sun, and from there into the realm of the Light Supreme."

164 Waldschmidt and Lentz 1933, 530: "Der »ewige Lichtreich« ist das Ziel der individuellen Erlösung."

165 Polotsky 1935, col. 259.

166 Boyce 1954, 16-18: "The belief expressed here is that the First Man gathers the redeemed in the new paradise during the centuries, until he has won back all, or almost all, that he had lost, and can bear them with him to the Eternal Paradise in a celestial triumph."

167 Hutter 1989, 223. n. 36.

[The seventy-first] question thus: “When a second time they have been created afresh by the Great King, then in which land will their kingship secondly be? Will it be in the Real Paradise (*’stnyy wštm’xy*) together with the Great King (*mzyx’xšywnyy*), or in the New Paradise (*nyyy wštm’xy*)?”¹⁶⁸

Despite this dilemma, not only does the expression “for ever” (Parthian *’w y’wyd y’wyd’n*, Middle Persian *j’yd’n*) support that souls arrive at the New Paradise and not the Realm of Light, but the king of the New Paradise, the Primal Man, is sometimes also mentioned in connection with the rewards that a virtuous person receives after death.

Thy Father, the First Man, will give thee thy life (...).¹⁶⁹

Then shall you receive, at the end, helm, garland and diadem from the god Ōhrmizd [Primal Man], the Father, within the Paradise of Light.¹⁷⁰

Not infrequently, the expressions used for naming the destination of the soul are ambiguous, hence it is hardly possible to determine what the author had in mind.

He [Adam] put off the body of death and was for ever saved, and he ascended into Paradise (*whyšt*), into that land of the blessed (*šhr’yg prwx’n*).¹⁷¹

The Manichaean community consisted of two strata: the priestly elects or chosen ones, and the lay followers, the auditors or hearers. The former followed an ascetic life, which predestined them for directly proceeding to the paradisiacal realm after their death.

Holy, holy to the pure gods, [who] stay/dwell in the very peaceful lands. Holy, holy to the jewels, the elect, and the light-apostles. Holy, holy to the light lands, holy, full of praise of the great ones.¹⁷²

You shall rest yourselves in your New Aeon.¹⁷³

Everyone who will believe in me and also be persuaded to my word can become with me inheritors in the New Aeon.¹⁷⁴

168 M591 (Sogdian), trans. Henning *apud* Boyce 1954, 15.

169 2Ps 22.16 (Allberry 1938, 22).

170 M729/II/V/i/1-6 (Middle Persian) (Andreas and Henning 1933, 333), trans. Boyce 1954, 17.

171 S9/R/ii/25-30 (Middle Persian); trans. Klimkeit 1993, 39.

172 M185/R? (Parthian), Durkin-Meisterernst and Morano 2010, 101.

173 2Ps 52.10f (Allberry 1938, 52).

174 1Ke 259.21-23, trans. Gardner 1995, 265.

Therefore, because they have forsaken all covetousness and all rebirths and (all) distress and all suffering and destruction, and are undefiled, they are redeemed and pass on (to the other world), and are received and accepted in that great and blessed Kingdom and in that Light.¹⁷⁵

The auditors, constituting the lower stratum of the Manichaean community, were basically serving the elects in their undertaking of light liberation. Not following austerities like the elects, the auditors are usually supposed to go through several transmigrations, and only an appropriate rebirth – for example as an elect or as an appropriate vegetable consumed by an elect – ensures their final liberation.¹⁷⁶ That being said, some texts nevertheless explicitly suggest that, in addition to the elects, sufficiently devoted hearers are also entitled to proceed to paradise, be it explicitly the new one or the original one.

Strive, you Hearers (*ngwš'g'n*), increasingly add more piety so that you too shall come to the resting place of the gods (*bg'n r'm*) and become joyful in the New Paradise (*n(w)gš'(hr'n)*).¹⁷⁷

Blessed are the Elect and Catechumens [...] that they may reign in the New Aeon.¹⁷⁸

For everyone who partakes of the meal and is not worthy of it loses the fruit of his great efforts and is shut out of the Paradise of Light (*cn ruxš'nyy wštm'xyy*). (But) the chosen righteous ones and the auditors who believe realize the greatness of the Living Soul and will be joyful in the Paradise of Light, in eternal life.¹⁷⁹

You shall reach [the palace], you righteous elect and meritorious auditors.¹⁸⁰

Look up to the mighty, divine form of the beloved Fathers. The pious, the righteous believers, (and) the blissful auditors will attain (their) divine nature. The beneficent ones will reach the divine hall (*tl[w']r bg'nyyg*).¹⁸¹

(But) for us, (ye) elect and auditors, joy is prepared: the palace, the throne and the wreath in all eternity. Even the auditors will be immortal (*ngwš'g'nyc buynd 'nwšg*). Be merciful, beneficent God, to me, the grateful (...), the lowest (of your) sons, the believer. I pray day and night, lead my soul to the eternal paradise (*whyšt 'nwšg*)!¹⁸²

175 M8251 (Middle Persian) (Andreas and Henning 1933, 308-311); Klimkeit 1993, 265.

176 Polotsky 1935, cols. 159-161, Casadio 1992, 112.

177 M39/V/i/1-5 (Parthian); trans. Asmussen 1975, 139.

178 2Ps 25.27-29 (Allberry 1938, 25).

179 M139/II/V/11-18 (Sogdian), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 151.

180 M7/I/V/i/15f (Parthian), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 47; cf. Andreas and Henning 1934, 871.

181 M33/I/R/I/22-26 (Parthian), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 49; cf. Andreas and Henning 1934, 876.

182 M77/R/10-12 (Parthian), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 57; cf. Andreas and Henning 1934, 886f.

They go to the Heaven of Light (*grdm'n rušnyn*) where the gods abide and are at peace. They receive their (true) nature, the original splendor of the radiant place, and are joyful. They put on the resplendent garment, and they live in Paradise (*wbyšt*) eternally.¹⁸³

1.5 The Relation of New Paradise to the Realm of Light

Our main concern here is how the New Paradise and the Realm of Light are related in the Manichaean sources. Werner Sundermann, who was the main authority on Iranian Manichaean texts, basically accepts Ludwig Koenen's interpretation:

The redeemed elect will enter into the joy of the gods (i.e., into the New Paradise) [...] As a Final Statue (*Šābburagān*: “a god in the form of Ohrmezd bay”)¹⁸⁴ light will ascend to the New Paradise. [...] A divinity, probably the Father of Greatness, will unveil his “face” before the beings of light, which will enter into him and reappear visibly in the Eternal Paradise and the New Paradise.¹⁸⁵ According to Ludwig Koenen's explanation, both paradises, the original kingdom of light of the Father of Greatness and the new one of Primal Man, will exist side by side for eternity, the paradise of the father encircling that of the son, which in turn will encase the Bölos. This and the final incarceration of the darkness reflect, in Koenen's view, a circumstance arising after the end of this world that did not exist at the beginning: Primeval dualism will be conquered, but the world of light will preserve a divided character.¹⁸⁶

As mentioned before, while the Coptic *Homilies* suggests that “there will be two heavenly kingdoms: the Father will rule the Aions of Light, while Primal Man will be the king of the New Aion,”¹⁸⁷ the *Kephalaia* mentions two separate, mythological days within the New Aeon: one spent before, the other after the Father of Greatness reveals his image.¹⁸⁸

The second day is the time when the fathers of light (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ), who were victorious in the struggle, will sit on their thrones in the new aeon (ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲣⲣⲉ) and dwell on the new earth (ⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲡⲓⲃⲣⲣⲉ). And they reign (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ) in the new [aeon] till the Father unveils his image above them. It is necessary that they dwell in the

183 M737/(10)/V/1-6 (Parthian), Boyce 1951, 915, trans. Klimkeit 1993, 60.

184 MacKenzie, II, 298f.

185 Polotsky, 1934, 41.

186 Koenen, 1986, 306f; Sundermann 1998, 570b.

187 Hom 41.18-20.

188 1Ke 103.2-30.

New Age for the length of the first day that he spent [in affliction].¹⁸⁹ They will reign (ᾤᾤᾤ) like this and rejoice in [the n]ew [aeon]. The great third day [is the time] when the Father will unveil over them his [image] (...).¹⁹⁰

Thus, the entire question seems to be intricately linked to the act of the Father's unveiling of his face,¹⁹¹ an act basically ushering in a new era. The same distinction between a pre-revelation and post-revelation period is hinted at in the description of M2, which I quote in length.

And then the battle-stirring gods lead and guide their aeons and those homomorphic (with them) that they had called into the great earth and placed (there), by divine proclamation, to the New Aeon, and settle there in the same way as nomads who, (going) from place to place with their tents, horses, and possessions, put up and pull down (their tents) [...]. And when all the battle-stirrers have rested for a short while in the New Aeon, and when also that little bit of the Light-Earth and its mountains, wherefrom had been taken the means for building the New Aeon, has been restored, and when also the Last Man stands as the mightiest in stature, and when the warlike gods together with the five lights have been healed from (their) wounds, then all the jewels, the apostles, and the battle-stirring gods stand up and appear before the Sovereign of Paradise with imploring and prayer. [...]. "Come now and show mercy upon us: Uncover your bright figure, the loveliest of all sights, for us who are longing for turning to it (and) becoming glad and joyous through it; because we for a long time have been longing for it."¹⁹²

Although the rest of the fragment is lost, it seems clear that what ensues is the unveiling of the face of the Father of Greatness, who lives in the original paradise. Both the *Kephalaia* and M2 ("rested for a short while in the New Aeon...") refers to a limited period of time that is needed to completely restore what was injured, after which comes the unveiling of the Father's face. But what happens after that, and what is the difference between the two states? The continuation of the 39th *kephalaion* offers a uniquely detailed description.

The great third day [is the time] when the Father will unveil over them his [image] (... ..) and he raises them up (...) and he receives them into his hidden treasur[y] (...)

189 In this sentence I followed T. Pettipiece's translation (2009, 166) instead of I. Gardner's ("The [length of the sojourn] in the [ne]w aeon equals the measure of the first day spent [in affliction].").

190 IKe 103.2-11, trans. Gardner 1995, 107.

191 On this motif see Pedersen 2011.

192 M2/II/R/i/2-15, M2/II/V/i/9-26, M2/II/V/ii/28-36 (Parthian); trans. Asmussen 1975, 136f; cf. Andreas and Henning 1934, 849-853, Klimkeit 1993, 254.

and he gives (...) his soul. He will pour upon them (...) his ambrosia and his sweet aroma, which will take away all the tribulation that they saw with their (own) eyes, and give them relief and eternal joy.¹⁹³ When his grace satisfies them and he gives them his fruit and they are renewed, he will then call them [in] peace and silence and perfect their substance [in] the same measure as his former aeons and reveal every power in its aeon, in its dwelling place.¹⁹⁴ They will dwell in the new aeon in their aeons. Now, when they dwell in their aeons, they will become rich beyond measure, for ever, beyond time. From then on they will not count that season amongst them, nor the number [o]f days, nor the hours, generation after generation, for [e]ver and ever. The Father will not be hidden from them from [this] tim[e] on. Once he has been unveiled to them, he will [stay] unveiled forever.¹⁹⁵

This excerpt indicates that after the unveiling, the Father’s power will permeate the gods residing in the New Aeon, and they will provisionally be taken and admitted to the Realm of Light, but after being filled up with the power there, they will return to their own territory, to their own aeon. With the disclosure of the face of the Father of Greatness, the various gods are completely satiated by him, the supreme king. While on the second day the gods reign in the New Aeon, with the exposure of the Father’s power on the third day they again become his dependant emanations and from that time onwards they simply dwell in their aeon without actually reigning, as that will henceforth be performed by the Father of Greatness (cf. “And they reign in the new [aeon] till the Father unveils his image above them [...] They will dwell in the new aeon in their aeons”).

Before the Father’s face is unveiled, the two realms become connected:

And that New World (*š[h]r’y nwg*) and the prison of the demons (*bnyst’n’y dw’n*), which the New-World-creating god forms, will be fixed [to] Paradise and made [*fast].¹⁹⁶

They permeate each other, but to some extent they still remain separate. The following excerpt can also be read in light of the insights gathered from the quotations above. This fragment also describes the process of connecting the New Aeon to the Realm of Light and their ensuing mutual openness.

They will be joined together, the limbs, (...) [to] the New Aeon (*šhr nw’g*), the Land of Greatness (*zmyg wzgyf*). They (the New Paradise and the eternal Realm of Light)

193 This sentence is from Pettipiece 2009, 167.

194 This sentence is from Pettipiece 2009, 167.

195 1Ke 103.10-30, trans. Gardner 1995, 107.

196 M482/I/V/12-16 (Middle Persian), trans. MacKenzie 1979, 511.

will be united into one, like a single rock and a single body (*cw'gwn 'yw wym ° w: 'yw tnb'r*), eternally, securely and for ever. The demon of Darkness will be buried together with his abyss within that new and noble building (*dysm'n nw'g 'wd 'rg'w*). They will fill that land evenly with light, and within it will flow divine springs and sweet winds.¹⁹⁷ (...) they will prepare thrones, [and] they will (...) in the New Aeons (*(nw)(g(s)hr'n*). They will make and establish many splendid thrones for the Last Prince, together with all the Fathers, the [prosperous] gods. All the beings of Light, the righteous (elect) and the auditors (*hrwyn 'rd'w'n 'wd ngws'(g'n*), who have endured much suffering, will rejoice with the Father.¹⁹⁸ They will be glad and rejoice, and they will reign over His foes and the rebels in the New Aeons (*nw'g šhr'n*). For they have fought together with Him, and they have overcome and vanquished that Dark One who had boasted (in vain).¹⁹⁹

To summarize, what we can glean from the Coptic and Iranian sources is that the relationship between the New Paradise and the Realm of Light evolves across time. Although the New Paradise is originally created far from the Realm of Light, beyond the cosmos and on the surface of the Land of Darkness, the conflagration of the created cosmos leads to the two paradisiacal realms to approach each other. The New Paradise, ruled by the Primal Man, becomes attached to, but not completely merged with, the Realm of Light, ruled by the Father of Greatness. With this act, it becomes possible for the active, rescuing divine emanations in the New Paradise to beg the Father of Greatness in the Realm of Light to unveil his face. With this latter act, the New Paradise will be permeated by the power of the Father of Greatness, thus “on the third day” they will practically become united, even if the two realms and the two abodes of divine beings remain separate.

Above I made an attempt to present the complex relation of the New Paradise to the Realm of Light and the role divine emanations play during this process. In the following, I will explore the question from the point of view of human souls, who, aside from M173 and M94, were not treated in the excerpts quoted above. However nuanced the original concept might have been, whether Manichaean elects and auditors were aware of the delicate details of the rela-

197 Following D. Durkin-Meisterernst's (2015, 122) suggestion, I replaced Klimkeit's translation of this sentence with that of Boyce.

198 Klimkeit identified the Father as the Primal Man, which is possible but not necessary.

199 M94+/13a-b, M173/R/3-7, M94+/16b-24b (Parthian); trans. Klimkeit 1993, 40f; for a somewhat different translation see Boyce 1952, 439f.

tionship of the two realms is up to debate, and whether this knowledge was a commonplace at least among the composers of the various Manichaean texts.

A further question is whether these Manichaean authors, even if they knew about the details, wanted to insert such “theological” details into a poetic work. Mary Boyce argued that they most often did not.

These texts, Coptic and Iranian, establish a Manichaean doctrine of immediate redemption in the New Paradise, followed by ultimate union with the Paradise of Light. Yet such texts, although clear in the evidence they yield, are few in number. By far the most references to the destination of the soul are in ambiguous, general terms such as “the land of the gods”, “the city of the blessed”.²⁰⁰

However logical this opinion seems to be, if the Manichaeans lacked the notion of an “ultimate union with the Paradise of Light”, and consequently souls could never reach the Realm of Light, then the entire assumption loses its footing. Or perhaps we can surmise that even if Mānī and his immediate followers did not teach that the two paradisiacal realms would completely coalesce at the end of time, Manichaeism at a more popular level (for example in texts mainly targeted at auditors) did implicitly assume their merging into a single territory? This differentiation between an elite Manichaeism and a more popular Manichaeism would ultimately support Mary Boyce’s conclusion. Naturally, also possible or maybe even probable, that some not explicitly stated aspects of Manichaean doctrine gradually fell into oblivion or were simply overwritten by simpler ideas.

