

ABSTRACT

Belief in jinn (sing. jinni) exerts a profound influence on the general attitude and daily behavior of members of traditional Arab and most other Muslim communities. This belief exists on two planes: religion and folklore. On the religious plane the belief is standardized by the Quran and hadīth 'traditional sayings of prophet Muhammad.' On the folk level the belief is highly variable, differing from one community to another.

The jinn were more or less venerated by the pagan Arabs. Islam accepted the existence of jinn but reduced them to mere invisible beings who could be appeased by means of sacred words. This paper examines the position of jinn in the Arab world view before and after Islam. Then the paper shows how belief in jinn in Central Arabia serves to validate cultural norms and to curb and explain deviant behavior.

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THE POSITION OF JINN IN THE ARAB WORLD VIEW

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ABSTRACT

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND CITATION

This is a list of the symbols which will be used throughout this paper to represent Arabic sounds along with an approximate description of each sound. This note is excerpted from A. F. L. Beeston's The Arabic Language Today with slight modifications to suit the purpose at hand.

(i) Bilabials, with obstruction between the two lips:

b, ب voiced stop;

m, م voiced nasalized stop;

(ii) labio-dental, between lower lip and upper teeth:

f, ف unvoiced continuant;

(iii) linguals, of which the tongue-tip is the lower member, and subdivided according to the upper member into:

(a) dentals, back of the upper teeth:

t, ت unvoiced stop;

d, د voiced stop;

th, ث unvoiced continuant as English 'th' in 'thing';

dh, ذ voiced continuant as English 'th' in 'that';

l, ل voiced lateralized semi-continuant, the center of the tongue being in full closure, but the breath allowed to escape at the sides;

(b) dental-alveolars, at the base of the upper teeth:

- s, س unvoiced continuant hiss;
 z, ز voiced continuant buzz;
 (c) alveolars, on the gum-ridge behind the teeth:
 sh, ش unvoiced continuant with retroflexion of tongue-
 tip similar to English 'sh';
 n, ن voiced nasalized stop;
 r, ر voiced trill, with the tongue repeatedly tapped
 against the gum ridge as in Spanish 'r';

- (d) velarized alveolars, a variety of t s z and d with the
 tongue-tip further back and with the concurrent pheno-
 menon of 'itbāq', which is a buccal resonance caused by
 raising the back part of the tongue towards the soft
 palate:

- t, ط unvoiced stop;
 s, ص unvoiced continuant;
 z, ظ voiced continuant;
 d, ض voiced stop or continuant;

- (iv) palatals, between the center of the tongue and the upper
 palate:

- j, ج voiced continuant with explosive onset, as in
 English 'j';

- (v) velars, between back of the tongue and back part of palate:

- k, ك unvoiced stop;
 kh, خ unvoiced continuant, as German 'ch' in 'Bach';
 gh, غ voiced continuant, the French 'Parisian r';

- (vi) uvular, with point of obstruction further back than with the velars:
- q, ق unvoiced stop;
- (vii) pharyngals, with obstruction of the pharyngeal passage:
- h, ح unvoiced continuant;
- 3, ع voiced continuant;
- (viii) glottals, articulated in the glottis:
- h, ه unvoiced continuant, fairly similar to English 'h';
- ?, ا unvoiced stop; it is called by the Arabs hamzah (Beeston 1970:16-23).

It should also be noted that a macron (̄) placed over a vowel sound indicates that it is a long vowel.

Arabic names prefixed by the article "al" are entered into the bibliography by the next element of the word. When a transliterated Arabic word that begins by 3 or ? occurs at the beginning of the sentence, the letter immediately following 3 or ? will be capitalized. The same procedure will be followed in regard to Arabic proper names. In case of Quranic citation, the number of sūrah 'chapter' will be indicated by lower case Roman numerals followed by the number of āyah 'verse' in Arabic numerals. In other citations, the capitalized Roman numerals indicate the volume number and Arabic numerals indicate the page number.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Jinn occupy a critical slot in the world view of the people of Central Arabia. Belief in Jinn has a great deal of effect on the traditional Arab personality.

Apart from the direct prohibition of certain things, the belief in jinns constantly tends to create a sense of carefulness, of circumspection, in individuals; in a roundabout way it works to produce self-discipline and at the same time propriety in behavior, both desirable qualities in members of society. This will epitomize the effect; a scholar, instead of avoiding jinns, may actually summon one and obtain from him a gift of hairs from the jinn's head, each of which on being burned will summon the jinn once more to execute a command; but the man who does this takes his life in his hands, and must be completely good and pious, saying regular prayers, fasting properly in Ramadan, never drinking alcohol, nor being unfaithful to his wife, lying, stealing, or doing any kind of wrong (Howells 1948:209-10).

It is essential, especially for people involved in mental health and social work in the Arab world, to understand the nature and doings of the jinn and their relations with human beings. This paper, I hope, is the first step towards the neglected task of elucidating this subject.

Between jinn and human beings there exist relations of opposition and correlation. The relation of opposition helps the native mind to be cognizant of the fact that jinn and humans are two classes of beings independent of and different from each other. The relation of correlation makes it easy for the native mind to conceive how a member

of one of these two distinct classes of beings could be transformed into a member of the other class. This relation of correlation facilitates contact between jinn and human beings. This contact is not only extensive and prevalent, but it is also real and tangible. Sometimes they are friendly toward each other and sometimes they are hostile. Sometimes they fall in love with each other and intermarry. Some human groups are even considered by others to be jinn rather than human beings. Donald P. Cole, who did extensive field work among al-Murrah tribe in Saudi Arabia, wrote me:

The Al Murrah, as you must know, inhabit the Rub al Khali, a marginal region, and they have very special skills and know things that ordinary [humans] don't know. They can track thieves and know where to find water. And the Rub al Khali, and its many gusur (ruins), are obvious places for jinn. Thus, the Al Murrah are sometimes considered to be more jinn than [humans]. If they are jinn, then they are certainly very pleasant and kind beings (Cole 1973: personal communication).

The Arabs, and Muslims in general, believe in three different classes of created, intelligent and responsible beings: (1) malā'ikah 'angels,' (2) ins 'human beings,' and (3) jinn. The second chapter of this paper is a philological and etymological discussion of these three classifications. The nature and attributes of beings in each of these classes will also be discussed in that chapter. The third chapter is a philological and etymological discussion of the classes of jinn mentioned in the Quran and the diabolic bestial beings mentioned by the Arab poets and travelers.

The fourth chapter is a composite picture of the belief in jinn in pagan Arabia. Special reference will be made to the specialists who

had the supernatural power to communicate with the jinn.

"Jinn in Islam" is the title of the fifth chapter which discusses the status of jinn in Islamic thought.

Iblīs (the devil?) is a controversial character in Islamic cosmogony. Some theologians believe that he is a jinni while others believe he is a fallen angel. The pros and cons of this argument will be presented in Chapter 6. Settlement of this dispute regarding the origin of Iblīs, who managed to deceive Adam and have him expelled from Paradise, is relevant to the discussion presented in this paper. If Iblīs was a jinni, then this means that jinn are potentially evil. This chapter also, indirectly, shows that the line which separates jinn from the angels is a rather fuzzy one.

Chapter 7 is an ethnographic account of belief in jinn on the folk level in contemporary Central Arabia. The material for this chapter was obtained during my stay in Onieza, Saudi Arabia during the summer months of 1971. From June to September 1971, I interviewed people and collected folk tales relevant to my topic. I should like to emphasize that I am a native of Onieza, which means I speak their language, Arabic; their native categories are my categories, and I have the intuition of a native except that my native intuition is tempered with a little scientific theorizing.

The last chapter is a discussion of the position of jinn in the world view of the people of Central Arabia and the relationships that exist between jinn and human beings.

The appendix at the end of this paper contains a sample of

eight folk tales I translated. Some of these folk tales were related to me by friends and relatives; some I translated from Abdulkarīm al-Juhāīmān's work (1967-1970).

Chapter 2

PREFATORY DISCUSSION

The Arabs, and Muslims in general, believe in three different classes of created intelligent beings who, unlike bahāʿim 'lower animals,' are responsible, are obligated to observe the precepts of religion, and will be rewarded accordingly in the next life. These are (1) malāʾikah 'angels,' who are created of light, (2) ins 'human beings,' who are created of clay, and (3) jinn, who are created from smokeless fire.

Malāʾikah

Malāʾikah (sing. malak) derives from laʾak 'to send as a messenger' and malak means an angel or a messenger (Wehr 1971:852).

Malāʾikah are the messengers of God (Quran xxxv:1). They reside in the heavens above. They are of simple substance, being created of light, and capable of assuming any shape or form they want (Muʾjam 1970 I:55). They have wings and fly (al-Jahiz 1938 III:231-5). They do not propagate their species, not being males or females (al-Damiri 1861 I:290). The submission and obedience of the angels to Allah (Quran xxi:19-20; ixvi:6) is due to their ʾismah; that is, they are impeccable and free of sin except three fallen angels: Harūt, Marūt, and Iblīs.

Harūt and Marūt yielded to temptations and God cast them in a pit near Babylon to teach magic to people (Quran ii:102; Ibn Kathir

1966:48). Iblīs refused to prostrate himself before Adam after God had created Adam from clay and breathed His spirit into him. Therefore, Iblīs was banished from the heavens and was cursed, but he begged postponement of his punishment until the day of judgment. God granted him this request as well as the power to lead astray all those who are not true servants of God (Quran xv:26-42). Iblīs will prove to be a controversial entity and more will be said about him later.

Angels are created in different forms and with different powers (al-Qazwīnī 1849:55-63). They are hierarchically arranged according to the tasks they perform (Ibn Kathīr 1966:43). Jibrīl is the angel of revelation and God's deputy to his prophets. He is described as a strong giant but beautiful and with extremely good manners (Ibid.:43). He used to come to Muhammad in many forms (Ibid. 40-1) and Muhammad saw him in his real form only twice; he had six hundred wings and each wing covered the horizon (Ibid.:44). He used to come to Muhammad every night in Ramadan to study the Quran with him and sometimes they prayed together (Ibid.:45).

Isrāfīl is the angel with the trumpet of resurrection. He blows the trumpet three times. The first is nafkhat al-faz3 'the terrifying blow,' followed by nafkhat al-sa3q 'the stunning blow,' and finally nafkhat al ba3th 'the blow of resurrection.' All human souls are deposited in Isrāfīl's trumpet. When he sounds the blow of resurrection, all these souls come out glowing, and God sends every soul to its former body (Ibid.:45). After the second blow everything except God dies including Isrāfīl, who is the first to be resurrected by God to

blow the third blow, the blow of resurrection (Ibid.:46). Isrāfīl was the first angel to prostrate himself to Adam (Ibid.:46). Mīkāʾīl is an angel of the same rank as Jibrīl. He is the angel of rain and vegetation and has helpers who direct the wind and drive clouds. Every drop of rain that descends to earth has an angel who decides where it should fall (Ibid.:46). ʾIzrāʾīl is the angel of death. He has helpers who come to a person in the form concordant to his deeds; if he is a believer, sweet-smelling white angels with white robes come to take his soul, and the opposite if he is a nonbeliever (Ibid.:47).

