

MĀNISTĀN AND XĀNAQĀH

Among historians of religion there seems to be a certain disagreement on the origins and functions of the Manichaean *mānistānān* or 'monasteries'¹. As for the origins, it has proved difficult to establish with certainty whether Manichaean monasticism belonged to the original religion or was a secondary development in the East². Jes P. Asmussen, for instance, has argued strongly for the hypothesis that the institution of the Manichaean *mānistānān* developed in Central Asia under Buddhist influence³. Others prefer to regard this institution as established by Mani himself. Thus Henri-Charles Puech finds that 'l'usage de fonder des *mānistānān*, des "cloîtres" destinés à servir de demeures aux Élus et, peut-être aussi, d'"églises", doit, croyons-nous, être tenu pour fort ancien, sans doute même pour primitif'⁴.

Perhaps the two views may be reconciled to a certain extent. The editors of the *Mani-Codex* of Cologne, A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, propose that Mani became acquainted with Buddhist monasteries already during his early journey to India and that this influenced his monastic ideas⁵. Such a direct Indian influence on Mani himself has been suggested repeatedly, for instance by Arthur Vööbus, who also adduced the testimony of the Syrian ascetic Ephrem (d. 373): 'in Mani the lie from India has again come to domination'⁶. Werner Sundermann has recently called attention to a passage in the Parthian fragment M 4579 according to which Mani, during his last journey, was seeking protection in a *m'nyst'n (qdg)*, 'Klostergebäude', in the city of

¹ I am grateful to Dr. Werner Sundermann, Berlin, who has kindly supplied a number of references to primary and secondary sources relevant to this matter.

² For a recent summary of this discussion, see S. N. C. Lieu, 'Precept and practice in Manichaean monasticism', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS., XXXII, 1981, 153-73 especially 155-9).

³ *X'āstvānīst*, *Studies in Manichaeism*, Copenhagen, 1965, 254, 260 f.; *Manichaean Literature*, Delmar, 1975, 61.

⁴ *Sur le manichéisme*, Paris 1979, 255.

⁵ *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, XXXII, 1978, 169.

⁶ *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, I, Louvain, 1958, 166 f.

Ohrmizd-Ardaxšīr⁷. According to the Middle Persian fragment M 2 (RI,16 ff.) Mār Addā founded many *mānistānān* during his mission to the Romans (*hrōm*) 'up to Alexandria'⁸. Obviously, the historical significance of these passages depends not only on the authenticity of the reports but also on the meaning of *mānistān* in early Manichaean usage.

Although the *mānistānān* are mentioned comparatively often in Manichaean texts, it has not been easy to pin-point their functions. Leaving the uncertain situation in Western Manichaeism aside, we may observe that the so-called 'Compendium of the doctrines and styles of the teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light' from Tun-huang mentions five functions for the 'buildings of the monastery', namely, rooms for scriptures and images, fasting and preaching, worship and confession, religious instruction and for sick monks⁹. Monasteries are also mentioned as centres for various economic activities. This is perhaps best demonstrated in the Uigur text from Turfan, the contents of which are described by Peter Zieme in his paper 'Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im uigurischen Reich'¹⁰. There the monasteries of Qočo, Yar and Salmī are shown to own lands and vineyards and to be centres for the collection of products from the Hearers¹¹.

Strangely enough, it is never made clear whether *electi* really lived in these *mānistānān* in a truly monastic fashion. Many Turfan texts mention them as dwellings for divinities rather than human beings, e.g. the Middle Persian M 36 V ('Die Klöster /*m'nyst'n'n*/ und Wohnstätten der Götter...')¹² and the Parthian M 5 RI ('Ich habe einen Palast und eine liebliche Wohnstatt /*m'nyst'n*/ für Deinen Nous gebaut')¹³ and M 77 V ('Ganz voll Freude sind die göttlichen Wohnungen /*m'nyst'n*/')¹⁴.

⁷ *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (= *Berliner Turfan-tex-te*, 11), Berlin, 1981, 70 (text 4a.12/R/ii/3/) with n. 3.