As such, there are at least three separate questions involved: 1. One of terminology, i.e. whether the words used for paradise (New Paradise or Realm of Light) and its ruler (Father of Light or Primal Man) were clearly distinguished; 2. That of intention, i.e. whether the creators of certain Manichaean hymns wanted to emphasize the difference between these two realms, even if they knew about it; 3. The question of knowledge, i.e. if in certain areas or eras Manichaeans knew about this difference at all. Naturally, the first two questions can hardly be separated, since the use of a specific but ambiguous terminology may be the result of an author’s intention, not wanting to clearly demarcate these notions.

One might be inclined to assume that in later developments of Manichaeism, for example Chinese and Uighur versions, the distinction might be less clear-cut. As Mary Boyce already noted:

²⁰⁰ Boyce 1954, 18.

What complicates matters still more is that some texts not only do not particularize the New Paradise as the destination of the redeemed souls, but actually make it clear that the Eternal Paradise is meant. Thus the Chinese texts studied by Waldschmidt and Lentz distinguish in terminology between the two Paradises; and in more than one case the terms for the Eternal paradise are there used to indicate the goal of the returning souls.²⁰¹

Or perhaps, irrespective of the considerations on the early or late phases, it might be the genres that matter in this respect; again I quote Mary Boyce:

Poetic licence seems to allow, therefore, that the distinction which it involves should in many texts be glossed over or ignored; and that occasionally the gulf of time and space should be surpassed, the souls of the saved being imagined as standing nowhere they will ultimately be, in the presence of the Father himself.²⁰²

In the following, I will briefly explore which the more probable assumption seems to be.

As I showed before, the notion and terminology of New Paradise occurs in all major Manichaean traditions (Coptic, Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, Uighur and Chinese). As such I will first of all present some citations that witness the notion of New Paradise as the soul's ultimate destination.

The souls of the Apostles of Light and of the Religion go to the Light. They put on the body of the Father. They exalt in the New Aeon for ever and ever (*n'zynd 'ndr nw'g šhr 'w y'wyd y'wyd'n*).²⁰³

They delight until the end in the new aeons (*pd nw[ʔg] šhr'n*).²⁰⁴

Rise up in well-being to the new land/aeon (*šhr 'y nwg*)! May you live forever (*zyw' y'wyd[n]*).²⁰⁵

(...) and he will rejoice in the new paradise (*pd whyšt 'y nwg*) forever (*j'yd'n*).²⁰⁶

(...) liberate us from [the power] of the demons, and lead us up to the [Ne]w Paradise (*[nw]g whyšt*).²⁰⁷

201 Boyce 1954, 19.

202 Boyce 1954, 19.

203 M285 (= M8700)/II/V/ii (Parthian); trans. Morano 2009, 4. Here the persons involved belong to an elite group of former light envoys, but it is probable that this is equally valid for the average elects. The Chinese *Hymn-scroll* (H265), on the other hand, places the light envoys (*mingshi* 明使) in the Realm of Light, not the New Paradise.

204 M76/V/14-16 (Parthian), trans. Durkin-Meisterernst 2014, 65.

205 M263a/i/1-3 (Middle Persian), trans. Durkin-Meisterernst 2014, 151.

206 M736/R/1-3 (Middle Persian), trans. Durkin-Meisterernst 2014, 329.

I would honour you, oh God! Grant remission of my sins, redeem my soul (*buw' mn rw'n h*), lead me up (*syn*) to the New Paradise (*nwg whyš*)!²⁰⁸

Then shall you receive, at the end, helm, garland and diadem from the god Ōhrmizd [Primal Man], the Father (*pydr 'whrmzd*), within the Paradise of Light (*whyš rwš*). There shall you rejoice and prosper for ever, (and) be happy in gladness (*j'd'n 'nw h w'r'y 'wd wštyr'y prmyn'y pd š'dyh*).²⁰⁹

Now we confess our faith in the New Light Realm (*xin mingjie* 新明界), together with those who eternally dwell in it (*ji yu yu zhong chang zhuzhe* 及与於中常住者).²¹⁰

Second, I collected some quotations below that, due to the presence of the Father of Greatness, explicitly identify the ultimate destination of the soul as the Realm of Light and not the New Paradise.

Lay hold upon salvation and freedom from hurt. They prepare for you a tabernacle of the spirit.²¹¹ Enter into the kingdom before the Father of Greatness (*'d<y>hyd w šhrd'ryft prw'n pydr wzrgyft*), and in his presence become endued with your own piety, stillness and purity.²¹²

I worship thee, o Father of the Lights (*𐭌𐭕𐭔𐭕 𐭋𐭏𐭓𐭕𐭎𐭕*); I bless you, o Aeons of joy (*𐭋𐭏𐭓𐭕 𐭕𐭏𐭓𐭕𐭎𐭕*), and my brethren and my sisters (?) from whom I have been far away, I have found them again once more. All hail to thee, o garlanded soul, that has fulfilled the will of [her] Father. Come and rest henceforth in the Land of Light (*𐭕𐭏𐭓𐭕𐭎𐭕 𐭕𐭏𐭓𐭕𐭎𐭕*), o God-loving soul.²¹³

The first (of the two principles) is without limit in height and width, light is everywhere, no dark place at all. The deities [buddhas] and light envoys reside within (*zhufu mingshi yu zhong zhu* 諸佛明使於中住), which is the peaceful residence of the Light Honoured One (*ji shi mingzun an zhi chu* 即是明尊安置處). [...] Those getting to that country [Realm of Light, *mingjie* 明界] will have no sorrow and grief forever. The saints are free, all wander free from care (*shengzhong zizai ge xiaoyao* 聖眾自在各逍遙), never is one tortured, beaten, imprisoned or bound. [...] The solemn countenances of the saints are most special (*shengzhong yanrong shen qite* 聖眾嚴容甚奇特), (their) lights irradiate each other, their body being bright and crystal-

207 M311/V/3-5 (Parthian) (Reck 2004, 142).

208 M801a/p6/14-17 (Middle Persian), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 134, cf. Henning 1937, 21.

209 M729/II/V/i/1-10 (Middle Persian) (Andreas and Henning 1933, 333), trans. Boyce 1954, 17, cf. Klimkeit 1993, 36.

210 H143.

211 Changed according to Reck 2004, 128 (den geistigen Palast ...).

212 M5860/I/v/i/3-10 (Parthian), trans. Boyce 1954, 19 (T II D 138/37-46), Reck 2004: 128.

213 2Ps 85.13-19 (Allberry 1938, 85).

line. Even on the tip of their hair there is more light than the brilliance of hundred thousand suns and moons. [...] The saints live in peace, in constant joy and happiness (*zhusheng an ju chang kuaile* 諸聖安居常快樂), their lands are praiseworthy, they do not mock each other. Sufferings arising from encountering hateful things never existed there, and they do not slander each other while praising face to face.²¹⁴

On a side note, it is also worth noting that the last quotations, which derive from the Chinese *Hymn-scroll*, appear in the hymn “In Praise of the Realm of Light” (*Tan mingjie wen* 歎明界文). It is clear from the hymn as a whole that it describes the Realm of Light and not the New Paradise; for instance it mentions the Father of Greatness (H262, H265, H320: *mingzun* 明尊), the diamond-jewelled earth (H271, H276, H295, H315: *jin’gang baodi* 金剛寶地). The phrase “Realm of Light” (H274, H319, H333: *guangming jie* 光明界) also appears several times.

Although the hymn was translated from the original Parthian, the translator, Daoming 道明, added the distinctive Chinese terminology that made the Manichaean Realm of Light similar to a Chinese Buddhist Pure Land. This detailed description in itself already indicates that Chinese Manichaeans, who although they theoretically knew about the notion of New Paradise (H041, H143), basically equated the ultimate goal of rescuing gods and human soul with the eternal abode of the Father of Greatness. The *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛 manuscript, for example, explicitly mentions “ascending to the Eternal Light” (*deng changming* 登常明)²¹⁵ and “ascending to the Three Constancies” (*deng sanchang* 登三常).²¹⁶ It is well known among students of Manichaeism that the Three Constancies – the Father of Greatness, the Light or Jewel Earth and the Wonderful Air – all dwell in the Realm of Light, and are not to be found in the New Paradise.

Although it would have been easy to match the dichotomy of the New Paradise and the Realm of Light with the Buddhist notions of Pure Land and Nirvāṇa respectively, and Chinese Manichaeans usually did in fact call the eternal Realm of Light nirvāṇa and only very rarely a Pure Land, perhaps due to the popular notions prevalent in Tang China, they nevertheless did characterize it as a Buddhist Pure Land. The final part of the *Hymn-scroll* gives a detailed description of the soul’s journey, most probably only that of the elects after death, in which the ultimate goal is evidently the Realm of Light.

214 H268, H277, H291.

215 The Realm of Eternal Light (*changming* 常明) also appears in H147, H373, H399.

216 Lin 2014, 483. I thank Ma Xiaohu for this remark.

If we arrive at the day of impermanence [death] and rid ourselves of this abominable body of flesh, all the buddhas, saints and wise surround us all around, the jewel-boats are prepared, the good deeds welcome us spontaneously, we arrive directly in front of the King of Justice, we receive the Three Great Victories, which are called the flower-crown, the necklace of precious stones and the ten thousand kinds of wonderful robes with pendants. The good deeds, the meritorious virtues and the buddha-nature are praised and eulogized unceasingly. Then, from the place of the King of Justice, with banner-flowers and jewel-canopies surrounding all around, with the saints chanting and extolling, we enter the Realm of Lushena [Vairocana]. Within its boundaries [in that empire] the roads are even and straight, the sounds and voices (produce) sacred echoes, they circulate around, they fill and envelop (everything). From there we go straight to the palaces of the Sun and the Moon, where from the Six Great Compassionate Fathers and from the others belonging to them each of us receives joy and happiness, inexhaustible praise and eulogy. Further with a turn we are led to the other shore, and then enter the Realm of Nirvana and Eternal Light to eternally receive bliss and happiness together with our good deeds.²¹⁷

The “Realm of Nirvana and Eternal Light” (*niepan changming shijie* 涅槃常明世界) seems to refer to the original Realm of Light; H373 also gives the context of “the Realm of Eternal Light” (*changming* 常明):

We praise, laud and esteem the greatness, that Just Lord, the Unsurpassable King, the Realm of Eternal Light, and the community of his saints [...] (稱讚褒譽, 珍重廣大, 彼真實主, 最上光王, 常明世界, 及其聖眾 [...]).

These lines refer to the Father of Greatness (Just Lord, the Unsurpassable King); consequently, the Realm of Eternal Light must be his Realm of Light.

Thirdly, there is a plethora of examples where terminological “looseness” of the text does not allow us to determine whether they meant the Realm of Light or the New Paradise.

[...] he [Adam] put off the mortal body and was redeemed eternally. He was lifted up to Paradise (*whyst*), to the Realm of the Blessed (*šhr'yg prwx'n*).²¹⁸

217 H393-400: 若至无常之日, 脫此可厭穢身, 諸佛聖賢, 前後圍遶; 寶船安置, 善業自迎, 直至平等王前, 受三大勝, 所謂花冠、瓔珞、萬種妙衣串佩。善業福德佛性, 無窮讚歎。又從平等王所, 幡花寶蓋, 前後圍遶, 眾聖歌揚, 入盧舍那境界。又從平等王所, 幡花寶蓋, 前後圍遶, 眾聖歌, 入盧舍那境界, 於其境內, 道路平正, 音聲梵響, 周迴彌覆。從彼直至日月宮殿, 而於六大慈父及餘眷屬, 各受快樂無窮讚歎。又復轉引到於彼岸, 遂入涅槃常明世界, 與自善業常受快樂。

218 S9/R/ii/25-30 (Middle Persian), Klimkeit 1993, 39.

Understand the religion and know the soul so that I may lead you to the paradise of light (*whyšt rwšn*).²¹⁹

(...) rise up undamaged to the paradise of light (*rwšn whyšt'w*).²²⁰

(...) finally, he obtains the garland (and) diadem in paradise (*'ndr whyšt'w*).²²¹

[...] forgive me all my sins, and give me the Light paradise (*rwšn whyšt'w*).²²²

And he [Third Messenger or Jesus?] will first draw it (the light that is to be saved) up from the cosmos, (away from?) Ahriman and the demons, and will lead it up to the Sun and Moon, and will (then) usher it into Paradise (*[wh]yšt'w*), (to) its own family. Then the Renewal of the world will take place. And the demons will be destroyed, and the Sun and Moon and the gods will find rest and peace. [...] it (the light) was being led out of Āz and out of the (old) cosmos, and being taken to the chariots (of the Sun and the Moon) and (finally) being led into Paradise (*'w whyšt'w wd'rynd*).²²³

(...) and clean them (the Elements of Light) of the poison of Ahriman and (thus) purify them; and then raise them to Paradise (*rwšn'yrðmn*).²²⁴

You (Mānī) lead them across the ocean of suffering. You brought them close to good Nirvana (*ā[d]g[ü] nrwanka*).²²⁵

They carried out the three seals in order to be reborn in the supreme place on high. [...] caused oceans and rivers of merit to flow, and they were reborn in the Country of the Buddhas (*burxanlar ulušt[n]ta*). [...] and were reborn in the Palace of Immortality (*[an]waš[āgā]n orduta*). [...] May mortals in the world constantly be reborn in the nirvāṇa (*nirvanta tugzunlar*)! [...] May they find the nirvāṇa that has brought peace (*amrlmš nirvanig*)!²²⁶

Five hundred fifty-two years after the ascent of the exalted Buddha Mani to the Realm of the Gods [...].²²⁷

219 M282/II/V/ii/2-5 (Parthian), trans. Durkin-Meisterernst 2014, 143.

220 M6890/B/1f (Middle Persian), trans. Durkin-Meisterernst 2014, 183.

221 M850/V/1-4 (Parthian), trans. Durkin-Meisterernst 2014, 363.

222 M284b/v/ii/17-19 (Middle Persian), trans. Reck 2004, 115.

223 M7984/I/R/i/1-15, M7984/I/R/ii/23-27 (Middle Persian) (*Šābuhragān*), trans. Klimkeit 1993, 231f, cf. Hutter 1992, 75-78.

224 M178/II/66-68 (Sogdian), Henning 1948, 312.

225 Great Hymn to Mani (T II D 258-260/29) (Uighur), trans. Clark 2013, 155, cf. Klimkeit 1993, 281.

226 Great Hymn to Mani (T II D 258-260/86, 101, 102, 103, 104) (Uighur), trans. Clark 2013, 162, 163, cf. trans. Klimkeit 1993, 284 [verses 92, 115, 116, 117, 118].

227 T II D 173a/V/13-16 (Uighur), von Le Coq 1912, 12, trans. Klimkeit 1993, 347.

[...] divine wisdom, sweeter than the drink of immortality, which brings life and leads to the bright Realm of Gods (*y(a)ruq t(ä)ngri yiri-ngä*).²²⁸

In order to show an example that a seemingly loose terminology sometimes subsequently becomes more precise, I quote a Parthian fragment:

The souls of the Apostles of Light and of the Religion go to the Light. They put on the body of the Father.

Light might theoretically refer to both the Realm of Light and the New Paradise, just like Father might denote the Father of Greatness or Primal Man as a father. The subsequent sentence, however makes it clear that the second option is the correct one:

They exalt in the New Aeon for ever and ever (*n'zynd 'ndr nw"g šhr 'w y'wyd y'wyd'n*).²²⁹

From this example, it can be surmised that in other texts, one should always consider the possibility that Paradise (Middle Persian *whyšt'w*) without further precision might be used to refer to the New Paradise, as it is most probably the case in the *Šābubragān*.²³⁰

Hence, the looseness of the terminology prevents us from unambiguously determining how Manichaeans conceived the difference between the New Paradise and the Realm of Light. What we can glean from the texts is that they postulated a single paradisiacal realm, be it the New Paradise or the Realm of Light, where human souls arrive and they practically never imagined a second move from the New Paradise to the Realm of Light. It can also be demonstrated that all major Manichaean traditions (Coptic, Iranian, Uighur and Chinese)

228 T II D 171/V/17-20 (Uighur), von Le Coq 1912, 26, trans. Klimkeit 1993, 374.

229 M285 (= M8700)/II/V/ii (Parthian); trans. Morano 2009, 4.

230 In addition to the quotation above, this usage is attested several times in other parts of the *Šābubragān*: “Then that house-lord god, who stands on the lowest earth and holds the earths in order, [and] that wind-raising god who (is) with him, who raises up wind, water and fire, and that village-lord god who stands on this earth, and (who) keeps that gigantic dragon cast down in the northern clime, together with (their) helpers, (all) proceed to Paradise” (MacKenzie 1979, 513); “and those five gods who [first ? far from ?] Paradise and the gods had been struck down by Az and Ahramen and the male and female demons-they too in Paradise will again become as whole and like (they were at) their first creation (by) Ohrmezdby, when they had not yet been struck down by Az and the demons, and also that world-bearing [god] who keeps the earths and heavens (well) ordered, they will (all) ascend to Paradise” (MacKenzie 1979, 515).

knew of the concept of the New Paradise, even if they did not attach the same importance to it.