Hamalat al ʾArsh are the angels who carry the Throne of God (al-Qazwīnī 1849:55). Al Kurūbiyūn are the angels around the throne. These angels are also called al-muqarrabūn 'the ones close to Allah.' Jibrīl and Mīkāʾīl are the most honorable of al-Muqarrabūn (Ibn Kathīr 1966:49). These angels are of pure nature and they exhibit a great sentiment towards those human beings who are also of pure nature. They incessantly plead with God to forgive these people (Ibid.:49). Al-Hafāzah are the angels who protect al-Lawḥ al-Mahfūz 'the preserved tablet,' on which is written the original text of the Quran to guard it from corruption and to ensure the eternal endurance of God's message (Quran xv:9; lxxv:21-2). Sukkān al-samawāt al-sabʿ 'the inhabitants of the seventh heaven' are engaged in constant prayers to God (Ibn Kathīr 1966:49). Al-Khazanah are the angels to whom is delegated the responsibility of preparing paradise for the believers (Ibid.:50). Al-Zabānīyah are the angels guarding hell (Ibid.:50).

The biggest of all angels is al-Rūḥ, who is as big as the

whole universe and resides in the fourth heaven. He is said to glorify the Lord twelve thousand times a day and out of each and every glorification God creates another angel (Ibid.:43). There is another angel who could swallow the heavens and the earth in a single bite if Allah commanded him to do it. One of the angels carrying the Lord's throne is so gigantic the distance between his ear and his shoulder is seven hundred years' journey (Ibid.:43).

The angels are sinless because they are sanctified from carnal desires and the disturbance of anger (al-Qazwīnī 1849:55). Every spot in the seven heavens is busy with angels worshipping God (Ibn Kathīr 1966:42). It is said that when the imām, one who leads the prayers among the Muslims, says "amen," the angels in heaven say "amen" after him and any human who says "amen" after the imām at the same time as the angels will be forgiven all his past sins. This is the reason that collective prayers surpass individual prayers (Ibid.:53). The angels never disobey God's commands. Their nourishment is the celebration of His glory, their drink is the proclamation of His Holiness, their speech is the commemoration of Him, and their pleasure is His worship (al-Qazwīnī 1849:55).

Every human being is attended by two guardian angels, one in front of him and one behind him (Ibn Kathīr 1966:52) as well as two recording angels, one to the left to record the bad deeds and one to the right to record the good deeds (Quran lxxxii:10-2). These angels never depart from a man except when he is in the bathroom or in a state of janābah (ritual uncleanness resulting from sexual intercourse,

which can only be removed by taking a bath preceded by the recitation of the name of Allah with the intention 'niyah' of purification from janābah). One is supposed to honor these angels and not embarrass them by obligating them to note down disgraceful actions such as running around naked or defecating in public (Ibn Kathīr 1966:51). These angels never enter a house that has in it a picture, an image, a dog, or somebody in a state of janābah (Ibid.:51). Every human being has a qarīn 'double' of the angels who advises him to do good and a qarīn of the shayāṭīn 'evil jinn' who tries to lead him astray (Ibid.:52).

Munkar and Nakīr are the two angels who visit the dead in the grave immediately after burial and catechize him as to his faith (al-Qazwīnī 1849:60).

There is a controversy as to whether the majority of mankind are more excellent than the majority of angels or vice versa. Some Muslim theologians take the view that the majority of mankind are more excellent than the majority of angels. This is because God created Adam with His own hand and gave him life by breathing His own spirit into him. Furthermore, after Adam was completed, God commanded all angels to prostrate themselves in front of Him (Quran ii:34; vii:11; xv:28-31; xvii:61; xviii:50; xx:116; xxxviii:71-4). However, the Muʿtazilah and the Ashʿariyah (two early theological schools which encouraged free and speculative thinking in Islam) believed in the superior excellence of the angels. They argued that the angels were kāʾināt ruḥānīyah 'spiritual beings' and that they were free of even the beginnings of evils and defects, like lust and anger, and from the

obscurities of form and matter (Encyclopaedia of Islam 1953:320).

A human being who is outstandingly beautiful in appearance and pure in character is called an angel (Quran xii:31).

Ins

Ins (sing. insī) are also called nās or unās (sing. insān). This term refers to mankind and humanity in general. The root word anisa means: 'was or became cheered, happy, gladdened, or pleased because of the company, presence, or conversation of someone.' This is contrary to istawḥasha, meaning 'to shrink from or become averse to someone.' When we say fulān ānasa fulān, we are saying that a person behaved in a sociable, friendly, familiar, or amicable manner toward another person, with the intention of cheering him up or gladdening him by his company, presence, or conversation. The word uns denotes sociability, companionship, conversableness, delightfulness, joyfulness, cheerfulness, gaiety, gladness, happiness, amicableness, ease and tranquility. It is the contrary of wahshah 'shrinking or aversion' (Lane 1968:112-5). Anīs is a person or a thing one is used to or familiar with or by whose company or presence one is cheered, solaced, or consoled. For a man traveling alone in the desert at night, fire is maʔnūsah, because it is a sign of food and company, thus cheerfulness. Makān maʔnūs is a place of alighting where there is uns. Muʔnisāt are the weapons men carry because they assure their possessor of safety and thus they solace him and cheer him up and render him at ease with his adversaries (Ibid.:115). Muʔnis is Thursday because on that day the Arabs were inclined to frequent places of pleasure

(Ibid.:115).

A synonym of anisa is ista?nasa which could also refer to a wild animal which became domesticated or tamed. Ista?nasa may also mean 'to examine or to inquire' (Mu3jam 1970 I:63).

Besides the previous meanings listed for anasa, this word may also mean 'to see, to perceive, to know, or to become cognizant of' (Ibid. I:63). Therefore, human beings are called ins, nās, or unās because they are seen 'yu?nasūn,' unlike the jinn who are concealed from our senses 'mu?jtannūn' (Lane 1968:114). However, some philologists (namely those of al-Kūfah) disagree with this etymology and insist that the word insān is originally pronounced insiyān which comes from al-nisyān 'forgetfulness' and it was contracted to make it easier to pronounce since it is frequently used (al-Damīrī 1861 I:45-6). This is in reference to Adam's forgetfulness of God's covenant "we have already, beforehand, taken the covenant of Adam, but he forgot 'nasiya'" (Quran xx:15).

Human beings are also called banī Adam 'the progeny of Adam' and bashar. The verb bashara means 'to pare a hide,' thus removing its hair or wool, and basharah is the outer skin upon which hair grows. Human beings are referred to as bashar because their basharah is bare of hair and of wool (Lane 1968:112-5). From this comes the verb bāshara meaning 'the man was in, or came into, contact with the woman, skin to skin' (Mu3jam 1970 I:101).

Jinn

The main signification of the word jinn (sing. jinmi), also

called jinnah and jānn, is veiling or concealing from the senses (Mu3jam 1970 I:223-4). Janīn is the foetus or embryo because it is concealed in the mother's womb. Jannah is paradise (the abode of recompense), so called because the various delights prepared therein for mankind are concealed from him in his present state of existence (Lane 1968:463). Janan is the grave because it conceals the dead body. Junnah is the armour with which one protects himself and mijann is the shield (Ibid.:464). Jinān is the heart because the chest conceals it. Lā junna bihadhā al-amr is an expression meaning there is no concealment with this matter, it is clear (Ibid.:463). Junna-l-laīl means the night became confusingly dark and concealed things from the sight of man. Jinn may also mean the prime of things (i.e., the prime of youth) or the first or fresh state of the matter (Ibid.:463).

In this discussion, jinn refers mainly to intelligent demoniacal beings who share some common characteristics with the angels and some common characteristics with human beings, but they are in a separate class independent from both angels and human beings. Muslim theologians and writers describe the Jinn as beings of aerial quality whose bodies are transparent and can assume various forms. They are capable of carrying out heavy tasks. They are usually imperceptible and concealed from our senses but when their form becomes condensed they are visible. They become invisible at pleasure, or suddenly disappear in the earth or air, or through a solid wall. They pervade the solid matter of the earth as well as the firmament (al-Qazwīnī 1849: 368; al-Damīrī 1861 I:282; al-Razī 1934-1962 I:76). They are created

from smokeless fire: "We have created men from resonant clay, from mud moulded into shape. And the jinn race we have created, beforehand, from the flame of a scorching wind" (Quran xv:26-8).

A clever man who is effective in affairs or one who seems to be doing different things or appearing at different places at the same time is likened to a jinni. A woman lover who is beautiful but who is changeable and whimsical is likened to a jinniyah (Lane 1968:463). Junūn is the state of madness and majnūn is the one whom a jinni enters, concealing from him reason and intellect, that is, making him lunatic, mad, insane, bereft of reason, or unsound in mind or intellect (Mu3jam 1970 I:223). Junūn could also mean excessive exultation or excitement to mirth (Lane 1968:462-3). A thing is called jinān when it is so striking or enchanting it causes one to lose his mind. Nabāt majnūn is tangled, dense and luxuriant herbage (Ibid.:464).

Chapter 3

CLASSES OF JINN

There are different classes of jinn. Jinn who enchant humans with their eyes are called Khabal (al-Jahiz 1938 VI:195). Thus makhbūl means lunatic. A jinni who resides amongst people is called ʿĀmir (Ibid.:190). Those who enchant children are called arwāh (Ibid.: 190). Black dogs are called jinn and spotted dogs are called ḥinn. Ḥinn refers also to the least powerful class of jinn (Ibid. I:191). Shaiṭān is an infidel, wicked, and evil jinni; and if he is capable of carrying out heavy labor, he is mārid. Next in the hierarchy comes ifrīt. The most powerful and able of all is ʿabqarī 'genius' (Ibid. I: 291; VI:190).

The Quran mentions three classes of jinn: mārid, ifrīt and shaiṭān. These are highly connotative and highly ambiguous terms that lend themselves to a wide variety of metaphorical uses. They are overlapping categories and none of them has a real specific definition.

Mārid

The verb marada means 'he practiced and excelled in wickedness' (Mu3jam 1970 II:623; Quran ix:101). Marīd 'rebellious' is one who practices evil with arrogance and persistence (Mu3jam 1970 II:623). Mārid 'rebel' is one who exalts himself, or is insolent and audacious, in pride and in acts of rebellion, disobedience, or infidelity; or one

who is immodest, inordinate, excessive, extravagant or exorbitant in pride, rebellion, corruption, disobedience, infidelity or wrongdoing; or, one who is refractory or averse to obedience (Lane 1968:2706-7; Quran iv:117; xxi:3).

Ifrīt

(Pl. ʔafārīt). The word ifrīt is derived from ʔaffara, 'to sieze one's opponent, drag him, shake him, cast him upon the ground, and defile him with dust and dirt' (Muʔjam 1970 II:228; Lane 1968:3089). Thus, Ifrīt is one who overcomes his antagonist and rolls him in the dust or one who is powerful in a hostile sense (Yver 1927:455). The main signification of ifrīt is a sharp, vigorous and effective jinni, who excels the ordinary bounds in craftiness and cunning (Quran xxvii: 38-9). In the Muʔjam (1970 II:228) ifrīt is defined as the most powerful jinni. In Islam the word became identified with the more satanic and malignant elements of the jinn, but it was not understood as meaning a special class of them (Yver 1927:455). A strong man of violence is also called ifrīt.