⁸ F. C. Andreas and W. Henning, 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Tur-kestan, II', Berlin (*SPAW*) 1933, 302 (abbreviated *Mir.Man. II*, etc., below).

⁹ E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, 'Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine', *Journal Asiatique* 1913, 108-10; cf. S. N. C. Lieu, op. cit., 161 f., and id., *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* LIX, 2, 1977, 405.

¹⁰ In L. Ligeti (ed.), *Researches in Altaic languages*, Budapest, 1975, 331-8.

¹¹ Cf. also Lieu, *J. of Theological Studies*, NS., 1981, 162 f.; A. N. Ragoza, *Sogdijskie fragmenty central'no-aziatskogo sobranija Instituta Vostokovedenija*, Moscow, 1980, 36 (45:3).

¹² Transl. Andreas-Henning, *Mir.Man. II*, 326.

¹³ Transl. Andreas-Henning, *Mir.Man. III*, 863.

¹⁴ Transl. Andreas-Henning, *Mir.Man. III*, 887.

A Turkish fragment (T II D 171) published in A. von Le Coq's *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I (Berlin 1912, p. 27) is of the same tenor 'in den reinen, lichten, lauterer Kloestern /*manistanlar*/, dem Wohnsitz des Nom qutī, der Heilstaette der Mardaspant-Goetter, dem Rastort der reinen, lichten, kraftvollen Engel'¹⁵. It is difficult, however, to draw any conclusions about a possible historical development of this institution on the basis of such material.

The etymology of the Middle Iranian word *mānistān* may be of some significance in this connection. Its first element could be etymologized in quite a number of ways (including a form of ¹*man-* 'to think' or even the name of Mānī himself), but perhaps first of all it suggests either a form of the verb *māndan/mān-* 'to remain, to stay' (OIr. ²*man-* 'to remain, to wait' — AirWB 1124f.) or the noun *mān* 'house, dwelling' (Av. *nmāna-*, *dəmāna-* 'house, building' — AirWB 1090f.). The difference in meaning between the two is not very pronounced, especially not if we assume that they have influenced each other semantically¹⁶. In a compound like *mānistān* it is even difficult to separate the one possibility from the other. This is probably the general consideration underlying the translations given by Andreas-Henning: "Wohnung; Kloster" (Mir. Man. II, p. 350). "Wohnung" speziell "Wohnung der Erwählten" = "Kloster" (ibid., p. 326, n. 4), "Wohnstatt, Haus" (Mir. Man. III, p. 903) and Mary Boyce: "dwelling-place, house; Man. monastery"¹⁷.

There is, however, an interesting similarity between this word for a Manichaean 'monastery' and the common New Persian term for a Sufi convent, *xānaqāh*, the Arabicized form of an original Iranian *xānagāh*¹⁸. If we consider the two Middle Iranian words for 'house, dwelling', *xān(ag)* and *mān(išt)*, and the parallelism between the second parts of the two compounds, *-gāh* and *-stān*, this similarity may be seen as something more than a coincidence. The etymology of *xān(ag)* seems unsettled. H. S. Nyberg did not repeat his suggestion in

¹⁵ Transl. W. Bang, *Le Muséon*, XXXVIII, 1925, 31.

¹⁶ Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi*, II, Wiesbaden, 1974, 124 (s.v. *mān*), and the Manichaean Parthian and Middle Persian *mān-* 'to live, to dwell' (D. N. MacKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, London, 1971, 53; M. Boyce, *A word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (= *Acta Iranica*, 9a), Tehran-Liège, 1977, 56).

¹⁷ *Word-list*, 56 (the astronomical technical term 'ten seconds' is left aside here; cf. also Andreas-Henning, Mir. Man. III, 889 with notes).

¹⁸ For a discussion of the components and original form of this word, including interesting references, see Fritz Meier, *Abū Sa'īd-i Abū l-Ḥayr* (= *Acta Iranica*, 11), Tehran-Liège, 1976, 302f. (n. 57).

Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, II (1931, p. 133) of an *-ana*-derivation of ¹*āh*- 'to sit' (AirWB 344f.) in his glossary of *A Manual of Pahlavi* (II, 218), and the derivation from ²*kan*- 'to dig' (AirWB 437f.) proposed by Paul Horn¹⁹ is hardly satisfactory. It is interesting to notice, however, that the pair *xān-u-mān* 'house and home, house and household things' appears in both New and Middle Persian.

In a paper entitled 'Matters of ethnological interest in Swedish missionary reports from southern Sinkiang'²⁰ Gunnar Jarring has noted the parallel use in Eastern Turki of 'Manaka' and 'Khaneka' for the places of gathering of the Sufi dervishes. It is probable that this 'Manaka' represents a mixed form of *mānistān* and *xānaqāh*, which increases the likelihood that these two words are closely related to each other. These missionary sources, however, report on the situation in the beginning of the present century. In order to connect the Manichaean *mānistān* with the Sufi *xānaqāh* we need evidence from a period about 1000 years earlier, when retreating Manichaeism could have had points of contact with ascending Sufism.

In this context the remarkable information on Samarqand given in the early New Persian geography *Hudūd al-'Ālam* is of special interest. This anonymous work, written in Central Asia (Jūzjān) around 982 A.D., plainly states: 'In Samarqand stands the monastery of the Manichaeans (*khānaqāh-i Mānaviyān*) who are called *nighūshāk* ("auditors")'²¹. In his commentary (p. 352), Vladimir Minorsky remarks that 'our record on the Manichaeans (*Mānavi*) is extremely curious'. He combines this statement with the information given in *al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm²² saying that by the time of the caliph al-Muqtadir (A.D. 907-932) the Manichaeans fled for their lives from Mesopotamia to Khorasan and that about five hundred of them assembled in Samarqand.

The text of *Hudūd al-'Ālam* is not quite unambiguous, however, as can be seen from the Kabul edition of the work²³ which in this passage reads (p. 394): *andar vai jāyghāh-i mānaviyān-ast*, 'in it is the dwelling-

¹⁹ *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893, 103.

²⁰ = *Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis*, 1979-1980, 4, Lund, 1979, 17.

²¹ Transl. V. Minorsky (= *Gibb Memorial Series*, NS., 11), second edition, London, 1970, 113; ed. M. Sütüdah (= *Intišārāt-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān*, 727), Tehran 1340/1962, 107.

²² Ed. G. Flügel, 337; translated by Bayard Dodge, New York and London, 1970, II, 802.

²³ *Hudūd al-'ālam, bā muqaddimah-yi Bārtūld va ḥavāši va ta'liqāt-i Minūrski, tarjumaḥ-yi Mir-Ḥusain Šāh*, Kabul, 1342.

place of the Manichaeans'. The precious word *xānagāh* is lost by the mere changing of a few points! A check in the facsimile of the unique manuscript (fol. 23a)²⁴ shows a peculiarly mixed punctuation (خانیگاه), closer to the reading *xānagāh* than to *jāyghāh* but indicating that the scribe was in doubt. With whatever reading one chooses, the passage may be taken to refer to the seat of the leader of the Manichaean church which was moved from Mesopotamia to Samarqand about the time of al-Muqtadir²⁵. These were events close in time and place to the author of *Hudūd al-Ālam*, and his use of the correct Parthian form of the word for *auditores* shows that he must have had insight in these matters.