Coptic and Iranian texts frequently identify the New Paradise as the ultimate goal of the rescuing gods²³¹ and the liberated human souls,²³² while in other cases the reference to this ultimate goal might be ambiguous but rarely explicitly linked to the eternal Realm of Light. On the other hand, Uighur and Chinese texts hardly distinguish between the two paradisiacal realms; the *Hymn-scroll*, for example, mentions eternal dwelling in the New Paradise only once,²³³ while the same hymn, as well as other hymns,²³⁴ explicitly associate the Realm of Light with the same destination of the soul. Similarly, the Xiapu corpus features a hymn entirely dedicated to the description of the New Paradise,²³⁵ while other parts of the same corpus link the ultimate goal of the soul with the Realm of Light.²³⁶ Chinese hymns thus seem not to be aware of the apparent contradiction between these two realms as ultimate goals.

Genres do not seem to play any role in this process, since the Coptic, Iranian and Chinese corpus all contain hymns that name the New Paradise the ultimate goal.²³⁷ The phenomenon as seen in light of the textual material thus could theoretically be regarded as a natural process of blurring the distinction between the two realms, as we proceed from the Coptic and Iranian texts towards the Chinese and Uighur ones. Chinese textual material thus does not exhibit the clear, or at least the much clearer, distinction between the two realms as it is attested in the Coptic and Iranian corpus. However, a unique Chinese visual source tells a completely different story.

231 See e.g. 1Ke 79.33-80.4, 1Ke 103.2-11; 2Ps 11.21-25 (Coptic), M7981/I/V/ii/22-32, M470a+/R/13-22 (Iranian).

232 See e.g. 1Ke 77.17-21, 1Ke 259.21-23; 2Ps 25.27-29, 2Ps 52.10f; *Synaxeis codex*, 204 (Coptic), *Angad Rōšnān* VI, M39/V/i/1-5, M76/V/14-16, M263a/i/1-3, M285/II/88-92, M311/V/3-5, M729/II/V/i/1-10, M736/R/1-3, M801a/p5/1-4, M801a/p6/14-17 (Iranian).

233 H143.

234 E.g. H261-H338.

235 *Moni guangfo* cols. 650-664.

236 *Moni guangfo* cols. 085-088 (Lin 2014, 461), cols. 137-139 (Lin 2014, 463), cols. 429-433 (Lin 2014, 476), cols. 635-648 (Lin 2014, 485).

237 E.g. 2Ps 11.21-25, 2Ps 25.27-29, 2Ps 52.10-12; *Angad Rōšnān* VI, M311/V/3; *Moni guangfo* cols. 650-664.

2 The Visual Representation of the New Paradise in the Cosmology Painting

The Cosmology painting (colors on silk, 137.1 x 56.6 cm, Jap. *uchū zu* 宇宙図; abbreviated in the following as CP) is one the eleven newly identified Manichaean paintings mostly preserved in Japanese collections.²³⁸ All these paintings have been identified and published between 2008 and 2016, and they are unique since nothing comparable survived from Manichaean art. Aside from some fragmented visual remains from the Uighur Kingdom,²³⁹ only these Chinese paintings testify to the once flourishing artistic achievements of Manichaeism. The importance of these newly found paintings can hardly be overestimated.

Out of five of these paintings, kept in one of the numerous Japanese private collections, one is the CP, two are Realm of Light fragments (abbreviated as RLF), and two paintings represent Manichaean missionary history. It was well known from the start that the two RLF can be united to form a single painting,²⁴⁰ and it has been recently shown that the RLF and the CP belong together as well.²⁴¹ This complete painting, which thus comprises of three individual ones, may be termed as the Complete Cosmology painting (abbreviated as CCP), which term clearly indicates that this is a more complete version of what was until now known as the Cosmology painting.²⁴²

The CCP, which is dated to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries,²⁴³ can be divided into four major sections: 1. The uppermost section visualizes two Manichaean paradisiacal scenes, as well as 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

238 The entire painting is now reproduced in several publications, e. g. Yoshida 2010, 2015, Kósa 2015c.

239 See Gulácsi 2001, 2005.

240 Yoshida 2010, 16a.

241 Gulácsi 2015a, Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 55-65, Gulácsi 2015b, 247-258.

242 In her paper, Gulácsi uses her own terms: “cosmology fragment” for the “Cosmology painting”, large and small “paradise fragments” for the Realm of Light fragments, and “Diagram of the Universe” for the Complete Cosmology painting.

243 Furukawa 2010.

section depicts the eight earths with three individual scenes on the fifth earth with important mythological figures. In the following I will focus on the uppermost part, which comprises the two paradisiacal scenes (Fig. 1).

It is generally assumed that the CCP is related to a late Chinese version of Mānī's Book of Pictures, presumably painted by Mānī himself or at least according to his instructions in order to clarify certain points of his multifaceted mythological system.²⁴⁴ Whatever the supposedly complex transmission history could have been, the significance of every single motif in the CCP is naturally of the utmost importance, since this painting is the only available, comprehensive visual depiction of the Manichaean universe. Its interpretation, on the other hand, is hindered by the fact that despite its probable indebtedness to Mānī's now lost Book of Pictures, it is hardly possible to establish with any degree of certainty to what extent it was altered during its long period of transmission.

First of all a general methodological introduction is needed. In my view, any interpretation of the Cosmology painting (with or without the RLF fragments) can, at best, be an educated guess, or, at worst, a mere speculation. I shall do my best to avoid mere speculation and offer as many pieces of evidence in support of a certain interpretation as possible. The evidence can be drawn from a close or distant textual and visual parallel, or what I call the internal iconographic logic of the painting. Both basic types have pros and cons.

244 Yoshida 2010, 2015, Kósa 2014a. On Mānī's Book of Pictures, see Gulácsy 2015b.



Fig. 1. The upper part of the Complete Cosmology painting (CCP). (Arrangement after Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015: 56, Gulácsi 2015b, 248, Figure 5/14)

Above: *The Realm of Light Fragments* (= RLF). Late Yuan (1271–1368) or early Ming (1368–1644) dynasty. Painting on silk; left fragment, h: 17 cm x w: 37 cm; right fragment, h: 17.2 cm x w: 22.5 cm. Photograph courtesy, copyright © anon. private collection, Japan. (After Yoshida 2010, pl. 5-6.)

Below: *The upper section of the Cosmology painting* (= CP). Late Yuan (1271–1368) or early Ming (1368–1644) dynasty. Painting on silk; h: 137.1 cm x w: 56.6 cm., copyright © anon. private collection, Japan. (After Yoshida 2010, pl. 1.)

The first type is usually taken as a firm piece of evidence, especially if it comes from a historically close setting, in this case late Yuan or early Ming dynasty south-eastern China; the value of the evidence seems to diminish as we depart from this settings in time and space, and as such Chinese textual and visual evidence from ninth to tenth century Dunhuang, though still acceptable, theoretically should not be considered as tight as the ones from later period, due to their decreased temporal proximity. Furthermore, Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian and Uighur texts and art are still further removed from the place and

production of the actual CCP, not even taking into account Coptic, Greek and Latin Manichaean writings, or Arabic and Syriac secondary descriptions.

However, one must consider two further circumstances in this respect. First, as mentioned above, there is a high chance that the CCP is a late Chinese version of a part of Mānī's Book of Pictures,²⁴⁵ so the question of how close the source is becomes much more complex. If in its present form the CCP, despite the various changes in its iconography, still faithfully reflected the original message of the Book of Pictures, an early Coptic textual source should theoretically yield a stronger piece of evidence than a late Chinese source, since the former reflects the supposed original teachings more closely. Second, we do know that both the textual and the visual heritage of Manichaeism was by far bigger than what we have today, thus the simple paucity of available sources urges us to use as many sources as possible.

As for the term "internal iconographic logic", at first this seems to stand on shaky grounds, since it is by nature theoretical. On the other hand, I think this approach is not unjustified; to cite an example, if Mānī is depicted thirteen times in the CP as clad in a white garment with a red hem, the inner visual logic of the CP, in my view, does suggest that a figure in a completely different attire cannot be identified as Mānī, unless one has some persuasive argument why in the latter case he is dressed differently. Another example is the exact same attire worn by two seated figures in the seventh firmament, arguably a strong sign of their identical nature, both clearly depicting the so-called *Rex Honoris*.²⁴⁶

It must be emphasized, however, that none of the above-mentioned criteria offers incontestable proof, especially since we do not know the exact circumstances under which the CCP was produced, we do not know what kind of

245 Yoshida 2015a, Kósa 2014a.

246 Yoshida 2010, 7a, 2015, 392, Kósa 2016. This approach is different from the one expressed in Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 72: "The platform is populated by thirty-two divine beings. Their iconography, however, is nondescript. None of the gods in this subscene can be identified based on their appearance. It is their locations and groupings in the painting that permits their identification once matched to descriptions of specific deities in the textual sources about the New Aeon. Thus, the iconography and compositional arrangement in this art are used only as a supplementary, visual support to a teacher-supplied identification of the figures. The painting only differentiates the figures by arranging them in a pictorial hierarchy that features the main god in the center and the rest clustered symmetrically along the two sides in specific, numerologically arranged groups. Accordingly, we can make tentative identifications of some of the occupants of the New Aeon." Except for the last sentence, the entire text also appears in Gulácsi 2015b, 449.

texts or images the painter(s) had at their disposal or what the painter(s) considered as logical. Thus, only probabilities can be weighed against one another, and following certain, clearly articulated axioms, the most probable interpretation may be chosen.

As for the CCP, it was known from the very start that the painting termed as the Cosmology Painting (CP) was not complete, and parts of the sides had been removed. Based on the columns on either side of the painting, some guesses were made regarding the parts removed from the margins.²⁴⁷

In 2012–2013, while I was preparing an article for the *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, I noticed that the lozenge-shaped tiles on the upper margin of the CP and the motifs on them are very similar to the ones in the RLF – which “features a basically green land bordered by lozenge-shaped tiles with unique motifs on them”;²⁴⁸ “The remnants of a similar row of tiles can be discerned at the very top of the C[osmology] P[ainting]”²⁴⁹ – I tried to digitally reconstruct an image where the cloud-trails of two angelic figures’ clouds in the CP match those in the RLF. With assuming that a stripe was removed from between the two parts, this reconstruction seemed possible, especially since such acts of removal from the sides had already been noticed.²⁵⁰ Meanwhile, based on stylistic grounds, I argued in 2013 in London²⁵¹ that the painters of the CP, the RLF, the Missionary paintings and the Birth of Mānī painting came at least came from the same atelier the paintings were made by one single person.

Despite these clues, still in 2013, I subsequently discarded the idea that the three paintings (the CP and the two RLF) should be joined, basically because the figures in the CP had been so firmly identified,²⁵² and it seemed improbable and meaningless that the same figures would be repeated again in the same painting (for example the Father of Greatness with the Twelve Aeons, or his Four Faces). In addition there was also a problem at a more basic level: while two cloud-trails seemed to exhibit precise continuations on the CP and the RLF, a very similar

247 Kósa 2010–2011, 23f.

248 Kósa 2015c, 181.

249 Kósa 2015c, 194. n. 8.

250 Kósa 2010–2011, 23f.

251 “Parallels and inconsistencies between two recently identified sets of Chinese Manichaica: the textual corpus from Xiapu (Fujian) and the paintings preserved in Japan.” (Invited special talk at 8th International Conference of the International Association of Manichaean Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, Sept. 9–13, 2013.

252 Yoshida 2010, 15a–16a.

third one in the RLF did not have this continuous trajectory in the CP, which I took as an important argument against the joining of the paintings.

After discarding the idea of joining the paintings, I concluded that the two lateral floor-spaces of the uppermost section, which are joined yet distinct from the world depicted in the back, can perhaps be interpreted as the abode of the “New Paradise”, where six deities on either side repose after returning from their mission:

In both groups, one figure is seated on a lotus throne, while five standing figures surround him. All the figures wear a crown and have a halo. These twelve figures seem to be divine emanations who have already returned to the Realm of Light (more precisely, to the New Paradise), probably after fulfilling their missions.²⁵³

Based on the textual descriptions of the Realm of Light, I also drew the conclusion, cached in endnotes, that the RLF are more faithful depictions of the Realm of Light, and the uppermost section of the CP is not such a precise visualization.

[...] the RLF seems to be closer to the textual descriptions of the Manichaean Realm of Light, since, unlike the CP, it does not lack the mountains, which motif appears in Manichaean texts [...].²⁵⁴

Manichaean texts from China to Egypt characterize the Realm of Light as a mountainous place.

In that realm [the Realm of Light], there are myriad kinds of jewel mountains (*baoshan* 寶山), million types of incenses emit their scent, the bodies are pure in the brilliance inside and outside, the sweet dew (ambrosia) fills and permeates it without boundaries.²⁵⁵

The immortal, fragrant Breeze (Air) attends the gods together with the Earth and (its) trees. The source of Light, the blessed plants, the echoing, bright mountains of divine nature (*kwfn nys'g wy'wr'g 'wt bgyhr*) (are wonderful).²⁵⁶

All the gods and inhabitants [of the Realm of Light], the mountains (*qwf'n*), trees and springs, the spacious and strong palaces and halls exulted at thy advent, Friend!²⁵⁷

253 Kósa 2015c, 184.

254 Kósa 2015c, 196. n. 45.

255 H.303.

256 M6232+M6230/R/1-4 (Klimkeit 1993, 32f).

257 M10/R/20-V/2 (Klimkeit 1993, 44).

Town of the godly. Citadel of the Angels. Habitation of the blessed. Fountain that gushes greatness. Trees of fragrance. Fountains filled with life. All the holy mountains (ἵερογίεργε τηρογ ετογ[βε]). Fields that are green with life. Dew of ambrosia.²⁵⁸

The presence of the mountain motif thus made the RLF a better candidate for being the Realm of Light than the uppermost section of the CP. Moreover, I provided evidence that there could have never been a fifth palace in the uppermost part of the CP,²⁵⁹ which made it rather difficult to match the four palaces of the CP with the five “spiritual” buildings in the RLF.²⁶⁰

Despite all the possible pieces of evidence from 2013 – the supposed shared painter of these three paintings, the close similarity of the lozenge-shaped tiles and the identity of the motifs on them, the continuation of the two cloud-trails, the interpretation of the lateral abodes as the New Paradise, the lack of mountains in the CP scene and the presence of only four palaces instead of the expected five – the former identification of the back part of the upper section of the CP as the Realm of Light was kept, and the RLF were used as contemporary and separate visual analogy, basically as a parallel paradisiacal scene.

This article for the JIAAA was completed in 2013 and was sent to Zsuzsanna Gulácsi in October 2013 for comments, which she politely and with reasonable arguments declined regarding this particular paper, and it was hence published in May 2015. From the entire detour of reconstruction experiment which thus remained in the 2013 [2015] version, both in the draft and the published ones, were marginal references to the similarity of the tiles with the unique motifs, the implicit interpretation of the lateral floor-abodes of the CP as representing the New Paradise, as well as a general remark about the RLF as resembling more the description of the Realm of Light than the one in the CP, where mountains of Paradise were absent.