Shaiṭān

(Pl. shayāṭīn). The verb shatana means 'he was or became distant or remote' (Lane 1968:1551-2). The devil is called shaiṭān because he is distant and remote from the truth and the mercy of God (Ibid.:1552). Shaiṭān is a wicked being that is never seen but always instigating evil and wickedness (Muʔjam 1970 II:20). Every recalcitrant and refractory animal, human being, or jinni is called shaiṭān.

The sense of shaiṭān as a superhuman being has its roots in Arab paganism and it was believed that every shāʿir 'poet' was attended by a shaiṭān who inspired his words (more on this point in the next chapter). In Islam shaiṭān came to mean the devil that opposes God in the hearts of men and whispers his insidious suggestions in their ears, making his proposals seductive to them (Quran vi:71; lix:15-7). Some authorities believe that shayāṭīn are the evil jinn, while other authorities are of the opinion that shayāṭīn are a species different from the jinn just as ins and malāʾikah are different from them, and that shayāṭīn are all evil and will go to hell (al-Dimīrī 1861 I:290, 293; Ibn Kathīr 1966:57; al-Razī 1934-1962 I:76, 78, 82).

In the solitary desert of Arabia, poets and travelers of both early and modern times claim to have seen and come in contact with bestial beings which were diabolical 'mutashaṭṭīnah' and often cannibalistic. These beings were thought to be of the jinn, but do not belong to the same system of ideas as the mārid, ifrīt, and shaiṭān. They possess solid bodies but their forms are changeable. They talk like humans and play audio-visual tricks on lonely travelers in the solitary desert. Among these are ghūl, siḍlāt, shiq, nīsās, and ghaddār.

Ghūl

(Pl. aghwāl and ghilān) from ghāla, 'to seize unaware, to destroy, to murder, or to assassinate' (Wehr 1971:688). Ghāʿilah means 'calamity, disaster, ruin, havoc, or danger' (Ibid.:688).

Taghawul is the change in form, appearance, state, or condition (Lane

1968:2310). Ghawl is a land far extending, though to the eye seeming of little extent (Ibid.:2310). In the root ghāla seem to lie two ideas: (1) treacherously assailing and destroying, (2) changing into different appearances. To medieval writers ghūl 'ogre?' is a diabolical and hostile variety of the jinn that appears to travelers in various forms to allure them from their path, fall upon them unaware, and destroy and devour them. It is unknown whether ghūl is male or female but often it is mentioned as a female (al-Jahiz 1938 VI:158) who appears to travelers at night. They follow her thinking that she is one of them whereupon she leads them astray (al-Mas3ūdī 1966a:289). A ghūl can assume any form she chooses except for her feet which are always hoofs (al-Jahiz 1938 VI:114; al-Mas3ūdī 1966a:289; al-Damīrī 1861 II:265). At night the ghūl lights fire for sport and to deceive and mislead wayfarers (al-Damīrī 1861 II:265; al-Jahiz 1938 V:123). One blow would kill a ghūl but the second would bring her back to life (al-Jahiz 1938 VI:223).

It is believed that nature did not perfect the shape of the ghūl and she came out ugly in appearance and anomalous. As a result she did not become social 'lam tasta?nis' but led a solitary existence 'istawhashat' (al-Mas3ūdī 1966a:189-291; al-Qazwīnī 1849:370).

Si3lāt

The si3lāt (pl. sa3ālī) is a female goblin who is referred to as sāhirah 'sorceress, enchantress' of the jinn because of her ability to transform herself as she wishes (MacDonald 1927:165). She hides in thickets and jungles waiting for travelers, and when she seizes a man

she makes him dance and plays with him as a cat plays with a mouse (al-Qazwīnī 1849:370), until he becomes dizzy and falls down. Then she sucks his blood (al-Masʿūdī 1966b:35). The wolf may catch a si3lāt at night. Then she cries for help promising one hundred dinars to her rescuer, but nobody rescues her and the wolf devours her (al-Damīrī 1861 II:30; al-Qazwīnī 1849:370-1).

The 3Amr ibn yarbū3 clan of the Banī Tamīm tribe are also called Banu-s-Si3lāt and claim to be the descendants of a si3lāt who was married to their father but disappeared suddenly on seeing a flash of lightning in the country of al-Sa3ālī (Smith 1966:240; al-Jahīz 1938 I:185-6; VI:161).

A very clamorous woman who is foul in tongue, evil in disposition, and ugly in appearance is called si3lāt (al-Damīrī 1861 II:27). But al-Jahīz (1938 VI:160), on the contrary, says a woman who is sharp in sight and intellect, quick and graceful in movements, slender, and not flabby is called si3lāt.

Shiq

The shiq has the form of half a human being and appears to travelers in the desert (al-Qazwīnī 1848:371; al-Jahīz 1938 I:189; VI:206; VII:187; al-Masʿūdī 1966a:296). It is related by al-Qazwīnī (1849:371) that 3Alqamah ibn ʿAṣfān ibn Umayyah met a shiq in a place called Ḥawmān (Ḥazmān in al-Masʿūdī 1966a:296, but also Ḥarman in footnote number 4 on the same page) and the two had a duel in which they both perished (see also al-Masʿūdī 1966a:296).

Nisnās

A nisnās is believed to be the offspring of a shiq and of a human being (al-Jahīz 1938 I:189; al-Mas3ūdī 1966b:38; al-Qazwīnī 1849:371). The nisnās has only one hand and one foot, but he jumps with much agility and runs very fast (al-Mas3ūdī 1966b:38). These beings are eaten by humans. Al-Mas3ūdī (Ibid.:38) tells the story of a company of travelers who alighted in a place full of nasānīs, caught one of them, killed it, and cooked it. When they sat down to eat it, one of the travelers exclaimed, "This is really a fat nisnās!" A nisnās who was hiding in a nearby tree said, "It was a fat nisnās because it ate worms." By saying this, the nisnās called attention to itself so the travelers caught it and ate it. Another nisnās who was hiding in another tree said, "If that nisnās had been wise enough and remained silent, it would not have been eaten." That nisnās was also caught and eaten by the travelers. A fourth nisnās who was hiding in a crevice below shouted, "Am I glad I did not talk!" The travelers caught it and ate it, too.

Ghaddār

The ghaddār is found in Tehama, Yemen, and upper Egypt. He may follow a man and terrify him and perform anal intercourse on him whereby the man's rectum eventually becomes infested with worms and he dies (al-Mas3ūdī 1966a:292).

* * * * *

It should be clear that mārid, ifrīt and shaitān occupy a rank and status in the Islamic universe that is never given to ghūl,

si?lāt, nīsās, shiq, and ghaddār, which puts them in an altogether different category.

Chapter 4

JINN IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA

The ancient Arabs regarded the jinn as constituting nations and clans of superhuman beings inhabiting particular locales and united by bonds of kinship and by the practice of blood feud, so that the whole clan acted together in defending its haunts against intrusions or in avenging on mankind any injury done to one of its members. When Ḥarb ibn Umayyah and Mardās ibn abī ʿĀmir (historical figures who lived a generation before Muhammad) set fire to a waste land with the intent to bring it under cultivation, the jinn flew away with doleful cries in the shape of white serpents and the two persons died soon afterwards. The jinn, it was believed, slew them because they had set fire to their dwelling place (Smith 1888:126-33). Certain kinds of jinn frequent certain spots. They appear in the forms of snakes, beetles and other creeping things. It is related that the Meccan clan of Sahm once suffered injuries at the hands of the jinn, and, accordingly, they marched out to a certain spot where they proceeded to kill so many snakes, lizards, beetles, etc. that the jinn were forced to sue for peace (Noldeke 1955:669). Here the creatures slain are evidently regarded as being themselves jinn.

The haunts of jinn are regarded as awful and dangerous places. Particular jinn preside over particular places where they appear and

disappear mysteriously. It was a common practice among the early Arabs when they halted on their journey in a place of fear to say, "I seek refuge with the lord of this place 'ʿāmir-l-makān' from the mischief of his foolish ones" (al-Masʿūdī 1966a:229-300). Al-Qazwīnī (1849:374) relates the story of a shepherd who was grazing his sheep in a valley when a wolf carried off one of his sheep; the shepherd cried "yāʿāmir-l-wādī 'Oh thou who presides over this valley'" and in answer to his plea, he heard a voice shouting "O wolf give back the sheep." The wolf left the sheep and went away.

Al-Shenaqnaq and al-Shayṣabān were believed by the ancient Arabs to be the greatest kings of the jinn (al-Jahīz 1938 I:308). The mysterious tribe called banū-Uqāish were believed to be of the jinn; in order to scare them away, it was the custom to rattle dry skin bottles one against the other (Nöldeke 1955:670).

The jinn roam the desert riding on jerboas, hedgehogs, ostriches and gazelles. They do not ride monkeys because a monkey never bathes after sexual intercourse, nor do they ride hyenas because a hyena rides over a dead person's penis and does not bathe afterwards. Also, the jinn never ride a hare because it menstruates (al-Jahiz 1938 VI:46). This is the reason the ancient Arabs used to wear a hare's foot to ward off the jinn (Ibid.:357). The idea that the jinn do not like menstrual blood gave rise to the practice of rubbing the head of a newly born baby with the blood of ʿaqīqah 'sacrificed animal' and the gum of the acacia tree, which the Arabs believed to be its menstrual blood (Smith 1966:199).

Around the possibility of conjugal relations between mankind and the jinn, an immense literature has gathered. It was common for a jinni to fall in love with a human being of the opposite sex and enter that person's body rendering him/her possessed or mad (al-Jahiz 1965 II:371-5). Sinān ibn abī Ḥārithah al-Marrī, from banī Murrah tribe, was allegedly enchanted by the jinn and spent the rest of his life wandering (Ibid.:375). The mother of Bilqis bint dhi Mishrah, the Queen of Sheba, was a jinniyah 'female jinni' who was married to a human being. Bilqis was the offspring of this union, which explains her outstanding character (Ibid.:371). It has already been mentioned that the ʿAmr ibn yarbuʿ clan of the banī Tamīm tribe also are called banu-s-Siḍlāt and claim to be the descendants of a siḍlāt, who was married to their father, but disappeared suddenly on seeing a flash of lightning in the country of her people, al-Saḍālī (Smith 1966:240; al-Jahiz 1938 I:185-6; VI:161).

There are many stories of travelers seeing a great multitude of people with their tents pitched in the desert and all of a sudden the whole thing disappeared (al-Jahiz 1938 VI:200). In Pre-Islamic Arabia appalling sights or edifices that seemed too marvelous to be the work of men (like Palmyra and the pyramids) were all thought to be the works of the jinn (Ibid.VI:186). The jinn were also connected with unexplained death and sickness. Taḍūn 'the plague' was thought to be taḍn 'spearing' of jinn's spears (Ibid.I:351).