The early history of the Muslim *xānaqāh* has been connected with the sect called Karrāmiyya. This sect was founded by the Sistani Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Karrām in the 9th century A.D. This Ibn Karrām (c. 806-869) studied in the Khorasani cities Nishapur, Balkh, Marv and Herat and later on propagated his doctrine especially in Gharchistan and Nishapur and, finally, in Jerusalem, where he was buried. The sect flourished till the beginning of the 13th century A.D. and was especially strong in Khorasan, Transoxania and Ghur²⁶. These Karrāmiyya are renowned to be the first among Muslims to have had something called *xānagāhs* or *xānaqāhs*, buildings apparently used both as hospices for disciples and centres for the cult of the sect. Tradition makes the first of those to be located at the tomb of Ibn Karrām in Jerusalem²⁷. According to the geographer al-Muqaddasī (Maqdisī) (d. c. 1000)²⁸, the Karrāmiyya had established such *xānaqāhs* in most parts of Islamic Asia by the 10th century A.D., among other places in Samarqand and the Jūzjān of our anonymous author of *Hudūd al-Ālam*. This author refrains from mentioning the Karrāmiyya and their *xānaqāhs*, but two hundred years later his fellow-countryman Minhāj b. Sirāj Jūzjānī reports that the Ghurid princely brothers Ghiyāth al-dīn Muḥammad and Mu'izz al-dīn Muḥammad originally adhered to this doctrine²⁹.

²⁴ Published by V. Bartol'd, Leningrad, 1930; republished in the Kabul edition of 1342, with separate pagination (this passage, p. 46⁶).

²⁵ Cf. *al-Fihrist*, edited by G. Flügel, 338; translated by B. Dodge, II, 805.

²⁶ Cf. the article 'Karrāmiyya' by C. F. Bosworth in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, and ample references there.

²⁷ Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, edited F. Wüstenfeld, II, 393 (s.v. *al-xānaqa*).

²⁸ *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, edited by M. J. de Goeje, 1906, 323.

²⁹ *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, edited by 'Abd ul-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kabul, 1342-43, I, 362.

Unfortunately, the activities of the Karrāmiyya have mostly been reported by the enemies of the sect and few details are known. The best summary of the doctrines of Ibn Karrām is probably found in the *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* of Louis Massignon³⁰, who takes care not to describe him as a mystic but as a theologian. Although strongly ascetic and pietistic in its outlook, the sect was basically a theological school within the Ḥanafī rite³¹, also comprising Sufis, that is true, but more often hostile to Sufism. Thus S. H. Nasr seems to be mistaken when he characterizes Ibn Karrām as 'an outstanding Ṣūfī of the 3rd/9th century' in his contribution on Sufism to the fourth volume of *The Cambridge History of Iran* (p. 456).

With little exact knowledge of the functions of the Karrāmiyya *xānaqāh* and uncertainty about the nature of the Manichaean *mānistān* it is difficult to relate the two to each other in a definite way. In principle, the Karrāmiyya were certainly hostile to Manichaeans, but this does not necessarily prevent borrowing or appropriation of formal features. Even mixed religious forms may have existed. Thus al-Muqaddasī, directly following the report on Karrāmiyya *xānaqāhs* in Samarqand and Jūzjān etc. referred to above (cf. n. 28), writes that 'in the villages of Haiṭal (prob. Transoxania) there are people called "the white-clothed" and whose beliefs are close to *az-zandaqa* (i.e. Manichaeism)'. Indisputable are, however, the common time and place — 10th century Khorasan and Transoxania (especially Samarqand) — and a number of similarities in religious practice, including the emphasis on meditative prayer (*dīkr*) and mendicancy (*tavakkul*). On the other hand, there are other possible influences to be considered: Buddhist, Nestorian, Zoroastrian. This leads straight into the protracted general discussion on the origins of Sufism³², which so far has yielded little precise evidence on the origin of the *xānaqāh*³³.

In his comprehensive book *Abū Sa'īd-i Abū l-Ḥayr* (cf. n. 18), Fritz Meier has collected a great number of references to alleged Sufi convents from the 8th century onwards (pp. 302-311). The earliest instances mentioned in the sources are without doubt later fabrications. Thus, e.g., the attribution of the first *xānaqāh* to Abū Hāsim al-Ṣūfī of

³⁰ Paris, 1922, 225-42; nouvelle édition, 1954, 255-72, 318-19.

³¹ Cf. A. Bausani in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, V, 1968, 284.