In August of 2015, Zsuzsanna Gulácsi and Jason BeDuhn kindly sent me their article, at that time forthcoming in the *Bulletin of the Asian Institute*, in which Zs. Gulácsi offered compelling art historical evidence that it is not only the lateral floor-spaces that should be interpreted as belonging to the New Paradise, but also the back part of the upper section; consequently, the RLF are not contemporary depictions of the same theme but should be placed on the top of

258 *Psalm-book* 136, 41-49.

259 Kósa 2015c, 183.

260 Kósa 2015c, 183f.

the CP, which when joined together offer the depiction of the “Realm of Light” (RLF) and the “New Paradise” (upper section of the CP). On the first eleven pages of this study, Zsuzsanna Gulácsi offered a detailed, very professional and spectacular visual reconstruction, solving a lot of the visual, as well as interpretative, problems. Despite the joint authorship, it is evident that this visual part of their paper reflects Gulácsi’s expertise, since the same arguments were also published solely under her name in Japan,²⁶¹ as well as in her recent book.²⁶²

The reason why I mentioned my struggles with the joining of the three paintings above is that two of the major problems I faced in 2013 – i.e. the identity of the figures and the non-matching cloud-trail, – are, in my view, not entirely solved in Gulácsi and BeDuhn’s paper either, though the two authors have definitely made huge progress. In the present study, only the first problem, i.e. the identity of the figures in the New Paradise, will be discussed below in detail.

If Gulácsi’s reconstruction is correct, which nevertheless seems to be the case, all previous interpretations of most of the figures in the back part of the upper section of the CP are proven to be incorrect, while the interpretation of the RLF figures, which were viewed as analogous, all remain correct. The uppermost section of the CP as the Realm of Light and its inhabitants were first identified by Yoshida Yutaka,²⁶³ and these identifications were subsequently accepted by everybody working on the subject (Furukawa Shōichi, Ma Xiaohu and the present author). These interpretations of Yoshida have now been challenged by Gulácsi.

The new interpretation basically concerns the central seated figure surrounded by twelve standing figures –, previously identified as the Father of Greatness and the Twelve Aeons; – the four seated figures on their right side – formerly interpreted as the Four Faces of the Father, – and the four figures seated on either side in palaces, which, together with a fifth one behind the Mānī figure, were seen as the five *ś’kīnās*.²⁶⁴ The figure of Mānī and the twelve divinities on the two lateral sides, as well as other figures of the painting remained basically unchallenged, though in the second part of their paper Gulácsi and BeDuhn offered some new interpretations of other motifs in other parts of the CCP, however these will not be treated in the present paper.

261 Gulácsi 2015a.

262 Gulácsi 2015a, 247-258, 450-484.

263 Yoshida 2010.

264 Yoshida 2010, 15a-16a, Kósa 2014a, 59; Kósa 2015c, 181-184.

To specify the first example, these figures in the uppermost part of the CP cannot represent the Father of Greatness with the Twelve Aeons for two reasons: on doctrinal grounds, they cannot be depicted in the New Paradise; second, they are already depicted in the RLF precisely above this group, and as such depicting them again would make no sense. This naturally means that these three groups of figures must represent other members of the Manichaean pantheon, for which Gulácsi and BeDuhn offer a tentative solution.

One could naturally note that compared to the more than 500 figures and motifs in the CP, twenty-two is not a particularly big percentage, especially if we consider the conceptual proximity of the New Paradise and the Realm of Light; nevertheless, the fact that during the past years the interpretation of these figures in the CP has been undisputed but now prove to be wrong means that extreme caution is needed in the identification of all the figures in the painting, even if such a relatively big modification is very unlikely to happen in the future in other cases.

In the following, I will compare the general depiction of the New Paradise in the CCP with the insights based on the textual material, and then proceed to exploring possible interpretations of the figural motives.

2.1 Visual Characteristics of the New Aeon

2.1.1 Non-Figural Motifs in the CCP

The analysis of textual witnesses provides us with the opportunity to compare the written testimonies with the only surviving detailed depiction of the Manichaean New Paradise.²⁶⁵ As shown by Gulácsi, the New Paradise is visualized closely below the Realm of Light. Unless we assume a strong Buddhist influence, this arrangement is theoretically not compatible with the textual descriptions, since in the latter ones, as shown in the first part of this paper, the New Paradise is either far away from the Realm of Light (before the eschatological times), or is fixed to it but only after the collapse of the cosmos, no indication of which can be seen in the CCP.

Thus there are at least four possible solutions to this conundrum: 1. Despite the convincing pieces of evidence, the scene shown under the Realm of Light is

265 In his new study, Yoshida (2015b, 94) suggests that the uppermost register of the so-called Sandōzu 三道図 or Rokudōzu 六道図 painting, preserved in the Yamato Museum (Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館, Nara), also offers a much more simplified view of the New Paradise.

not the New Paradise; 2. The painter of the original version, from which the CCP was copied or “translated”, did not know too much about the position of the New Paradise, and this position of an ill-informed painter was preserved in the CCP; 3. Although a collapsing cosmos would theoretically be the prerequisite for a closely positioned Realm of Light and New Paradise, the temporal concerns were not essential for the painter of the original, because the artist wanted to show the cosmos *in toto* and the ultimate position of the paradisiacal realms; 4. Although the New Paradise was placed at a different place in the original, the painter of the Chinese CCP rearranged it due to external influence (such as Buddhist art for example).

After several considerations, I found the first two options unlikely, that is the available pieces of evidence do in fact suggest that the depicted scene is the New Paradise and other, highly authentic details in the CCP demonstrate that the painter was well informed.

As for the general impression of the two scenes in terms of artificial vs. natural, the Realm of Light scene indeed features some motifs taken from the realm of nature, like the two mountains, ponds and “soul-trees” on either side, as well as the two other trees beside the central palace. As for the “artificial” buildings, Gulácsi mentions a contrast between the two realms in this respect as well:

To further affirm a built environment, a pair of two temples are introduced standing along each of the two sides of this platform, contrasting with the *shekinahs*, floating ethereally on clouds within the space of the Realm of Light.²⁶⁶

Although the four buildings in the New Paradise scene are bigger than the five buildings floating in the Realm of Light scene, the latter section also features a huge building in the centre, bringing up the total of “artificial” buildings to six, obviously more than the four in the New Paradise scene, even if these six are visually really not so conspicuous. On the other hand, the motifs taken from the realm of nature are indeed missing from the New Paradise scene, even if the necessity of such an absence, as shown previously with an example from the *Living Gospel* preserved in the *Synaxeis codex*, cannot be confirmed from the textual evidence. Thus, there is a visual contrast in natural motifs but no such contrast is visible in terms of the motifs of buildings.

Before exploring the possible identities of the various figures in the New Paradise scene, I briefly dwell on the question of the New Construction and the

266 Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 72; Gulácsi 2015b, 449.

bolos. As mentioned previously, these two motifs are intricately related to the New Paradise; the first is the surface on which it is placed, while the second is placed within the first. Now the question is whether these motifs can be identified in the CCP. Unlike the *bolos*, the New Construction is not ubiquitous in the written sources, and one can hardly see anything in the upper section of the CCP that would match the criteria unless one sees the floor consisting of long, coloured “parquets” as the construction itself. While the Realm of Light scene features a basically green floor bordered by lozenge-shaped tiles with unique motifs, a depiction typical of Pure Land paintings, the floor of the New Paradise is hardly widespread in Buddhist paintings.

As for the only possible candidate for the motif of *bolos*, the deep blue space bordered by the New Paradise, I arrived at the following conclusion in my previous paper:

The presence of a deep blue surface within the inner borders of the Light Earth poses several questions. At first glance, it might be tempting to associate it with some dark essence, since it seems to be contrasted with the bright colors of the Realm of Light. However, upon examining the appearance of this color in the CP, it becomes clear that it cannot be associated with darkness. It appears to me that again the RLF provides us with a possible key to understanding the symbolism of this deep blue color, since it constitutes the entire background of the RLF. However, it should be noted that this part of the RLF was restored and overpainted by later (possibly modern) hands (Furukawa 2010, p. 36a, p. 38b); thus caution is needed until the extent of overpainting can be determined. Nevertheless, we basically see the color as representing the space where three of the five palaces float on colorful clouds; it also appears in front of the fabulous mountains with cloud[s] on the two sides, a wave motif painted on its surface. Based on its appearance, this deep blue background can be understood as some kind of air (ether) or water.²⁶⁷

Since the representatives of Darkness are depicted in pitch black or grey in the CCP,²⁶⁸ and since this deep blue color also appears in other parts of the CCP, the deep blue space can hardly be equated with the eternal lump or grave for

267 Kósa 2015c, 185. In private communication (24 Jan 2016), Ma Xiaohu suggested an analogy with *changle hai* 常樂海 in the chorus-like verses of the hymn about the New Paradise: “Do not long for this Jambudvīpa (the human world), it is not a peaceful place to live. Save (your) soul and leave the (earthly) calamities, quickly cross the sea of eternal joy!” (trans. by me, *Moni guangfo* cols. 651f: 莫戀此閻浮，不是安居處。救性離災殃，速超常樂海。 This sentence is repeated in an abbreviated format in cols. 654, 657, 660, 663).

268 Kósa 2015c, 194. n. 44.

darkness, however tempting the idea seems to be. In sum, neither the New Construction, nor the lump or grave can safely be identified in the CCP.

As described in the first part of this paper, the notion of the New Paradise was known in the majority of the Manichaean textual traditions, but the distinction between the two paradisiacal realms diminished during the subsequent centuries, thus writings composed in the late phase of Uighur and Chinese Manichaeism do not reflect the peculiarity of these realms to the extent the Coptic and Iranian texts did. The conspicuous distinction and separateness of the two realms in the late Chinese CCP thus seems to be at variance on this point with medieval and later Chinese Manichaean texts, hence this section of the CCP seems to corroborate that this unique painting ultimately derives from an earlier phase of Manichaeism, and can be better compared with the Coptic and Iranian texts. Needless to say, the situation would change if Yuan, Ming or Qing Chinese Manichaean texts were found that would repeatedly emphasize the clear distinction between these two realms.

2.2 The Identity of the Figures in the New Paradise

As mentioned above, Yoshida Yutaka and all subsequent researchers (Furukawa Shōichi, Ma Xiaohe and the present author) interpreted the figures in the uppermost section of the CP as those that dwell in the Realm of Light. The central seated figure with a double aureole, surrounded by twelve standing figures, was identified as the Father of Greatness with his Twelve Aeons, the four seated figures on their right side were interpreted as the Four Faces of the Father, and the four figures seated on either side in palaces, together with a fifth one behind the Mānī figure, were interpreted as the five *š'kīmās*.²⁶⁹ Since this section of the painting was regarded as the uppermost part, it was logical for Yoshida to assume that these figures represent members of the Realm of Light, while those on the lateral floor-spaces depict divinities arriving back to the New Paradise.²⁷⁰

269 Yoshida 2010, 15a-16a, Kósa 2014a, 59; Kósa 2015c, 181-184.

270 Kósa 2015c, 184.

Now that Gulácsi has shown that this is most probably not the case, and as consequence one can rightly assume that the uppermost section of the CP in fact visualizes the New Paradise, one encounters several difficulties in identifying the individual figures there. In their paper, Gulácsi and BeDuhn offered several suggestions that I will explore one by one.

2.2.1 Mānī

Although there is a complete consensus that the figure of Mānī is depicted on the left side of the central group of figures, I nevertheless feel the need to comment on it. As pointed out earlier by Yoshida, Mānī, depicted thirteen times in the CP and five times in the RLF, is consistently depicted as a figure clad in a white robe and a white cloak with a red hem,²⁷¹ in most cases with a green halo.²⁷² This is valid for all the five paintings (if RLF and CP are joined, then ultimately three): in all of them Mānī is depicted as clad in a white robe and a white cloak with a red hem, and, conversely, nobody else is dressed in the same manner.

In the New Paradise scene, Mānī is depicted as facing three angels seated on clouds. I interpreted this scene as Mānī receiving a summary of revelations or wisdom from the Father of Greatness:

I [Mānī] do not have a human teacher or instructor from whom (I have) learnt this wisdom (... from whom) I have received these things; but when I received them, I received them from G(od [the Father of Greatness, GK]) through his angel.²⁷³

271 Some other figures are also clad in white, but their cloak does not have the red hem. These figures include two, practically identical figures standing on the lateral floor-spaces, some small figures in the Sun, the Moon and in front of the Perfect Man.

272 One of the figures of Mānī, seated beside the left of the huge Perfect Man, is, with no obvious reason, visualized with a reddish halo, he is depicted with a pinkish halo in the right part of the seventh firmament, and without halo in the left part of the eighth firmament.

273 *Homilies* 47.7-10. Due to the indeed unfortunate structure of my passage, Gulácsi and BeDuhn (2015, 97. n. 64) attribute a view to me that this book in Mānī's hands represents the *Book of Pictures*, which view I did not and do not endorse. Instead, I tried to claim that the CP, which can probably traced back to the *Book of Pictures*, here depicts a kind of summary (“book”) of all subsequent individual revelations, the first portion of revealed wisdom, given by the Father of Greatness to Mānī, hence the reference to the *Homilies* 47.7-10, which mentions the same. On the other hand, Gulácsi and BeDuhn, perhaps rightly, claim that the book represents the entire canon of Mānī's works, which was considered to be of divine origin. Both interpretations suggest that the book given by the angel represents wisdom, either in its nascent or in its later, more materialized form, thus, in my view, ultimately they are compatible with each other.

Gulácsi and BeDuhn correctly pointed out that the Father of Greatness is indeed the source of this revealed wisdom, but this figure is not the one seated in the middle of what turned out to be the New Paradise, but the one in the middle of the RLF, i.e. the Realm of Light.

2.2.2 The central group of a seated and twelve standing figures

In the following I will focus on the figures in the middle of the New Paradise scene. Here a seated figure with a double aureole is flanked by six variously clad figures standing on his either side. The importance of the seated figure is highlighted in various ways. Aside from the Father of Greatness above him, he is the only one who has a double aureole in the entire painting. Moreover, his size and central position makes it obvious that he should be regarded the main, ruling character in this section of the painting.

2.2.2.1 The Third Messenger

In theory, the New Paradise is ruled by the Primal Man – see for example the already quoted *Homilies* 41, 18: “On the other hand: the king of the new aeon is the First [Man]” – , thus, as Gulácsi and BeDuhn also mention, it would be easy to identify him with this figure.²⁷⁴ However, who would then be the standing twelve figures? No such set of divine entourage of the Primal Man is known from written sources. Thus, Gulácsi and BeDuhn chose another figure of the vast Manichaean pantheon, the Third Messenger.

On the other hand, the Third Messenger appears a number of times as, effectively, the god of this world, ruler of the entire cosmos outside the Realm of Light. As such, we might expect him to be enthroned as king of the New Aeon. Here we find a case where the *Diagram of the Universe* itself might provide clarification of an ambiguity in Manichaean literature.²⁷⁵

Although I disagree with the statement about expectations and clarification of ambiguity, the Third Messenger is definitely a better candidate for the seated figure, since in the sources he is frequently mentioned together with a

274 Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 72: “Although built by the Builder, and inhabited by the demiurgical deities, the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit, the New Aeon has another deity as its reigning monarch. Some Manichaean texts identify the Primal Man as “king of the New Aeon,” or as “leader of his brothers in the New Aeon.”

275 Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 72.

set of twelve other figures, the Twelve Virgins.²⁷⁶ However, there are several pros and cons in this question and I will briefly review them, starting with the latter ones.

First of all, the Third Messenger is not a prominent figure in Chinese Manichaeism; in fact he hardly appears at all, so it would be slightly strange to see him in the second most prominent position in a Chinese Manichaean painting, even if the original had him in this status.

Second, as Gulácsi and BeDuhn correctly notice, the Third Messenger is usually presented as the lord of the universe in non-Chinese sources;²⁷⁷ however, the New Paradise is either placed beyond the cosmos, or, in an eschatological context, firmly attached to the Realm of Light after the collapse of the cosmos, thus its territory definitely does not belong to the cosmos itself. Seen from this perspective only, a better candidate for the Third Messenger would be the figure above the firmaments in the right upper part, seated on a lotus throne, whose mouth releases a cloud on which twelve small figures are seated.²⁷⁸

Three, there is no iconographic evidence to prove that the twelve figures around the supposed Third Messenger are females, even if, aside from the figure of the Virgin of Light, male and female characteristics are usually not clearly distinguished in the CCP. Four, both the Third Messenger and the Twelve Virgins were considered to dwell in the Sun, not in any other region above it.²⁷⁹

276 2Ps 36.28f, 133, 15-17, 138.65; 1Ke 25.20-22; T. Kell. Copt. 1: 11-14.