The jinn utter a peculiar sound the Arabs call ḍazīf, a word which denotes the harsh dull sound resulting from the releasing of a

bow string (Nöldeke 1955:670). A jinni who is not seen but whose voice is heard is called hātif (al-Masūdī 1966a:295). Generally, the hātif brought early news of great events or communicated some intelligence in the way of advice, direction, or warning (al-Jahīz 1938 VI:202-3). A jinni who takes a liking to a human being becomes kind to him and communicates to him distant news. Every person noted for his intelligence is supposed to have a raḥī 'seer' who reveals all manner of things to him (Nöldeke 1955:671), and hence comes ruḥya 'vision.'

The jinn had specially intimate connections with the kāhin and Shā3ir of early Arabia. The kāhin 'soothsayer' foretold future events and acted as judge in disputes and points of customary law '3ādāt.' His decision was considered a kind of divine judgment (Fischer 1927: 624-5). His knowledge was communicated to him by his familiar of the jinn called tābi3 (al-Jahīz 1938 VI:225-9).

Similar to the kāhin is the shā3ir. The word shā3ir comes from sha3ara, 'to feel, to know, or to become informed about or be aware of' (Lane 1968:1559). Shā3ir is one with inspired knowledge (Krenkow 1927: 285). Later, shā3ir came to mean poet per se, so called because of his acumen and influence on feelings (Mu3jam 1970 II:21). The shā3ir of old Arabia was the oracle of his tribe who was in league with the jinn (Nicholson 1966:72-3). Each shā3ir had a familiar jinni called shaīṭān (al-Jahīz 1938 VI:229). Like the tābi3 of kāhin, the shaīṭān of shā3ir inspired him and revealed to him future events.

The mantic knowledge of the shā3ir and the kāhin was based on ecstatic inspiration and chanted in the form of saj3 'terse sentences

in rhythmic prose, with single or more rarely alternating rhyme' (Fischer 1927:265) which might be the origin of Arabic poetry (Nicholson 1966:72-3).

Lower than the kāhin and shāʿir, but one who also possessed some special knowledge communicated to him by the jinn, is the ʿarrāf. A ʿarrāf interpreted dreams, found lost camels, established cases of adultery, and cleared up other crimes and misdemeanors, particularly theft and murder (MacDonald 1965:25). He was consulted as a skillful physician 'ṭabīb' (Ibid.:25).

Chapter 5

JINN IN ISLAM

Islam accepts the existence of jinn: "We created mankind from resonant clay from fetid mud. And the jinn We had created before from the fire of a scorching wind" (Quran xv:26-7). "He [Allah] created mankind from resonant clay like unto pottery. And He created jinn from fire free of smoke" (Ibid.iv:14-5). In a ḥadīth, related by his wife ʿĀʾiṣhah, prophet Muhammad said that angels were created from light, jinn were created from fire, and mankind was created from clay (Ibn Kathīr 1966:55).

The Quran asserts that the jinn are moral beings with different religious beliefs and some will go to heaven while others will go to hell: "There are among us [jinn] some that are righteous, and some to the contrary; we follow divergent paths" (Quran lxxii:11). "Among us [jinn] are some that submit their wills [to God] and some that swerve from justice. Those who submit their wills, they have sought out [the path] of right conduct. But those who swerve they are [but] fuel for hell fire" (Ibid.:14-5). The jinn are capable of salvation and Muhammad was sent to them as well as to mankind (Ibid.xlvi:29-32; lxxii:1-5).

Sulaiman ibn Dawud 'Solomon, Son of David' had unlimited power over the jinn as well as birds, wind and wild beasts "and before Solomon we marshalled his hosts of jinn and men and birds, and they

were all kept in order and ranks" (Ibid. xxvii:17; also see xxi:81-2; xxxiv:12-3; xxviii:37-8).

At the initial stage of his mission, the Arabs called Muhammad kāhin, shāʿir, and sometimes majnūn, because he spoke about the past and future events in a rhymed prose that had a magical effect on them. The authenticity of his message, however, was confirmed and defended by the Quran "Do they [the Arabs] not reflect? Their companion [Muhammad] is not seized with madness, he is but a perspicuous warner" (Ibid. vii:184). "And O [people] your companion is not majnūn" (Ibid. lxxxi:22). "We [Allah] have not instructed him [Muhammad] in poetry, nor is it fit for him; this is no less than a message and Quran to make things clear" (Ibid. xxxvi:69). "This is verily the word of an honored messenger. It is not the word of a shāʿir, little it is you believe. Nor is it the word of a kāhin, little admonition is it you receive. [It is] a message sent down from the Lord of the worlds" (Ibid. lxix:40-3). As a matter of fact, Muhammad took a special stand against every kāhin and shāʿir or anyone who claims knowledge of the future. "Shall I inform you on whom the shayāṭīn descend? They descend on every lying, wicked person. [Into his ears] they pour hearsay vanities, and most of them are liars. And the shuḍarāʾ, it is those straying in evil who follow them. Seest thou not that they wander distracted in every valley and that they say what they practice not?" (Ibid. xxvi:221-6). Belief in the supremacy of jinn is antithetical to Islam. In Islam, God is the only supreme being and the rest, including the jinn, is His creation. The jinn, like all other creatures, are helpless and

they possess no knowledge or power except what God, by His will, grants them. To make the jinn the associates, or partners, of God in His rule and knowledge is sheer infidelity. "And they make the jinn equals with God, though God did create the jinn" (Ibid.vi:100) "True there were persons among mankind who took shelter with persons among the jinn but they [the jinn] increased them in folly" (Ibid.lxxii:6).

Muhammad ascribed the knowledge of the kāhin and the shāʿir to the help of shayāṭīn who, before the mission of Muhammad, used to ascend to heaven and hear words by stealth. The angels come down to the lowest heaven and mention the works that have been preordained by Allah. Before the mission of Muhammad, the shayāṭīn had liberty to ascend to the confines of the heavenly regions next to earth and obtain knowledge of futurity by listening to the conversation of the angels. Now they still do that occasionally, but whoever does attempt to listen finds there a shihāb 'shooting star' waiting for him. The angels hurl these darts to drive away the shayāṭīn. "And we [jinn] pried into the secrets of heaven but we found it filled with stern guards and flaming darts. We used, indeed, to sit there in [hidden] stations to [steal] a hearing but any who listens now will find a flaming fire watching him in ambush" (Ibid.lxxii:8-9). "We [Allah] have set out the Zodiacal signs in the heavens and made them fair-seeming to beholders. And we have guarded them from every accursed shāṭān. But any that gains a hearing by stealth is pursued by a flaming bright dart: (Ibid.xv:16-8).

When Muhammad was asked about kahanah 'soothsayers' he said

that the shaitān snatches a word of truth from heaven and mumbles it in the ear of the kāhin who mixes it with a hundred lies (Ibn Kathīr 1966: 66).

Islam forbade the Arabs from worshipping the jinn (Quran vi: 100; xxxiv:40-2; xxxix:14; lxxii:6) and offering sacrifices to them (al-Damīrī 1861 I:296). In Islam, the jinn were reduced from subjects of reverence and divinity to mere invisible creatures who are sometimes abusive and hostile but could be easily appeased and controlled by means of sacred words and rites and verses from the Quran. Al-ism al-a3zam 'the most great name of Allah' and al-asmā? al-ḥusna 'the ninety nine attributes of God' along with the first chapter of the Quran and āyat al-Kursī 'the verse of the Throne' and the last three chapters of the Quran are believed to have particular efficacy against the jinn when uttered or written on charms and amulets.

Chapter 6

IBLĪS: HIS RELATION TO THE JINN AND HIS ANIMOSITY TOWARD ADAM

Iblīs and his relation to the jinn is a rather confused subject. It springs from Islamic religious doctrine, albeit reflects the influence of mythological beliefs and Judaic ideas (cf. Rappoport 1966:28-88). The principal question theologians have been attempting to answer is whether Iblīs is an angel who fell from the grace of God or whether he is a jinni who was deprived of the mercy of God (oblisa hence Iblīs) and was transformed into the devil after refusing to prostrate himself before Adam (al-Ṭabarī 1968:82, 95).

We created man from resonant clay, from mud molded into shape. And the jinn race we have created before, from the fire of a scorching wind. Behold! Thy Lord said to the angels: "I am about to create man, from resonant clay, from mud molded into shape. When I have fashioned him (in due proportion) and breathed into him of my spirit, fall ye down in obeisance unto him." So the angels prostrated themselves; all of them together. Not so Iblīs, he refused to be among those who prostrated themselves. [Allah] said: 'O Iblīs! What is your reason for not being among those who prostrated themselves?' [Iblīs] said: 'I am not one to prostrate myself to man, whom thou didst create from resonant clay, from mud molded into shape.' [Allah] said: 'Then get thee out from here, for thou art rejected, accursed and the curse shall be on thee until the Day of Judgment.' [Iblīs] said: 'O my Lord! Give me then respite till the day the [dead] are raised.' [Allah] said: 'Respite is granted thee till the Day of the time appointed.' [Iblīs] said: 'O my Lord, because thou hast put me in the wrong, I will make [wrong] fair seeming to them on the earth and I will put them all in the wrong except thy servants among them, sincere and

purified [by thy grace].' [Allah] said: 'This way [of my sincere servants] is indeed a way that leads straight to Me. For over my servants no authority shalt thou have except such as put themselves in the wrong and follow thee.' (Quran xv: 26-42).

Before the creation of Adam, the world was inhabited by twenty eight nations of different kinds including the jinn, who resembled dogs and whose speech was an incomprehensible mumble (al-Mas3ūdī 1966b: 32). When God created Sumiya?, the father of the jinn [some authorities are of the opinion that Iblīs and not Sumiya? is the father of the jinn (al-Shiblī 1908:156)], He said, "Make a wish!" Sumiya? said, "I wish that we see and not be seen, that we disappear in the ground, and that when one of us reaches a mature age he becomes a child again." God granted him all these wishes (al-Shiblī 1908:9). These jinn were employed in the constant worship and glorification of the Lord. They used to ascend to heaven to meet with the angels and discuss heavenly matters with them (al-Mas3ūdī 1966b:33).

Later, a faction of these jinn rebelled and defied the commands of the Lord and committed outrageous atrocities on earth. They shed blood, manifested corruption, and denied the divinity of God (Ibid.:33). Amongst them there was a prophet called Joseph whom they killed (al-Shiblī 1908:9, 10, 156). God sent against them an army of angels who took possession of the earth after routing the jinn and driving them to the regions of the isolated islands and mountain tops (al-Ṭabarī 1968:84-7).

In their battle against the jinn, the angels took Iblīs, who was then a young boy, captive and he grew up with them (Ibid.:87). In

another narrative, Iblīs was said to be the commander of the angels who were sent by God against the rebellious jinn (Ibid.:84; al-Shiblī 1908: 9-10). Some authorities contend that Iblīs presided over the earth angels who were called jinn (al-Ṭabarī 1968:86). Still others say that he was the king of the earth and the lower heavens and was from a tribe of angels called jinn because they were the treasurers of al jannah 'paradise' (Ibn al-Athīr 1965:23; al-Shiblī 1908:155). Ibn Abbās offers yet another explanation: Iblīs was from a tribe of the angels called jinn because they were veiled 'mujtannūn' from the eyes of the other angels on account of their superiority (Lane 1927:978).