³² See the admirable summary given by M. Molé in his *Les mystiques musulmans*, Paris, 1965, 3-21, and the references there, pp. 22-6.

³³ See J. S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford, 1971, 5 ff.; J. Chabbi, s.v. 'Khānqāh', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition.

the early 8th century, said to have been erected on the appeal of a Christian(!) *amir* in Ramla on the Syrian coast, is certainly apocryphal³⁴. If, for the purposes of the present investigation, we disregard Sufi establishments of similar function but described with other names (*ribāt*, *sarāy*, *duwayra*, *zāwiya*, *madrassa*, etc.), it seems that we have no certain evidence for truly Sufi *xānaqāhs* until the early 10th century. Fritz Meier³⁵ mentions a good number of more or less certain instances of these. It seems as if this early development was most pronounced in Khorasan, with special concentration in and around Nishapur. One of the oldest reasonably certain *xānaqāhs* is the one which appears in the list of learned men of Nishapur found in the first text of the *Histories of Nishapur* published in facsimile by R. N. Frye³⁶. There, a certain al-Ḥasan b. Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf al-Ṣūfī an-Naisābūrī appears, who is described as 'the principal (*ṣāhib*) of the *xānaqāh* of the assembly (*majma'*) of the ascetic/s/ (*az-zāhid*) and the Sufis (*aṣ-ṣūfiya*)' and who is said to have died in 336 A.H. (i.e. 947/48 A.D.). This should be the same convent as the one mentioned by Meier (end of p. 307) on the strength of Sam'ānī³⁷.

It is perhaps no coincidence that many references lead us to Nishapur, the great capital of Khorasan at that time. In another important work, 'Ḥurāsān und das Ende der klassischen Ṣūfik'³⁸, Fritz Meier has shown that 10th century Nishapur was the starting-point for far-reaching structural changes in Sufism. The new idea of a *šaix at-tarbiya* ('erziehender Meister') superseded the *šaix at-ta'lim* ('belehrender Meister') which led to a concentration of Sufi life around the leading shaykhs and the beginning of the formation of proper Sufi orders. It seems likely that the development of the now emerging Sufi *xānaqāh* was concomitant with this new and more central role of the Sufi master.

The first establishment of a fixed regulation of life in a Sufi *xānaqāh* is generally ascribed to the Khorasani shaykh Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khair of Maihana (A.D. 967-1049). His life is most fully described in a biography

³⁴ Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyah*, edited by 'Abd ul-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kabul 1341/1962, 9-10, 12; declared implausible by F. Meier, *Abū Sa'īd*, 302-3, and rejected by J. Chabbi, op. cit., 1025.

³⁵ *Abū Sa'īd*, 305 ff.

³⁶ = *Harvard Oriental Series*, XLV, The Hague, 1965, 1. *Kitāb aḥyāl-i Nishāpūr*, fol. 41a¹⁵⁻¹⁷.

³⁷ Ref. ap. Meier, n. 103a; the entry in *Histories of Nishapur* seems to add to the name of al-Ḥasan b. Ya'qūb: *al-ma'rūf bi'l-Ḥaddād*... (indistinct words) *az-zāhid*.

³⁸ *La Persia nel Medioevo* (= *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 368, Quaderno N. 160), Rome, 1971, 545-70 (especially 556 ff.).

compiled by his great-great-grandson Muḥammad b. Munavvar, dedicated to the Ghurid prince Ghiyāth 'l-dīn Muḥammad (d. 1203) mentioned above³⁹. Abū Sa'īd received his training with shaykhs (and allegedly in *xānaqāhs*) in Sarakhs and Amul, before he returned to his native Maihana, not very far from Sarakhs. For a number of years he also resided in a *xānaqāh* in Nishapur, and a number of anecdotes from this period tell about his confrontations with the Karrāmiyya leaders of that city⁴⁰. They are described as angrily anti-Sufi. It is difficult to imagine that Abū Sa'īd took over anything directly from such people, but by his time independent traditions of Sufi *xānaqāh* life were certainly already in existence. The famous ten rules of Abū Sa'īd for inhabitants of his convent (*xānaqāhiyān*) give no clear indication in what direction to seek his models (if his at all)⁴¹. They are strict but general in such a way that they could easily be imagined as acceptable in various religious surroundings, perhaps even in a Manichaean *mānistān* (*mutatis mutandis*)⁴².