277 Gulácsi and BeDuhn (2015, 97, n. 61) cite the following examples: “lord and ruler over heaven and earth, as the Lord (i. e., Father of Greatness) is ruler over Paradise” (M7984.II.V.ii.6-24; trans. Klimkeit 1993, 228; cf. Hutter 1992, 38f); “lord, ruler, and prince of this world of seven climes, and of the powers” (M737.R.5f; Boyce 1951, 915); “the king that is in these worlds” (2 Ps [Allberry 1938] 138.62); “the good father of [all] the ae[ons and gods] who are holy and conjoined. He has become leader and a great king after the likeness of the first Father” (1Ke 10, 43.15-19, trans. Gardner 1995, 48); “the king of the glorious realm that lies in this world” (1Ke 11, 43.30-32, trans. Gardner 1995, 49).

278 Gulácsi and BeDuhn (2015, 75, 78) identify this figure with Jesus speaking the twelve wisdoms, even if they call his position “somewhat unexpected”.

279 1Ke 25.20-22 (trans. Gardner 1995, 29): “The second day is the Third Ambassador, the one who dwells in the light ship. His twelve ho[urs] are [the] twelv[e v]irgins that he evoked in his greatness.” 1Ke 63.34-64.1 (trans. Gardner 1995, 66): “[Furthermore, they shall c]all the Third Ambassador [‘father’. His greatness i]s the light ship of living fire [wherein he lives], he being established in it.”

After the counter-arguments, let us see some arguments in favor of this identification; these include some textual parallels between the Third Messenger and the Father of Greatness, which would square with their evident visual parallelism in the CCP.²⁸⁰ Without quoting it, Gulácsi and BeDuhn refer to one of the Kellis texts, T. Kell. Copt. 1, which deserves to be quoted in length, since it indeed does provide an excellent, albeit distant, written parallel to the visual depiction.

Who is the father? He is the Third Ambassador, who exists (corresponding) to five properties of the Father. First: (he) is an exalted one; after the likeness of the Father. Second: (he) is a king; in the manner of the Father, who is king over his aeons. Third: his light is spread out over all his aeons. Fourth: (he) is a hidden one; after the likeness of the hidden Father. Fifth: he has his twelve virgins; after the likeness of the twelve aeons of the Father.²⁸¹

Even if this particular hymn lacks the reference to the New Paradise, it is worth remembering that it was the Third Messenger who commanded the Great Builder to construct the New Paradise, thus there is a kind of link between them.

Moreover, there is also an iconographical argument in favor of their identification, which was, however not noticed by the authors: the figure in the Sun seated in the middle bears a conspicuous resemblance in attire to this main figure in the New Paradise. Since the Third Messenger's throne is unanimously regarded as one placed in the Sun, moreover, he is evidently the most important figure among the three divinities in the Sun, it is safe to identify him with the central figure in the Sun. This figure with a green halo is clad in a deep blue robe and a red cloak, precisely like the figure whose identity we are searching.

280 Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 72 (also in Gulácsi 2015b, 449): "The highest-ranking deity in this subscene matches the description of the Third Messenger. He is shown enclosed in a mandorla (not only a halo) and accompanied by a retinue of twelve attendants, which deliberately echoes some of the attributes of the Father of Greatness above him in the Realm of Light." Gulácsi and BeDuhn (2015, 97. n. 62) cite the following examples: the Third Messenger "has become leader and a great king after the likeness of the first Father" (1Ke 43.18f, trans. Gardner 1995, 48), and is "god in the place of God, the form of the God of truth" (2Ps 138.63f, Allberry 1938, 138).

281 Gardner 1996, 2.

figure among the three divinities in the Sun, it is safe to identify him with the central figure in the Sun. This figure with a green halo is clad in a deep blue robe and a red cloak, precisely like the figure whose identity we are searching.

2.2.2.2 Jesus the Splendor

Another possibility could be a figure who is related to the Third Messenger but is still distinct from him, and who took over several of his tasks in certain forms of Manichaeism.²⁸² This figure is Jesus the Splendor, who is regarded as an emanation of the Third Messenger. Polotsky notes that Jesus replaces the Third Messenger in Augustine’s work and acts as a savior figure in the *Acta Archelai*.²⁸³ Jes Peter Asmussen summarized this change as follows:

But, of these deities, Jesus appears more and more strongly as the god of redemption *par excellence*. For the Chinese Manichaeans, Jesus is “the Second Greatness” immediately following the Father of Light, a position to which the Third Messenger was usually entitled. In North African Manichaeism also, the Third Messenger was completely replaced by Jesus.²⁸⁴

Iain Gardner also emphasized that

[...] in devotion he [the Third Messenger] often seems to have been eclipsed by other more personal saviour gods, such as Jesus the Splendour, who are essentially doublets of him.²⁸⁵

This general phenomenon of transferring the Third Messenger’s attributes to Jesus the Splendor can be conspicuously observed in a Chinese hymn addressed to Jesus. Here he is associated with the twelve auspicious hours (i.e. the twelve virgins) and with the scene of “seducing the archons”, both motifs otherwise frequently linked to the Third Messenger.²⁸⁶

282 Cf. Schmidt-Polotsky 1933, 69. n. 2, van Lindt 1992, 221f.

283 Polotsky 1935, col. 258: “Bei Augustin kommt der Dritte Gesandte überhaupt nicht vor: an seiner Stelle steht stets *Christus*.”

284 Asmussen 1975, 111.

285 Gardner 1996, 5.

286 For the association of the Third Messenger with the twelve hours, i.e. the twelve virgins, see e.g. “[the] third Envoy. [Its] 12 hours (ⲧⲉⲙⲓⲧⲥⲏⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲟⲓⲛⲟⲓ), his 12 Maidens (ⲧⲉⲙⲓⲧⲥⲏⲁⲓⲥ ⲙⲏⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) that surround him” (2Ps 133.15-17); “The second day is the Third Ambassador (ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲱⲁⲙⲧ ⲙⲏⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲓⲛⲥ), the one who dwells in the light ship. His twelve ho[urs] (ⲧⲉⲙⲓⲧⲥⲏⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲟⲓⲛⲟⲓ) are [the] twelv[e] virgins ([ⲧ]ⲙⲓⲧⲥⲏⲁⲓⲥ ⲙⲏⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ) that he evoked in his greatness” (1Ke 25.20-22). Also see T. Kell. Copt. 1: 11-

hours yourself, illuminate our light-nature! (Your) wonderful form is unparalleled in the world, and so are your supernatural abilities of transforming your forms of appearance. Sometimes (you) manifest the mysterious appearance of a young lad, which drives the five types of female demons-classes mad; sometimes (you) manifest the solemn figure of a maiden, which maddens and confuses the five types of male demon-classes.²⁸⁷

By emphasizing the identity of Jesus, the addressee of the hymn, the Great Saint (*dasheng* 大聖), with the Third Messenger, the Second Greatness (*di'er zun* 第二尊), this hymn can be seen as a programmatic declaration of Jesus' assuming the Third Messenger's roles. As such, the paucity of references to the Third Messenger in the Chinese Manichaica and the ample evidence of the cult of Jesus the Splendor in the same corpus, seem to support the assumption that the prominent central figure in the New Paradise can hardly be the Third Messenger. One can even venture to say that even if he had been intended in the original painting – perhaps indicated by the same attire worn by him and the figure in the Sun of the CCP –, Chinese Manichaean believers could hardly identify this most important figure reigning in the Realm of Light with the Third Messenger, who was practically unknown to them. Jesus, playing a prominent role in Chinese Manichaeism, seems to be a much better candidate, especially as several passages, as already mentioned previously, associate Jesus with the New Aeon.²⁸⁸

Blessed and praised be Jesus, the vivifier, the new aeon (*šhr'y nwg*), the true raiser of the dead.²⁸⁹

You we invoke, You who are life entire, You we praise, Jesus, the Splendor, New Aeon (*šhr'y (nw)g*) [...].²⁹⁰

Oh most beloved and loving! We have seen you, New Aeon (*šhr'y nwg*), and we have fallen at your feet, (you) who (are) all love!²⁹¹

Similarly to the Third Messenger, Jesus is also related to the Primal Man, sometimes called his son,²⁹² and his appearance below the Father of Greatness as the

287 H015, H042-043: 大聖自是第二尊，又是第三能譯者。[...] 大聖自是吉祥時，普曜我等諸明性。妙色世間无有比，神通變現復如是。或現童男微妙相，癡發五種雌魔類；或現童女端嚴身，狂亂五種雄魔(類)。

288 Polotsky 1935, col. 258: “der Neue Aeon steht in naher Beziehung zu Jesus, der in persischen und parthischen Hymnen geradezu ‘Neuer Aeon’ genannt wird.”

289 M801a/p12/5-8 (Middle Persian), trans. Asmussen 1975, 65 (cf. Henning 1937, 23).

290 M28/II/R/i/10-14 (Middle Persian), trans. Asmussen 1975, 107.

291 M28/II/R/ii/29-34 (Middle Persian), trans. Asmussen 1975, 108.

second most important figure would not require further explanation.²⁹³ Likewise, he was vastly popular in Chinese Manichaeism, the first two hymns of the *Hymn-scroll* being devoted to him, and he is also constantly addressed in both the Dunhuang and the Xiapu material. As already mentioned, Polotsky had explained this role of his with the new world period that Jesus ushers in, and with the Syriac word *‘ālmā*, which simultaneously has a spatial and a temporal meaning.²⁹⁴

While T. Kell. Copt. 1. offers parallels of the Third Messenger and the Father of Greatness, other hymns present Jesus as a mediator or interpreter between the Father of Greatness and humankind.

The Saviour, the dear son of God Zurvan, merciful Lord over the whole world [...] Welcome, Third Great One, who (acts as) mediator (*‘ndrbyd / prwydy*)²⁹⁵ between (*lit.* of) us and the Father; who exorates us from God Zurvan, King of the Gods. [...] Welcome, O Right Hand, gathering us up and ushering us into Life. Deliverer of our soul(s), leading them into eternal Life.²⁹⁶

Welcome, good mediator (*‘ymydg*) and the third (one) between us and our Father.²⁹⁷

Great Saint, you are yourself the second Worthy, as well as the third one, the able Interpreter (*nengyizhe* 能譯者).²⁹⁸

This role of mediator (or “interpreter” in the Chinese *Hymn-scroll*) may be reflected in the position of the presumed Jesus the Splendor between the Father of Greatness above him and the cosmos below him.

A further support for this identification would be that, unlike the Primal Man, Jesus is sometimes associated with twelve figures:

The fourth day is Jesus the Splendour who [dwells in] his church. His twelve [h]ours are the twelve wisdoms, which are his [light] h[o]u[rs].²⁹⁹

292 Polotsky 1935, col. 258: “[...] bei Augustin wird Jesus mehrfach als ‘Sohn’ des Urmenschen bezeichnet.”

293 Scheffelowitz 1930, 239: “Im jüngerem Manichäismus ist Jesus der erstgeborene Sohn des Gottvaters, also mit dem göttl. Urmenschen Öhrmazd gleichgestellt.”

294 Polotsky 1935, cols. 259f.

295 On these words, see Morano 1982, 38f.

296 M169 / M680/R / M383/R (Parthian, Sogdian), trans. Morano 1982, 37.

297 M612/V/5-8 (Middle Persian), cf. Klimkeit 1989, 105.

298 H015; cf. note 287.

299 1Ke 25,30-33, trans. Gardner 1995, 29f.

In sum, considering his general prominence in Chinese Manichaeism, his relation to the Father of Greatness and the New Paradise, as well as his position as a mediator, Jesus the Splendor seems to be a better, even if a similarly not definite candidate for the central figure than the Third Messenger.

2.2.3 The group of four figures on their right

The four figures seated on the right of the central figures were previously interpreted as the Four Faces of the Father of Greatness.³⁰⁰ If this section of the CP is indeed the New Paradise, this interpretation cannot be upheld any more. Gulácsi and BeDuhn suggest the following:

The four on the right of the Third Messenger probably represent the Primary Prophets. As an exception to the rule, their identification is deduced from the distinct iconography of Zoroaster and the Buddha, depicted here as the two inner figures (shown further away from the viewer in the arc formation). These two represent the earlier prophets: Zoroaster, identifiable in the figure at upper left by a green object he holds, resembling a cut branch, and probably intended to represent a *barsom*; and the historical Buddha, who is identifiable at upper right by the *ushnisha* bump atop his head. Although there are no obvious identifying marks for the other two figures (shown in the foreground), based on the distribution of the four figures in two Manichaean paintings from tenth-century Kocho, they would be the two more recent prophets: Jesus at the lower right and at the lower left Mani, who is shown in this assembly in his role as one of the Primary Prophets.³⁰¹

This basically ingenious interpretation is unfortunately marred by a minor inconsistency: as mentioned above, Mānī is always depicted in a consistent form, i.e. clad in a white robe and a white cloak with red hem, thus it is practically impossible to interpret any of these four figures as Mānī. On the other hand, the figure with the *uṣṇīṣa* is at least definitely the historical Buddha, and it is not impossible that the figure seated beside him is indeed Zarathuṣtra, though, as far as I know, *barsoms* appear as attributes in sixth century depictions of Zoroastrian priests (for example on Shi Jun's 史君 [Wirkak's] sarcophagus), but this motif hardly survived the Tang dynasty in China. Regardless, the definite identification of the historical Buddha and the possible one of Zarathuṣtra seem to suggest that the intention here was precisely what Gulácsi calls "the Primary Prophets", who have already returned to the New Paradise. Some texts

300 Yoshida 2010, 16a; Kósa 2014a, 59, Kósa 2015c, 182.

301 Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 72, 74; the same sentence appears in Gulácsi 2015b, 450.

explicitly mention that apostles of light, i.e. former founders of religions, as expected, reside in the divine lands.

Holy, holy to the pure gods, [who] stay/dwell in the very peaceful lands. Holy, holy to the jewels, the elect, and the light-apostles. Holy, holy to the light lands, holy, full of praise of the great ones.³⁰²

The souls of the Apostles of Light and of the Religion go to the Light. They put on the body of the Father. They exalt in the New Aeon for ever and ever.³⁰³

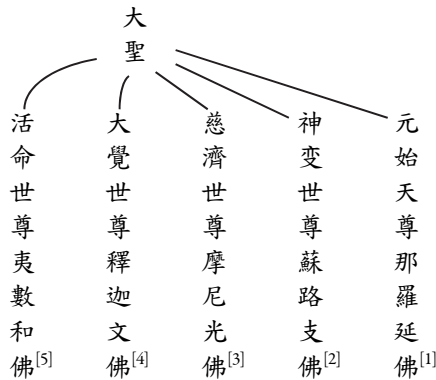
In connection with a scroll fragment (MIK III 4947 & III 5d), Gulácsi wrote extensively on the Primary Prophets, among others analyzing them in the structural matrix of Mānī and the four surrounding prophets. In various publications she assumed that four prophets (Zarathuštra, Śākyamuni, Jesus, Seth) surround Mānī, or that Zarathuštra, Śākyamuni, Jesus, Mānī surround a fifth figure, variously identified as the Father of Greatness or the Light Mind.³⁰⁴ Nevertheless, it was not noticed that here, in my view, the four prophets preceding and not including Mānī may have been intended. The motif of four prophets preceding

302 M185 (Parthian); trans. Durkin-Meisterernst and Morano 2010, 101.

303 M285 (= M8700)/II/V/ii (Parthian); trans. Morano 2009, 4.

304 Gulácsi 2011, 244-245: “The original composition was organized around the still intact large central figure (Mani) beneath a canopy. It probably involved, in the section now lost, the other three of the four figures (forerunners to Mani), including Jesus. [...] The East Central Asian versions of the texts name four other prophets, all of whom are considered to be of a lesser rank than Mani. They include the antediluvian prophet, Seth; the Buddhist prophet, Shakyamuni; the Zoroastrian prophet, Zarathustra; and the Christian prophet, Jesus. Analogously, the two pictorial fragments from Kocho feature five figures arranged in a symmetrical composition that uses centrality and scale to communicate hierarchy – the four somewhat smaller figures, symbolizing the forerunners, surround a larger central figure, most likely Mani.” Earlier Gulácsi hypothesized that the central figure is not one of the forerunners, but the head of the Manichaean pantheon, see Gulácsi 2005, 186: “If indeed five figures were depicted in the original image, it is most likely that the four side figures portrayed the four prophets venerated in Manichaeism, including Mani, Jesus, Zarathustra, & the historical Buddha; and the central figure represented God, the Father of Greatness.” In a study published in 2015, but most probably written earlier, Gulácsi (2015, 183-187) explores the figure of Jesus among the Primary Prophets. In the text of this paper (p.184), Gulácsi mentions Seth, Shakyamuni, Zarathustra, and Jesus as Mānī’s four forerunners and cites an analogous Uighur text mentioning the four prophets before Mānī; however, in Figs. 11.9 and 11.10 (425f) Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus and Mānī are linked with the four side figures, and the fifth, central figure is equated with the Light Mind. Similarly, the figure surrounded by the four prophets is the Light Mind in her recent book (Gulácsi 2015b, 235, 354-374).