It is also related that before the creation of Adam, the earth was inhabited by jinn and God sent Iblīs to act as their judge. Iblīs judged justly for one thousand years and God called him al-ḥakam 'the wise' which made him proud and haughty. He became so arrogant he created animosity and hatred among his subjects and they fought for two thousand years and shed so much blood their horses were wading in blood. God sent a fire which burned them all. When Iblīs saw the punishment that befell his subjects, he climbed to heaven and stayed there with the angels praying earnestly (al-Ṭabarī 1968:88).

Whether Iblīs was originally an angel who was sent on a mission to the jinn or whether he was a jinni who was brought up among the angels, he earned a very high status among the angels through earnest prayers and was the most diligent and most knowledgeable of them all (al-Ṭabarī 1968:86). At that time his name was al-Ḥārith in Arabic (al-Shiblī 1908:156; al-Ṭabarī 1968:84) and Azazil in Hebrew (Ibid.:86).

The high status he attained made him conceited and arrogant (Ibid.:85).

When God willed to reveal to the angels the haughtiness and arrogance of Iblīs, He decided to create Adam and order the angels, including Iblīs, to prostrate themselves before Him (Ibid.:89). God created Adam with His own hands, a great privilege granted by God to Adam so as not to give Iblīs any excuse to act arrogantly toward Adam and refuse to prostrate himself before him (Ibid.:93; Ibn al-Athīr 1965:28).

When God decided to create Adam, He sent an angel to fetch Him mud from earth [some say that God sent Iblīs to fetch Him the mud (al-Ṭabarī 1968:90)]. The angel took a small amount of mud from every region of the earth and the total sum came out to be of different colors and textures and this is the reason humans are different in color, temperament, and physique (al-Ṭabarī 1968:90-1; Ibn al-Athīr 1965:27-8). God moistened this mud until it became firm and cleaved together; this was left until it decomposed and became malodorous; this, in turn, was left until it became clay. God took this with His own hands and with His right hand came the good part of human nature and with His left hand came the bad part of human nature. He rubbed His hands one with the other and mixed the good with the bad wamin thamma yakhruju-l-khabītha min-al-ṭṭaīb wal-ṭṭaīb min al-khabīth 'and this is the reason good could come from bad and bad from good' (al-Ṭabarī 1968:93). God called him Adam because he was created from adīm al-arḍ 'surface of the earth' (Ibid.:91). The body of Adam was left lying for forty days or forty years before God breathed spirit

into him (Ibid.:92). Iblīs used to kick Adam's body with his foot and the body made a resonant or hollow sound. Iblīs also used to enter from Adam's rectum and come out of his mouth, then enter from the mouth and come out of the rectum all the time saying, "You are nothing and you were created for nothing; if I am given power over you, I'll destroy you; and if you are given power over me, I'll disobey you" (Ibid.:92; Ibn al-Athīr 1965:28).

When God informed the angels of his intention to create Adam, "I will create a viceregent on earth," they were astonished. "Wilt thou place therein one who will make mischief therein and shed blood [like the jinn before] whilst we celebrate Thy praises and glorify Thy Holy Name?" And God answered, "I know what ye know not [of Iblīs' intention to defy the Lord's commands and act haughtily]" (Quran ii:30; Ibn al-Athīr 1965:27; al-Ṭabari 1968:96). The angels whispered to themselves, "Let our Lord create whatever He wills to create, we will always remain the most honorable and most knowledgeable of all His creatures" (Ibid.:101; Ibn al-Athīr 1965:31). But after God blew the spirit into Adam, He commanded all angels to prostrate themselves before Adam. Then they knew that God gave preference to Adam over them (Ibid.:31; al-Ṭabari 1968:100-1). The angels whispered to themselves, "Adam might be more honorable than we, but we are more knowledgeable since we were created before him." God taught Adam the name of all things 'ʔallamahu al-asmāʔ kullahā' and commanded him to relate these names to the angels. After listening to Adam, the angels were convinced that he was more knowledgeable than they were (Ibid.:101-3;

Ibn al-Athīr 1965:31-2; al-Shiblī 1908:11).

When God blew the spirit into the body of Adam, the spirit entered from his head, and every part of the body the spirit penetrated became flesh. When the spirit reached his eyes he saw the fruits of heaven and when the spirit reached his stomach he desired food and he jumped hurriedly to reach for the fruits before the spirit of life penetrated his feet and this is the reason God says in the Quran, "Man was created from haste" (Ibn al-Athīr 1965:29). However, according to al-Ṭabarī (1968:95), when the spirit reached his navel, Adam looked at his body and was fascinated by it and started to get up but could not and hence "man was created from haste."

There are several passages in the Quran that refer to the creation of Adam and God's command to the angels to prostrate themselves before him--Adam, which they all did except Iblīs (Quran ii:34; vii:11-8; xv:26-44; xvii:61-5; xviii:50; xx:116-23; xxxviii:71-85). Two passages of the Quran (vii:12; xxxviii:76) state that Iblīs refused to prostrate himself before Adam because he felt that he was better than Adam since he was created from fire and Adam was created from mud. As stated before, jinn are created from fire; therefore, Iblīs must be one of the jinn since he also was created from fire. Another Quranic passage explicitly states that Iblīs is one of the jinn: "And when We [Allah] said to the angels, 'Bow down to Adam,' they bowed down except Iblīs; he was one of the jinn and he broke the command of his Lord" (xvii:50). But the word jinn in this passage does not necessarily mean the class of beings who are different from the angels. The main

signification of the word jinn refers to any thing which is invisible and hidden from the senses and since angels are hidden from the senses they could be referred to as jinn (al-Razī 1934-1962 II:213). The Arabs used to apply the term jinn to angels (al-Shiblī 1908:6) and the word jinn could refer to that special class of angels who, unlike the rest of the angels, are created from the fire of scorching wind or are so called because they are veiled from the rest of the angels as discussed above. If Iblīs had been an angel, the order to the angels to bow down would not have applied to him, and the word "except" would not have been used in the Quranic passage "and when We [Allah] said to the angels, 'Bow down to Adam,' they bowed down except Iblīs; he refused and was proud and was one of those who reject faith" (ii:34). Since it is incorrect to say "All bakers opened except X" if X is a blacksmith, then it is also incorrect to say "All angels bowed down except Iblīs" if Iblīs is a jinni (al-Shiblī 1908:154). Iblīs must have been an angel because exception is valid only when referring to those who are members of the class referred to and nobody else (al-Razī 1934-1962 II:213-4).

The argument that the angels are impeccable 'maḥṣūmūn' and that Iblīs by refusing the Lord's command sinned and could not be an angel is a weak argument. Harūt and Marūt, as explained above, are two angels who, for a divine purpose, yielded to temptation and fell from the grace of God (al-Qazwīnī 184:61-2; al-Shiblī 1908:155).

Most theologians, however, insist that Iblīs is one of the jinn. The jinn are created from fire (Quran xv:27; lv:15) while ḥadīth

asserts that the angels are created from light (al-Razī 1934-1962 II: 214); therefore, angels and jinn are two species of beings different from and independent of each other—a fact further confirmed by the Quran "one day He will gather them all together and say to the angels, 'Was it you that these men used to worship?' They [the angels] will say 'Glory be to thee! Thou art our protector, apart from them; nay rather, they were serving the jinn; most of them believed in them'" (xxxiv:40-1). And since Iblīs is created from fire (vii:12; xxviii: 76), then he must be one of the jinn and cannot be an angel. The syntax of the Arabic language makes it clear that by the word jinn in the Quranic passage: "They [the angels] bowed down except Iblīs; he was one of the jinn" is meant the jinn proper and not a tribe of angels (al-Razī 1934-1962 II:214). Furthermore, Iblīs has progeny (Quran xviii:50) while the angels, not being male or female (Ibid. liii:27) do not propagate (al-Razī 1934-1962 II:214; al-Shiblī 1908: 154). The exception of Iblīs in the Quranic passage "They [the angels] bowed down except Iblīs; he refused . . ." (ii:34) and similar passages could be explained by the fact that Iblīs was not an angel but lived with the angels after being captured on earth as a young lad by the angels who were sent against the rebellious jinn as was explained above. Linguistically, it is proper to address the majority only while intending to include the minority also; thus, the Lord's command to the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam would include Iblīs as well, not because he was one of them but because he was living with them (al-Razī 1934-1962 II:215).

Chapter 7

BELIEF IN JINN AMONG THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL ARABIA

General Nature of the Jinn

The people of Najd (the Central Province of Saudi Arabia) view the jinn as corporeal beings with corporeal functions; they eat, drink, talk, farm, raise animals, propagate their species, and they are subject to death. They are also social beings who live in tribes and nations with kings and rulers and the members of each group are united by bonds of residence and kinship. They are mortal beings who are created from fire. The fire from which a jinni is created circulates in its veins in place of blood and when it receives a mortal wound the fire issues from its veins and consumes it to ashes. Their principal abode is the underworld where they inhabit seven stages which, in contrast with the seven heavens above, is the structure of the underworld. They also inhabit the chain of mountains called Qāf which are believed to encompass the whole earth. They live in haunts, villages, and towns. Their dens are situated underground in rock crevices and caverns. Properly speaking, they are invisible to men, but their bodies are not phantasms. They are extremely ephemeral and transparent beings who have certain mysterious powers of appearing and disappearing, or temporarily changing their aspect and form. Because of their extreme

changeability, they can make themselves visible or invisible as they wish, change from one form into another, and take up their abode wherever they please. Their capability of assuming various shapes and forms is unlimited. Very frequently they appear to humans in the shape of reptiles, birds, animals, or human beings. Nevertheless, no matter what shape or form a jinni might assume, it would always have some subtle difference in appearance or character that could be detected by an experienced and observant human being. For example, its body would not throw a shadow in the sun; one of its feet would always remain a hoof; its eyelids are vertical instead of horizontal, etc.

Jinn are weird and do not go about their daily affairs quite the same way as we humans do. They propagate their species by the male rubbing his left thigh against the left thigh of the female. They speak, but with a lisp which makes their speech sound like whistling, and that is the reason one is not supposed to whistle in the dark lest he summon the jinn. They like to sit in the shadows of moonlight just as men in those of the sunshine. They raise cattle, which they pasture on rocks and stones in mountainous and barren regions where worldly cattle would starve. They feed on discarded bones, and their cattle feed on the manure of worldly cattle. A human is not supposed to gnaw on any bone he has previously laid aside, for it belongs to the jinn, just as one is not supposed to tread on manure, which is the fodder of jinn animals. They are terrified by iron, especially steel, and they despise gun powder, the smell of which drives them away.

The jinn are fond of visiting the surface of the earth. When

they rise from their subterranean dwellings their favorite haunts are high mountains, inaccessible ravines, old cemeteries, deserted buildings, thickets, bushes, abandoned wells, and ruins. Even houses for human habitation abound with jinn, but these jinn are more subdued and less feared. They swarm around the hearth, thresholds, latrines, corners, staircases, doorways, and entrances. It is not safe to tread on ashes and if one sleeps on the doorsteps, entrances, staircases, paths, or trails, the jinn will throw him down and rob him of his senses. One's two guardian angels go with him into all places except the latrine, which is dark and dirty and abounding with evil jinn, and there one is not supposed to stay long or talk lest he expose himself to the attack of the evil jinn. Floors are never swept in the late afternoon or at night for fear of injuring the jinn, who are always lurking around and are most active at dusk and at night. People refrain from sleeping in the late afternoon because they believe that nūm al-3aser yijīb al-jnūn 'late afternoon siesta brings madness.'