This short survey of possible links between the Manichaean *mānistān* and the Sufi *xānaqāh* cannot be said to have provided more than circumstantial evidence of connections between the two. As might have been expected, the Muslim sources are quite non-committal on this subject. The possible role of the Karrāmiyya as an intermediary remains obscure. On the other hand, a number of similarities both in organisational forms and religious practices are undeniable. Furthermore, it is clear that shared time and place make more interaction likely than Muslim sources would be prepared to admit. Among other things, Manichaeism was obviously an important intermediary between Buddhist and Muslim culture⁴³.

³⁹ *Asrār at-tauḥīd fī maqāmāt aš-šaix Abī Sa'īd*, edited by V. A. Zhukovskiy, St. Petersburg, 1899; edited D. Šafā, second edition, Tehran, 1348; *Les étapes mystiques du shaykh Abu Sa'īd*, traduit par M. Achena, Paris (Unesco), 1974; cf. also R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921, 1-76; F. Meier, *Abū Sa'īd*, 20-2 etc.

⁴⁰ *Asrār at-tauḥīd*, edited by D. Šafā, 101-3, 137; translated by M. Achena, 110-12, 142-3; cf. F. Meier, *Abū Sa'īd*, 222 ('zweifelhafte(n) geschichte'), 322-3.

⁴¹ *Asrār at-tauḥīd*, ed. D. Šafā, 330-2; transl. N. Achena, 324-5; R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., 46; F. Meier, *Abū Sa'īd*, 310-11.

⁴² Cf. the 'Règles concernant les bâtiments du monastère' preserved in the 'Fragment Pelliot' ('Compendium of the doctrines and styles of the teaching of Mani'), translated by E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, 108-14.

⁴³ Cf., e.g., Jes P. Asmussen, 'Der Manichäismus als Vermittler literarischen Gutes', *Temenos*, II, 1966, 5-21; Werner Sundermann, 'Die Bedeutung des Parthischen für die Verbreitung buddhistischer Wörter indischer Herkunft', *Altorientalische Forschungen*, IX, 1982, 99-113.

Even if the very coining of the original word *xānaqāh* may be independent of *mānistān*⁴⁴, it seems likely that the application of the two words to more or less monastic establishments has some connection. That the first element of the word *mānistān* is identical with *mān* 'house' is also corroborated by the use of the term *mān-sārūr* (Middle Persian)⁴⁵ or *mān-sardār* (Parthian)⁴⁶ for the οἰκοδεσπότης or principal of a *mānistān* (and also for 'presbyter', third in rank in the Manichaean hierarchy)⁴⁷. Incidentally, this term has a strong resemblance to the Syriac *rabbān* and *rabbaitā*, as used by the Nestorians⁴⁸. On the other hand, the formation of the word *mānistān* may have been influenced by the Buddhist *vihāra*, the non-technical Pali meaning of which is also something like 'dwelling-place'⁴⁹, as another Indian word for a similar Buddhist establishment, *ārāma*⁵⁰, seems to have been directly borrowed into Manichaean Parthian, as *ārām*⁵¹.

In view of the well-attested injunction on the Manichaean *electi* to wander around continually⁵² and the probable original meaning of *mānistān* as 'dwelling-place', it seems likely that this word from the beginning was used to mean a hospice or lodging-house for brethren in the faith. That would fit well for both the building in which Mani was supposed to have sought protection in the city of Ohrmizd-Ardaxšīhr (cf. above n. 7) and for the establishments founded by Mār Addā

⁴⁴ Cf. the use of this word in 'Ein syrisch-neupersisches Psalmenbruckstück aus Chinesisch-Turkistan', published by F. W. K. Müller in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, Berlin, 1915, 217 (l. 8).