Mānī has been explored by Christiane Reck (in Middle Iranian texts),³⁰⁵ more recently by Peter Zieme (in a Uighur text),³⁰⁶ and the present author (in Chinese texts).³⁰⁷ Without going into details, I shall simply note here that the newly identified Chinese material from Xiapu 霞浦 (Fujian province) – the Manichaean sections of which partly seem to date back at least to the eleventh century, – contain a great number of references to the four prophets preceding Mānī, as one can see, for example, in the chart-like drawing in the hymn “Asking the Great Saints” (*Qing da sheng* 請大聖) on the second page of the so-called *Moni guangfo* manuscript:³⁰⁸



[1.] Primeval Heavenly Worthy, Viṣṇu [Naluoyan] buddha;

[2.] Miraculously Transforming World-Honored One, Zarathuṣtra [Suluzhi] buddha;

Great Saint: [3.] Mercifully Rescuing World-Honored One, Mānī [Moni], the buddha of light;

[4.] Great Awakened World-Honored One, Śākyamuni [Shijiawen] buddha;

[5.] Living World-Honored One, Jesus buddha.

On page 47 of the same manuscript, the same content appears, though the structure slightly differs: here the characters *dasheng* 大聖 (Great Saint), *shizun* 世尊 (World-Honoured One) and *fo* 佛 (buddha) occur only once, and lines connecting them and the other characters indicate that they should be read in each case at the appropriate place:³⁰⁹

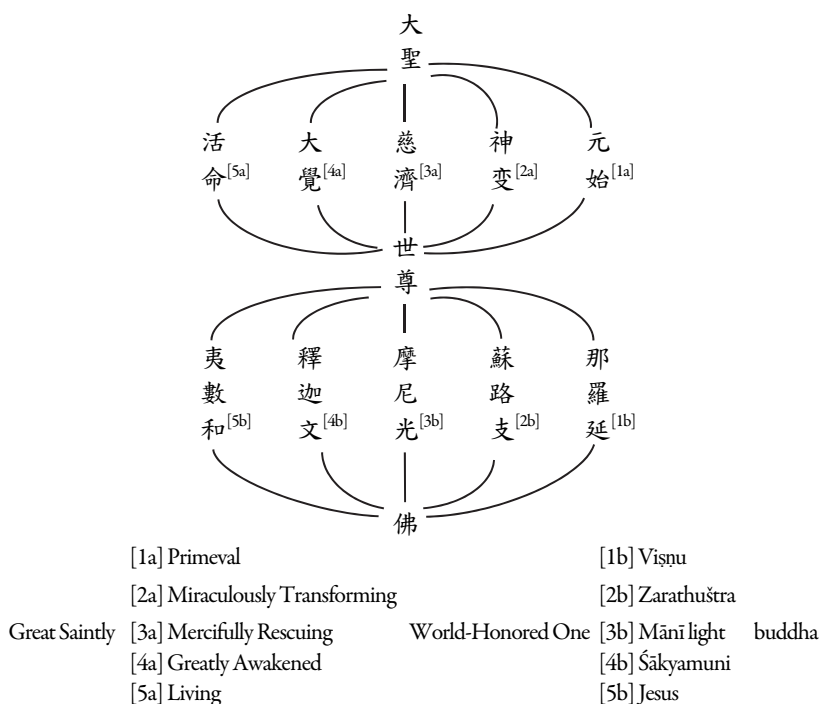
305 Reck 2009, in which she cites So 18058 + So 18197, M101a–n and M911, M114/R/1f and M6330/r/1f, M6470, M258, So 18248 I [= TM 393].

306 Zieme 2015.

307 Kósa 2015a, 19–21, Kósa 2015b.

308 Cols. 008–012. Lin 2014, 457; also see the photo of this chart on p. 8, fig. 14.4.

309 *Moni guangfo* cols. 371–375, Lin 2014, 474; also see the photo of this chart on p. 8, fig. 14.5.



Similar charts and lists occur throughout the Xiapu material, thus we can safely assume that this pentad of five prophets, usually divided by Mānī in the middle into two groups of former prophets (Viṣṇu plus Zarathuṣtra, and Śākyamuni plus Jesus), was definitely known in certain parts of fourteenth to fifteenth century China. This structure can perhaps be compared to, even if structurally not perfectly harmonized with, the four figures on the right and the figure of Mānī on the left of the central group in the CP. This means that the four figures of this group may be identified from left to right as Viṣṇu, Zarathuṣtra, Śākyamuni and Jesus, the chronological order appearing in the texts as well. It must be noted that Jesus the Splendor as a divinity and Jesus, the Envoy of Light, are two relatively distinct figures in Manichaeism,³¹⁰ as as consequence their identity should not necessarily be expressed by them wearing the same clothes.

If this interpretation is correct, I believe it might have an important consequence. Such a central arrangement of the one plus four prophets, Mānī on

310 See Franzmann 2003, 27-87.

the left, the four preceding prophets (“Envoys of Light”) on the right side of the central group, seems to tell the story of the chain of prophets, obviously concentrating on Mānī. After the return of the four previous prophets to the New Paradise, it is now Mānī’s, the last prophet’s, time, as the iconography suggests, to receive the wisdom (book) and the various visual revelations – Mānī appearing as a witness at important sites of the cosmological process in the CP – and later on to preach the message which, according to the Manichaean view, is ultimately the same as the one preached by the four previous envoys. Thus, the CP would basically narrate the time period after the past envoys and the “apprenticeship” of Mānī, the last envoy.

If this chain of thought is basically correct, then the appearance of Mānī in the CP might give him a much greater importance than previously assumed. What if six of the newly identified Manichaean paintings, preserved in Japanese collections and in San Francisco, are part of a visual *vita*, a sacred visual biography of Mānī? After all, we have a painting with his birth,³¹¹ a new one showing his parents,³¹² one can regard the joined CP plus RLF as a painting of his initiation into the mysteries of the universe, and we have three paintings with some missionary contents.³¹³ These paintings, the style of which, as Furukawa Shōichi argued, is quite similar, would thus narrate the major episodes of Mānī’s life, including family background, birth, initiation, mission and perhaps some other events, evidently an important topic as a whole and as details for Manichaeans.³¹⁴

This would also mean that either the *Book of Pictures* contained all these types of information and then all these paintings are late versions of different parts of the *Book of Pictures*, or that none of the paintings, perhaps including the CP, were part of the *Book of Pictures* in the strict sense, i.e. the one that describes cosmogony and cosmology, since its major focus is much more Mānī’s initiation, rather than the details of the cosmos. Naturally, it is also possible that Manichaean cosmogony and cosmology are entirely narrated through Mānī’s *vita*, or more specifically through his various visions.

311 Yoshida 2012.

312 Morita 2016 (B67D15, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco).

313 Yoshida 2010, 22a–23b, Yoshida 2016c.

314 See e.g. the Coptic codex on Mānī’s life (*Acta*, P15997), the *Cologne Mani Codex* (Sundermann 1993), the Dublin *Kephalaia* codex (Gardner, BeDuhn and Dilley 2015), or Sundermann 1986–1987.

2.2.4 Twelve figures on the lateral floors

As for the figures on the two lateral sides of the New Paradise, in a previous article I wrote on the topic I concluded the following:

On the two protruding stripes of the Realm of Light, presently, six figures on the right and four on the left are visible. However, based on the obvious removal of both margins of the CP, the noticeable strive for symmetry, and especially the vestiges of garments, it seems safe to assume that originally a group of six figures appeared on each side. In both groups, one figure each is seated on a lotus throne, while five standing figures surround him. All the figures wear a crown and have a halo. These twelve figures seem to be divine emanations who have already returned to the Realm of Light (more precisely, to the New Paradise), probably after fulfilling their missions (*n.b.*, the crowns).³¹⁵

Gulácsi and BeDuhn propose that the two groups likely represent the Primal Man with his five sons and the Living Spirit with his five sons.³¹⁶ In my view, this seemingly logical suggestion is at variance with the internal logic of the painting, since these two groups of five sons are already depicted in the CP, and what is more important, they are depicted in a completely different manner: the Primal Man’s five sons are visualized as small seated buddhas between the two standing figures under the so-called Perfect Man, while the Living Spirit’s five sons are placed at their respective place of duty.³¹⁷ A comparison of these rather firmly identifiable figures with the ones on the two lateral floors shows that they cannot be identical, therefore the precise identity of the latter ten (ultimately twelve) figures is for the time being shrouded in mystery.

It is not impossible that these figures simply cannot be precisely identified, but a possible way to do so would perhaps be to compare their halo and garment with those of the numerous other divine beings appearing in the CP. In some cases, like the figure clad in a white robe and cloak, and the one with a

315 Kósa 2015c, 184.

316 Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 72 (also Gulácsi 2015b, 450): “The third grouping of deities consists of parallel sets on either side of side of the New Aeon platform, as it extends forward along the ground plane towards to viewer, each showing a god seated on a lotus throne with five standing (and thus lesser-ranking) figures around him. From the main Manichaean pantheon, such sets likely correspond with Primal Man with his five sons and the Living Spirit with his five sons. Yet, once again, the artist does not provide any iconographic detail to permit the viewer to distinguish which group is which.”

317 Yoshida 2010, 17a-18a, Kósa 2012.

deep blue cloak beside him, both appearing on either side in reversed order, have no counterpart in the entire CP, thus if they are meant to represent any divine beings at all, then these ones are not related to the mythic phase depicted in the CCP, and thus, logically, they must be characters from a former phase. Other figures might have precise counterparts, like the one with a green halo, seated on a lotus throne on the left side, clad in a deep blue robe and a red cloak with solar decoration. In this case, he can be identified as the figure seated in the middle compartment in the Sun, and previously identified as the Third Messenger. Similarly, the other seated figure on the right side is conspicuously similar to the figure seated in the middle compartment of the Moon, and thus possibly identifiable with one of the deities placed by Manichaean imagination in this luminary. Despite these initial steps, it must be acknowledged that any identification would be a mere speculation at the moment.

2.2.5 The four palaces and the figure behind Mānī

The identity of the figure with a green halo and a crown, seated on a lotus throne behind Mānī, and clad in a red robe and a pink cloak, is equally hard to tell. Gulácsi and BeDuhn call the figure an “unidentified deity”.³¹⁸ We have no iconographical clue, since the figure’s attributes (the color of his attire and halo) are unique among the divine figures in the CCP. Although it is admittedly mere speculation, one of the possible candidates would perhaps be the Great Builder himself, whose name is intricately linked to the New Paradise. Hence, his depiction in the realm that he himself constructed would not be unwarranted.

As for the deities seated in the four palaces on the two sides of the back part of the New Paradise, they are seen by Gulácsi and BeDuhn as “the Four Gods of the Cardinal Directions”.³¹⁹ They cite the Middle Persian *Šābuhragān* to support their identification:³²⁰

318 Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 73, Gulácsi 2015b, 450.

319 Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 70, 72. “The second group of most important deities in this realm is the Four Gods of the Cardinal Directions. Each is enthroned in its own temple. Their four temples are portrayed as separate structures near one another on the two sides of the platform, projected from side-views in isometric perspective (as opposed to the frontal-view of more prestigious temples, seen along the vertical axis and, in differentiate these four gods, but the literature noted above verifies that they are the Primal Man, the Third Messenger, the Great Builder, and the Living Spirit” (Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 72, also see Gulácsi 2015b, 449).

320 Gulácsi and BeDuhn 2015, 97. n. 58; cf. Gulácsi 2015b, 449.

And the god Ohrmizd [Primal Man] from the northern region, [the god] Roshnshahr [Third Messenger] from the east, and the New-World-[Creating] god [Great Builder] from the south, Mihryazd [Living Spirit] from the western region, their abodes, together with their (entourage) and helpers, will stand on that structure of the New Paradise, around that conflagration, and will look into it. And those righteous ones, [also], who [are] in Paradise, will sit [on] thrones of light. Then they will come into the presence of the gods and stand [around] that conflagration.³²¹

In my view there are several reasons why this interpretation, though naturally not impossible, is highly unlikely. If we take both the *Šābuhragān* and the CP as ultimately going back to Mānī himself, there should be no major contradiction between them; however, it seems to me that there are several ones in this case. First of all, the *Šābuhragān* describes an eschatological future when the universe is collapsing and is annihilated in a huge conflagration. Aside from a halved fire ball in the fourth firmament, there is no sign of a conflagrating and collapsing universe in the CP. Thus the description of the *Šābuhragān* is completely at odds with the CP and this in and of itself would be sufficient not to accept this hypothesis.

Furthermore, the four gods serenely seated in their palaces do not exhibit any sign of motion or commotion, nothing signals that they arrived from below; in other cases it is conveniently indicated with a cloud-trail. In addition, they do not gaze at anything below, let alone any conflagration; instead, they turn their heads peacefully towards the central, enthroned figure of the New Paradise. Furthermore, while the *al-Fihrist* and M470 indeed mention four figures arriving from the four points of the compass, the Sogdian M583 lists altogether twelve such figures.³²²

Furthermore, the conspicuous presence of buildings, much bigger than the otherwise more important five palaces in the Realm of Light above, is not mentioned or explained by the *Šābuhragān* either. Such a prominence of these four buildings with the deities would also be surprising in a Chinese context where these figures in their eschatological setting are not well known. To end the list of inconsistencies, I quote the continuation of the *Šābuhragān*, which is even more at variance with what we see in the CP.

[...] around that conflagration, and will look [into] the conflagration. And those [religious also] who [are] in Paradise will sit [on] thrones of light. Then, in the presence

321 M470a/R.13-22 (Middle Persian); MacKenzie 1979, 516f.

322 Jackson 1965a, 276f.

of the gods, they will come and stand [around] that conflagration. [And the evil-doers] in the conflagration [will be tormented] and writhe and suffer, and that conflagration does not harm those religious, just as now too this fire, (namely) sun and moon, does not harm (people). And when those evil-doers are tormented and writhe in that conflagration, then they will look up and recognize the religious and will say to them beseechingly.³²³

In summary, apart from the number four – though see the twelve as an exception in Sogdian M583 – and the New Paradise as the location, there is simply nothing that would suggest that these four deities in the palaces can be equated with the four deities returning from the four directions in the end times.

But who are they then? Their prominent position is unquestionable, thus they must be important figures, connected to the paradisiacal realms. In the following, again without claiming absolute certainty, I shall advance a possible identification, tentatively already raised in a previous paper, in which I suggested that

[...] the four palaces could, theoretically at least, also be the four faces (e.g. H146: *qingjing, guangming, dali, hui* 清淨、光明、大力、惠), who dwell in “the four tranquil light palaces” (H145: *si chu guangming gong* 四處光明宮). The Three Constances and the four faces are frequently mentioned together in the Chinese *Hymn-scroll* (H146, H151, H010, H027, H038, H058, H060, H415).³²⁴

The four faces as a constant tetrad appear recurrently in Chinese Manichaeism: Purity (1), Light (2), Power (3) and Wisdom (4).