Jinn are not tied down to any particular place. They travel great distances in no time, like the sweeping wind. They can pass through walls and they are never hindered by any obstacle. They are connected with uncanny events of every description. Al 3ajāj and al 3āsūf 'dust storms and whirlwinds' which glide across the desert raising dust and sand in the form of a pillar of prodigious height are caused by the jinn who ride on them. When the people see a whirlwind or a dust storm they say the jinn are having a wedding. It is believed that if one throws salt in the pillar of a dusty storm the jinn

materialize and become visible. Echoes, mirages, and fog are said to be the works of the jinn because they resemble the jinn in that their presence is felt, yet we cannot pinpoint them or get hold of them. Like the jinn, they are ephemeral and transparent. All sensory perceptions of unexplained origin are said to be the work of the jinn. When radio, telegram, and telephone were first introduced to Arabia, they were thought to be the works of jinn. Cartoons and caricature drawings were thought to be the pictures of jinn. Sponge was thought to be the flesh of jinn goats because one chews on it as one does on meat, but one cannot digest it. The first time I myself saw a man wearing a horror mask, I took him for a jinni.

Although jinn are invisible to us in this world, in the hereafter world we will become invisible to them where we can see them and they cannot see us. Animals can see the jinn even in their invisible state. It is believed that when a cock sees an angel it crows, but when the donkey brays it sees a jinni, or a shaiṭān is riding on its tail. Jinn dread wolves. If a jinni transforms itself into an animal and is seen by a wolf in this state, it freezes and cannot change back into its invisible state and the wolf eats it. When someone is too bewildered or too confused to take any action regarding a specific dilemma, the folk say of him that he is "like the jinni when it sees the wolf." Muhammad Ibn Liṣbūn, a folk poet, says in a poem describing the road to his envoys:

In a (vast) gravel plain flat as
the back of a shield reversed.
There, happy is the jinni on account of
the missing wolf.

Jinn are always attracted to places and objects which have a striking appearance or otherwise excite feelings of wonder, enchantment, or awe. Sometimes they steal new-born infants or borrow beautiful and decorative objects to play with. People who are most susceptible to the attacks of jinn are people who have striking or extraordinary appearance or character and people who are going through an extraordinary or transitional stage in their lives such as initiation or an extreme emotional state of anger, fear, or joy.

When people talk about the jinn, they usually refrain from uttering the word "jinn." To mention the jinn by their proper name would be to summon them. Other designatory names are applied, like ahl al-ard 'folk who live underground,' al-bismallah 'those who fear the name of Allah,' ash-shyūkh 'the chiefs,' etc.

All kinds of mental afflictions such as giddiness, epilepsy, convulsions, and all strange maladies and fits of madness are caused by the jinn. When a person suffers from epilepsy, convulsions and asphyxia, he is called masru3 or mhashar. If he suffers from a behavioral disorder or behaves in a wierd manner, he is majnūn, mhabūl, maskūn, or mtijannis. An animal who is thought to be a jinni in disguise is mtijannis, and a haunted place is maskūn.

Prophylactic Measures Against Jinn

Human beings are surrounded by jinn at all times and at all places. Jinn are always close to us and take a great deal of interest in our dealings. Because of their vulgar love of intruding into human affairs, they are never far away from earthly communities. Besides

the guardian angels, every human being has a jinni as companion. The human male has a female jinni companion, qarīnah, and the female has a male jinni companion, qarīn. Qarīn and qarīnah probably come from qarn 'horn' and convey the idea of one of a pair or a double. Qarīn and qarīnah are also used to mean husband and wife respectively. The qarīn and qarīnah may become infatuated with their human companion if the companion is outstanding in physical or personal traits. It is against the qarīn and qarīnah that one should take a special care because they are whimsical and seem to have a hair-trigger temper. For slight causes they may take lightning offense and bring illness on their human companion, a possibility which is always there since one's jinni companion is, like his shadow, constantly trailing behind him. If enchanted by the human companion, the qarīn or qarīnah may enter the companion's body and cause her/him madness. In ordinary circumstances, the jinn only attack persons who hurt them or their children by touching, beating, or treading upon them. There are, however, many rascals among them who are malicious pranksters and may cause trouble with little or no provocation. The Muslim jinn are the least harmful, and when the people talk about "those who live underground," they constantly pray "May Allah make our companion who is of them a believing Muslim."

A jinni attacks a human being either by striking him or by entering into his body through toes, fingers, ears, eyes, or nostrils. Some jinn are libidinous and assume human shape and try to seduce handsome men and beautiful women. A night wayfarer may hear delightful

music and see the flitting shadows of dancing nymphs who try to coax him to join them. Woe to him 'yawailoh' who succumbs to them. A male jinni could have sexual intercourse with a human maiden without violating her virginity. Once a jinni and a human being have sexual intercourse, the human being becomes enchanted with the jinni and cannot resist his/her subsequent allurements and will always prefer the jinni and refuse any human being.

The most adequate way to ward off jinn is to always say "In the name of Allah, the most merciful, the most compassionate; I take refuge in Allah from the rejected Shaitān" at every mishap or at the initiation of every chore. In the dark it is dangerous to throw things at animals or moving objects lest they be jinn. If one does so by accident, he should recite the formula: "In the name of Allah . . . etc." This formula is a constant utterance among the Arabs, especially when the person is afraid of being attacked by the jinn (i.e., when he falls down or trips, passes a haunted ground, treads on fire or manure, etc.).

Of all preventives against jinn, none are considered more efficacious than holy words, in particular certain passages from the Quran. Written charms or amulets are commonly used to ward off the jinn who are exceptionally sensitive to sacred formulas.

Another prophylactic measure against jinn is sacrificial offerings. Usually a sacrifice is made before the digging of a water well commences and another when the well is ready. To appease the jinn a sacrifice is offered upon newly broken fallow, upon the foundation of

a new building, and also when one moves to a new house. To understand this we have to keep in mind that jinn, properly speaking, inhabit the underground, and to dig a well or to break ground is to intrude on jinn territory. Also we have to keep in mind that, although we may not realize or like it, the jinn share everything with us; therefore, it is nice to make a sacrificial offering when one moves to a new habitat since he might be moving with jinn.

When a human is struck by a jinni, the jinni can be induced to leave the victim by reading some passages from the Quran. There are exorcists who can terrify and expel the jinn by incantations and sacred words and exorcistic rituals.

One method of exorcism I am familiar with is to lock up the patient in a dark room with the exorcist, who stuffs the patient's ears, wraps a piece of cloth around his eyes, and tightly tethers his toes and fingers. By doing this, the exorcist imprisons the jinni inside the patient's body and prevents his escape. Then the exorcist starts flogging the patient and fumigating him by forcing smoke into his nostrils. The exorcist insists that this torture is not meant for the patient but for the jinni inside him. The jinni tries to escape but he cannot. At the point when the jinni cannot take any more punishment, he or she starts crying "Let me out, let me out." The exorcist ignores this appeal till the jinni humbly pleads and begs to get out. At this stage, the exorcist starts bargaining with the jinni. "I will let you out on one and only one condition—that you swear that you will come out of this patient here and leave him alone and never

bother him again." After some haggling, the jinni gives several oaths to that effect. Then the exorcist commands the jinni "Come to the forehead." A lump, the size of a small pebble, pops out on the patient's forehead. The exorcist incises the lump and the warm blood trickles on the patient's face which is an indication that the jinni is leaving him for good. One of my informants who is familiar with a different method of exorcism told me that the jinni should exit from the female's vagina or the male's rectum. If the jinni exits from any of the patient's limbs or extremities, that limb or extremity will become paralyzed, and this is the reason the exorcist tethers the patient's toes, fingers, etc.

Beneficial Relations Between Jinn and Humans

The relations between jinn and humans are not always unpleasant. The jinn usually do not hesitate to help the unfortunate and the poor. While they are fond of attacking and insulting the pompous and the greedy, they usually do not bother modest people who are honest and fair in their dealings with other people. The human practices which have reference to dealing with the jinn are not exclusively to keep the jinn at a distance or put them to flight. Some humans have special powers to communicate with the jinn and summon them and command their services.

There are evil jinn who help evil humans to practice witchcraft. A person who wants to summon evil jinn offers them sacrifices and does all sorts of prohibited and perverted practices. He eats his own excrement, drinks his own urine, and dirties his clothes with them.

He puts his right slipper on his left foot and his left slipper on his right foot and wears his clothes with the inside out. He makes ablution with his urine and prays with his face the opposite way from Mecca and commits incest. To summon the jinn, he invokes them by their names and by writing down secret formulas and mysteriously arranged letters, figures, words, and numbers. An apprentice summoner who summons jinn for the first time may become so terrified by their appearance that he forgets the necessary formula to disperse them. In this seance the jinn wait around to be dispersed by the summoner and if he becomes too bewildered to do that, the jinn simply kill him to free themselves of his bond. When somebody is in deep trouble, people say of him, "He summoned the jinn but he does not know how to disperse them." When a summoner summons the jinn, they abandon whatever business they were attending and immediately come to him as they are (i.e., in pajamas, work clothes, with work tools, naked from the bathroom, etc.).

Other people have power over jinn by means of a ring with a special stone they wear around their fingers. When the ring is turned around a jinni appears to carry out the summoner's order. Sulaiman ibn Dawud 'Solomon, Son of David' had a seal ring that came down to him from heaven. On that ring was engraved al-ism al-A3zam 'the most great name [of Allah]'. It is partly composed of brass and partly of iron. With the brass he stamped his written commands to the good jinn; with the iron (which they greatly dread) those to the evil jinn 'shayāṭīn.'

Jinn can also be summoned by music because they adore merry singing and sweet melodies; thus the belief that one is never to whistle lest he summon the jinn.

The Muslim jinni are conjured by writing one of the ninety-nine names of Allah on a paper or writing board. Every name of God has its special servant of the jinn 'Khadim al-ism.' The summoner repeats the name a certain number of times every morning and evening after prayers for a certain number of days. On the last evening, when he is sitting absolutely alone in his dark room burning white benzoin in the fire-pot on which he is concentrating his whole attention and repeating his incantation and swaying back and forth and to the sides, a jinni appears to him and offers him whatever assistance he requires.

Jinn are summoned to inform about hidden treasures, since they are the guardians of those treasures,¹ to give clues to lost or stolen objects and to find out the perpetrator of a theft, etc. This is easy for them since they are omnipresent, omnipotent, invisible, travel faster than the wind, and yield to no obstacles. They can see people and watch their every move without being detected by them. If a summoned jinni cannot help his summoner, he appeals to his family or clan for help.

Aside from this beneficial relationship between jinn and humans, there are also reported cases of marriage and companionship

¹Archaeologists are always accused of digging for hidden treasures the jinn informed them about.

between them. Of humans, the people closest to and most intimate with the jinn are Negroes. Negroes are usually well versed in matters relating to communication with the jinn and they are especially famous for the zār, another and distinctly different way of summoning the jinn with which I am most familiar.