⁴⁵ M. Boyce, *Word-list*, 56; Andreas-Henning, *Mir.Man.* II, 324 (18), with n. 3; W. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, *APAW* 1936, Phil.-hist. Kl. 10. Berlin, 1937, 24 (202, 219), 28 (351).

⁴⁶ Thus M. Boyce, *Word-list*, 56, correcting the previous reading *m'ns'rd'r* (*mānsardār*) in Henning, *Bet- und Beichtbuch*, 26 (270); cf. also the corresponding Sogdian term, *m'nyst'nd'r'k* in W. Sundermann, *Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, 36 (347), 184 (s.v.); id., *Acta Orientalia*, XXXVI, Copenhagen, 1974, 135.

⁴⁷ Cf. A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, op. cit., 166-9; Lieu, *J. of Theological Studies*, NS., 1981, 160-1; W. Sundermann, *Acta Orientalia Acad. Scient. Hung.*, XXIV, 1971, 1, 92, with n. 87 ('Daher mān hier = mānistān').

⁴⁸ Cf. Arthur Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, Louvain, 1965, 96-9.

⁴⁹ T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, reprinted, London 1947-9, s.v.; cf. also C. S. Upasak, *Dictionary of early Buddhist monastic terms*, Varanasi, 1975, 205-6.

⁵⁰ Cf. C. S. Upasak, op. cit., 30-1.

⁵¹ M. Boyce, *Word-list*, 14; Andreas-Henning, *Mir.Man.* III, 894; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, XI, 1943, 218, n. 4 ('may have been influenced in meaning by Skt'); H.-C. Puech, *Sur le manichéisme*, 255.

⁵² E.g. al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, translated by E. Sachau, London, 1879, 190 (ed. p. 208); al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān* (4, pp. 457-459), quoted in F. Meier, *Abū Sa'īd*, 348.

during his mission to the Romans (cf. above n. 8). A passage in *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* even suggests that the sisters in the faith at some stage got such establishments of their own: 'Die jungfräulichen und heiligen Schwestern, samt ihren Konventen /hnmzm/ und Klöstern /m'nyst'n/ ...'⁵³. It is more than likely, however, that the use of the word *mānistān* changed with time. It must have become more technical and specialized, perhaps with differences in application in various parts of the Manichaean territory. Thus the functions of a *mānistān* in Central Asia in later centuries might very well have changed to comprise almost everything except a hospice for *electi*⁵⁴.

Similarly, the early Sufi *xānaqāh* seems, above all, to have had the function of a meeting-place and hospice for wandering Sufis. Thus, e.g., the 11th century mystic al-Hujvīrī relates a telling story about an unpleasant night in such a *xānaqāh* lodging-place⁵⁵. The modern Iranian literary historian Aḥmad 'Alī Rajā'ī also stresses this function in a survey of the early Sufi *xānaqāh* found in his *Farhang-i aš'ār-i Ḥāfiẓ*⁵⁶. Paradoxically enough, such a parallel development of *xānaqāh* and *mānistān* in Sufism and Manichaeism, respectively, makes a direct modelling of the former on the latter less likely. By the 10th century A.D. the Manichaean institution, as found, for instance, in Samarqand, must have developed into something quite different from the simple meeting-places for dervishes that simultaneously cropped up in the cities of Khorasan and Transoxania. Obviously, the links between the two must be sought in more complicated patterns of interaction.

⁵³ Transl. W. Henning, 25.

⁵⁴ Thus e.g. E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, 110, n. 1; Lieu, *J. of Theological Studies*, NS., XXXII, 1981, 163.

⁵⁵ *Kašf al-mahjūb*, translated by R. A. Nicholson (= *Gibb Memorial Series*, 17), new edition, London, 1967, 69.

⁵⁶ *Jild-i avval*, Tehran, 1340, 81-6.