[H146]	[T135]	[H108]	[H151]	[H157-158]
(1) Qingjing 清淨	Qingjing 清淨	Sheng 聖	Qingjing 清淨	Yisa 夷薩
(2) Guangming 光明	Guangming 光明	Guangming 光明	Guangming 光明	Wuluxian 烏盧訖
(3) Dali 大力	Dali 大力	Dali 大力	Li 力	Zuolu 祚路
(4) Hui 惠	Zihui 智惠	Hui 惠	Zihui 智惠	Yusi 于泗

While in other sources the first member of this tetrad, god (Coptic πποϣτε, Middle Persian *yzd*, Parthian *bg* or Uighur *by*), is usually identical with the Father of Greatness himself, the Chinese sources usually have “purity”

323 M470a+/R/21-24, M470a+/V/1-13, trans. MacKenzie 1979, 517.

324 Kósa 2015c, 196, n. 38.

(*Qingjing* 清淨) in the first place, which in itself cannot be merged with the head of the Manichean pantheon.³²⁵

While this tetrad is linked to the Father of Greatness, and thus should theoretically be placed in the Realm of Light, not the New Paradise, their appearance is so frequent in various Chinese Manichaean contexts that this original connection, though appearing in the above mentioned hymns, seems to be superseded by a more general usage.

It is important to note that while the Western phrasing of this concept reflects their intricate relationship with the Father of Greatness,³²⁶ the Eastern examples testify to the usage of this notion as four individual deities. A Sogdian text mentions “the four divinities”,³²⁷ while the Uyghur texts speak about “the four royal gods (of light)”³²⁸ or “the four kinds of gods”.³²⁹ The already mentioned compound of “four tranquil light palaces” (*si chu guangming gong* 四處光明宮) does not only show an association with the royal (cf. Uyghur *ellig*) nature of these deities, but also contains the word *chu* 處, here meaning “tranquil”,³³⁰ a synonym of *ji* 寂. These words appear in various forms to refer to the Four Faces: “four tranquil buddhas”,³³¹ “the four (tranquil) *dharmakāyas*”,³³² “the four tranquil and wonderful *dharmakāyas*”,³³³ “the four tranquil bodies”,³³⁴ or “the four tranquil bodies”.³³⁵

This concept is so ubiquitous in Chinese Manichaean texts that it would hardly be believable that they are not depicted in the CCP.³³⁶ Their constant

325 However, it is worth noting that its closer relation to the Father of Greatness does appear in the *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛 manuscript (Ma 2014a, 190).

326 Coptic ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΠΥΠΟΥΞΟ (*Psalm-book* 191, 12); Greek ὁ τετραπρόσωπος πατήρ τοῦ μεγέθους (*Capita VII contra Manichaeos* 3, 59f; Long Abjuration Formula 1461C.14); ὁ πατήρ τοῦ τετραπρόσωπου (*Capita VII contra Manichaeos* 3, 80).

327 So10700b: *ctʃrʃyʹyʹkw*.

328 MIK III 200/I/V/3f (= T II D 169): *tört ellig täpřilär* (Clark 2013, 195).

329 *Xu āstvánifē* VIII.C, lines 185f: *tört türlüg täpřilär* (Clark 2013, 33, cf. Asmussen 1965, 175).

330 Waldschmidt and Lentz 1926, 98. n. 10: “still, untätig”.

331 H175: *si chu fo* 四處佛.

332 H058, H415-416: *si (chu) fashen* 四(處)法身.

333 H010: *si chu miao fashen* 四處妙法身.

334 H038: *si chu shen* 四處身.

335 H059: *si ji shen* 四寂身.

336 The only other possible candidate would be the four figures seated on colorful clouds and floating beside the fourteen standing figures surrounding the Father of Greatness in the RLF (cf. Kósa 2015c, 195. n. 33).

invocation in Chinese Manichaeism would support their size and prominent position. The new written corpus from Xiapu also features this tetrad, even in two different forms. They appear in their frequently used Chinese version, but they are also present in phonetically transcribed versions. The hymn entitled “Invitation to the Protectors of the Doctrine” (*Qing hu fa wen* 請護法文 5b) in the *Xingfuzu qingdan ke* 興福祖慶誕科 manuscript links this tetrad with the four cardinal directions in the form of a chart: North: Purity (*qingjing* 清靜), East: Light (*guangming* 光明), South: Great Power (*dali* 大力), and West: Wisdom (*zhizhi* 智慧).³³⁷ This arrangement thus links this tetrad with the four directions, which offers a good analogy to a possible visual depiction.

As for the various phonetically transcribed names of “God” (1), “Light” (2), “Power” (3) and “Wisdom” (4), Yutaka Yoshida offered their precise equivalents:³³⁸

Parthian ³³⁹	Middle Persian ³⁴⁰	Middle Persian ³⁴¹
(1) <i>fuhe</i> 匐賀 (*b'juk yâ:) = bay ³⁴²	<i>yisa</i> 夷薩 (*i sât) = yazd	<i>yizai</i> 夷咍 (*i dz'âi) = yazd
(2) <i>lusben</i> 廬訖 (*luo sjen) = rōšn	<i>wulusben</i> 烏廬訖 (*uo luo sjen) = rōšn	<i>lusben</i> 廬訖 (*luo sjen) = rōšn
(3) <i>cuohuluo</i> 嵯鵠 (*dz'á yuəi) = zōwār	<i>zuolu</i> 祚路 (*dz'uo luo) = zōr	<i>sulu</i> 蘇路 (*suo luo) = zōr
(4) <i>erlifu</i> 唎哩弗 (*rīzi lī pūəi) = zōrjīf	<i>yuxi</i> 于四 (*ju xī) = wibih	<i>hexi</i> 和醯 (*yvá xiei) = wibih

337 Ma 2014, 9. Plate 15; 104. Being based on the traditional Chinese system of five directions, the chart also includes a central, fifth direction (the middle), as well as the names of five angels associated with them. Four of the five angels can be identified as the four archangels known outside China. It must be noted that these four archangels are depicted in the CCP as four warrior figures in the seventh firmament and at the foot of Mount Sumeru, but they are evidently not identical with the four divine figures we are discussing. On a further example attesting to this tetrad of concepts see Ma 2014a, 190.

338 Yoshida 2016a (cf. Yoshida 1983), on this text also see Chen and Lin 2010, 377-379, Ma 2014a, 190-194, and Yoshida 2016b.

339 *Siji zan* 四寂讚 (Xiapu). I omitted the Ruf-Alefs standing after the names proper.

340 H157-158.

341 *Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛, col. 252, Lin 2014, 468.

342 In brackets the authors give the Middle Chinese pronunciation according to Karlgren 1957.

The importance of the presence of these phonetically transcribed Middle Persian and Parthian terms can hardly be overestimated; it means that this tetrad must have been vital for Chinese Manichaeans, therefore it is not too far-fetched to assume that they were depicted in a painting targeted at a Chinese Manichaean audience.

As noted before, Gulácsi and BeDuhn also linked these four figures with the four cardinal directions, but they identified them with divinities arriving from these directions in an eschatological future, as these events are described in Middle Persian (*Šābuhragān*) and Arabic (*al-Fihrist*) works, a motif which did not survive in any Chinese text. My proposal, flawed as it may be, is that these four figures serenely seated in their habitat of a medieval Chinese painting are the four faces appearing as deities mentioned in a plethora of medieval Chinese Manichaean scriptures. It might, of course, turn out that this identification is wrong, but at the moment I believe it seems more plausible than the previously proposed one.

Conclusion

Based on a single visual and various textual sources, I explored the Manichaean notion of New Paradise, which was not sufficiently researched in the last decades. Retrieving information foremost from the Coptic, Iranian and Chinese sources, in the first part of the paper I endeavored to piece together an early concept of the New Paradise. Starting from the various names and functions of the Great Builder, I proceeded to analyze the names and the position of the New Paradise itself. As for the latter, I emphasized that according to the Manichaean imagination the position of the New Paradise is not constant during the unfolding mythical events, and it reaches its final position only in the eschatological future, while before the conflagration of the universe it was originally most probably conceived as being far away from the Realm of Light, the original paradise.

I also discussed the slightly misunderstood concept of artificiality in connection with the New Paradise, as well as the position of the eternal prison prepared for the dark forces. I proceeded to explore the various divine figures associated with this distinctively Manichaean realm, and concluded that both the Primal Man and Jesus are closely related to it. Subsequently, I studied the sometimes straightforward, in other cases rather ambiguous nature of the New Paradise as the ultimate goal of the light elements and the consubstantial soul, and investigated the topic of whether Manichaeans clearly distinguished between the New Paradise and the Realm of Light.

In the second part of my paper I reflected mainly on a recent study that identified the New Paradise in a late Yuan or early Ming Chinese painting, the Complete Cosmology Painting (CCP), preserved in an anonymous Japanese private collection. I contrasted the results achieved in the first part of my paper with what is at present the only available, detailed depiction of the Manichaean New Paradise. After comparing the written testimonies and this visual source, one can conclude that the depiction of the CCP, for example in its position, does not match the intricately elaborated view expressed in the Coptic and Iranian texts; on the other hand, its distinctive presence in the CCP resembles more the descriptions in these relatively early writings than the later Chinese ones. In the ensuing part, I offered some possible new identifications of the figures appearing in this section of the CCP, among others suggesting that the figure in the middle might represent Jesus the Splendor, the tetrad on his right may be equated with the four Envoys of Light preceding Mānī, and the four divine figures housed in four buildings might represent the tetrad of “Purity, Light, Power and Wisdom”.

References

- Allberry, Charles R. C. *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, part II. Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, 2. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938.
- Andreas, F. C. and Henning, Walter B. “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von W. Henning” [3 parts], *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1932, 173-222 [I]; 1933, 292-363 [II]; 1934, 846-912 [III].
- Asmussen, Jes Peter. *Xʾāstvānīft: Studies in Manichaeism*. Acta Theologica Danica; 7. Kopenhagen: Prostant apud Munksgaard, 1965.
- . *Manichaean Literature: Representative Texts Chiefly from Middle Persian and Parthian Writings*. Persian Heritage Series, 22. New York: Delmar, 1975.
- Baker-Brian, Nicholas J. *Manichaeism: An Ancient Faith Rediscovered*. London and New York: T & T Clark, 2011.
- Beck, Edmund. *Ephraïms Polemik gegen Mani und die Manichäer: im Rahmen der zeitgenössischen griechischen Polemik und der des Augustinus*. Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1978.

- BeDuhn, Jason D. (ed.). *New Light on Manichaeism: Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- and Paul Mirecki (eds.). *Frontiers of Faith: The Christian Encounter with Manichaeism in the Acts of Archelaus*. Leiden, 2007, 49-66.
- Beeson, Charles Henry (ed.). *Hegemonius, Acta Archelai*. Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, 16. Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1906.
- Bennett, Byard, “*Iuxta unum latus terra tenebrarum*: The Division of Primordial Space in Anti-Manichaean Writers’ Description of the Manichaean Cosmogony”, in Mirecki and BeDuhn 2001, 68-78.
- Bennett, Byard, “*Globus horribilis*: The Role of the *Bolos* in Manichaean Eschatology and its Polemical Transformation in Augustine’s Anti-Manichaean Writings”, in van den Berg et al. 2011, 427-440.
- van den Berg, Jacob Albert, Annemaré Kotzé, Tobias Nicklas and Madeleine Scopello (eds.). *Search of Truth: Augustine, Manichaeism and Other Gnosticism: Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 74. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Bermejo, Fernando, “Primal Man, Son of God: From Explicit to Implicit Christian Elements in Manichaeism”, in Richter, Horton and Ohlhafer 2015, 34-46.
- de Blois, François, “Glossary of technical terms and uncommon expressions in Arabic (and in Muslim New Persian) texts relating to Manichaeism”, in de Blois and Sims-Williams 2006, 21-88.
- and Nicholas Sims-Williams (eds.). *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, vol. 2: *Texts from Iraq and Iran: Texts in Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Zoroastrian Middle Persian*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.
- Boyce, Mary. “Sadwēs and Pēsūs”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1951), 908-915.
- . “Some Parthian Abecedarian Hymns”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952), 435-450.
- . *The Manichaean Hymn-cycles in Parthian*. Oxford: London Oriental Series, 1954.
- Bryder, Peter. *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism: A Study of Chinese Manichaean Terminology*. Löberöd: Plus Ultra, 1985.
- (ed.). *Manichaean Studies; Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5-9, 1987*. Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions, 1. Lund: Plus Ultra, 1988.

- Casadio, Giovanni, "The Manichaean Metempsychosis: Typology and Historical Roots", in Wiessner and Klimkeit 1992, 105-130.
- Chen Jinguo 陈进国 and Lin Yun 林鋈, "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 Li Shaowen 2010, 343-389.
- Cirillo, Luigi, and Amneris Roselli (eds.). *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis: Atti del Simposio Internazionale, Rende-Amantea, 3-7 settembre 1984*. Università degli studi della Calabria, Centro interdipartimentale de scienze religiose: Studi e ricerche 4. Cosenza: Marra, 1986.
- Clackson, Sarah, "Manichaean texts and citations in Coptic", in Clackson et al. 1999, 59-185.
- , Erica Hunter, Samuel N. C. Lieu and Mark Vermes (eds.). *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, vol. 1: *Texts from the Roman Empire: Texts in Syriac, Greek, Coptic and Latin*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.
- Clark, Larry. *Uygur Manichaean Texts: Texts, Translations, Commentary*, vol. 2: *Liturgical Texts*. Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum, Series Turcica, 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.
- Colditz, Iris. *Zur Sozialterminologie der iranischen Manichäer: Eine semantische Analyse im Vergleich zu den nichtmanichäischen iranischen Quellen*. Iranica, 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000.
- . "Zur Adaption zoroastrischer Terminologie in Manis Šābuhragān", in Weber 2005, 17-26.
- . "On the Zoroastrian Terminology in Mani's Šābuhragān. Additional Notes", in Panaino and Piras 2006, 177-182.
- Decret, François. "Le 'Globus Horribilis' dans l'eschatologie manichéenne d'après les traités de Saint Augustin", in Puech 1974, 487-492.
- Dodge, Bayard. *The Fihrist of al-Nadim: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, vol. 2. Records of Civilization; Sources and Studies, 83. New York: Columbia University, 1970.
- Durkin-Meisterernst, Desmond (ed.). *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, vol. 3: *Texts from Central Asia and China*, part1: *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.
- . *Miscellaneous Manichaean Hymns. Middle Persian and Parthian Hymns in the Turfan Collection*. Berliner Turfantexte, 31. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

- . “Abecedarian Hymns: A Survey of Published Middle Persian and Parthian Manichaean Hymns”, in Richter, Horton and Ohlhafer 2015, 110-152.
- (ed.). *Memorial Volume in Honour of Werner Sundermann*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016 (forthcoming).
- and Enrico Morano. *Mani’s Psalms: Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian Texts in the Turfan Collection*. Berliner Turfantexte, 27. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.
- Emmerick, Ronald E, Werner Sundermann and Peter Zieme (ed.). *Studia Manichaica*, IV: *Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997*. Berlin: Akademie, 2000.
- Esmailpour, Abholgaseem. “The Role of the Beloved of the Lights in the Process of Manichaean Cosmogony”, *Central Asiatic Journal* 50.2 (2006), 233-245.
- Franzmann, Majella. *Jesus in the Manichaean Writings*. London: Clark, 2003.
- Funk, Wolf-Peter. *Kephalaia (I). Zweite Hälfte. Doppellieferungen 13/14 und 15/16*. Québec (Private Ausgabe), 1996.
- . “The Manichaean Synaxeis Codex” [unpublished provisional translation], 2015.
- Funk, Wolf-Peter. “Preparing for the End: The Ambassador’s Command to the Great Builder”, in: *Festschrift for Paul-Hubert Poirier* (forthcoming).
- Furukawa Shōichi 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.
- Gardner, Iain, “The Eschatology of Manichaeism as a Coherent Doctrine”, *Journal of Religious History* 17 (1993), 257-273.
- . *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- (with contributions by Sarah Clackson, Majella Franzmann and Klaas A. Worp), *Kellis Literary Texts*, vol. 1. Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph, 4; Oxbow Monograph, 69. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1996.
- and Samuel N. C. Lieu (eds.). *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004.
- , Jason BeDuhn and Paul Dilley. *Mani at the Court of the Persian Kings: Studies on the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 87. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

- Gharib, Badri, "New Light on Two Words in the Sogdian Version of the Realm Light", in Emmerick et al 2000, 258-269.
- Gulácsi, Zsuzsanna (ed.). *Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections: A Comprehensive Catalogue of Manichaean Artifacts Belonging to the Berlin State Museums of the Prussian Cultural Foundation, Museum of Indian Art, and the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, Deposited in the Berlin State Library of the Prussian Cultural Foundation*. Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum; Series Archaeologica et Iconographica, 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.
- . *Mediaeval Manichaean Book Art: A Codicological Study of Iranian and Turkic Illuminated Book Fragments from 8th–11th Century East Central Asia*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 57. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- . "Searching for Mani's Picture-Book in Textual and Pictorial Sources", *Transcultural Studies* 2011.1: 233-262.
- . "Matching the Three Fragments of the Chinese Manichaean Diagram of the Cosmos", *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 [Studies on the Inner Asian Languages] 30 (2015), 79-93 [cited Gulácsi 2015a].
- . *Mani's Pictures. The Didactic Images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uyghur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 90. Leiden: Brill, 2015 [cited Gulácsi 2015b].
- and Jason BeDuhn. "Picturing Mani's Cosmology: An Analysis of Doctrinal Iconography on a Manichaean Hanging Scroll from 13th/14th C. Southern China", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 25 (2015), 55-105.
- Hamilton, James R., *Manuscripts ouïgours du IXe–Xe siècle de Touen-houang*, vol. I. Paris: Peeters, 1986.
- Henning, Walter B. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1936, 10. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1937.
- Henning, Walter Bruno Hermann. "A Sogdian Fragment of the Manichaean Cosmogony", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12 (1948), 306-318.
- Hoppál, K. Bulcsú (ed.). *Theories and Trends in Religions and in the Study of Religion*. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2015.
- Hunter, Erica Camilla Diana. "Syriac-English Glossary to Theodore bar Koni's Account of Manichaean Cosmology", in de Blois and Sims-Williams 2006, 1-19.