To summon the zār, people squat in two lines facing each other and they start beating the drums and singing special songs with special rhythms. Eventually somebody who possesses a zār gets up and starts dancing between the lines. Then the people singing ask the dancer, "What do the sheīkhs want to hear?" (the sheīkhs here refers to the dancer's zār—i.e., jinmi). The dancer tells them the sheīkhs want to hear the song so and so. Each zār has its song by which it is summoned. When the zār comes and enters the dancer's body, the dancer whirls around very fast for a short while until he reaches a momentum. Then he collapses on the dancing floor and starts contorting, writhing, convulsing, panting, gasping and trembling. People keep on singing while one of them massages and strokes the dancer and tries to help him to stand up. At first the dancer dances lying down, then sitting down by swaying or violently and spasmodically spinning and jerking his head through his neck muscles. Finally he gets up and starts dancing up and down, back and forth, and sideways in a violent but very graceful and elegant fashion. While this is going on nobody is supposed to mimic or laugh at the dancer; nobody is supposed to have their slippers or any footwear upside down with the sole facing upward,

and anybody who is junub² must leave the singing circle, since all these things greatly offend the zār and if anybody does them intentionally he will be beaten by the dancer who, while visited by his zār, could see and hear everything and could even smell a junub and could embarrass him in front of everybody.

The dancer starts his performance by tossing his zār ring a long distance away from the audience, dances for a while, then sticks his finger in the dancing grounds and brings it back up with the ring around it. He eats red burning coals and converts the resulting charcoal into sweet smelling incense. A dancer may go as far as cutting his abdomen and letting his intestines fall out on the dancing floor. A while later he collects them and puts them back together and sews his abdomen. He may swallow needles and make them come out of his umbilicus. While visited by their zār, some can eat any amount of food given to them or can take on any number of people in a fight. They can tell about lost or stolen objects, thieves, murderers, and all matters people want to know about.

One time when a dancer summoned his zār, he asked the audience what they wanted to eat. The audience ordered oranges. The oranges were produced and one of the audience put two of these oranges in his pocket to take to his wife; when he got home, he found nothing in his

²A junub is someone who had sexual intercourse and did not perform the cleansing ablution required by Islam. A person in this state, like a woman during her menstrual period, is in a taboo state.

pocket except donkey dung! Some zārs are even homosexual. There is a notorious dancer who, when visited by his zār, takes off his clothes and asks the audience if anyone wants to have sexual intercourse with him. It is extremely offensive and dangerous to mock the zār. It is also dangerous to the dancer if the group quits singing and disperses and leaves him alone before his zār leaves him. Just as every zār has its song by which it is summoned, there is a special song to make it leave, If this is not sung, the zār may never leave the dancer and may hurt him badly or injure him permanently.

A song for invoking the zār of one of my informants starts thus:

They spread me a bed between the moon
and Venus.
They sprayed perfumes over me, rose water
they sprinkled on me.

The song to make his zār leave starts thus:

They are leaving, they are leaving, may
Allah grant them an easy departure.
Farewell, Farewell, O thou blessed spot.

To explain the symbolism of these simple but extremely beautiful verses would take several pages.

Some zārs are fond of singing and dancing and entertaining people and do not depart for a long time. Some zārs are fantastic and give fantastic performances but some are not so fantastic. A person could have from one to seven zārs depending on his temperament and personality (how well he can handle them) and how much money he is willing to pay, because zārs can be purchased.

Etymologically the word zār comes from zāra 'to visit' because one is visited by his jinni. It might, however, be an Arabic loan-word derived from the ancient Agao religion of the pagan Kushites of Abyssinia whose sky-god was called Zar (Abdul-Rasoul 1953:87). This word is also used by the Christian Abyssinians to denote evil spirits (Ibid.:87). The fact that the zār is associated with Negroes plus the rites associated with the zār (i.e., songs and dances) are, I believe, strong indications that it may have diffused from Africa.

Chapter 8

DISCUSSION

While the angels and human beings, as two independent classes of beings, stand in a binary opposition to each other, the jinn stand in a relation of correlation and opposition to both angels and human beings. Angels and human beings are the complete opposite of each other and have nothing to share in common. Jinn, on the other hand, have some overlapping features they share with angels and some they share with humans.

Unlike humans or jinn, the angels are created from light and reside in the heavens above. They are not social beings because they dedicate their allegiance wholly to God and not to each other. Propagation of species and family unit, the nuclei of social structure, are absent among the angels. Since they are not social, consequently they are not moral beings because morality is a social value and cannot exist without a social context. As a matter of fact, angels are impeccable and sanctified from the disturbance of anger, lust, and desire, hence beyond morality.

However, angels share some of their features with jinn, but not with human beings. Both angels and jinn are imperceptible and concealed from our senses. They are capable of changing their forms and can pass through space unhindered.

On the other hand, jinn and humans share some common features. Both jinn and humans are corporeal beings with corporeal functions. Both are social beings with moral values.

Although the jinn share some of their features with the angels and some with humans, the nature of jinn is not a combination of angelic nature and human nature. If we keep in mind that the whole can be properly explained only in terms of the complex network of relationships that exist between its parts (Lane 1970:14), then it becomes clear that in order for two wholes to be identical, it is not enough for them to be isomorphic (Kaplan and Manners 1972:165-72). That is to say, to be identical, it is not enough for two wholes to be composed of the same parts, but it is also necessary for the parts of these wholes to be arranged exactly in the same pattern. The way parts relate to each other logically to form an overall system determines the similarity of the wholes (Ibid.:165-72).

The features the jinn share with angels help us to distinguish them from humans while the features they share with humans help us to distinguish them from angels. A linguistic analogy to this situation is the way phonemes are defined. Phonemes are "definable not in terms of the properties common to the class, but rather in terms of the features by which classes contrast with each other" (Ibid.:171). These contrastive features help us to discriminate between sounds and arrange them into classes of phonemes. As a class, jinn resemble the angels in some features and resemble humans in some other features but they are neither angels nor humans. They are an independent class of beings

that occupy an intermediate position between angels and human beings.

By now it should be fairly clear that jinn and human beings both resemble and oppose one another. Their relation of correlation and opposition explains the extensive contact that prevails between them. This relation of correlation and opposition makes them transformable into one another (Levi-Straus 1971).

The relation of opposition helps the native mind to be cognizant of the essential differences between jinn and humans, whereas the relation of correlation makes it easy for the native mind to conceive how a member of one of these two distinct classes could readily be transformed into a member of the other class. This relation of correlation and opposition is not just an abstraction arrived at by the academician, but it is very obvious to the native mind. We have seen how humans who practice communication with the jinn manipulate this relation of correlation and opposition either symbolically or explicitly. The question now is under what circumstances is a member of one of these two distinct classes of beings transformed into the other class?

We have seen that a man who is clever, ingenious, vague, or strange (i.e., ambiguous) in his community is called jinni. We have also seen that people who have a striking appearance or character and people who are experiencing unusual circumstances (i.e., marginals or deviants) are the most susceptible to the attacks of jinn.

On the other hand, when the jinn rise from their subterranean dwellings to visit the surface of the earth they inhabit the areas

that lie beyond the familiar tracks of humans and that are considered by them as awful and dangerous (i.e., ambiguous). When they visit human dwellings they cluster at entrances and hearths, on staircases, and in corners (i.e., marginal places). Jinn are transformed into animals or humans during ambiguous times (i.e., darkness) and at ambiguous places (i.e., places unfamiliar to men). The ambiguous and the marginal are, no doubt, closely related because the marginal is unfamiliar and ambiguous. From this we come to the conclusion that ambiguity and marginality contribute to an unsteady state in which a member of one of the two classes of jinn and human is vulnerable to transformation into the other class. Majnūn is not the only word in Arabic to describe a mad person; he is also mkhashar (being shared) and mtijannis (being transformed).¹

If ambiguity and marginality are the transforming agents, and if someone does not particularly care to be transformed from the class of humans to the class of jinn, then he will strive not to be marginal or ambiguous by conforming to the norms of his group, by being a full participant in his community and by ordering his relations with other people according to very clear and understandable rules. The treatment of a majnūn is revealing. Deviants are usually brought back to conformity through reprimands and advice. If this does not help, they

¹In Arabic the word mtijannis (being transformed) could also mean a naturalized citizen (i.e., one who has been transformed from being a citizen of one country to being a citizen of another).

are usually punished by various means.² A mad person, majnūn, is a deviant in the extreme. To cure him, sacred words and passages from the Quran are used. This is actually a form of advice. If this does not help, the patient is submitted to an exorcist who treats him by flogging and fumigation. Again this, I think, is actually an extreme punishment for an extreme case of deviance disguised in the form of ritualistic treatment. Moreover, a majnūn who wishes to reconform to the socio-cultural norms can do that without feeling bad or guilty about the things he did or said while he was in a state of madness because he himself did not do or say those things—it was the jinni inside of him.

This paper shows that it might be a profitable undertaking to look at oral tradition as a compendium of thought categories, not compartmentalized, but woven together by culture in the web of folklore. A specific thought category is not restricted to a specific form or genre of folklore. It is overlapping and recurring (i.e., in myths, legends, tales, proverbs, jokes, memorates, etc.) and it always has a function. I have tried to show that "jinn" is a recurring thought category among the people of Arabia that overlaps various genres of oral tradition and that it has a specific function. It occurs in the Quran, in legends and tales, in proverbs, in personal memorates, etc. Aside from validating the cultural norms and

²Among the Hopi Indians, for example, when a person shows symptoms of mental disorder or emotional instability, it is the duty of his relatives to advise him and symbolically strike him with small juniper twigs (see Sun Chief by Leo W. Simmons).

attitudes, the "jinn" thought category has psychological function which I intentionally tried to make sound different from the traditional psychological explanations of folklore (Bascom 1955). The psychological function of the "jinn" thought category is not merely wish fulfillment, outlet for repression, or escapism on a fantasy level. It has a more positive psychological function, and one that is on a very conscious level for that matter. It has a therapeutic function that, aside from curbing deviance, makes it easy for persons who do deviate to reconform to the socio-cultural norms. People of Arabia never hallucinate; they see and hear jinn who are real beings and notorious for playing sensory tricks on people. Because they are real beings, jinn are easily appeased or warded off. When a person does go mad, there is nothing inherently or intrinsically wrong with him, and when he offends the society he should not feel bad or guilty, because it is not he who is to be blamed for his misconduct but it is the jinni inside him. Because of this a mad person need not feel guilty at all and his madness is not perpetuated by guilt feelings. Besides, the jinni inside him is a real being who can be either induced or forced to leave him alone.

APPENDIX

EIGHT FOLK TALES

1. One time a human farmer was sharecropping with a jinni farmer. They planted wheat. When it was time for harvest, the human asked the jinni, "How do you want to divide the crop?" "It is up to you," answered the jinni. The human said, "Since you live underground, why don't you get what is underground, and since I live above ground, why don't I get what is overground?" The jinni agreed. The human farmer's share was the grain and the straw while the share of the jinni was only the roots. The jinni realized the trick, but it was a division they had both agreed upon and he thought it was inappropriate for him to complain or back out. Instead he decided that he would retaliate next time. When it was summer the human and the jinni again decided to sharecrop. This time they planted onions. When it was harvest time, the jinni addressed the human, "Last time I let you choose; this time you let me choose." The human agreed. The jinni said, "This time I get what is above the ground and you get what is under the ground." The human was much pleased but he tried to hide his pleasure and pretended to be protesting—but, of course, he finally agreed. The jinni realized that he was a loser again. He decided that a person who outsmarted him twice would outsmart him forever. Since then no jinni ever shared a crop with any human (al-Juhaimān 1967-1970 II:119-20).

2. Mohammad was an excellent and successful farmer who was respected by some people and envied by others. One time Mohammad noticed that there was a black dog who came to his farm and caused damage to the crops. He tried to drive away the dog but he could not. The dog kept coming back and damaging the crop. Finally Mohammad lost his patience and decided to kill the dog. And he did. Relieved, Mohammad went home and went to sleep. During his sleep, he felt himself sinking underground. He kept sinking from one plane of the earth to the one below it till he reached the seventh and lowest plane. There he found himself surrounded by two guardians who took him to the King of the Jinn. Mohammad was terrified, for this is a strange habitat full of strange looking and weird people. Some are extremely short; some are extremely tall, with long faces, some with crooked faces; some have short rounded faces; some have lower lips hanging down to their bellies; some have the opening of their eyelids vertical, parallel to their nose; some have only one eye in the forehead, etc. The King of the Jinn calmed him down saying, "Don't worry Mohammad; we are Muslims like you. We judge people by the Quran. According to the orders of Allah and the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad, we seek justice. We do not tolerate injustice or trespassing. The black dog you killed was my son. I, myself, could forgive you; however, the rest of the family insists on a trial. I had you brought here to be put on trial, but you can be sure it will be a fair trial."

At the court, the judge asked Mohammad to defend himself. Mohammad gave a full account of the incident in which he insisted that

he had killed the dog because the dog was bothering him exceedingly and he killed it only after all other attempts to drive it away had failed. Mohammad also insisted that before killing the dog he had addressed it, "I seek refuge in Allah from you and from Satan" several times. Mohammad also asserted that he did say, "In the name of Allah the most merciful and most compassionate" before he killed the dog. The judge asked Mohammad if he had any witnesses. Mohammad answered that there were no human witnesses around at the time, but that he was sure there must have been some jinn around since jinn are invisible and always roaming around. An announcement was made among the jinn that if anybody had any information about the incident he should come forward and tell the truth. Several witnesses came forth and they all confirmed what Mohammad had said and what he claimed to have done. Mohammad was found not guilty and was immediately released. To get him through the seven planes of the earth, the king gave Mohammad a strong vicious beast and seven pieces of meat, with instructions to give the beast one piece of meat every time it crossed one level. After the fifth plane Mohammad was so happy he gave the beast two pieces of meat. At the sixth level, he realized that he did not have any more meat to get through the seventh level to the overground. Mohammad pleaded with the beast but instead the beast threatened "from your shoulder or you will die 'min zandik willa met.'" So Mohammad was compelled to cut a piece of his shoulder to give to the beast in order to get to the overground (al-Juhaimān 1967-1970 I: 267-75).

3. There were two poor woodcutters who were very close friends. One was quite normal and the other was hunchbacked. They made their living by going into the desert to cut and collect wood and carrying it back on their donkeys to sell in the market. They made an agreement not to work on Fridays. The hunchback grew restless and bored on Fridays and one Friday he decided to go into the desert and cut wood. On the way back to town, the time was late and it was very dark and he was very tired. He did not know where he was but he kept on going. While driving his donkey along he saw a faint light at a distance. He walked to the light until he was very close to it. At first he thought these people must be some Bedouin and he decided to call on them and be their guest. But when he drew closer and closer he saw strange beings singing and dancing. Among them he saw the most beautiful maidens he had ever seen dancing gracefully and most beautifully to the sweetest melodies he had ever heard. He decided to join them after he tied his donkey. They were repeating one verse:

Sunday and Saturday with Thursday.

They kept repeating this one verse until the dancers and the singers grew bored with it and began to lose their enthusiasm, but their poet was confused and could not come up with a new verse. After noticing this the hunchback decided to help and he came up with this new verse:

And Friday is the happy day.

The singers and dancers liked this verse very much and they

all regained their enthusiasm and it was all fun again. The chief decided to reward the poet who had said the last verse and looked for him until he found him--the hunchback. The chief asked the hunchback what he desired for a reward. "Just remove this hunch from my back." "Ask for something else," said the chief. "I desire nothing else," retorted the hunchback. The chief passed his hand over the hunch, seized it, plucked it out, and gently rubbed its place. The woodcutter became straight and normal like any other person and he was extremely happy. The chief then added, "Now we have removed your hunch ask for something else." "Fill my garment with gold," said the woodcutter. They filled his garment with gold, which he loaded on his donkey. He then headed back home after thanking everybody.

The next day at dawn, his friend called on him to go collect wood as usual, but the hunchback excused himself by saying he was not feeling too well. When it was day time, the woodcutter was out in the streets, and everybody was astonished at his sudden and amazing recovery. The woodcutter never told anybody about his encounter with the jinn, but simply claimed he woke up during the second half of the night and while everybody was fast asleep, he earnestly prayed to Allah and begged Him to cure him and Allah had granted his wish.

Later his friend came over to congratulate him and asked how he managed to get his hunch cured. The woodcutter told his friend about his encounter with the jinn and how they cured his hunch, but he did not tell him about the gold. The ex-hunchback begged his friend not to tell anybody about this. He never went back to his

usual woodcutting but he kept on spending from the gold the jinn had given him. His friend asked him how he had amassed all this wealth. At first he was reluctant to tell, but under his friend's insistence he revealed everything. The friend decided to do the same thing. He went into the desert and took the same road the ex-hunchback had taken. When it was pitch dark and when he was extremely tired, he came to the spot where jinn allegedly were. Suddenly he saw a faint light and kept on walking until he reached it. He tied his donkey and joined the group. They were dancing and singing:

Sunday and Saturday with Thursday.

They kept repeating this verse till everybody became tired of repeating it and they began to lose their enthusiasm. The woodcutter decided that that was his chance. He got up and said:

Monday and Tuesday and Wednesday.

The singers tried to sing this new verse but it did not go with the music; the singers became confused, as did the dancers, and everybody was upset. The chief seized the woodcutter and shouted at him, "You fool, you ruined our fun." The woodcutter became extremely frightened; his joints were shaking; he was sweating, and his mouth became dry. He begged forgiveness and mercy, if not for himself at least for the sake of his hunchback friend whom they knew very well. His pleading was of no avail. The chief of the jinn planted the hunch that they had plucked out of the first woodcutter in the back of this woodcutter and they told him to go away.

He went back to town full of shame and feeling as if he were carrying a heavy load. He was so ashamed of his appearance that he imprisoned himself in his house never to come out again. His old faithful friend missed him and went to see him. When he saw what condition he was in, he asked what had happened and was told everything. He consoled his friend and told him not to worry about a thing, promising to take care of him and do everything he could for him. They remained faithful friends (al-Juhaimān 1967-1970 IV:45-53).

4. A man was married to a woman who died after giving birth to an infant. When the infant grew to be a child, his father caught him a bird to play with. The bird turned out to be a jinni who pleaded with the child to let him free and the jinni promised to help the child in times of difficulties. The child let the jinni go.

Later the father married another woman who hated the child and tried every possible way to get rid of him or get him lost. But the child, with the help of the jinni, always managed to counteract his stepmother's tricks and always found his way back to the house.

5. Two people were travelling in the desert on a dark night. There were thick clouds and plenty of thunder and lightning. The travelers saw an ox and seized it, deciding to take it home with them. They were driving it in front of them when one of them noticed during a flash of lightning that the ox was smiling. He immediately knew it was a jinni. He quietly backed up and when he was a little distance

away from his friend he called, "When the lightning flashes, look at the eye of your ox." The man looked at the ox and he, also, noticed that the ox was smiling. He quietly retreated until he caught up with his friend. They went another way and left the ox alone.

6. A woodcutter saw a huge hedgehog warming itself in the sun. He caught it and put it in his saddle bag intending to roast and eat it. After a while he heard a voice calling "Mansūr, Mansūr." The voice became nearer and clearer. The woodcutter heard the voice of the hedgehog answering, "Mansūr is bundled in a saddle bag near the tail of the donkey." The woodcutter threw away the hedgehog and ran.

7. In Hayel there is a cave called Ghar Zalma. Zalma was the name of the mother of a man who married an exceedingly beautiful woman. The man lived with his wife, his mother Zalma, and his spinster sister. Every time the man went to his wife's private room, jealousy ate the heart of the mother and the sister. One day the mother decided to kill her son by hurling a big rock over him when he went for a siesta in the shade of the cave. The mother told her daughter about her intentions while the wife was eavesdropping. The wife told her husband about his mother's plot to kill him but he did not believe her and, as usual, went to the cave for his siesta. He was terrified to see his mother hiding behind a big rock waiting for his arrival. But on seeing him coming she ran away to the mountains, where she has since awaited opportunities to assault men who pass by the cave because she became a si3lāt.

8. There was a man who carried mail between Najd and Hijaz. He always did his best to keep his schedule regardless of all adverse conditions and he always kept a swift riding camel. One cold dark night he was riding along and all of a sudden he noticed that his camel's steps were getting slow 'bedat dhilūluh tkhiṭ,' as if someone were riding with him. Without turning, he reached back and felt a hairy creature behind him. He was very calm and simply exclaimed, "What an abundant fur 'wallah ṣufin dāfi!'" His calmness appalled the siḅlāt, who in turn exclaimed, "What a perfect mind 'wallah ḅaglin wāfi!'" The man knew the siḅlāt was going to eat him and began to reflect as to how to get rid of her. Just before dawn he couched his camel and, after dismounting, tethered it ḅqal tayyārī. He was not exactly sure how to deal with this unwelcome company. He was very cautious in all his moves and did not want to act till the time was right. The siḅlāt started watching the man and smiling and doing an exact imitation of everything he did. The man built a fire and made bread; then he put some warm butter on the bread to render it soft. He ate some of the bread and the siḅlāt ate the rest. The man also anointed his parched hands with some butter. The siḅlāt did the same thing. An idea came to him; he put some more butter on his hands, face, and head and came very close to the fire pretending to warm himself. The hairy siḅlāt followed the same exact steps. Immediately she caught on fire. The man sprang up, untethered his camel, kicked it with his foot on the side after getting a good grip on the rein and the camel dashed off like a bullet. The siḅlāt, in flames, ran after

him shouting, "What a prey I caught that got loose from me 'yāṣīdītin ṣittaha wafkhat minha'!" The si3lāt was burning and could not catch up with the mailman. She shouted at him, "If I die I will kill you with one of my bones." Some time later, the mailman was traveling the same road and passed by the spot where the si3lāt had burned up. He saw her carcass and, being curious, he dismounted from his camel to examine the carcass closely. With contempt, he spat on the carcass and kicked it with his foot. A tiny bit of bone entered his foot. This tiny bit of bone was the cause of his death a short time later.

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