- and Samuel N. C. Lieu (eds.). *Proceedings of the Eighth LAMS Conference at SOAS, London, 9–13 September 2013*. Leiden: Brill, 2016 (forthcoming).
- Hutter, Manfred. “Das Erlösungsgeschehens im manichäisch-iranischen Mythos. Motiv- und traditionsgeschichtliche Analysen”, in Woschitz et al. 1989, 153-236.
- . *Manis kosmonogische Šābubragān-Texte: Edition, Kommentar und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M 98/99 I und M 7980-7984*. Studies in Oriental Religions, 21. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992.
- Jackson, Abraham Valentine Williams. “A Sketch of the Manichaean Doctrine Concerning Future Life”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 50 (1930), 177-198.
- . “The Doctrine of the Bolos in Manichaean Eschatology”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 58 (1938), 225-234.
- . *Researches in Manichaeism: With Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments*. Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, 13. First published ¹1932; used edition: New York: AMS, ²1965.
- . “The ‘Second Evocation’ in the Manichaean System of Cosmogony”, first published *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume 56, Supplement Issue 1 (Oct. 1924), 137-155, rpt in Jackson 1965, 271-295 [cited Jackson 1965a].
- . “The Manichaean Cosmological Fragment M. 98-99 in Turfan Pahlavi”, in Jackson 1965, 22-73 [cited Jackson 1965b].
- and Yohannan, Abraham, “Theodore bar Khoni on Mānī’s Teachings”, translated from the Syriac by Abraham Yohannan, with Notes by A.V.W. Jackson, in Jackson 1965, 219-254.
- Karlgren, Bernhard. *Grammata Serica Recensa*, first published *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 29 (1957) [rprt. Stockholm: Elanders, 1957].
- Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim (trans.). *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts: Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1989.
- (trans.). *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia*. San Francisco: Harper, 1993.
- Knüppel, Michael, and Luigi Cirillo (eds.). *Gnostica et Manichaica: Festschrift für Alois van Tongerloo. Anlässlich des 60. Geburtstages überreicht von Kol-*

- legen, Freunden und Schülern*. Studies in Oriental Religions 65. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.
- Koenen, Ludwig. "Manichaean Apocalypticism at the Crossroads of Iranian, Egyptian, Jewish and Christian Thought", in Cirillo and Roselli 1986, 285-332.
- Kósa, Gábor. "Translating a Vision: Rudimentary Notes on the Chinese Cosmology Painting", *Manichaean Studies Newsletter* 25 (2010/2011), 20-32.
- . "The Sea of Fire as a Chinese Manichaean Metaphor: Source Materials for Mapping an Unnoticed Image", *Asia Major* 24.2 (2011), 1-52 [www2.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/file/1089qKtydKM.pdf].
- . "Atlas and Splenditenens in the Cosmology Painting", in Knüppel and Cirillo 2012, 63-88.
- . "Translating the *Eikōn*: Some Considerations on the Relation of the Chinese Cosmology Painting to the *Eikōn*", in Laut and Röhrborn 2014, 49-84 [cited Kósa 2014a].
- . "Imprisoned Evil Forces in the Textual and Visual Remains of Manichaeism", in Pesthy-Simon 2014, 64-87 [cited Kósa 2014b].
- . "The Fifth Buddha: An Overview of the Chinese Manichaean Material from Xiapu (Fujian)", *Manichaean Studies Newsletter* 28 (2015), 9-30 [cited Kósa 2015a].
- . "Mānī's Religious Forerunners in a Chinese Manichaean Manuscript from Xiapu (Fujian)", in Hoppál 2015, 87-109 [cited Kósa 2015b].
- . "The Sun, the Moon and Paradise: An Interpretation of the Upper Section of the Chinese Manichaean Cosmology Painting", *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 6 (2011), 171-193 [cited Kósa 2015c].
- . "Who is the King of Honour and What Does He Do? Gleanings from the new Chinese Manichaean sources", in Durkin-Meisterernst 2016 (forthcoming).
- Laut, Jens Peter, and Klaus Röhrborn (eds.). *Vom Aramäischen zum Alttürkischen: Fragen zur Übersetzung von manichäischen Texten. Vorträge des Göttinger Symposium vom 29./30. September 2011*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014.
- von Le Coq, Albert. *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*. 3 vols. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912 [I], 1919 [II], 1922 [III].
- Li Shaowen 李少文 (ed.). *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. Beijing: Beijing Daxue, 2010.

- Lieu, Samuel Nan Chiang. *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*. [Manchester: Manchester University, ¹1985.] Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 63. Tübingen: Mohr, ²1992 (revised and expanded edition).
- Lim, Richard. “Unity and Diversity among Western Manichaeans: A Reconsideration of Mani’s *Sancta Ecclesia*”, *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 35 (1989), 231-250.
- Lin Wushu 林悟殊. *Monijiao huahua bushuo* 摩尼教華化補說 [Additional Explanations of the Sinification of Manichaeism]. *Ou-Ya lishi wenhua wenku* 欧亚历史文化文库 [Treasure of Eurasian History and Culture]. Lanzhou: Lanzhou Daxue, 2014.
- van Lindt, Paul. *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures: A Comparative Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources*. Studies in Oriental Religions 26. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992.
- Liu Hongliang 柳洪亮 (chief-ed.). *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*. Beijing: Wenwu, 2000.
- Ma Xiaohu 馬小鶴. *Xiapu wenshu yanjiu* 霞浦文書研究 [Studies on the Documents from Xiapu]. *Ou-Ya lishi wenhua wenku*. Lanzhou: Lanzhou Daxue, 2014.
- Ma Xiaohu. “Monijiao sanchang, siji xin kao: Fujian Xiapu wenshu yanjiu” 摩尼教三常、四寂新考—福建霞浦文書研究 [New Investigation into the Manichaean Three Eternals and Four Tranquil Ones: A Study on the Xiapu Documents from Fujian], in Ma 2014, 167-195 [cited Ma 2014a].
- MacKenzie, David Neil. “Mani’s Šābuhragān I.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42 (1979), 500-534.
- Mikkelsen, Gunner Bjerg. (ed.). *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, vol. 3: *Texts from Central Asia and China*, part 4: *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts in Chinese*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.
- Mirecki, Paul, and Jason BeDuhn (eds.). *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 43. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- and ——— (eds.). *The Light and the Darkness: Studies in Manichaeism and its World*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 50. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Morano, Enrico. “The Sogdian Hymns of Stellung Jesu”, *East and West* 32 (1982), 9-43.

- . “From a Parthian Manichaean Hymnbook: A Bifolio in Manichaean Script from the Berlin Turfan Collection Containing Alphabetical Hymns to the Father of Greatness” [Handout of a paper presented at the Seventh International Conference of Manichaean Studies, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, September 8–12, 2009].
- Morita, Miki. “Piecing a Picture Together: A New Manichaean Perspective on a Chinese Religious Painting in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco”, *Orientalism* 47.2 (2016), 138–144.
- Panaino, Antonio, and Andrea Piras (eds.). *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea, held in Ravenna, 6–11 October 2003*. Milano: Mimesis, 2006.
- Payne-Smith, Jessie (ed.). *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary: founded upon the Thesaurus syriacus of R[obert] Payne Smith, D.D.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1903.
- Pedersen, Nils Arne. “Early Manichaean Christology, primarily in Western Sources”, in Bryder 1988, 157–190.
- . *Studies in The Sermon of the Great War: Investigations of a Manichaean-Coptic Text from the Fourth Century*. Aarhus: Aarhus University, 1996.
- (ed.). *Manichaean Homilies with a Number of Hitherto Unpublished Fragments*. Corpus fontium Manichaeorum. Series Coptica, 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.
- . “The Veil and Revelation of the Father of Greatness”, in van den Berg et al. 2011, 229–234.
- . “Review of Alexander Böhlig: *Die Bibel bei den Manichäern und verwandte Studien*. Herausgegeben von Peter Nagel & Siegfried G. Richter (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 80), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2013”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 68.5 (2014), 572–577.
- Pettipiece, Timothy. *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia*. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 66. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Polotsky, Hans Jacob. “Manichäische Studien”, *Le Muséon* 46 (1933), 247–271.
- . “Manichäismus”, in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie des klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband VI, ed. by Konrat Ziegler (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1935), cols. 240–271.
- and Alexander Böhlig (eds. and trans., mit einem Beitrag von Hugo Ibscher). *Kephalaia I, 1. Hälfte (Lieferung 1–10)*. Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin 1. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940.

- Puech, Henry-Charles (ed.). *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henry-Charles Puech*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974.
- Reck, Christiane (ed.). *Gesegnet sei dieser Tag: Manichäische Festtagshymnen. Edition der mittelpersischen und parthischen Sonntag-, Montags- und Be-mahymnen*. Brepols: Turnhout, 2004.
- . “Snatches of the Middle Iranian ‘Tale of the Five Brothers’”, in BeDuhn 2009, 241-258.
- . “Šābuhragān”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition [www.iranica online.org/articles/sabuhragan, 2010 (acc. on 18 Jan. 2016)].
- Reeves, John C. “Manichaean Citations from the *Prose Refutations* of Ephrem”, in Mirecki and BeDuhn 1997, 217-288.
- . *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism*. Sheffield: Equinox, 2011.
- Reitzenstein, Richard, und Hans Heinrich Schaeder (eds.). *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1926.
- Richter, Siegfried G, Charles Horton, and Klaus Ohlhafer (eds.) *Mani in Dublin: Selected Papers from the Seventh International Conference of the IAMS in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 8–12 September 2009*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Sala, Tudor. “Narrative Options in Manichaean Eschatology”, in BeDuhn and Mirecki 2007, 49-66.
- Schaeder, Hans Heinrich. “Zur manichäischen Urmenschlehre”, in Reitzenstein and Schaeder 1926, 240-305.
- Scheftelowitz, Isidor. “Der göttliche Urmensch in der manichäischen Religion”, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 28 (1930), 212-240.
- Schmidt, Carl G, and Hans Jakob Polotsky. *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler*. Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1933, Sonderausgabe. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1933.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas, and Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst (eds.). *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, vol. 3: *Texts from Central Asia and China*, part 2: *Dictionary of Manichaean Sogdian and Bactrian*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.
- Sundermann, Werner. “Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos”, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 6 (1979), 95-133.

- . “Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer” [3 parts], *Altorientalische Forschungen* 13 (1986), 40-92 [I]; 13 (1986), 239-317 [II]; 14 (1987), 41-107 [III].
- . “Der Lebendige Geist als Verführer der Dämonen”, in Tongerloo and Giversen 1991, 339-342.
- . “Cologne Mani Codex”, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 6, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1993), 43a-46a.
- . “Manichaean Eschatology”, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 8, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1998), 569b-575b.
- Tardieu, Michel (ed.). *Manichaeism*. Originally published 1984 in French. English trans. by Malcolm DeBevoise. Chicago: University of Illinois, 2009.
- van Tongerloo, Aloïs, and Søren Giversen (eds.). *Manichaica Selecta: Studies Presented to Prof. Julien Ries on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*. Manichaean Studies, 1. Louvain: Center of the History of Religions, 1991.
- Vermes, Mark (trans.), and Samuel N. C. Lieu. *Hegemonius: Acta Archelai / The Acts of Archelaus*. Manichaean Studies, 4. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.
- Waldschmidt, Ernst, and Wolfgang Lentz. “Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus”, *Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 4 (1926), 1-131.
- , and ———. *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*. Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1933, Sonderausgabe. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1933.
- Weber, Dieter (ed.). *Languages of Iran: Past and Present. Iranian Studies in Memoriam David Neil MacKenzie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005.
- Wiessner, Gernot, and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (eds.). *Studia Manichaica: II. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus. 6.–10. August 1989, St. Augustin/Bonn*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992.
- Woschitz, Karl Matthäus, Manfred Hutter and Karl Prenner. *Das manichäische Urdrama des Lichtes: Studien zu koptischen, mitteleranischen und arabischen Texten*. Wien: Herder, 1989.
- Yoshida, Yutaka 吉田豊. “Manichaean Aramaic in the Chinese Hymnscroll”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 46.2 (1983), 326–331.
- . “Sute wen kaoshi” 粟特文考釋 [Textual Research on the Sogdian Documents], in Liu Hongliang 2000, 3-199.

- . “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* 121 (2010), 1-34.
- . “Mani no kōtan zu ni tsuite” マニの降誕図について [On the “Birth of Māni” Painting], *Yamato bunka* 124 (2012: *Mani kōtan zu tokushū* マニ降誕図特輯), 1-10.
- . “Southern Chinese version of Mani’s Picture Book discovered?” in Richter, Horton and Ohlhafer 2015, 389-398, 439-446 [cited Yoshida 2015a].
- . “Kaiga no naiyō no kaishaku wo megutte: kaiga ni hyōgen saretā Manikyō no kyōgi to kyōkai no rekishi” 絵画の内容の解釈をめぐって：絵画に表現されたマニ教の教義と教会の歴史 [Explaining the content of the paintings: Manichaean doctrine and church history as depicted in the paintings], in Yoshida and Furukawa 2015, 77-179 [cited Yoshida 2015b].
- . “Middle Iranian terms in the Xiapu Chinese texts: Four aspects of the Father of Greatness in Parthian”, in Hunter and Lieu 2016 (forthcoming) [cited Yoshida 2016a].
- . “Xiapu 霞浦 Manichaean text *Sijizan* 四寂讚 ‘Praise of the four entities of calmness’ and its Parthian original”, in Durkin-Meisterernst 2016 (forthcoming) [cited Yoshida 2016b].
- Yoshida, Yutaka (with an appendix by Furukawa Shōichi). “*Kōnan Manikyō kaiga* ‘Sejjaden-zu 3.’ *hakken to kaiga no naiyō ni tsuite*” 江南マニ教絵画「聖者伝図 (3)」の発見と絵画の内容について [The discovery of “Missionary painting 3.” of southeastern Chinese Manichaeism and the content of the painting], *Yamato bunka* 129 (2016), 25-41, Plates 3-4 [cited Yoshida 2016b].
- , and Furukawa Shōichi (eds.). *Chūgoku kōnan Manikyō kaiga kenkyū* 中国江南マニ教絵画研究 [*Studies of the Chinese Manichaean Paintings of South Chinese Origin Preserved in Japan*]. Kyōto: Rinsen, 2015.
- Zieme, Peter, “Eine Notiz zu Manis vier Vorläufern”, online: www.academia.edu/14355063/Eine_Notiz_zu_Manis_vier_Vorl%C3%A4ufern, published in August 2015.